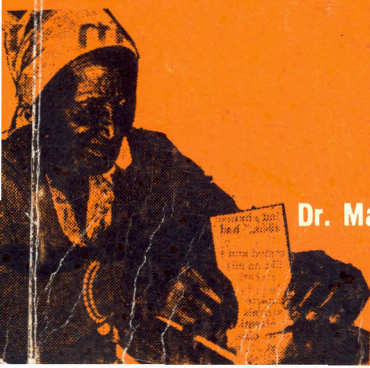
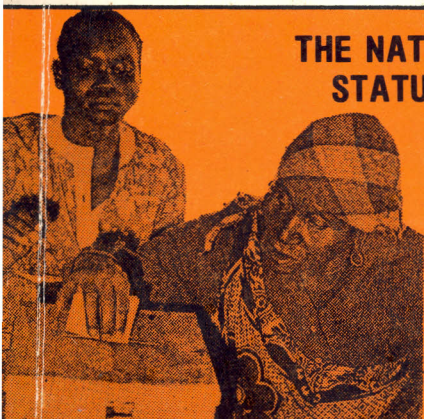


Women's Initiatives in Kenya's Democratization

**CAPACITY BUILDING AND PARTICIPATION IN THE
DECEMBER 1992 MULTI-PARTY GENERAL ELECTIONS**

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE
STATUS OF WOMEN (N.C.S.W.)**



Edited by
Dr. Maria Nzomo and Dr. Kivutha Kibwana

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KENYA'S DEMOCRATIZATION**

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Secondly, we also wish to recognise the 100 NCSW election observers and professional journalists who under considerable pressure and in difficult geographical and political terrain, compiled women candidate's profiles and detailed election observation data, on the basis of which NCSW prepared the election monitoring report contained in this book.

Thirdly, we would also like to thank the Electoral Commission for accrediting NCSW as an election observer unit and for cooperating with NCSW throughout the election observation period.

Fourthly, we also wish to convey our deep appreciation and gratitude to the donor agencies that supported the initiatives presented in this book. They include: the Royal Dutch Embassy, the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA), and the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA).

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To all of you and to the many friends of NCSW who have given the organisation various forms of material and moral support, we are truly grateful.

*Dr. Maria Nzomo
Chairperson, NCSW
September, 1993*

Preface

This book, *Women's Initiatives in Kenya's Democratization*, seeks to feature the role of the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) in preparing the stage for greater women empowerment through democratic participation in the run-up to Kenya's first multi-party General Elections of 29 December 1992. The NCSW organised training workshops for women civic and parliamentary candidates, campaign managers and voters in the run-up to the elections. The NCSW also used its efforts to generate profiles on mostly women parliamentary candidates and also civic candidates, which were featured in the local press, specifically by Nation Newspapers, as a means of promoting women candidates, creating gender awareness and disseminating public education. Finally the NCSW, having been legally accredited as an election observer unit in November 1992, conducted a gender-sensitive election monitoring workshop whose major objective was to train observers with a view to determining whether the December 1992 general elections would be free and fair, especially in constituencies and wards where women candidates were running. 100 election observers were trained and deployed to most of the constituencies with women candidates.

This book has therefore three main parts. Part 1 features the training and capacity-building workshops for women candidates and voters and the themes disseminated during these workshops. Part 2 features the profiles on women candidates, mainly the profiles done in December 1992 during the run-up to the elections, but also a few post-election profiles. And Part 3 features NCSW's election monitoring training, and indeed the NCSW's report on the 29 December 1992 general elections, with special emphasis on women candidates and the participation of women voters.

The Appendices feature important details on the capacity-building workshops and the election-monitoring processes. They also feature some photographic images of women's participation in political activities.

It is the NCSW's view that the 1992 multi-party General Elections in Kenya constituted an important step in women's struggle for greater empowerment through greater participation in Kenya's democratisation. NCSW hopes that a reading of the materials in this book will strengthen women's determination to fight for, and win more territories in the continuing struggle for, human rights, social justice and democracy in a context of true gender equity.

PART 1:

**TRAINING FOR CAPACITY
BUILDING FOR WOMEN
CANDIDATES, VOTERS AND
CAMPAIGNERS**

Chapter 1

5 TRAINING WORKSHOPS FOR PROSPECTIVE WOMEN CIVIC/ PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES ORGANISED BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Report on the activities for the period 31st August to 10th November, 1992

1. Training Workshops for Women Civic/Parliamentary Candidates/Managers and Voters

The need for these training workshops arose directly from the National Training Workshop for Women Candidates held from 17th to 18th July, 1992. The women candidates themselves presented to the NCSW a list of requests of what they saw as very urgent needs that must be met to facilitate their winning the forthcoming elections. Included in the list of requests, the major request was that training workshops/seminars for women (and men) voters be taken to their own constituencies/wards where they were standing for political office.

2. General Objective and Target Groups

As part of the political sensitization and awareness raising programme, the NCSW set out to conduct training workshops, targeting primarily women candidates and women voters, as well as the public at large. The workshops were of a one-day duration, with an average of three papers presented by experts within the broad theme of women's political participation and democratization, gender issues, electoral politics and laws. The NCSW took civic education to the grassroots, namely to areas where the candidates were standing for political office.

3. Training Message and Techniques

The main training message especially to women voters was that women must vote for committed women wherever possible. The training workshops therefore endeavoured to sensitise women on the merits of voting for other women, and in so doing shed off the socio-cultural stereotyped belief that only men can make good leaders and decision-makers. Secondly, the civic education endeavoured to explain to women and men why and how to exercise their democratic rights in a multi-party context of electoral politics.

During the training workshops, prospective candidates were taught the techniques on how to plan a campaign, how to choose issues that can attract the target voters and how to employ strategies to mobilize different types of voters. Furthermore, the candidates were made to fully understand the fundamental issues that the electorate expect them to act upon once in parliament. The NCSW through the 5 training workshops explained to prospective women parliamentary and civic candidates the true meaning of democracy with gender equity and how these principles should be reflected in development policies and programmes. Part of the training sensitized the participants on their special qualities as women, that can be injected into politics to bring better and just government, in a multi-party democracy.

4. Training Structure and Schedule

The prospective candidates selected up to 50 participants (including themselves) from their constituency/ward for a training workshop. The 5 training workshops were held as follows.

Training Workshops I & II were held on 12th September, 1992 at Lions Girls Hostel, Kariokor, Nairobi, for prospective civic candidates, Ms. Sarah A. Oyugi, who vied for Huruma Ward 51 in Mathare, and Ms. Mary Auma who stood for Ruaraka Ward 53 also in Mathare. For more information please see: Appendices 1, 2 & 3, for programme and list of participants respectively.

Training Workshop III took place at Pala Market (Kabuoch South) South Nyanza, Homa Bay on 25th September, 1992, for prospective civic candidate Ms. Jane Were. Refer to Appendices 4 & 5 for programme and list of participants.

Training Workshops IV & V were held at Runyenjes Market Social Hall, Embu in Eastern Province on 31st October, 1992, for one (1) parliamentary and four (4) civic prospective candidates as follows:

- Ms. Margaret Weveti Mugeni: parliamentary candidate for Runyenjes constituency;
- Ms. Hellen Kanini Gatumu: civic candidate for Ngandori Location;
- Ms. Helien Wanjuki Murangiri: civic candidate for Kagaari South;
- Ms. Priscilla Muthoni: civic candidate for Gaturi South;
- Ms. Mary Iruraa: civic candidate for Kagaari North.

For more details please refer to Appendices 6 & 7 for programme and list of participants.

5. Realized Activities up to October 1992

The five (5) Campaign Managers Training Workshops took place between 12th September, 1992 and 31st October, 1992, a period of less than two months, although the exercise started in August and ended on 7th November, 1992. By the time the workshop at Runyenjes was taking place on 31st October, 1992, the date of the General Election had just been announced. This meant the NCSW could no longer carry on with additional training workshops throughout the rest of the country where there were prospective women civic and parliamentary candidates. Initially the NCSW had planned to hold a total of 50 Training Workshops for Campaign Managers and women voters for prospective women candidates.

6. Achieved Goals

The outcome of these training workshops plus the July 1992 National Workshop for Women Candidates was that women's political capacity and confidence increased as shown by the fact that at the nomination stage about 50 women took part in parliamentary party nominations and about 200 in civic party nominations. However, only 20 women were nominated for parliamentary and about 130 for civic positions.

6 WOMEN'S INITIATIVES IN KENYA'S DEMOCRATIZATION

And of these, six of them won parliamentary seats while about 50 were elected to civic positions. This was a tremendous achievement for the women of Kenya, considering the many obstacles they encountered in the electoral process, including rigging.

Chapter 2

NCSW CIVIC EDUCATION WORKSHOPS FOR CAPACITY BUILDING OF WOMEN CANDIDATES AND VOTERS

Opening Remarks

*By Dr. Maria Nzomo**

Distinguished guests from the donor community, women candidates and their supporters, members of the NCSW and women's organizations, ladies and gentlemen.

On behalf of the NCSW, I would like to state that we feel privileged to host this second workshop in a series of about 50 planned workshops, aimed at enhancing the capacity of women candidates to win the forthcoming civic and parliamentary elections. The first national workshop, as many of you know, was held in July 1992 at the YMCA hostel here in Nairobi. That workshop brought together all the women candidates, across political parties, who will be vying for both civic and parliamentary political posts. It was at that workshop that it was decided that capacity building training should be taken to the grassroots where the supporters and potential voters for women candidates live. It was therefore agreed that each woman candidate would bring together key individuals who, to her best knowledge, could be relied upon to disseminate to others what they learn at the training workshops.

This one-day workshop is, therefore, the first one we are conducting in accordance with the plan of action agreed upon at the July national workshop.

I would like also to emphatically state here that the NCSW is a non-partisan women's lobby group committed to the advancement of *all* women in this country. We are therefore not interested in the party affiliation of a woman candidate. Our training activities, therefore, are

* These remarks were made at the venue of the workshops, Lion's Girls' Hostel, Kariokor, Nairobi on 12 September 1992. Dr. Maria Nzomo, apart from being the Chairperson of the NCSW, teaches at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.

for all women candidates regardless of their party affiliation. And in this connection the focus of our training is *not* how a woman candidate can get the party of her choice to win the coming elections, but rather about how a woman candidate can win elections despite her party affiliation. The NCSW sees its role as one of encouraging, persuading and providing moral and material support where possible to all Kenyan women running for political office. Our objective is to ensure that women are present in large numbers in the next parliament and in various wards. We believe that women's under-representation in political decision making has in the past contributed a great deal to the deterioration of women's status in all aspects of life in Kenya. The NCSW aims at contributing to political empowerment as a means to advancing the overall status of women.

We also believe that women have a right and responsibility as citizens to participate actively and equitably with men in all forms of public life including politics. The democratization process in Kenya is null and void without women's active role in political leadership. Their greater participation in decision making would lead to greater democratization of society and greater and more sustainable development.

We recognize the many obstacles women face as they attempt to participate in politics. There are many man-made barriers that have been erected by society to bar women from politics. Because of the cultural norms that society has internalized to the effect that women cannot make good leaders, a woman's political campaign is invariably more difficult than a man's as she has to prove that she is a better candidate than the male one and that there is an important and special contribution she can make if elected into political office. Thus, while occasionally voters may wonder if a male candidate is tough enough to hold office, women office seekers are always expected to prove their competence, strength and experience. They have to walk a fine line between reassuring the voters about their toughness and at the same time not appearing to be too aggressive. Women are also judged more harshly than men for showing emotion in public.

Factors such as personal appearance tend to colour voters' perceptions about female candidates far more than male candidates. Hair styles, height, weight, dress and general grooming of the female candidate provide fodder for the news media. Women also experience more acutely than men an assault on their personal integrity. Furthermore, unlike

political men, women politicians' marital and moral status is often made a big campaign issue. If a woman candidate is married, she is likely to be accused of being an irresponsible wife and mother who is sacrificing her family life for politics. If she is divorced, then she is likely to be accused of being an immoral unstable woman who could not even keep her husband and who is hence not fit for leadership. If she is a widow, she is likely to be accused of having contributed to her husband's death and hence better off in prison than political leadership. If she is single, the chances are that she is going to be viewed as an irresponsible upstart, of doubtful morals and hence cannot possibly qualify for political leadership.

A woman candidate must be confident enough to withstand these and other challenges that she is likely to encounter in a political campaign. She must develop a very thick skin and strong shock absorbers. She must be able to withstand the mudslinging that accompanies an election campaign and she must learn not to respond emotionally to personal attacks because emotional responses are likely to be used against her, as excellent proof of the woman's inability for leadership. It is here that a woman candidate must exercise patience, perseverance and avoidance of confrontation. If she can succeed in exercising these virtues, then that is already a big plus for her in the process of winning the campaign. Politics, however, does not have to be dirty. It is men who have made it dirty. Women in politics can bring decency, morality and integrity into the character of politics. This is why we need women in political office in large enough numbers: so that they can change the character and conduct of political affairs, among other things.

Women candidates must also be prepared to be treated by some male politicians as intruders in a "men only" club. They may be deprived of critical political information which men share among themselves in bars and clubs. A woman candidate also runs the risk of being dubbed "immoral" or frowned upon and given a "what is a good woman like you doing in a place like this?" look, if she goes to the same places men politicians go at night soliciting for votes. Indeed, because of these and other social obstacles, many of the women candidates venturing into politics for the first time may not have basic political information that male candidates take for granted.

It is in appreciation of the special obstacles women candidates face as they attempt to enter into politics and to compete alongside men for elective positions that the NCSW has found it necessary to build the

capacity of women candidates through training. However, the major effort must come from the candidate herself, with support of her campaign team. She must believe in herself and her ability to win and exercise political leadership effectively.

Conclusion

It needs to be underscored yet again that full participation of women in all spheres of political life is essential for true democracy and sustainable development. *Politics is the struggle for power.* Women must be prepared to face the challenges of political struggle and ultimately political leadership. No doubt women are endowed with very special leadership qualities; but they must have the confidence and courage to exploit those potential qualities to win an electoral political contest.

Chapter 3

WOMEN CANDIDATES IN ELECTORAL POLITICS: CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES AND ISSUES

*By Dr. Maria Nzomo**

Introduction

Even if everything was equal and fair in electoral politics, securing victory is tough at best for all candidates, but much more so for women, who face additional obstacles to participation in politics. Women's gross under-representation in political decision making positions all over the world underscores the special obstacles they encounter in political participation.

Despite the numerous obstacles to women's political participation, women recognize that their participation in political decision making capacities is essential both for their own empowerment as well as for the advancement of society as a whole. Women indeed have a right and responsibility as citizens to participate actively in politics and all other forms of public life. They, therefore, must struggle for equality with men in public life. This is the only way true democracy and sustainable development can be attained.

In Kenya, since the restoration of multi-party politics in December 1991, women resolved that they will never again allow themselves to be marginalized in Kenya politics. At a National Women's Convention held in February 1992, it was resolved that women would not only exercise their democratic right as voters in the forthcoming civic and parliamentary elections but they would also vote for gender-sensitive women and men candidates, recognizing that there was little point in mobilizing women to vote if an adequate number of women candidates

*Paper presented at a workshop of the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) on 'Capacity Building of Women Candidates and Voters'; September - November, 1992.

did not exist. It is in this spirit that the National Committee on the Status of Women has embarked on a mission of sensitizing and encouraging as many capable women as possible to stand as candidates for political office in the forthcoming civic and parliamentary elections. Confidence and capacity building of prospective women candidates was therefore seen to be of paramount importance in preparation for the elections.

This paper then is intended to provide to both candidates and the campaign team some basic information on relevant campaign strategies and issues that can help improve a woman candidate's chance of electoral victory in a free and fair election. The paper will focus especially on how the campaign team and close supporters can assist a woman candidate to win the election.

Campaign Management

Every candidate relies heavily on the goodwill of certain people who are willing to offer their time to work for the candidate with the aim of helping her with the elections. There are many roles that people can perform in a political campaign including: campaign management consultant, campaign manager, campaign agent, fund-raiser, advance person, accountant, legal advisor, publicity manager and secretary among others.

The important management task here is to ensure that the candidate has the right people doing the right jobs. It is wasteful to have a very good campaign activist being tied to a task that does not involve direct and actual campaigning. Once you have selected the right people for the various tasks, the next thing is to motivate them to co-operate with you in getting the objectives achieved. Many campaigners have left the campaign feeling bitter that their efforts were not recognized.

The campaign teams are the candidate's representatives to the majority of voters who may have no opportunity to have a personal relationship with her. Therefore, the energy, conviction and confidence they portray will largely influence how you as a candidate is perceived by many voters. The candidate must therefore treat the campaign team as partners in the campaign process. The campaign team need to be deeply involved to the point where they want you as the candidate to win the elections as much as you want to win yourself. The campaign team is therefore a very important asset in the campaign process; it is the one that delivers the votes.

How can a candidate motivate the campaigners to contribute with

total commitment to the campaign? One way to win campaigners' consistent support in getting things done is to have a genuine respect for them, believing in their abilities, setting reasonable expectations for them and granting them the practical autonomy to step out and contribute directly to the job. Make the campaign process enjoyable for your campaign agents; let it be exciting and many will continue to campaign for you until you have won the elections! The idea is to treat the campaigners in such a way that they will feel like the real winners.

Communication is the politician's tool. In dealing with the campaigners, nothing more effectively involves people, sustains credibility or generates enthusiasm than face-to-face communication. Keep talking to your team and they will keep talking about you to the voters. Discuss your ideas with them and listen to their suggestions.

The point to be emphasized here, therefore, is that a successful election campaign is highly dependent on the quality and competence of the campaign manager and the rest of the team, who must possess undivided loyalty and allegiance to the candidate. The campaign agents must also have a thorough knowledge of the target constituency and people and have adequate political campaign skills that would enable them to mobilize and gain support for their candidate from different types of voters. They must also be able to employ a variety of strategies and tactics at various levels and phases of the campaign process.

The Campaign Strategy

Every election must have a strategy or plan. Often, a combination of campaign strategies have to be adopted, to maximize the chances of winning an election contest. Some of the key factors in planning a campaign include the following.

(i) *Timing*

The candidate must decide when to embark on her election campaign. Some prospective candidates may start campaigning a few years or a few months before the election. A good campaign team should start popularizing its candidate soon after the candidate has declared her intention to run.

(ii) *Resource Management*

The candidate must plan the expenditure of resources allocated to a campaign. The decision on what amounts are deployed at the beginning, the middle and towards the end of the campaign may be quite critical in winning an election. The candidate should involve her campaign managers in this planning.

(iii) *Appropriate and Adequate Information*

A candidate should not embark on the campaign trail with information based on guesswork or bits and pieces of incomplete facts and half truths. Accurate information on the target voters, the geography and socio-economic situation of the constituency, and the profile of other contesting candidates in the same constituency, is absolutely essential in planning an election campaign. The campaign team and wherever possible the woman candidate herself must spare time and other resources and invest them first in gathering information about the constituency.

(iv) *Identification and Packaging of Relevant Campaign Issues*

Another important aspect of planning a successful campaign is the careful choice of relevant campaign issues. The mode of packaging of relevant issues would to a large extent determine whether or not the target voters comprehend and get convinced by the message thereby communicated to them.

More importantly, the message must be of immediate relevance and interest to the electorate, so that the major task of the candidate in this respect is to convince the voters that she is the most suitable person to represent them in parliament. For a woman candidate, this is perhaps the most challenging and important aspect of the campaign. The campaign team here has an important role to convince the voters that she is a better candidate than her opponent. They also should contribute towards convincing a skeptical electorate, that is generally used to voting for men candidates, that she as a woman can make a special positive contribution in the political decision-making arena.

In other words, the campaign team would need to help the woman candidate convince her electorate that she can make a more significant

contribution than a male candidate, in certain areas of political decision-making.

The overall campaign task can be summarized as follows:

- (i) To get the campaign message received and understood by as many voters as possible.
- (ii) Through the message, to persuade more people to vote for her than any of her rivals.

Defeating the opponent then is the ultimate test of a campaign strategy so that no matter how good a campaign a candidate conducts, she can still lose the election if another candidate conducts an even better campaign.

Identifying and Packaging the Relevant Campaign Issues

The discussion above has addressed broad strategies and campaign planning that every candidate and her campaign agents must take note of and apply in her individual campaign.

However, when we get down to what issues are relevant for each candidate's campaign, then more specificity is required. This is so because the specific circumstances and needs of the various constituencies differ. There are some areas of the country for example, especially those in the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) where water is the most important issue for the local people. This may not be so in other parts of the country where, in a relative sense, water is available within close proximity to the people. In another constituency or ward, the major problem or issue may be poor infrastructure, or shortage of schools and health clinics. It is the duty of each candidate and her campaign team to do adequately thorough research in advance, in order to determine what are the most pressing needs and problems of the local community and consequently work out a programme of addressing these problems if the candidate is elected into a civic/parliamentary seat.

Having determined what the relevant campaign issues are for the individual campaign, the next step is to package those issues. Packaging refers both to the way issues in the campaign hang together in a cohesive, systematic and logical manner, as well as to the ordering of the same issues in terms of their priority. The order in which the issues

are arranged would in turn determine when and how they are addressed during the campaign. The most important issues should be on top of the list in terms of both arrangement and the resources invested in them. What issues are more important than others will vary depending on the specific circumstances of a given constituency. This is why comprehensive information gathering about the constituency during the planning stage of the campaign is so critical, as it becomes invaluable in identifying and prioritizing campaign issues.

The Campaign Process

Having worked out a good campaign strategy, the next phase is the campaign itself.

A good potentially successful campaign should be conducted at various levels, which should coincide with the nature of the issues being addressed. In this regard, one can identify at least three levels of conducting a campaign.

(i) *The Material or Economic Level*

At this level issues being addressed will have to do with the voter's economic circumstances, sometimes called the "bread and butter" issues of people's everyday existence. The campaign at this material level is to demonstrate convincingly to the target voters that their economic welfare will change or improve if the candidate is elected. The candidate and her team must be able to present to the electorate a convincing programme or agenda that leaves them with no doubt that, if elected, she would be their "messiah" or "deliverer" from all manner of past material deprivations and sufferings, poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and exploitation. For the voters to be convinced by such a message, the candidate must demonstrate *practically* that she is committed to the economic welfare of the people. She must for example be seen to be already contributing to local community development projects, etc.

(ii) *The Social Level*

The social level of the campaign is that part of the campaign which takes into account the fact that each individual in a constituency belongs to

one or more groups of one kind or another. Each person in the constituency will be found to be a member of such groups as families, clans, tribal or racial communities, religious denominations, professional associations, trade unions, etc. Within each group, the individual member plays a particular role, occupies a particular position and performs a particular task by virtue of that position and as a member of the group. The candidate must demonstrate interest in the activities and welfare of target voters in the context of their social networks and organizations. The campaign team can assist the candidate to determine in which groups or organizations she should invest resources in order to maximize her chances of winning the social part of the election campaign. To do this the candidate first needs to know which institutions are most important for her campaign.

For example, a woman candidate would be well advised to pay particular attention to women's groups and organizations in her constituency as the majority of her supporters are likely to be women. The direct connection of a woman candidate with the existing women's group network is one major advantage a woman candidate may have over her male opponent. This must be exploited to the full for the benefit of the woman candidate. The church is also an important institution in any part of Kenya, and hence no candidate should ignore a call to support the local churches in her constituency.

The campaign team can therefore assist the candidate to rank the individuals and groups in her constituency in order of importance for the campaign and give the highest priority to the most important ones when investing her limited resources (in form of money, time and energy). The more important any of the groups is in terms of the objectives of the campaign, the more the amount of resources that should be invested in attending to its priorities. In this connection, the importance of an institution should be based on at least the following five considerations:

1. The number of people it affects or concerns.
2. The seriousness with which it concerns them.
3. The frequency with which it concerns them.
4. The ease with which the candidate can handle the institution's problem.
5. The value of any special contribution a given institution can make to the campaign.

Thus, the importance of any issue in the social campaign depends on the importance of the institution which it touches. The more important the institution, the more important any issue connected with it is to be regarded. Conversely, the less important an institution is for campaign purposes the less important any issues to do with it should be considered.

(iii) *The Personal Level*

This is the human relations level of the campaign. The image projected to the voters by a candidate through her personality and physical traits may significantly influence voters' responsiveness to the candidate's campaign message and may make or break a candidate's bid to win an election. In other words, it matters whether, for example, voters perceive a candidate as an honest or dishonest person, a selfish or a generous individual. It is therefore very important for a candidate to know what traits of her body, character and personality to present to the voters in the course of campaigning. In other words, a candidate must learn how to *manage her public image* and reputation, in a manner that leads to her being accepted, admired, liked and even loved.

The aim of the personal campaign then is to *make the voters have positive feelings* towards the candidate. The candidate should exploit all the positive aspects of her personality, physical constitution and appearance, character and personality. In so doing, the candidate's objective is to create a person-to-person relationship between herself and each voter as an individual. Ultimately, the candidate's aim should be to win the voters' trust and acceptance, as someone they can rely upon to represent them in a political decision-making position.

The campaign team should assist the candidate in creating a good public image by keeping track and then informing her of people's responses to her and suggesting areas of improvement.

The Gender Dimension of the Electoral Campaign

A woman's message to her target voters, as stated earlier, must bear a different twist and tone from that of her male counterparts. Here again, what may at first appear as a disadvantage could be turned into her own advantage. In other words, in trying to impress upon the voters that

she can make a greater and more positive contribution than a male candidate if elected to be their political representative, a woman has the golden opportunity to capitalize on the many issues or areas where clearly women as women have demonstrated more competence and concern than men. The major areas where women all over the world have been proven to make a more telling contribution than men include: *health, economic productivity, opposing violence, improving the environment, population welfare and social ethics*. The role of women in these areas, even without the benefit of political power on their side, is undisputed. These are the areas of competence that a woman candidate's campaigners need to continuously emphasize.

The campaigners should also capitalize on other positive social stereotypes about women in order to enhance voters' confidence in the electability of their woman candidate. For example, since society generally believes that women are more honest than men, more compassionate, tend to foster cooperation instead of confrontation, these qualities should be amplified in a campaign to boost the chances of electability of the woman candidate.

However, these qualities should be stressed rather cautiously because they can also give the wrong impression about a woman candidate. For example if a campaign agent says, "Please vote for Mrs. X, because she is **gentler** and **nicer** to children than Mr. Y", that may sound like Mrs. X is applying for the position of a nursery school matron, rather than vying for the position of an M.P. or Councillor. On the other hand, if Mrs. X says, "I know what life is like. I know what budgets are like, what it is like to pay hospital bills, school fees and try to make ends meet. When I become MP/Councillor, I will bring that knowledge with me to that political office", she sounds like a Minister of Finance in the making!

As women generally do not have access to a lot of money for the campaign, the agents should also try to sensitize voters to avoid judging a candidate simply by the amount of money she can donate during the campaign. They should explain to the voters that many women who offer themselves as candidates are not wealthy but they are committed to the improvement of the lives of the most vulnerable groups: the poor, the women and the children. The campaign therefore should carry the message that, whereas a voter can accept money from any candidate who offers it, one should not feel obliged to vote for that candidate, but rather vote for the candidate one believes to be the best, even if she has

not donated any money.

It has been said that campaigning is the art of the superficial: it is about rhetoric, not policy, the manipulation of images, not the exchange of ideas. More importantly, a campaign can become a morality play or a mudslinging exercise. While the woman candidate must of necessity develop a very thick skin and very durable shock absorbers, her campaign agents and supporters must also devise strategies of protecting and defending her personal integrity. They need to devise counterattack strategies to neutralize the opponent's venom.

The trick, however, is to take advantage of everything and anything that would strengthen the woman candidate's campaign, thus maximizing her chances of winning an election.

Group Discussion Questions

1. Why are you supporting this woman candidate?
2. What do you see to be your role as:
 - campaigner manager?
 - campaign agent?
 - campaign consultant?
 - campaign accountant?
 - campaign heckler?
 - campaign lawyer?
3. What do you expect of the candidate in order to enable you to give her maximum support?
4. What do you foresee as the major difficulties in the campaign and how do you plan to deal with them?
5. Have you already started the campaign? If not, when do you intend to start and why?
6. What do you consider to be the most important factor for a candidate to win the 1992 elections?
 - money
 - previous record of candidate
 - sex (male/female)
 - development issues

7. What information do you think you require at the beginning of the formal campaign?
8. What are the issues to raise to convince the voters that a woman candidate can provide even better leadership than a man candidate?

Chapter 4

WOMEN CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN KENYA

*By Ruth N. Kibiti**

This paper examines some of the issues which could be used successfully by campaign managers and agents to persuade women and the general public to vote for women candidates. Right from the start, it must be emphasised that women issues will form the central focus for the campaign during the next general elections. Women constitute the majority of the voters in this country and therefore women candidates have a better chance of winning in the next general elections. Secondly, the electorate should be persuaded to vote for women candidates because they will make a big difference in the decision-making process.

Women issues will form the central focus of the coming campaign for the general elections. Women constitute the majority of the electorate, both in urban and rural areas. Similarly, women's agenda have not adequately been tackled by the male leadership in this country. There is the need to elect women representatives who will not only make a difference but a big difference. In this regard, women's socialisation and role in child rearing, among other experiences, make them especially concerned to transform 'I' into 'we' and to seek solutions to conflicts that accommodate diverse and often suppressed desires.

However, it is the duty of every campaign manager to carry out research in their constituency, to identify issues which they can address during their campaign. Some issues are common to all areas. These issues include the following.

* A lecturer at the Institute of African Studies, Ruth N. Kibiti presented this paper at a Workshop of the NCSW on 'Capacity Building for Women Candidates and Voters', September-November, 1992.

Health

In almost all locations (regions) in Kenya, health care will dominate the campaign issues. First, the issue will be raised about the availability of adequate health clinics with adequate medical equipment and availability of medicine. What is the availability of clinics to cater for specialised diseases like Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and other highly infectious diseases? Women, by the nature of the patriarchal division of labour, are the ones who are responsible for the care of the sick. Therefore, a woman candidate will not only address these issues when she gets to parliament but she will also ensure that health facilities that have not been working (clinics) are renovated to become operative.

Another important issue is that of maternal and children's clinics. These are important facilities because of the need to facilitate child immunization services. Most of children's killer diseases could be prevented at a very early stage through immunization. In some cases, this does not happen because of lack of adequate clinics. Those which are available are located in distant places, or they are too few to cater for the needs of the growing urban population. Only women candidates can address these issues to help improve the situation because they are in the first place mothers and their motherly love will drive them to deal with these problems. These issues are important and must be addressed.

Other Social Services

There is need to increase and in some cases start children's day care centres. Mothers experience a lot of problems because of their multiplicity of roles. However, part of their burden could be reduced through the establishment of such facilities as children's day care centres. These could be community-based centres, to cater for the needs of babies—both for working mothers in the informal sector and mothers in formal employment. Such centres will also help to reduce some of the common incidents of children's abuse and suffering, e.g. burning in houses because mothers locked them up in houses to attend to some other business. These incidents have been on the increase in this town.

There is also the need to establish more recreational facilities. In some cases, those facilities which have been in existence no longer work

for the benefit of the majority of the residents. They have been neglected and have therefore failed to be operational. Women candidates should make this a campaign issue by promising to push for the improvement of these facilities because other women appreciate their usefulness to the community.

Clean Drinking Water

There is piped water in some parts of the city but in other areas, the number of public piped-water facilities are limited. Women candidates should seek election to ensure that all city residents get clean water by the year 2000. Therefore, it is important to increase their number in parliament so that they can work together as a big team to help facilitate this process.

Other important social problems which require immediate attention include:

(a) Establishing centres for the elderly people in society. Urban areas should be given first priority because kinship connections are weak in towns.

(b) *Women in the Informal Sector:*

Protection of women hawkers and other participants in the informal sector is another important issue for the campaign. Everybody is aware of the harassment which hawkers in particular have received from Nairobi City Commission askaris. We are also aware of the many allocations of hawking sites which are subsequently cancelled. Women candidates if elected should work for the improved conditions of these hawkers. Sometimes, women with children on their backs are chased by askaris and everybody knows the dangers involved especially during heavy traffic or rain.

(c) *Food availability* is another area to be addressed. Women MPs and councillors should help to improve the conditions of food availability and at good affordable prices in the country.

(d) *Improved infrastructure* is another area.

(e) *Collection of household refuse (garbage).* This is one area where perhaps women candidates will earn a lot of support from their voters. Indeed, as we are all aware, only women stay at home most of the time and because of this all the bad smell from the decom-

posing refuse is felt mostly by women and children. In some cases, this bad smell has been responsible for causing air borne diseases. Women candidates if elected and particularly civic leaders should play a very important role towards improved cleanliness in the city's residential areas.

Campaign Issues in South Nyanza

Campaigning can be a very difficult job especially when campaign managers fail to deal with the issues which affect the common people who are also the majority of voters. In the coming campaign for the general elections for both civic and parliamentary candidates, gender issues and issues related to agricultural production and marketing will form the central focus of the campaign. Indeed, women, particularly in the rural areas, for example in Ndhiwa Division, not only constitute the majority of the voters but are also the majority of the population who experience a lot of problems.

In the area of rural development, it is important for all campaign managers and agents to carry out some research in their own areas (wards) and constituencies to identify the issues which affect their people. Talk to the people, learn to listen to their problems and advise your candidates on how to deal with these issues. Candidates must in this campaign process identify with the problems and work out a convincing strategy on how to solve them. Some of the problems would be tackled in the future but it is important to lay the foundation now.

Infrastructure: Roads

Rural development and in fact any other form of development cannot be possible unless roads are properly maintained. Good roads would not only facilitate the transportation of agricultural commodities like vegetables, tomatoes, fruits and a variety of many other perishable products to the nearest market for sale, but will also encourage the local communities to diversify their agricultural activities. Indeed, good roads will also encourage businessmen to operate buses and minibuses (*matatus*) in areas where such roads would not endanger their vehicles; people will

be encouraged to enter many other forms of business. In a sense, roads would lead to development in many areas and this will benefit the general local population.

This also leads us to another important area of consideration: health services and health related problems. Indeed, South Nyanza, particularly Ndhiwa Division, has been reported as having the highest infant mortality in Kenya. Something must be done. Mothers are the victims. This has happened because we have never had a female candidate from this area.

Therefore, a woman candidate will not only identify herself with this problem of child mortality and hence push for more clinics (both mobile and fixed) to deal with immunization of children, but will also initiate other services like community health services to be established in this area. Nurses would be encouraged to visit families in their homes to assess their problems because some mothers get so busy that sometimes they tend to ignore the problems of their children.

In some cases, clinics are located in very distant places such that mothers, in many cases, do not really feel motivated to take their children to these clinics. It is important for campaign managers and agents to emphasise that a woman MP/councillor would make a great difference in the area of health because of her natural motherly love.

Agriculture

This is another very important area which concerns women in particular and the general public. I say it concerns women mostly because women participate more in rural agricultural activities than men.

Increased agricultural production is necessary to provide adequate food and other commodities throughout the year. But this can only be possible if the payments are good and the markets where these commodities are sold are close to the producers. Indeed, the presence of South Nyanza Sugar Factory (SONY) is a very good example. However, in this constituency it has been emphasised that the sugar company should be pressurized to extend the sugarcane out-growers facilities zone to include a wider area. This should be encouraged so that more residents of this area may benefit from the presence of the sugar company. Similarly, the company could also help to improve the roads which would in

turn assist in easier collection of the cane from the farmers.

It is important for local communities and their leaders to consider possibilities of starting co-operatives to market the agricultural commodities like sugar instead of going through middlemen.

Education

In today's world, development cannot be possible unless the people are literate. Indeed, campaigners and candidates must seriously look into this issue very carefully. How many primary schools, for instance, do we have in this constituency? Are they adequately equipped? Do we have any nursery schools and do we need them? If they are needed, and for sure they are, then the candidate must identify the location and potential teachers and start to work on the possibilities of providing them.

Women's Groups

Indeed, women's groups form a key campaign strategy particularly for women candidates. However, candidates should try to identify some of the problems which have constrained the activities of women's groups. There is need to identify which of the ongoing projects have so far been successful and the ones which have stagnated or failed completely. With the help of group members, the candidate should work out strategies which would either revive them or start (initiate) new projects.

Credit

Rural development is not good roads alone. There is need to get adequate financial resources. In the field of agricultural development, there is need for farmers, both men and women, to have access to agricultural credit. It is true that agricultural credit has more often been extended to male farmers who for a long time have been looked at as the bread winners. However, research and experience have proved that women are the real bread winners and constitute the majority and their contribution in rural agricultural development has been substantial. This being the case, it is important for agricultural credit facilities to be ex-

tended to women. It is therefore the duty of a woman candidate to bring these issues to the fore, undertaking to liaise with other policy makers to improve the situation for women, if she is elected.

This is also true for business credit like recent rural enterprise loans. It is important for women to have access to these credit facilities. Women are the actual agents of rural development. Therefore, for any meaningful development to be encouraged/facilitated in rural areas, women must be actively involved and encouraged to participate.

ELECTORAL LAWS AND PROCEDURES: A GUIDE TO CAMPAIGN MANAGERS AND ELECTION AGENTS*

By Kivutha Kibwana, Faculty of Law, University of Nairobi*

Introduction

It can be said that the elections clock really begins to tick when the President dissolves the National Assembly. The Constitution requires that after the dissolution of the National Assembly, elections must be held and the first session of the new parliament must commence within three months. The same will also apply for local authorities.

Whenever the National Assembly is dissolved, the Speaker issues a writ to the returning officer of each constituency in which an elected member is to be returned within 14 days of the dissolution. The writ is delivered to the Electoral Commission which within 10 days after receiving it, transmits it to the returning officer. The Electoral Commission also publishes a notice in the Gazette which specifies among other things:

- day or days when each political party shall nominate candidates, being not less than 21 days after the publication of the gazette notice;
- the day for the nomination of candidates for parliamentary election;
- the day or days of the poll which shall not be less than 14 days after the date fixed for nomination before returning officer.

Under the Local Government Act, provision similar to the above is also made.

*Written for the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCWS's) Training Workshops for Women Candidates' Campaign Managers.

We have already alluded to two types of elections, i.e. *parliamentary* and *civic* elections. The third type of election is *presidential*. The three take place at the same time during general elections.

Elections Personnel

Two types of elections personnel exist. These are:

- those who assist a candidate;
- official elections' personnel.

A candidate in both civic and parliamentary elections will have the following:

- Chief campaigners;
- Other campaigners or agents.

The chief campaigner is in charge of the campaign. She coordinates the campaign.

Obviously a candidate should have as many campaigners as possible. However, during polling day, a candidate must have at least one *agent* at each polling station. It becomes necessary for the candidate to know the number and location of polling stations in his/her constituency/ward. If a candidate does not have an agent in a polling station, then his/her interests may not be taken care of. Eventually the agent during polling can become the *counting agent*.

A candidate should think of creating a central *election committee* and other election committees at *village* or *neighbourhood* level.

Candidates must endeavour to tap opinion leaders in their communities, e.g. teachers, leaders of women's groups, burial societies, youth groups, church groups, harambee groups, football clubs, etc.

Because the election process is intricate, it is advisable that a candidate identifies and works with a lawyer right from the start.

Government appointed election officials include the following:

- Chairman of the Electoral Commission
- Members of the Electoral Commission.

The Electoral Commission is meant to be independent and runs the elections alongside the office of Director of Local Government Elections (civic elections). The moment the National Assembly and civic authorities are dissolved, the Electoral Commission and the Director of Local Government Elections are the ones responsible for running the elections.

Other officials are:

- Director of Elections
- Deputy Director of Elections
- Deputy Director for Local Government
- Registration Officer and Assistants (for each registration unit)
- Returning Officer for each constituency
- Deputy Returning Officer
- Presiding Officer for each polling station
- Deputy Presiding Officers
- Clerks/Interpreters

During the forthcoming multi-party elections, the provincial administration is not to be involved in the administration of elections. Therefore assistant chiefs/headmen, chiefs, DOs, DCs, PCs, will not feature in polling stations.

The police will provide security at polling stations. However, they are not meant to get inside the polling stations unless a security problem arises there. They are meant to maintain security from outside the station and are meant not to interfere with those who will come to vote.

It is important to know who is legally allowed to administer the elections so that a candidate can complain if unauthorized persons purport to get involved in the exercise.

Nomination Procedure

There are two nominations in civic, parliamentary and presidential elections. Since Kenya is now a multi-party country, each candidate will first be nominated by his/her political party. Therefore a candidate must seek the nomination/support of a political party. For each electoral posi-

tion, a party will nominate only one candidate.

Only the designated election official can announce the day for nominations by political parties. The parties themselves cannot set nomination days for themselves. At best, they can only prepare for nominations to be undertaken when set by the Electoral Commission/Director of Local Government Elections.

Each political party will have its rule for nominations as set out in its constitution and possibly election/nomination rules. A candidate must study these well.

Obviously a candidate will choose a party according to the policies it stands for among other considerations. It is important to be aware of the number of candidates seeking nomination through the party a candidate is initially interested in. A candidate may have to change the party if he/she thinks he/she cannot secure a nomination through it. It should be remembered that where party nominations take place on one day, a candidate may not have time to switch from one party to another on that day.

After party nominations, the second nomination is that before the returning officer. This is meant to ensure that the candidates nominated by the political parties qualify according to the country's election laws.

For these nominations, the time is 8 to 12 noon. As far as civic elections go, a candidate must be supported by a *proposer* and *seconder* and 5-7 *other* subscribers. For parliamentary elections, a candidate is supported by *proposer* and *seconder* and 7-18 *other* subscribers. The subscribers must be registered in the constituency and must be members of the political party which nominated the candidate. A subscriber can only subscribe for one candidate.

It should be noted that some forms are filled and returned to the returning officer during nomination.

During nomination before the returning officer, a candidate can be disqualified. The candidate and chief campaigner must ensure that the papers are in order and the required number of subscribers are present.

Campaigning

For campaign meetings, it would appear that licensing will be done by

the district administration under the Public Order Act. It is not clear whether the district administration would also supervise them. Perhaps all these tasks should go to the designated elections officials.

Campaign meetings may be for each political party or all the candidates for a constituency/ward together.

It is possible that door to door campaigning may pay more dividends. Formal campaign meetings may not help that much.

It is important that a candidate does not abuse other candidates, tell lies about them, etc. This could turn to defamation. It is better to concentrate on party policy and what a candidate hopes to achieve within realistic limits.

For women candidates, it is important to listen to what men candidates say against women and expose it.

Electoral law on expenses has now been changed. One may spend as much as they can.

It will be necessary to tell voters on a continuous basis that they should not sell their votes. Even if they are given money, etc., they should refuse it or take it and vote for the best person. These elections are secret and only God will know whom a person votes for.

Electoral Offences

The Election Offences Act, Chapter 66, deals with elections offences. There are many such offences. They can be committed by election officers, candidates and their helpers. Some election offences can lead to the election result being overturned consequent to an election petition. Some of the common election offences are:

- corrupt practices
- impersonation
- treating
- undue influence
- bribery
- transporting people to polling stations, etc.

Candidates or their agents must avoid election offences. They must also be vigilant to ensure that election officials, government employees, etc,

do not commit any offences. The elections must be free and fair.

On Election Day¹

Both parliamentary and civic elections have similar procedures from the time of nomination until they are concluded. Here I will merely highlight some of the steps and issues.

1. The elections are by secret ballot. Queue voting was reversed. Candidates must emphasize to electors that nobody can and should know their preference, not even the government. Even if a candidate attempts to bribe voters, the voters must know they should vote as they wish.

2. Candidates do not any more have symbols to assist voters in identifying them. The proposed law states that candidates will be identified by symbols of each political party.

3. At each polling station, the presiding officer should admit one agent for each candidate. Such agent must show a letter of appointment by the candidate.

4. The presiding officer is charged with keeping order in the polling station and he/she regulates the number of persons admitted to such stations.

5. The presiding officer can postpone polling if the polling is interrupted by riot, open violence, flood, natural catastrophe, etc., and restart it at the earliest practicable moment.

6. Electors who are in the precincts of the polling stations are not to be talked to by unauthorised persons.

7. A companion of a blind or incapacitated elector can assist such a person in voting.

8. Immediately before the commencement of the poll, the presiding officer is authorised to show that the ballot box/boxes is/are empty. After that he/she closes and seals the box/boxes.

9. A candidate or his/her agent can also affix a seal on any ballot box.

10. Ballot papers are in a prescribed form. If the three types of elections are contested, there shall be *three* ballot papers.

¹The segment "On Election Day" was adopted from an earlier paper entitled "Electoral Laws and Procedures for Candidacy in Civic and Parliamentary Politics" written for the National Workshop of NCSW held on 17-18 July 1992 at the YMCA, Nairobi.

11. Each ballot paper has a serial number and a counterfoil with the same number. It bears the names of those validly nominated.

12. The presiding officer at any polling station must show the candidates or their agents the ballot papers so that they can inspect and note the serial numbers.

13. Before the delivery of a ballot paper to an elector

- (a) the ballot paper shall be stamped with the official mark;
- (b) the number and name of the elector as stated in the copy register shall be called out;
- (c) the electoral number of the elector shall be marked on the counterfoil of the ballot paper;
- (d) a mark shall be placed in the copy register against the electoral number of the elector to denote that a ballot paper has been delivered but without showing any particulars of the paper; and
- (e) the elector's card of the elector shall be marked to show that a ballot paper has been delivered to him.

14. Upon receiving a ballot paper, an elector will have one of his thumbs or fingers marked by ink which is not removable throughout the election period.

15. A presiding officer can assist an elector who is unable to vote due to a physical cause or illiteracy to vote. Each candidate's representative will witness such voting.

16. Where a ballot paper is inadvertently spoiled, it can be replaced. A record of the spoiled ballot paper shall be kept.

17. The presiding officer is empowered to request for the elector's ID *before* issuing a ballot paper.

18. Immediately upon close of the poll, the presiding officer accounts for the ballot papers issued to him/her. He/she records:

- number of ballot papers issued to him or her;
- number of ballot papers issued to voters other than spoiled ones;
- number of spoiled ballot papers;
- unused ballot papers.

19. After the completion of the statement referred to in (18) above, the presiding officer, in the presence of the candidates or their agents, collates in separate packets:

- spoiled papers, if any;
- the marked copy register;
- the counterfoils of the used ballot papers;
- the statement referred to in (18) above and any other recorded statement.

These are sealed, and so are the ballot boxes. They must be sealed in such manner that no material can be introduced into them after the sealing.

20. The presiding officer must permit the candidates or their agents to accompany the ballot boxes and sealed packets in the course of delivery to the returning officer.

21. The returning officer arranges for counting of votes before the candidates or their counting agents. At least 36 hours before the close of the poll, the candidate must identify to the returning officer his/her counting agent.

22. Ballot papers which are void and are not to be counted are

- those without the official mark
- where voting is for more than one candidate
- those on which anything is written or marked so as to be uncertain for whom the vote has been cast.

However, a ballot paper on which a vote is marked

- (a) elsewhere than in the proper place, or
- (b) otherwise than by means of a cross; or
- (c) by more than one mark

shall not be void if an intention to vote for one of the candidates is evident.

23. In a joint election, placing of a ballot paper in a wrong ballot box does not disqualify it.

24. A returning officer can commence counting of votes before all ballot boxes are brought to his/her station. But counting should as far as is possible be continuous.

25. Ordinarily counting should not take place between seven o'clock in the evening and nine o'clock in the following morning.

26. Wherever counting has been stopped according to (25) above, the returning officer shall place electoral documents and ballot boxes

under his/her seal and those of the candidates and/or their counting agents.

27. A candidate or counting agent or returning officer can demand a recount. However, a second or subsequent recount will be allowed at the discretion of the returning officer.

28. Rejected ballot papers must be so identified by the returning officer. If an objection is raised, it must be recorded on the ballot paper.

29. Upon completion of a count the returning officer shall seal in separate packets

- (a) the counted ballot papers;
- (b) the rejected ballot papers together with the statement relating thereto.

30. Upon completion of the count/recount the returning officer must announce the result to the persons then present and thereby send results to the EC/Director of Local Government Elections for civic elections.

31. The EC/Director publishes final results in the Gazette.

32. If a tie occurs, fresh elections are called for.

33. All documents relating to elections are kept for at least six months in case a controversy arises and they need to be referred to.

Complaints Machinery

If a candidate/agent thinks that an electoral malpractice is being committed, they can notify all other agents first, and if it is the agent concerned then he should notify the candidate. Complaints machinery is as follows:

- Presiding officer
- Returning officer
- Chairman, Electoral Commission
- Director, Local Government Elections
- High Court (in the form of an election petition)
- Election monitoring units, media, etc.

It is important to know the laws which cover elections so that a candidate will easily spot malpractices. The major laws are:

- The Constitution of Kenya
- The National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, Cap 7
- The Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Regulations (Revised 1992)
- The National Assembly Elections (Registration of Voters) Regulations
- Election Offences Act, Chapter 265
- Local Government Elections Rules
- Public Order Act, Chapter 56
- Constitutions of political parties
- Election rules of political parties (where these exist independent of party constitutions).

Conclusion

The forthcoming multi-party elections in Kenya will be historic. After the May 1963 elections, they will probably be the only other genuinely multi-party elections. Candidates, political parties, the government and citizens must ensure they are free and fair.

Check List of the Legal Issues

1. WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO KNOW ELECTORAL LAW AND PROCEDURES?
 - To avoid ignorance
 - To know what to do at the right time
 - Not to be in conflict with the government
 - To understand the reason why one is voting
 - To ensure people are organised in the voting procedure
 - To know how to elect within multi-partyism and to make it work
 - To know what the law requires
 - To be disciplined in our voting
 - To avoid spoilage of votes
 - Opponents will not corrupt voters if they know you can challenge unfair practices.
 - To avoid election offences

2. WHO IS ALLOWED BY LAW TO BE AN OFFICIAL DURING ELECTIONS?

Those allowed are:

- Candidates and their agents
- Returning officer/Presiding officer and their assistants
- Election Commission officials
- Party officials can also visit polling stations to ensure everything is going on well
- DOs, chiefs, assistant chiefs, etc are *not* allowed to administer in elections this time.

3. WHAT DOES THE LAW DEMAND IN RELATION TO CAMPAIGNING?

- Not to be in conflict with one's opponent either in the same party or different parties
- How to identify the right candidate
- Know areas of operation and minimize conflict
- Avoid double-dealing
- How to get the candidate's team to work together
- Not to get violent or corrupt
- Get permit for meetings: Is it from *Election Commission* or the *Administration*?

If permit denied report to political party and state the fact in public/mass media.

When abusive language is used, one can take such person to court or dismiss him/her.

- Quiet campaign or whisper campaign is very important.

4. WHAT STEPS DOES AN AGENT TAKE DURING POLLING DAY?

- Stick by ballot box from beginning of polling to counting
- Help blind/illiterate to vote
- Ensure voting papers are not interfered with
- Ensure those who vote have voting cards and nobody votes more than once
- Check election register

- Check on corruption especially outside station, eg. buying of cards
- Provide security to candidate
- Ensure no unauthorised persons come to polling station.

PART 2

**PROFILES OF WOMEN
CANDIDATES FOR THE
DECEMBER 1992 ELECTIONS**

INTRODUCTION TO PART 2

Fifty women to vie for seats in next elections

D/N July 18, 1992, p. 2

By NATION Correspondent

Fifty women yesterday declared their intention to run for parliamentary and civic seats in the forthcoming multi-party General Election.

Fifteen women said they would run for parliamentary seats, while 36 would go for civic seats.

Most of the hopefuls said they would contest on opposition tickets.

The aspirants made the announcement during a workshop for women candidates in the forthcoming General Election at the YMCA Hostel, Nairobi.

The theme of the workshop was "Women's Political Participation in Elective Politics."

It was organised by the National Committee on the Status of Women and chaired by Dr. Maria Nzomo.

Among those aspiring for parliamentary seats are Mrs. Tabitha Seii (Kerio South), Mrs. Batroba Kemoli and Mrs. Betty Tett (Westlands), Mrs. Catherine Nyamato (South Mugirango), Mrs. Elizabeth Efiketi (Butere), Dr. Bertha Mutai (Meru Central), Mrs. Susan Mutungi (Mutomo), Mrs. Pauline Mwai (Lari), Mrs. Nyarinda Mwikobu (North Mugirango).

Others are Mrs. Martina Nduni Kumanzia (Kitui North), Mrs. Margaret Weveti Mugeni (Runyenjes), Mrs. Jane Mwangi (Embakasi), Mrs. Beth Mugo (Dagoretti), and Mrs. Edith Kijedi (Laikipia East).

During the workshop, a former MP, Mrs. Phoebe Asiyu, said the emergence of women's political power was the only hope for Kenya's future.

Mrs. Asiyu said the economy was in shambles and that it would have been handled better if women were in power.

She said the present leadership had neglected women.

Mrs. Asiyu said women should be educated on why their votes were vital for the survival of the country.

She appealed to them not to be bought with cash.

Chapter 6

Asiyo aims to resolve women's problems

By GICHINGA NDIRANGU

An impressive curriculum vitae. That is the long and short of Mrs Phoebe Asiyo, the FORD-Kenya aspirant for the Karachuonyo parliamentary seat.

The 60-year-old daughter of a revered village pastor, who first trained as a P2 teacher and then as a community development officer, will be gunning for the seat she lost in 1989 to the then Kanu national chairman, Mr David Okiki Amayo.

To this date, Asiyo still insists she was rigged out after a nine-year stint as the local MP of Karachuonyo constituency.



Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo

Surprisingly, she declined to contest the subsequent by-election following Mr Amayo's death in 1989.

Mrs Asiyo joins the fray in the hope that, once elected, she will play a

decisive role in seeking to alleviate her people's pressing problems.

Karachuonyo is a marginal area under the rain shadow, whose food security is constantly endangered by the tsetse fly, a health hazard to both farmers and livestock.

Education is yet to make an appreciable headway. This will particularly impinge on Mrs Asiyo's resolve. "Our primary schools are not in any flattering condition. Many children learn under trees or in buildings that are not really up to standard and, therefore, not conducive to learning."

Asiyo, the first Kenyan woman to head the Maendeleo ya Wanawake, believes things could not have been worse. But her efforts as MP constantly hit snags and were often frustrated. She cites the case of the Karachuonyo Rural Electrification Project where equipment was unilaterally withdrawn and installed in the Rift Valley.

"I hope the next Parliament will ensure a fair and equitable distribution of development resources to deserving projects. It is both imperative and inevitable to respect the Public Accounts Committee," she argues.

Community-based programmes which take full cognisance of the peculiar problems of the child and woman excite particular interest in her. And for a good reason. Much of her life has been spent working as a community officer.

In 1962, she became the highest ranking woman in Kenya's police force upon her appointment as assistant superintendent in charge of prisons.

She took advanced studies in social welfare and prison administration at Wakefield College in the UK. Upon her return, she was duly promoted to superintendent.

Earlier, while working with the Nairobi City Council, she assisted destitute women and children living in the city's slums.

Trained in home economics, she taught the women child nutrition care in the various destitute and homecraft training centres she pioneered. In 1970, she made a mark on child welfare programmes during her stint as chief executive of the Child Welfare Society of Kenya.

Her rallying call in Karachuonyo, she explains, will be rural community health, food security and education. "I intend to sensitise and mobilise the rural population to seek means and ways of effecting community-based programmes which best respond to their subsistence economy," she explains.

Since her defeat in the 1988 elections, Mrs. Asiyo has been closely involved in women's development programmes.

She was appointed to the UN Economic Commission for Africa as a consultant on women's development in Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, Lesotho and Tanzania.

In August 1988, the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, appointed her Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Development Fund for Women (Unifem).

Unifem was charged with pioneering new approaches to women's participation in national planning and supporting innovative grassroots actions in developing countries.

The fund was created to provide direct support for women's projects. Asiyo's special mandate was to raise funds for the organisation.

She is unequivocal on the need to ensure broader representation of women.

"Women must be in public office," she asserts, "and be part of the decision-making few. What I am advocating is not that women be just leaders but equal partners in development — men and women working together."

Asiyo served for three years as a member of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

"When women are able to participate equally and intelligently in the planning and implementation of projects in their communities, we can now talk of tangible development," she said, adding that "men and women must work together to end the injustices and poverty which plague our communities.

Women therefore, need tangible support—such as unsecured credit from financial institutions to their income generating projects."

Her view of the next government is one which acts on national consensus and allows debate without stifling the truth or demanding hypocrisy.

Asiyo is nostalgic of the first "The Kenya We Want" convention she co-sponsored with Tom Mboya, Gikonyo Kiano and Peter Okondo, among others at the dawn of independence.

Chapter 7

What Martha Njoka would do if she won Gichugu seat

By a Correspondent

With the advent of multi-party politics, Kenya is seeing a new breed of young politicians who strictly address issues and leave personality attacks and trivia to those who are on the political terraces.

One of the new breeds is Ms Martha Njoka—a professional lawyer who wants to take the Gichugu parliamentary seat on a Democratic Party of Kenya ticket.

This time around, Martha Njoka is not in a court of law presenting her



Ms Martha Njoka-Karua

client's case but she is on the road to parliament, contesting the Gichugu seat.

What difference does Martha Njoka intend to make on the political front when elected, what are her topical issues, what is her post-election agenda and, above all, what vision does she have for the electorate?

She says the introduction of gender politics in the campaign will not put her down. Njoka says such gender politics as asking a woman her marital status is sheer arrogance and bankruptcy of ideas to be sold to the public.

Her prayer is that the electorate make a wise choice and vote in a responsible government, paving way for a more democratic society.

She contends that a responsible government should place more emphasis and recognition on the farmer. This can only happen when the government enters into dialogues with farmers, she says.

Her constituents' main source of income is in the tea and coffee industries.

But she hastens to add that the local man's tea industry has been adversely affected by the managers of the present government.

She is convinced that above everything else, the Nyayo Tea Zones have presented an environmental problem by clearing the forest zone bordering her constituency and Mt Kenya.

Martha Njoka, who markets herself essentially on issues and not as a

woman candidate, says her record in public service speaks for itself.

She is a human rights lawyer who has helped champion the legal cause of many people

She manages her law firm, Martha Njoka and Associates, at Standard House, Nairobi.

In her view, security of the citizens should rank among the first priorities of any government.

She laments the pathetic condition of health institutions.

Njoka says there are no drugs in most hospitals and that most of the districts have only one hospital. In her home Kirinyaga District, there is only the Kerugoya District Hospital, but it is complemented by health centres and dispensaries.

She hastens to add that the priority should not be to build more district hospitals but to improve on the availability of drugs in the existing ones.

“Let us make the existing ones run once more, then we can expand.”

Njoka is unhappy that 30 years after independence, piped water has not reached all the homes and that, even more disappointing, water systems that were operating in 1960s are no longer running.

In places where there is piped water, it is seldom treated. “In the 1960s there was more efficiency than the 1990s.”

For the youth she has got a message—that the current political and education set-up does not give any hope for the future. She says the best gift the parents can give to their children is a good education.

For the education system to serve a good purpose, it needs to be revamped.

The forest in the upper zone of Gichugu Constituency, bordering Mt. Kenya, has been cleared to give way for the Nyayo Tea Zones.

“This indiscriminate felling of trees is pathetic. What we need is the preservation of the Mt. Kenya Forest.

“Kenyans should claim back their future by electing a responsible and just government.”

Njoka contends that a responsible government should establish an infrastructure for development and maintain it at respectable standards.

But above all, there is an imperative need to rebuild Kenya's economic base.

“When Kenya puts her economic and political house in order, it will once again be on the road to great prosperity,” says Njoka.

Thus the creation of more jobs is possible by rebuilding the infrastructure (communication, transport and education systems), diverting defence expenditure to domestic needs, revitalising towns, private investment and expanding export.

Here is a story of how women can get themselves to the forefront in the public arena to lobby for democracy and liberty.

Her message to Kenyans is that "tomorrow can be better than today and each of us has a responsibility to make it so".

Chapter 8

Ogot plans to continue with projects

To her constituents, both young and old, to her political opponent, and to her husband, she is always *mama*. She is the immediate former MP for Gem, Mrs Grace Ogot, who is now fighting it out with the academic Dr Oki Ooko Ombaka.



Mrs. Grace Ogot

What were the difficulties Mrs Ogot encountered during her two terms as the representative of Gem people to the august House? Did they stem from the fact that she took over a troubled constituency whose two MPs had been

murdered in politically related incidents?

Most of the people in Gem, including Grace herself, feel that she has carried out her responsibilities as their MP in a dignified manner and initiated many development projects. In her political rallies and discussions, she lays much emphasis on development and peace. Mrs Ogot prides herself on her ability to initiate development projects.

There are numerous primary and secondary schools in Gem constituency. In all these schools, Grace has in one way or another been associated with their development.

She has rallied people to raise funds for desks, building equipment and day-to-day management of the schools. The schools management committees are grateful for this.

During her tenure in the august House, she did not forget the Church. This is because she presided over Harambees to erect church buildings and other related projects.

And recently she formed a bursary fund for secondary and university students which the electorate says has gone a long way to help many needy students. The bursary project which has been there for about four years has helped over six hundred students.

A tour of her constituency reveals a lot of support for her, especially among the women.

During her tenure, Gem constituency was awarded eight locations from the original five—an achievement mostly associated with her. Yala County Council was upgraded to an Urban Council all because of her efforts.

Mama Grace Ogot has gone a long way in her constituency to champion the cause of the rural woman.

She helped create Family Planning Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Wing. The organisation helps in educating and training women in hotel management, hygiene and business entrepreneurship.

In the field of health, she lobbied for the Yala Health Centre to be upgraded to a district hospital. The dispensaries in her constituency are many, some of them being Marengo, Nyawara, Malanga, Ndere, Akala, Nyenjara and Mudhine. They are all attributed to her efforts.

One thing that impresses even visitors in the constituency is that the roads are paved. There is no rainy season that will cause motorists to be stuck in the mud. Her constituents say that during the brief dry days in the country this year, their former MP tried very much to bring them maize which saved them from hunger.

But the voters also have some amusing stories to tell. They note with a lot of satisfaction that most of them had never gone to an MP's house and sat comfortably the way they do at Grace's home.

Grace has always had the unfailing support of her husband, Prof Bethwell

Ogot. Prof Ogot, a history professor, assists her in her campaign and politics. He is like her campaign manager, and to this she says, "Without the professor's support, I would not have achieved all of this."

Some businessmen in Gem get their inspiration from her. Grace is not only a politician but a businesswoman.

She manages the successful Anyange Press in Kisumu. She is also a renowned author with most of her books, such as *Land Without Thunder*, recommended as set books in secondary schools and the university level. The problems that she may be experiencing in Gem during this time of campaigning stem from the fact that she has been sponsored by Kanu which is not popular in the area and partly because she is a woman.

Nevertheless, she is a force to be reckoned with. In the event of her re-election to Parliament, she plans to nurture peace in the constituency and continue with grassroots development projects that she had initiated. Most of these focus on the problems of the rural woman, who happens to be the most disadvantaged lot.

An example of such projects is the Gem Women Housing Project funded by Africa Housing Fund.

She also lobbied for the establishment of Lake Basin Development Authority (LBDA) fish pond and the second phase of Nyamira Kenya Broadcasting Corporation plant in Yala. Rural electrification now covers the whole of Gem.

Chapter 9

Beth Mugo means business

'Women should stand up with confidence and be role models'

Possibly the best indicator of what Mrs. Beth Mugo would do, if she won the parliamentary seat for Dagoretti in Nairobi, is her track record as chairman of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Kenya.



Mrs. Beth Mugo

One year after Mrs. Mugo became chairman of the Nairobi-based women's club in 1984, the organisation went rural and nationwide. By early this year, when she stepped down from being the organisation's chairman to contest the Dagoretti seat on a Democratic Party of Kenya ticket, the club had 12 branches with several more in the pipeline.

That expansive, action-oriented approach to public affairs is already apparent in several initiatives Mrs. Mugo has taken among members of Dagoretti's business and professional community. Inviting them to a business luncheon recently, she discussed what she saw as priority areas wherein she would focus her energies if elected to Parliament.

Her concerns spanned from improving sanitation, road and security systems to quality education for the capable to community development based on the spirit of self-help enhanced by the wisdom and philanthropy of professionals from Dagoretti.

"It's leadership that's required in all these areas at this stage," said Mrs. Mugo, who led KBPWC from 1985 until early this year when she stepped down.

"For instance, I may not be able to single-handedly pay school fees for all the worthy children whose parents cannot afford to pay. But in collaboration with the business and professional community, we can jointly see that deserving children don't lose an important opportunity in life."

Education is only one area with which Mrs. Mugo feels keenly concerned, but it is one where again her track record with KBPWC reveals that the niece of the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta is not just a talker, but an effective and dynamic leader.

It was under her leadership that the women's organisation launched a prototype business management training programme for small-scale women entrepreneurs which reached hundreds of women and benefited just as many families.

The training not only taught women basic management principles and skills such as book-keeping. It also assisted them to be better dairy farmers and bee-keepers, depending on the particular economic activity in which the women specialised.

It's this type of tangible and practical approach to training that Mrs. Mugo foresees as playing a critical role in revitalising the national economy—an issue which is the keynote of the recently-published DP Manifesto.

But her concern for the economic development of Dagoretti is not confined to education and training alone. "If economic activity is to be revived in the area, we will have to get to work repairing our roads," said Mrs. Mugo who is a successful businesswoman in her own right.

"We must also ensure that every suburb of Dagoretti has easy access to water, which is clearly not the case now in an area like Kawangware," where Mrs. Mugo said water is now sold by the *debe* at scandalous prices.

"We must also work with the City Council of Nairobi to ensure that sanitation and sewage systems are improved. As it is now, in a densely populated area like Kangemi, the existing systems are utterly inadequate."

Closely associated with her concern for sanitation is, of course, her interest in water development and health.

“We aim to see more health clinics established in Dagoretti. but we will work especially hard to see that at least one maternity clinic is set up in the constituency. At present, there is not even one!”

So Mrs. Mugo clearly has her work cut out for her should she secure the Dagoretti seat. She’s prepared to give it her “best”, which is all her uncle ever expected her to contribute to public life.

“Mzee never encouraged me to go into politics *per se*. But his selfless commitment to his people certainly inspired me very much.”

Preferring not to highlight her connection to the Kenyatta family in her campaign, the only evidence of it in Mrs. Mugo’s city centre office is Mzee’s presidential photograph which hangs on her wall, just next to the one of President Moi.

Otherwise, the only other hint of the Kenyatta connection is the resilience and courage that Mrs. Mugo can convey in moments when the going gets tough and she resolves to take a firm stand as when she spoke out several months before the repeal of Section 2(A) of the Constitution, advising President Moi to seriously consider the prospects of change and multi-party democracy.

In more recent days, she has had to rely on that same reservoir of courage and self-confidence particularly when rifle and walkie talkie-wielding police officers have tried to obstruct her campaigning and meet-the-people tours of Dagoretti.

But having come this far—all the way to the National Executive Committee of DP where she’s the only woman—Mrs. Mugo has no intention of being deterred from continuing her campaign and going in as the next MP for Dagoretti.

And if that should be the case, Mrs. Mugo is prepared to relinquish the one last position that she still holds with women’s organisations—that of second vice-president of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women (IFBPW).

As the second African woman to hold the post (the first was Dr. Esther Ocloo of Ghana), Mrs. Mugo concedes that she had to give serious consideration to stepping down as V-P of IFBPW, an office to which she was elected in 1987 and a post she initially held concurrently with that of the Africa Regional Co-ordinator of IFBPW.

But if her work with IFBPW exposed her to an international array of women leaders and global issues affecting not only women but men and children and the entire planet, then it also impelled her to want to play a wider, decision-making role at home, within a context that can have an impact on Kenyan people as well.

“I’ve spent a lot of time, both as V-P and as chairman of KBPW, calling upon others to stand up with confidence and become role models for other women,” she said.

“Now I'd like to be more of a role model myself. I'd like to practise what I've been preaching for several years and open doors for other prospective women leaders.”

Already, within DP's national executive committee, Mrs. Mugo has seen the difference one woman's voice can make in ensuring that women's interests and issues are represented. “I'm delighted that DP endorses women's participation in the political mainstream, not within women's leagues or wings or what have you.”

“It's there in black and white in the DP Manifesto. But even so, I've still had to keep reminding men to promote women candidates and women's participation.”

So “being there”, in the inner sanctum of political power (what could well be described by DP optimists as the pre-election presidential cabinet), has reinforced Mrs. Mugo's view of the value of women's participation in policy and decision-making at the highest levels.

But the challenge remains: the incumbent MP does not intend to lose his seat on December 29. Nonetheless, in the final analysis, it will be for the voters to decide.

In this regard, Mrs. Mugo has been heartened by the response she has received from Dagoretti's business and professional community. They not only appreciate her point of view as expressed during a recent lunchtime session, they also want to continue meeting regularly (and at their own expense) to talk about how they can jointly work together to solve the social and economic problems of Dagoretti.

Orie Rogo: Men only milk Kenya dry

Orie Rogo-Manduli did not need to go to school to become a politician.

It's simply in her blood, as one would easily realise if you see her speeding swiftly down the campaign trail anywhere in Nairobi's Starehe constituency. That's where she can most often be found these days, speaking to the constituents on impromptu meet-the-people tours.



Orie Rogo

She will be travelling at a speed slightly reduced from the gruelling pace she maintained some years back, when she set the record by becoming Kenya's first (and only) African woman rally driver to enter the world renowned then East African Safari Rally.

Nonetheless, as Orie started late in the race to win the Starehe parliamentary seat (standing against five men, among them Nairobi's first African mayor, Charles Rubia), she's felt compelled to move fast, revving up her campaign over the past few weeks.

Sharing her political agenda for the restoration and revitalisation of Starehe in the most ingenious and strategic ways, Orié is relying largely on informal communication network links, otherwise known as the "grassroots grapevine", which is mainly "manned" by women, to get her campaign message across.

Her main line is that men have only been milking the country dry without replenishing and it was time women took the reins.

For those who have been keeping track, Mary Orié Rogo is one of the names mentioned during the first flush of multi-party politics earlier this year. She was actually among the first Kenyan women to come out publicly at the Women's National Political Convention in February to declare her plan to vie for a parliamentary seat in the General Election.

But even then, Orié had explained how she had to have several major changes made before she would be free to embark on the campaign trail. The reason being that she had actually gone back to school to study *politics* (International Development Studies, to be exact) at a university in Canada!

So leaving the theoretical to plunge into the nitty-gritty practical aspects of politics would involve a bit of sacrifice on Orié's part. But in actual fact, the cutting short of her post-graduate studies to enter Kenya's brand new multi-party stage has been one of the most natural and exhilarating moves she's ever made.

"All my life, I've wanted politics," said Orié, whose curriculum vitae reveals that she has been everything from a TV anchor-woman (for KBC) and public relations agent (for Metal Box Limited) to a university lecturer (in Canada) and commercial farmer (in Kitale), before settling into the vocation of her choice.

"It was my father who advised me against a political career," she confessed. "He felt it was a dirty and dangerous business."

After heeding his advice for all these years, Orié finally decided to cast his cautionary counsel to the wind in 1992. Several factors had influenced her decision. One was the repeal of Section 2(A) of the Constitution and the subsequent launching of a lively debate regarding women's role in the democratisation of Kenya.

But it was actually when she realised how many women felt as she did — that the time was definitely ripe for women to claim their rightful place in politics—that Orié cast her lot in with the women.

Not that she hadn't tried her chances in electoral politics before. Her first attempt to take the plunge was in 1988 when she had planned to stand for Parliament in Langata. But her chances were sadly cut short when Kanu, after initially clearing her, reversed the decision and went for Philip Leakey.

"My clearance was cancelled abruptly and without any explanation," she said, still obviously disgruntled with Kanu's decision.

But if she got a good taste of Kenyan politics—Kanu-style—that year,

then Orie's experience drew her closer to one of the party's few female political veterans who had also tasted the party's bitter medicine in the past.

Today, Jael Mbogo is Orie's chief political advisor as well as being the aunt who used to inspire her to want to be a politician when she "grew up".

"I watched Jael win and subsequently get rigged out of the Bahati seat twice," Orie recalls.

"The most painful part of those days was realising that the only reason she was rigged out was because she was a woman. Otherwise, she had won those elections fair and square!"

So Orie was exposed early on to the pitfalls women can face in politics. Yet Jael's injustices did not deter Orie from wanting to try her hand at the business herself.

"Jael has been a great source of inspiration to me," she said. "I've especially admired the way she's been able to pick herself up and keep on going, even after being treated so unfairly by men."

Just recently, Jael received another blow. She conceded to step down from contesting on the Ford-Kenya ticket in Embakasi, to make way for Dr. Munyua Waiyaki. But rather than discuss her personal views about the way Ford-K matters have gone in Embakasi, Jael has remained a staunch (albeit more reserved) supporter of the party.

Her experience has, however, freed her to concentrate on her niece's political campaign where Jael has already proved herself an indubitable asset as well as an adroit political navigator, helping Orie to make her way through the stormy political seas of Starehe's political scene.

One of the first decisions Jael helped Orie make upon her return from Canada in October was where this charismatic mother of four would contest a parliamentary seat.

"There are several reasons we chose to stand in Starehe," explained Orie. "The main one being that Starehe is the city centre, meaning it's right at the heart of everything. And I feel it's about time a woman represented that lifeline, that a woman was in control of the country's pulse!"

Speaking of the need for change in Starehe, Orie observes that in the past 30 years, men had controlled Starehe, but what had they achieved?

"They have milked it and messed it up," she says.

Chapter 11

Woman with eye on Biwott's seat

Daily Nation, December 21, 1992

She has been described as a modern-day "David" who, like the biblical shepherd boy, has gone to battle against an awesome foe, the "Goliath" of Kerio South.

Tabitha Seii has even been called a Kenyan Joan of Arc—an unlikely candidate for opposition leadership in the heart of Kanu land.



Mrs. Tabitha Seii

But like the little French maid turned militant, this high-minded mother of five feels bound and determined to introduce multi-party politics to Kerio South and to bring radical change to the region.

“It’s actually a liberation struggle that we are waging in Kerio South!” said the woman who looks more like a headmistress (the profession for which she was trained at Makerere University) than the opposition heroine of 1992.

“We are fighting to liberate our people from the worst forms of oppression that one can find in Kenya today—from poverty, ignorance and cultural deprivation so severe that in certain parts of Kerio South, people still wear skins and live as did our ancestors centuries ago.”

Asked to elaborate on the type of liberation struggle she sees being waged in Kerio South, Mrs Seii draws upon her Christian background to illustrate the degree of deprivation and hardship her people have endured.

“It’s as if one were seeing a wounded man along the side of the road and had to decide—do you give him all the help you can? Or do you simply ignore him and pass him by?”

The wounded man in this case are the people of her constituency. And the one who has had to choose whether to help or not is Mrs Seii herself.

Playing the part of “good Samaritan” is something which comes naturally to Mrs Seii, having been brought up in a deeply Christian home by a mother who taught her never to shy away from challenges, but rather to accept them no matter how formidable they might appear.

The challenge, in this case, is to help the people of her area and give them a chance to exploit fully their full potential—either economically, educationally, culturally or politically.

To illustrate how little has been done to develop the region, Mrs Seii observed that even the most basic signs of development are nowhere to be found in Kerio South.

“We haven’t one hospital in the constituency, leave alone a dispensary or maternity clinic,” she said.

“We haven’t a single hotel in the area,” she continued. “And if you want to find a daily newspaper you can only go to Kipsaos or Kamwosoro, and there, you’ll be lucky to find any newspaper.”

As for energy supplies, the current MP for Kerio South who was formerly the Minister for Energy didn’t even manage to install one petrol pump anywhere in their area, observes Mrs Seii.

“Fifteen years ago, however, the co-operatives used to operate one fuel pump. But once they were killed by corruption, the pump went as well.”

As for electricity, Mrs. Seii noted that a main line had been stretched straight across the constituency while the local MP was the Minister for Energy.

“But only his followers were hooked into it.”

Meanwhile, the roads are appalling, she said.

“There is not one tarmac or murrum road in the whole area, only dirt roads which are seriously gutted and pot-holed!”

But for Mrs Seii the area's record in education is probably the greatest tragedy of all.

"We have loads of Harambee schools," she said "but this is only because someone wanted to be seen to be doing something. Otherwise they are all under-financed and run by political appointees."

"If one is an independent thinker in Kerio South, he has a hard time as a teacher," said Major John Seii who spoke from experience, having lost his job in the Kenya Army simply for respecting his wife's (Tabitha's) decision to stand for Parliament in 1983.

"John lost his job for refusing to intimidate me into quitting politics," said Mrs Seii who noted that many women have been deterred from going into politics specifically because their spouses disapproved.

"But John has been my staunchest supporter from the outset," said Mrs Seii who conceded that they had been dealt a heavy blow when Major Seii got the sack. But at the same time, the family was strengthened by the challenge, their Christian bond serving as a rock upon which their relationship stood.

"The challenge was also something that made me more determined to continue in politics," said Tabitha.

"The trials we faced also made me more committed to seeing justice and constructive social change come to Kerio South."

Initially what propelled her into politics was the direct exposure to the region's poverty which she got while working for a Christian NGO in the early 1980s.

"Working with World Vision, I helped establish cattle dips and improve the quality of local housing," she said. "But at the same time, I was shocked and incensed by the injustice of people's poverty. I reckoned there was so much more that could be done to improve their standard of living."

As it turned out World Vision was the first and last NGO to be established in Kerio South.

"It's unfortunate that NGOs have been viewed with so much suspicion," she observed. "Upto now, the only houses with corrugated iron roofs in the region are the ones we helped put in the early '80s."

Wanting to do more to improve her people's quality of life was, and still is, Mrs Seii's primary incentive for getting into politics. In her view, it's not politics which is "dirty", as some people suggest.

"It is people who are dirty or clean," she said. "Politics is just like any other profession. It's only that politics involves representing people and looking after their interest."

As things stand today, Tabitha and John are not terribly free to play a role in serving their community. For instance, neither of them serves on a single local school board.

"You can only serve if you are appointed by a board chairman but as

the local MP is chairman of every single school board in the constituency, we have never been asked to serve," she said.

Yet it is just this sort of wastage of local resources that Mrs Seii abhors and intends to fight once she reaches Parliament.

But it's not only in the area of human resources that many opportunities have been wasted in the last 13 years. Natural resources have also been under-utilised.

"The land in the valley is extremely fertile," Mrs Seii said, noting that there were rivulets everywhere. Yet the land is yet to be effectively utilised. Potatoes and a bit of pyrethrum still are the region's main cash crops."

So agricultural reforms are likely to be some of the first changes to be seen in her constituency if Mrs Seii wins the parliamentary seat.

Yet, even as she outlines her post-election development programme, including improvements in the roads, water, energy, education, health, and so on, Mrs Seii still sees her first priority as cleaning up and clearing out the *corruption* which has been allowed to permeate all aspects of Kerio South.

Efforts to campaign on the Democratic Party ticket have not been at all easy for Mrs Seii. Still, she was extremely pleased to present her papers on Nomination Day. There were definitely obstacles along the way but overcoming them only confirmed what she sincerely believes with all her heart and soul that God is more powerful than her opponent.

Chapter 12

Pace-setting Nyiva is a force to reckon with

Daily Nation, December 20, 1992

If Kenya had her own version of the Guinness Book of Records, it would not be complete without mentioning Nyiva Kitili Mwendwa.



Mrs. Nyiva Kitili Mwendwa

She and her husband, the late Maluki Kitili Mwendwa, double as the only Kenyan couple ever elected to Parliament in one constituency. Mrs. Mwendwa is from the famous Mwendwa family which has dominated Kitui West politics since independence.

Her political career dates back to 1974 when she made her first bid for the Kitui West parliamentary seat against the then incumbent MP, Mr. Perminus Munyasia. Mr. Munyasia is vying for the same seat on a FORD-Kenya ticket.

"It was a tough contest," she muses in retrospect, "but the overwhelming support from the rural women—the predominant voters—carried me through."

She is quick to point out that they did not vote for her merely because she is a woman, putting paid to any argument that gender sympathy can pull one through.

"Women voters are discerning and weigh who can best articulate their interests," she explains.

"In my case, I had been closely identified with the development of homecraft programmes like weaving, which provided an alternative form of income to them."

Her interest in the development of the rural woman was complemented by her experience as national vice-chairman of Maendeleo ya Wanawake from 1971.

In her view, means and ways must be sought to secure the advancement of rural women beyond the traditional docket of crop and animal husbandry.

And for good reason. In the rural areas, women play a leading role in providing for households since most domestic chores are in their hands.

Indeed, she is apathetic to paying obeisance to the plight of rural women in highly-worded programmes without translating this into tangible action through income-generating projects.

It is not surprising that the family unit strikes a special chord in her heart.

A former student of Alliance Girls' High School, she studied Home Economics at the Royal College (now Nairobi University) between 1962-1965.

She later went to London University from where she obtained a post-graduate diploma in Home Economics related to community development.

During her tenure in Parliament, the community development programme was essentially on health, water, education and communication.

Road murraming and building of bridges was carried out in Yatta while in parts of the constituency, many roads were upgraded for ease of communication.

Health care was and still remains a principal concern. Her approach to the health problem remains multi-disciplinary, emphasizing on the setting up of new health care centres and improving on existing facilities.

It is her contention that it would be futile to emphasize physical expansion of health care units without a corresponding mobilisation of the local community.

But her primary worry, now as then, is the adequate provision of clean

water in the constituency.

In her mind, the Itumaini Hills water project which she pioneered as MP and which could readily have supplied water upto Kyusiani was a harbinger of hope.

"This ambitious project stalled after my departure and has only been revived by Danida (the Danish aid agency) although on a small scale," she explains.

Her concern is not misplaced. Water is a major constraint in Kitui where one sees donkeys laden with jerricans going to draw water from sandy riverbeds. Most rivers are seasonal while the major permanent rivers—Tana, Athi and Galana—are far-flung, being on the periphery of the district.

Water scarcity is prevalent in spite of the fact that Kitui West receives an average 700 mm of rainfall a year.

High temperatures resulting in a high rate of evaporation turn the area's swollen riverbeds during the long rains into seasonal streams once the rain subsides.

Yet, provision of clean water is crucial not only for human and livestock needs but equally to stem the prevalence of water-borne diseases.

The latter is aggravated by drawing water from stagnant pools, for what choice do the people have?

Mrs. Mwendwa and her opponents must therefore evolve a novel programme to circumvent the water crisis.

Her stint as MP was nipped in the 1979 General Election when arch-rival Munyasia won. Her focus then shifted to business.

Mrs. Mwendwa, who also has a Master of Science degree majoring in textile science from Cornwell University, United States, has been involved in interior design business.

Her taste for design is well evidenced by the cosy sitting room of her plush tree-cloistered Matinyani home bedecked with well-manicured bourgainvillia fencing.

Following the snap elections of 1983, her husband, the late Maluki Kitili Mwendwa, went for the same seat. He lost to Mr. Munyasia but lodged a successful election petition which nullified the election.

In the subsequent by-election Mr. Mwendwa, who is Kenya's first and only African Chief Justice, romped home as the area MP.

Mrs. Mwendwa has fond memories of her late husband whom she credits with having restored political tranquility in the district as the local Kanu supremo.

In 1985, she chose not to contest the seat in a by-election called following her husband's death in a road crash.

"It was a trying moment. As a bereaved widow, I had to look after the family estate and generally take time off to adjust," reminisces the mother of two.

Mr. Kyalo Mwendwa, her brother-in-law, became the new MP.

Seven years later, they are pitted against each other. "This is a multi-party era. I feel that the right party is Kanu and Kyale believes it is DP. We'll both project our parties and, therefore, there is no cause for animosity," she says.

Once she hits the campaign trail, she will be selling the ideals of her party, Kanu, to the electorate.

Campaigning as a woman candidate is not unique but offers peculiar challenges.

"It is not easy for a woman," she argues, "because this is a man's world and one finds that what a man would be complimented for is what a woman is chastised about."

This notwithstanding, it behoves upon women to take their rightful place in leadership. In any event, she parries, women play a leading role in almost all spheres of national life except leadership.

But she is quick to point out that women should not merely aspire for leadership out of gender concern.

"We must merit it by a proven track record. As a former MP, I have such a record to my credit," she says.

Mrs. Mwendwa hits at the blighted traditional outlook that views leadership as an exclusive preserve of men to the exclusion of women.

Chapter 13

Why Ndetei is so sure of winning the polls

Daily Nation, December, 20, 1992

Mrs. Agnes Ndetei doesn't need political rallies to convince her Kibwezi constituents to shift their party loyalties from KANU to DP, just as she did several weeks back.



Mrs. Agnes Ndetei

Weaving her way round the highways and backroads of Ukambani on impromptu meet-the-people tours with her the other day, one could easily see why informed observers say her re-election as Kibwezi's MP is virtually a *fait accompli*.

It's not simply because she has got a superlative development "track

record", having started numerous water, health, education and economic development projects in Kibwezi in the last five years.

Seeing her standing atop a rickety make-shift "soap box" amidst her followers and right in the heart of Kilema Market, one could easily see the rapport she's developed over five years with her Kibwezi people. One could even feel palpably the fond affection they have for her.

And why do they care so much for this diminutive lady dynamo, a politician the likes of which they have never seen before, either in Kilema, Kikum-bulyu or Kibwezi as a whole?

It's partly because she's a politician who's frequently seen around, one day reviving a bore hole (with Swedish Development Agency aid) for community use, another time constructing school classrooms (with assistance from Action Aid) for the children of the area.

It's also partly the way she speaks to them, the way she's able to both electrify the crowd with her spicy news and views on national life and at the same time enlightening them on the current political climate and conditions.

Indeed, whenever Mrs Ndetei goes out to meet-the-people, it's not so much to garner votes (most of which she's already got), as to cue them in on the latest political goings-on: like the talk of fake currency and fake voters cards being floated as tactical ways of rigging the election; like the saga of the yellow maize that recently came from the United States and which is currently being sold for personal gain by some people; and like the rumour that all the members of the Kiliku Committee which investigated tribal clashes were meant to be rigged out of the elections by the ruling party!

Speaking in Kikamba and in a style that swings swiftly from rib-tickling hilarity (as she pokes fun at her opponent's preposterous political antics) to high drama (ethnic clashes again!) and political intrigue (like the latest tactics being used to infiltrate Ukambani), Mrs. Ndetei has clearly mastered the fine arts of story telling, grassroots campaigning and persuasive political pedagogy.

But one would have to say she's a quick learner since Mrs. Ndetei only entered the political arena the other day—in 1988 to be exact.

And why would she do such a thing, having just recently retired from working nine fruitful years with the Federation of Kenya Employers in a high-powered executive role, and having a relatively young family (the youngest not yet a teenager)?

A combination of factors contributed to her decision. The most immediate, she says, was the poor leadership of the constituency derived from the previous Kibwezi MPs who she felt had a particularly bad attitude towards women.

"I felt women deserved better treatment and more respect, particularly as they are the ones who elect the politicians everywhere in Kenya."

Feeling that there was so much more that could and should be done to assist the women, Mrs Ndetei took on that challenge five years ago, and has

tried to help them achieve their needs ever since.

She has helped women start water projects (in places like Kinyambu, Thange, Kikumbulyu and even Machenary), health centres and even primary, secondary and polytechnic schools.

"She even built an excellent boarding school called St. Peter's which caters for both boys and girls," observed one of her campaigners.

But perhaps the most recent and revealing proof of Mrs. Ndetei's genuine commitment to her constituents—both women and men—came to light earlier this year during the drought that caused so much hardship in Ukambani.

It was during that time that Mrs. Ndetei took the initiative to buy lorry-loads of white maize from the National Cereals and Produce Board and sell—or barter—it to her hungry neighbours at rates substantially lower than at the local markets.

"When maize was selling at Sh13 per kilo in the market, we sold it at Sh12," she said. "At that price, we just covered our costs but if we had not brought the maize, whole families would have starved."

The other important success that Mrs. Ndetei feels she has accomplished in the last five years is in keeping her promise to the squatters living at Masongaleni.

"It was a battle but we managed to get the Masongaleni Settlement Scheme established in 1989. Now 3,000 families are permanently settled on 24,000 acres of land!"

But if winning that battle in Parliament was one of her happiest moments in the last five years, then there are still many more "smaller" success stories that Mrs. Ndetei's followers have to tell—about all the Harambees she held for children going to study overseas or even locally, Harambees for women's water projects, posho mills and other sundry development necessities.

"She even helped put a theatre in the Makindu Hospital," said another campaign agent, a medical student who claimed he was one of the many students Mrs. Ndetei helped stay in school.

There is a wide range of development projects which she launched in the last five years.

"But not all of them are finished," she observed. "And I still have many more projects, particularly focusing on women, which are in the pipeline."

Citing these pending projects as a major reason for contesting again, Mrs. Ndetei actually has no intention of letting her constituents down, either by leaving her projects half-complete or by losing the battle for Parliament in 1992.

Granting that her life has been hectic in the last five years, particularly as this tireless mother of four still has one youngster remaining at home (the two middle girls are at boarding schools and the older boy is at the University of Nairobi), Mrs. Ndetei expects the next five years to be a bit easier to handle than the last—not because she plans to rest on her laurels but because she hopes

to help a crew of dynamic DP councillors to civic seats in Kibwezi.

“We have already begun working together and co-ordinating our post-election development plans,” says Mrs. Ndetei, an indomitable organiser/forward planner who takes very seriously the need to campaign for her DP civic counterparts simultaneously as she campaigns for herself.

Another reason she feels the next five years will be easier is because she established fabulous grassroots contacts in the constituency and knows how to effectively utilise those well-grounded “media networks” to achieve short- and long-term plans.

But also, her family is older now and more able to fend for itself. Equally, everyone knows what to expect and how to be helpful to mum. For instance, her older son Maluki has become a tremendous asset to her, serving as her chief campaign driver!

But without doubt, the one person who's contributed most to her smooth sailing in politics has been her husband Wilson. It was he who first suggested that she take on the task of giving good leadership to Kibwezi constituents.

“And it was he who knew I needed a larger challenge once I retired from FKE.”

A rare gentleman who has been helping his wife improve herself for years, Wilson was ahead of Mrs. Ndetei in school. So it was his role to help her get through Nairobi University even as they chose to have children during those years.

One of those really unusual men who has consistently helped his wife handle her “multiple roles”—as wife and mother, student and subsequent civil servant (she went first to the Ministry of Labour as an Assistant Secretary after University of Nairobi), labour negotiator/mediator and then, Member of Parliament.

With co-operation of this kind, Mrs. Agnes Ndetei has every reason to feel confident that come 1993, she'll be free to continue her work on behalf of the constituents of Kibwezi.

Chapter 14

Wambui in yet another big battle

Daily Nation, December 22, 1992

Virginia Wambui Otieno has a peculiar knack for courting duels.

Kenyans best remember her for her long-drawn legal tussle contesting the burial place of her husband, Mr S.M. Otieno.

In the saga, Wambui stood out as a tenacious fighter against traditional mores that sought to discriminate against the woman.

This time round, this former freedom fighter has her gloves in the ring again. The contest is in Kajiado North where, standing on a FORD-Kenya ticket, she will be pitted against Vice-President George Saitoti and the fire-spitting Democratic Party of Kenya secretary-general John Keen.



Mrs. Virginia Wambui Otieno

It promises to be a rough tumble. But Wambui is optimistic and undaunted. She likes to view the race as nothing special and dismisses her opponent's high profile as a side issue of little consequence.

The confidence Wambui exudes springs from her intimate familiarity with the country's political landscape spanning five decades.

At the height of the independence struggle in the mid-fifties, she was in jail for three-and-a-half years owing to her active opposition to colonial domination.

Before her, her great grandfather, Paramount Chief Waiyaki wa Hinga (read Koiyaki ole Kaumale, she begs) had paid dearly for opposing the self-same colonialists.

Exiled by the British rulers in 1892, he was buried alive in Kibwezi.

This has proved an indelible source of inspiration to Wambui while offering a stark reminder of the possible pitfalls of politics.

Indeed, politics has always tagged closely at her heart strings since her days in Tanzania's Tengera College from where she attained a diploma in leadership, community development and political science.

Tom Mboya's National People's Convention Party was an enviable vent in introducing her to mainstream politics upon her return to Kenya.

The NPCP was the hub of political expression following the ban slapped on political organisations in Central Province by the colonialists.

Upon Kanu's formation in 1962, she was elected vice chairman of Langata sub-branch and secretary of the Karen ward.

It was in Langata that she made two unsuccessful bids for parliamentary election in 1969 and 1974.

Though born and brought up in Muthiga, Kiambu District, in 1936 Wambui does not view herself as a mere immigrant to Kajiado.

"My great grandfather Koiyaki ole Kaumale came from Kajiado," she avers. Hence her interest in the parliamentary seat.

There is scepticism about possible violence in the constituency as the campaign tempo warms up. In the recent past, supporters of rival parties have clashed. In February this year, Wambui was on the receiving end of this violence.

She is wary of violence during the campaigns but confesses: "I am not cowed. God is my sanctuary and wananchi my protection."

Her position as a woman, she contends, offers no special and peculiar challenges.

"Voters will seek a representative who can best deliver. It will be a choice of faith and conviction not a bloated expression of gender prejudice," she believes.

Kajiado offers an array of challenges to the contenders.

The list of issues begging for attention is long.

Wambui concedes as much and has tailored her post election programme to address these challenges.

At the apex is the need for an adequate and reliable supply of water.

For a region graced by seasonal streams this is an uphill task.

Her novel strategy to beat the odds is embarking on sinking more boreholes.

The efficacy of this programme will undoubtedly invite her opponents' prying eyes unless she identifies a reliable and realistic funding strategy .

Adult literacy, she reckons, will be another priority aimed at enhancing appreciation of community-based health care programmes like breastfeeding.

On the national platform, her greatest wish is to see a broader representation of women in parliament and active involvement in the decision making process.

It is through this, she argues, that prime social issues can be articulated with greater vitality.

"Issues like the growing street children menace must be addressed positively and emphatically before maturing into a national crisis," she counsels.

She explains: "Women are well placed to attend to these issues since children and family matters evoke a peculiar interest to them."

At any rate plenty of goodwill and positive rhetoric abounds but the political will is still short to address these issues emphatically.

Wambui hopes that the seventh parliament will pass a bill allocating treasury subventions to institutions taking care of children in difficult disadvantaged circumstances.

She argues that it is inimical to let such institutions rely solely on charity subsidies which are often erratic and uncertain.

Talking to Wambui, one sees a burning determination to secure full integration of women in the national mainstream.

Towards this end, she has worked constantly, passionately across the years. She has served as national vice-chairman of Maendeleo ya Wanawake for three years.

In equal stride, she has sat on the national committee of the National Council of Women of Kenya.

During this period, she was part of the Kenyan delegation to the First Women's Decade Conference convened in Copenhagen, Denmark, under the auspices of the United Nations.

It is a good bet that in the rundown to the elections, the welfare of the Kenyan woman will be particularly dear to her.

Chapter 15

Talent scout Tett casts her net wide

Daily Nation, December 24, 1992

By **NATION** Correspondent

Betty Njeri Tett has been tapping the talent of Kenyan youth for so long that she doesn't plan to stop scouting for 'star' material once she wins the parliamentary seat in Westlands on the Democratic Party (DP) ticket.



Mrs Betty Njeri Tett

In fact, there is every reason for Mrs Tett to carry on as she has done since 1972 when she and her sister Margaret took over the Andrew Crawford Studios. For since then, they have been seeking—and finding—unseasoned

talent who in turn have been given chances to get established in the local 'show biz' world.

And while it is true that Kenya's best female sound engineer-cum-editor has mainly assisted young musicians in the past—men like Daniel Kamau (DK) and James Wahome, Francis Rugwiti and the more mature Joseph Kamaru—Njeri Tett is no longer thinking only of how to help local vocalists. She's equally concerned to assist Kenya's future marathon runners and champion chess players, hotshot footballers and splendid specialists in darts, dance and even drafts.

Shall we say, Njeri is keen to cultivate any guy or girl who seems to be gifted in one sphere or other.

"All the estates in Westlands are bursting with untapped talent," observed the only woman candidate among seven contestants in the cosmopolitan Westlands constituency.

"But as long as the youth are not encouraged or shown that someone cares about them, there's always the possibility they'll resort to crime or drugs or other forms of anti-social behaviour," Njeri asserts.

According to a woman who has had a unique experience in tapping the untested talents of a considerable number of school leavers, what's required to sort out Westlands unemployment problem is simply a bit of extra care, special concern and perhaps just a touch of womanly intuition.

"For instance, one may see a fabulous darts player or a gifted chess player in any one of the estates, but they may not go far, simply because they lack the basics."

To Njeri, it doesn't require much to give guys like these a break. A bit of equipment and a place to regularly go practise could make all the difference in the world to such fellows' future.

"Youth generally need recreation halls where they can go at night; but if the local MP doesn't care for their concerns, they can as well resort to crime," she reasoned.

Granting that each case may require a *harambee* or two, Mrs Tett clearly feels the investment required is small compared to the probable returns: youth gaining a sense of direction and purpose and, ideally, a degree of economic self-sufficiency.

They will also be enlivening the local sports/music/entertainment scene, she says, when they organise national chess tournaments or grassroots travelling theatre tours.

A playwright/producer/broadcaster and highly qualified sound engineer, Mrs Tett (who is also Andrew Crawford's Managing Director) has for many years been practising the very thing she is now preaching to Westlands voters. Only that at Andrew Crawford, her speciality has been sound production-recording, packaging, even marketing everything from sponsored radio pro-

grammes to commercials and musical sound tracks. The quality of her sound work has come to be so widely regarded that she now even produces commercials for the European market.

But even as Njeri has acquired a foreign following over the years, her sense of loyalty and duty to her local 'protegees' led her, sometime back, to accept the chairmanship of Kenya's Chapter of the International Federation of Phonographic and Videogramme Industry (IFPI), an office she still retains.

It's been under the umbrella of IFPI that Njeri has been waging war against the music pirates who have done so much damage to the Kenyan music industry, particularly insofar as the piracy has tended to kill artistic incentive and originality.

Proud to say she actually initiated the battle to tighten Kenya's copyright law, Mrs Tett's struggle to protect local musicians bore fruit several years back (in 1985) when the laws were finally revised.

But music, the war on pirates, her business generally have taken a backseat since early this year when Njeri decided to become a parliamentary candidate in Westlands.

Without doubt, the biggest challenge she's had to meet is what has been dubbed the 'money culture', the fact that voters have been led to believe that candidates only come round to 'pour money' to buy their votes.

This corrupting influence has penetrated practically all corners of Westlands. Nonetheless, Njeri is neither deterred nor wholly discouraged by the distorted perception some people have about what democracy is actually all about. She intends to see this campaign to the end, particularly as she believes her approach to the number one social malaise in Westlands is most resourceful and workable.

But Njeri's post-election agenda includes more than just working to solve the unemployment problem in one of Nairobi's fastest expanding suburbs.

She is also deeply concerned about women issues, especially the problems faced by women hawkers, the small business people who she feels ought not to be harassed for merely trying to do an honest day's work.

Prepared to fight to bring the harassment of hawkers to an end, Mrs Tett also wants to help women obtain soft loans in order to strengthen their small businesses and help them become more self sufficient.

But even as she aims to aggressively promote *jua kali* initiatives, she also wants to see more industrial and commercial development unfold in Westlands.

"I want to see Westlands *shine*, but that will only happen when we are more careful in planning the area's urban development."

Bearing in mind that Westlands wouldn't be having its horrific traffic jams today if there had been more *pre*-planning when all the new shopping centres, malls and skyscrapers were being designed, Njeri still believes the situation can be salvaged.

Nonetheless, there will need to be much closer consultation among the contractors, town planners, city commissioners and the local MP to ensure solutions are found to the problems of parking and traffic congestion, rapid transit and even sewage and sanitation.

Taking a more wholistic and systematic approach to continued development in Westlands is something Njeri advocates and she believes her management skills would enable her to be fully involved in any Westlands redevelopment scheme which might crop up in the seventh parliament.

In fact, Njeri's skills in management as well as her drive and determination to assist the less fortunate in society are best seen in the work she has done through the Ken-African Charitable Organisation, a charity she founded in 1985.

"There seemed to be so many agencies assisting young men, like Undugu Society and Starehe School for boys," said Njeri, "but few helping the destitute girls, which is what the Ken-African Charity is doing."

Chapter 16

For Fatuma, women are as good as the men

Daily Nation, December 26, 1992

She tells a moving, sad but a very real story of a woman's tribulations in the Islamic world. In her flawless Kiswahili, she narrates to us the resistance her sex faces from a religion and a community which has institutionalised the subjugation of women.

"It's impossible for a woman to lead men. It's against the holy scriptures (the Holy Koran) for a woman to be above men," says one of her detractors.



Mrs. Fatuma Bakari Jeneby

Another still tells her of how the designated place for a woman is in the kitchen and the house worrying over domestic things, minding the children and taking care of her husband's needs. In her part of the country, it is very strange if not an outright abomination for a woman to imagine achieving, leave alone vying for, a seat in the national assembly.

It's inconceivable for a woman to raise her voice or even talk in the presence of men. Her place is to sit, listen and only talk when she is talked to. Follow the orders of her "master" (as the Holy Koran describes the husband) to the letter without question.

Naturally, the Koran, just like all other spiritual documents of ages past, bestows on the man the position of head of the family unit. This, by extension, makes the man the leader and generator of all ideas. In short, the ultimate authority in society.

It is very interesting to note that in certain spheres of life, the Koran equates the decision of two women to that of one man. A binding decision can only be reached by not less than two women.

This is just but the tip of the iceberg. However Islam is one of the major handicaps 44 year old Fatuma Bakari Jeneby has to contend with in her fight for the Mvita parliamentary seat in Mombasa District. She is the Kenya National Congress (KNC) nominee for the fight.

Mvita is a special seat in Mombasa District for it is right in the middle of Mombasa town, the commercial heart of the predominantly Islamic Coast Province. The seat was also once held by the flamboyant and politically astute Mombasa Kanu branch chairman, Shariff Nassir.

The Mvita seat has also attracted a FORD-Asili nominee, Ahmed Bamhariz. Omar Mwinyi of the unregistered Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) is the FORD-Kenya nominee for this titantic battle.

With Islam to contend with on the one hand, the line-up of male contenders in the race for the Mvita seat is enough to send shock waves down the spines of many a yellow aspirants. The sheer financial resources these candidates control is staggering but Mrs. Jeneby is not deterred in her ambitions. If she's got anything it's her willpower and determination to bring about change.

To her spiritual detractors, she had a simple message: "Let them read the holy book afresh."

Why?

Mrs. Jeneby would like to remind them that the very wife of the prophet (with all due respect) was a leader in her own right. Mrs. Jeneby says that Hadija was a successful businesswoman and married the 25-year-old prophet at her prime age of 40 years.

To her, a woman does not make it in business, and in fact all other aspects of life, without having some sort of insight into leadership. "And she cannot lead her employees if she cannot inspire them for that is the only way her business can grow."

Mrs. Jeneby gives yet another example of Ms. Benazir Bhutto, former Prime Minister of the Islamic state of Pakistan. Mrs. Jeneby says that if Ms. Bhutto can lead an Islamic state, then she can also aspire to be a member of the House.

“Why can't I be an MP, what are these men scared of?” she poses.

Mrs. Jeneby claims that in her search for a political party, following her defection from the then split up FORD, she says that she was turned down by the IPK leader, Mr. Mwinyi, on the basis of her sex. She says that Mr. Mwinyi thought that the IPK would be going back on their set course if they sponsored a woman candidate since the party was a fundamentalist organisation.

Her reply to this rebuke is that the IPK should not shut out Kenyan women from the forefront of national politics under the guise of fundamentalism. She asked them to take cognisance of the fact that the official spokesperson of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) delegation to the US-sponsored Middle East talks is a woman, Arwan Ashrawi.

“Women are and can be as competent as men,” asserts Mrs. Jeneby, the daughter of a retired magistrate and from a very prominent Mombasa family. The above quote, she says, would be her campaign slogan. It's her heartfelt intention to bring up the plight of Kenyan women and especially the Islamic ones to the forefront of national political debate.

By taking the bull (Islam) by the horns, Mrs. Jeneby hopes to sensitise Muslim women that they too can do more than just being housewives responding to the whims of their husbands. She wants to teach them a few things about political liberation and why they need to be liberated politically and socially.

And even if she fails, a situation she does not foresee, Mrs. Jeneby says that she would be satisfied with her efforts and most of all, she should be proud to have taken a step in popularising her political party, KNC, to Muslim women and also would have gained experience to fight yet another battle in 1997.

As well as fighting for the rights of women, Mrs. Jeneby intends to try and make a difference in the unemployment plight of the Muslim youths which she claims was so bad that it led to the fundamentalist uprisings like the recent IPK riots. She notes that it is important for leaders to look into ways of creating jobs for the youth.

She also intends to champion policies that guarantee food security for Kenyans. She also intends to fight for legislation that curbs illegal exports of food stuff. “You see what is happening to us now, we are starving because a few of us sold everything out of the country,” she claims.

Mrs. Jeneby asserts that the whole agricultural sector must be revamped, the fishing industry must be nurtured from its eternal infancy state. And Kenyans should stop plundering their economy.

“Look at the sad story of sugar, we have tracts of land under sugar cane and we cannot even offer encouragement to the farmers to grow more by offering them better producer prices and other incentives. Yet we go for the cheap

and short lived solutions like importation," she laments.

The sensitive mother of five, including nine-year-old Sarah Njeri, says that she is totally opposed to the 8-4-4 system of education because of the stress that it puts on the school kids. "Look at Njeri here, she has lost about five kilos in the last term alone," she notes.

On health, she knows that a healthy nation produces more. The only way to have a healthy nation is to ensure everything is done to keep debilitating diseases like malaria, diarrhoea and other such diseases under control.

"We must make sure that drugs and other facilities are available in our existing hospitals," she adds.

"For the Muslim youths who have been turned into fundamentalists by unemployment and ignorance and for the women who Mr. Nassir has reduced to dancers in State functions, these are my brothers and sisters and mothers, I know what they are going through. I want to make a difference in their lives," concludes Mrs. Jeneby.

Chapter 17

'Wanjiru the First' goes for another first

Daily Nation, December 26, 1992

Mary Wanjiru Mwangi was on her way to Parliament way back in 1979. And while this courageous young woman candidate did not quite grab the seat that year, Wanjiru wasn't wholly disheartened.

Why should she have been? She still had her supporters, development plans and enduring dreams of what Kinangop could become with truly development-minded politicians at its helm.



Mrs. Mary Wanjiru Mwangi

Having started out in national politics at the ripe old age of 23, older and wiser Wanjiru has deepened her understanding of what's required to win the parliamentary seat as well as what must be done to see progressive change come to Kinangop.

"What was and still is the great need in the area," explained the one woman candidate standing on the FORD-Asili ticket, "is economic development, starting with more effective utilisation of the land."

"For instance, we seriously need irrigation, for while we've got plenty of water—in the form of rivers and boreholes—we still have a problem of its distribution."

But water pipes and pumps are only one facet of what Wanjiru feels is required to transform Kinangop into a fertile garden overgrown with the sorts of flowers and vegetables she says do best in the volcanic ash and cool climate of her area.

"Our place is too cool for either coffee, tea or even beans, but it is excellent for potatoes, peas and pyrethrum as well as certain types of flowers."

But according to Wanjiru, if one is serious about seeing an increase in her area's crop production, she (or he) needs to assist farmers to have access to small loans to enable them to buy pumps and pipes of their own.

"Farmers need a complete irrigation scheme which includes a financing facility of some sort. We have already begun exploring such possibilities with several donors.

Seeing horticulture as the great hope for Kinangop, Wanjiru did not stop planning how to enhance assorted forms of horticultural and cash crop production once she missed the MP's seat in '79.

On the contrary, she and other members of her family have been exploring various ways of advancing cash crop farming in the area ever since—experimenting with everything from trout and dairy farming to flower growing for export.

"Trout farming has tremendous potential in our area, but as yet, only a few adventurous farmers have begun experimenting in this field. Fewer still are actually exporting river trout overseas."

The majority of small holder farmers in Kinangop have more basic concerns—like trading in their *jembes* for tractors.

"After water, the primary need most farmers at home have is for access to tractors for hire," said Wanjiru who hopes to respond to such needs once she reaches Parliament.

"The land can't be effectively utilised until farmers can cultivate with machines more advanced than *jembes*," said Wanjiru who grows flowers on her own smallholding at Magumu.

But even if she sets up practical schemes and programmes to help enhance

farmers' food and cash crop production, Wanjiru reckons there will still be a problem of marketing.

"We have already begun exploring possibilities for bringing a vegetable dehydration plant to the area," said Wanjiru who feels that improved agricultural techniques need to go hand in hand with wise industrial development.

"Setting up industries like a dehydration plant will not only generate more jobs. It will also enable farmers to export the greens the local market cannot absorb."

But it isn't only food and fish that Wanjiru feels can be sold overseas. Even flowers can be grown by smallholder farmers for export as she already proved after procuring seeds for women groups to experiment with in 1989.

"We got the seeds from Sulmac Ltd (a subsidiary of Lonrho) and found that *Alstramoelia* grows especially well in our area."

Now the women groups with whom she works are earning more from growing and selling their flowers straight to Sulmac than they used to by selling potatoes and peas in the local market.

Not that Wanjiru advocates flower over food production, but given the challenge of transport and the poor feeder roads in the region, it is much easier to sell straight to Sulmac than to struggle getting fresh foods to other markets.

What's more, unlike most cash crop production, which is controlled by men, Wanjiru has helped ensure that the women retain control of the flower-growing business, including the revenue accrued.

Confessing that she has been coached all her life to be development-conscious and even to plan to one day enter politics, Wanjiru's main mentor has been none other than her father, Kingori Mbogo, a trained teacher, resettlement officer in the early sixties during Kenya's crucial transition period and a former colleague of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

A man who has been thinking *land development* ever since he served in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement under the British, Mbogo was actually teaching horticultural farming back in the fifties before shifting to Kinangop (then called Nyandarua South) from Nyeri just prior to independence.

A progressive man who saw the wisdom of giving equal opportunities for education to both girls and boys, Mbogo wasn't terribly popular in Magumu when he sent Wanjiru to primary school. But he didn't mind making his first born, Wanjiru, a case in point, to prove that girls were 'worth' educating. Indeed, they could be just as smart and successful as boys!

"I was initially one of three girls in a class of 40," she recalled.

"If I hadn't had his full support as well as that of my school's headmaster, I'm not sure I could have risen above the negative attitudes people generally held towards women and girls in my day."

But with her father coaching her at home and the headmaster doing the

same at school, Wanjiru not only passed, she also became a pace setter, confirming her father's prophetic view and creating wider awareness in the region, that educated girls could become a family asset just as easily as could boys and young men.

Recalling how she had gone to school with children who'd been resettled from all over Central Province and the Rift Valley, Wanjiru said her father's insistence on sending her to school caused quite a stir at the time. But as he had been a member of Legco—nominated by Mzee Kenyatta during the transition to Independence—people respected Mbogo, even if they didn't always agree with him.

Mbogo's independent, development-oriented style of thinking clearly has rubbed off on Wanjiru who is proud to have been the youngest woman ever to stand for Parliament (in '79), and even today, is still the youngest standing for an MP's seat on December 29.

"At the time (in '79) I didn't feel it was a question of being courageous—or even crazy for that matter—which some people clearly thought I was! It was more a matter of common sense and the feeling for our vision of the future."

In fact, it was not too long after she had completed her 'A' levels at Matuga Girls in Meru that Wanjiru began to plan for a life in politics. Nonetheless, she first completed a course in accounts and then worked for several years with the Government, before taking the plunge into politics.

Fortunately, Wanjiru's biggest supporter and brightest campaign advisor continues to be her father who still helps her devise development strategies.

And while her husband spends most of his time in Nairobi, she's also grateful to have Mwangi totally behind her and encouraging her dreams and decisive style of promoting development in the old Nyandarua.

Chapter 18

For Rose the sky's the limit

Weekend Mail, May 13, 1993

Rose Wairimu Waruhiu is without doubt a woman of sharp intellect. A look at her past contributions in Parliament when she was a Nominated MP between 1983 and 1988 confirms this. It bears out her liberal approach to issues and her result-oriented leadership. Perhaps her presence in the Seventh Parliament would have made a great difference.



Rose Wairimu Waruhiu

It is easy to imagine Waruhiu in Parliament, seated among the huge number of male legislators together with Agnes Ndeti, Phoebe Asiyo, Martha Karua, Nyiva Mwendwa, Charity Kaluki Mwendwa and Mary Wanjiru.

The titanic battle in Githunguri during the last General Election pitted

her against former Vice-President Josephat Karanja, former cabinet minister Arthur Magugu and FORD-Kenya's Ngoima wa Mwaura. They were well beaten by Karanja.

Waruhiu was the last woman to be nominated to Parliament.

"May be I did a bad job," she says, "perhaps that is why the President has not nominated any other woman to Parliament after me."

Being in Parliament, she says, means performing well. It means showing commitment and responsibility. What can she remember about her days in Parliament?

"I got into trouble when I made a comment on the 8-4-4 system. I had hardly been there for six months. But I still believe I was very misunderstood."

For close to 20 years, Waruhiu has been very active in women's affairs. From 1974 to 1975, she was the Chairperson of the Kenya Association of University Women. Thereafter, she served as the Vice-Chairman of the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK).

The daughter of the first African District Officer, Samuel Githu, Waruhiu was born in Kandara, Murang'a District. She says she belongs to the first generation of grandchildren of Christian families. But her paternal and maternal grandparents went to school and so did her parents. Her father went up to high school. Her uncle went to Makerere University College.

Her paternal grandfather, Joseph Githu, was behind the building of Chomo Primary School. Her maternal grandparent, Moses Ndirangu, was one of the original PCEA leaders at Thogoto. Waruhiu says she was one of the first two girls in her village, Chomo, to go to school at the age of five. She attended Chomo Primary School between 1952 and 1955.

Between 1956 and 1959, she attended Gituro Intermediate Boarding School. She then proceeded to Kahuhia Girls School for her 'O' Levels. She was there between 1960 and 1963 and obtained Division One pass.

A woman of unswerving belief in her own abilities, Waruhiu attended Kenya High School between 1964 and 1965 and was a house prefect and later deputy headgirl. "We were 600 girls at Kenya High School and only 10 per cent were Africans," she recalls.

She says that her belief in merit and fair play began at Kenya High. She remembers a book entitled *The Rise of Meritocracy* which her headmistress presented to her and which she read and re-read.

From Kenya High School, a confident and determined Waruhiu went to Makerere University College in 1966. She recalls that she was an active student involved in a number of student bodies including the Kenya Students Organisation. Among her college-mates were George Anyona, Prof. Anyang' Nyong'o and Chibule wa Tsuma.

The Makerere atmosphere was academically satisfying. There was fun

and work. "It was very serious politics. We were the cream of the young Africans," she says.

In 1969, she graduated with a BA degree in economics. The same year she married George Kang'ethe Waruhiu, a well-known Nairobi lawyer. They have five children, namely Louise, 22, Patricia 20, Derek, 18, Annabel, 17 and Mugo, 11.

Her first employer was the Central Bank of Kenya in the economic research department but she quit the job for another at the registrar's department of the University of Nairobi where she rose to the position of senior assistant registrar.

She quit the university job in 1979 to join Deloitte Haskins as a management consultant. This, to her, was more challenging than the university job.

"At the university, I was a boss. Here I was working on issues. You sat at the desk and finished tasks," she says.

As an assistant administrator at the university, she attended a fellowship programme for overseas administrators at the Victoria University, Manchester, in 1975. Between 1982 and 1983, she was a member of the visiting and inspection committee of the University of Nairobi.

Between 1983 and 1988, she was a member of a joint Assembly of African, Caribbean, Pacific and European Community (ACP/EEC) consultative assembly in Bujumbura, Burundi.

As Kenya's rapporteur on the ACP-EEC Working Group on Women, she led a delegation to the Lome IV negotiations. In 1987, she was a participant at the first Eleanor Roosevelt caucus of women political leaders which culminated in the International Institute for Women in Political Leadership (IIWPL).

Waruhiu was a member of the Kenya delegation to the United Nations Decade of Women. Before she joined the opposition last year, she was Kiambu Kanu branch treasurer.

"Other parties were not ready to welcome educated women. So I joined the party which, according to its manifesto, was to give some leverage to women," she says. Waruhiu is one of the six new spring-term fellows at the Institute of Politics (IOP) at the Kennedy School of Government.

Others are Genero Anriagado, Steve B. Cobble, Pauline Kezer, Joan Richman and Jesse White Jr. She is also showing interest in the development projects in Githunguri where she says she is fully involved in civic education.

Waruhiu has visited the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland and Scotland among other countries.

Real issues for Kenyan women, she observes, are national in character and scope. They include clean water, agricultural training, primary health-care facilities, basic education and functional literacy.

She says that women should be understood as integral to the whole develop-

ment process and should therefore play a role in development. Women's struggle, she says, is a social struggle to give women power to take control of their own development. "The power we deserve (as women) will not be given to us. We have to get it," she says.

Waruhiu says that women will still have to hit the 33 per cent target in Parliament. "Women want more representation in Parliament. Women want dignity," she says. "The village woman needs more help to reduce her burden. She is tired of the long journey to fetch water. She wants a hospital nearby. She needs projects to generate income," she says.

Women, she says, need equality in political decision making. She is of the view that Maendeleo ya Wanawake elections should be called very soon to give women a chance to elect their leaders.

"Right now, it is total confusion at the grassroots level. We have more than two women claiming to be occupying one seat," she says. She recalls that women were manipulated by men in the 1989 Maendeleo ya Wanawake elections.

"Women need to be empowered. They need more confidence and more economic power. Every woman needs a sound financial base," she says.

Waruhiu says the 30-year struggle to get women to occupy high positions has not ended. "We want more women in politics. We want to encourage our women in Parliament to address all issues, including the economy because they are people's MPs. They have to work double. They have to work very hard because they represent all women."

PART 3

**ELECTIONS MONITORING
AND THE NCSW'S REPORT**

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN ELECTION MONITORING REPORT

Report on the activities for the period 1st November, 1992 to 31st December, 1992: An Overview

1. General Election Monitoring Training Workshop

The NCSW began observing the campaign activities of women candidates and noting some of the key problems and irregularities which they encountered in the electoral process from the pre-nomination stage up to polling day.

Furthermore, the NCSW was interested in the political participation and campaign activities of women candidates because women are always the first victims of rigging in elections. The concern of the NCSW was to ensure that women received a fair chance and a substantial number of women were elected into parliament. It was therefore imperative for the NCSW to make a follow-up on these women candidates as the Committee had nurtured them from "capacity building" through "campaign managers" training workshops to the actual election monitoring/observing processes.

2. General Objective and Target Group

The main NCSW's election monitoring objective was to observe the electoral process in order to determine whether the December 1992 general elections were free and fair especially in constituencies and wards where women candidates were running.

3. Planned Activities

Before the NCSW could embark on the ambitious exercise of election monitoring, it had to be legally accredited by the Electoral Commission. A total of 100 names of election monitors/observers who were recruited by the NCSW, along with their identification numbers, were

sent to the Electoral Commission. Eventually the NCSW jointly with the NCWK was given election monitoring/observing status.

On December 4th, 1992, the NCSW held a training workshop for the 100 election monitors/observers. For the training, NCSW employed the services of local competent lawyers from the Legal Education and Aid Programme (LEAP). During their training the observers were instructed to identify election irregularities and malpractices. See Appendices 8 and 9 for programme and list of Election Monitors/Observers.

The NCSW monitoring/observing activities were concentrated in all those constituencies, a total of 91, where there were women candidates, both civic and parliamentary. At least two monitors/observers were sent out to each constituency where women candidates vied for political representation. The observers had a questionnaire which they duly completed before and after completion of the polling exercise. See Appendices 10 and 11 for more information.

The observers were also instructed to observe the manner in which various party agents were handled by the presiding officers and their deputies, the ways in which women voters, particularly illiterate women, were treated or assisted by polling clerks. They were also supposed to note the treatment which women voters received generally at the polling stations. The election observers attended most of the campaign rallies in the relevant constituencies. On polling day, observers were stationed in specific polling stations to witness the actual casting of votes, voter turn-out and the counting process.

The election monitors/observers were supervised by a team of co-ordinators. There was at least one co-ordinator per constituency/a number of wards and one Principal Co-ordinator who co-ordinated the activities of all the election monitors/observers.

The NCSW had commissioned a team of journalists who prepared personal profiles of all the nominated parliamentary women candidates. In addition, the team of journalists also participated in monitoring/observing the nomination process on behalf of NCSW. They were therefore in the field throughout the electoral process, including polling day.

The NCSW monitoring process began on 16th November, 1992 and continued everyday, including weekends until election day, 29th December, 1992; it continued as well during the extra three days of counting votes and another eight (8) days of receiving and compiling the evidence from the various monitors. The NCSW Secretariat spent an

additional four weeks preparing the final report, in readiness for printing and publishing.

4. Project Achievements

As elections got under way, the NCSW had already made a substantial impact in sensitizing women voters, as well as recruiting and building capacity of about 250 civic and parliamentary women candidates who vied for political posts in the 1992 elections. Close to the December, 1992 elections, the NCSW relocated the capacity building of women candidates from training to highlighting through the media the leadership qualities and vision of women candidates through personal profiles.

The NCSW also made sets of three (3) different posters depicting various messages both in English and Swahili. Examples of slogans used in the posters:

- "A PARLIAMENT WITHOUT WOMEN IS LIKE A FIRE PLACE WITH TWO STONES"
- "A VOTE FOR A WOMAN IS A VOTE FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT"
- "THE HOMEMAKER SHOULD ALSO BE THE STATEMAKER: VOTE FOR A WOMAN"

Each of the 150 civic and parliamentary women candidates was given a total of 650 posters to convey the message in their constituencies/wards. Most of the posters were delivered by the NCSW monitors/observers; others were handed directly to the civic/parliamentary candidates. From this stage onwards, the NCSW embarked on election monitoring activity.

The principal co-ordinators were instructed to immediately report any serious irregularities observed to the National Committee on the Status of Women for action. The observers were further instructed to watch out on such matters as how ballot boxes were handled by presiding officers, handling of ballot papers and the sealing of ballot boxes. Any interference with ballot papers or boxes was considered a serious offence which had to be reported to the National Co-ordinator in Nairobi immediately for action.

The National Co-ordinator of the NCSW election monitoring/

observer unit was responsible for releasing all statements on the irregularities and malpractices which affected women candidates. Some of the earlier reports, including those on activities on the polling day, were released through television and print media in the form of press conferences made by the National Co-ordinator of the NCSW.

The NCSW felt it was its responsibility to monitor the extent to which women candidates were treated fairly or unfairly on account of their gender. It was equally important to monitor the extent to which women voters were denied their democratic right to vote for the candidate of their choice, either through bribery, coercion and manipulation of their ignorance of electoral procedures. Towards this end, NCSW monitored the entire election campaign process and the sequence of events during the campaign process and on polling day and took note of any electoral malpractices. For more information read the narrative section entitled: "*Final Report on Women Candidates and Women Voters Participation in the December 1992 General Elections*".

FINAL REPORT ON WOMEN CANDIDATES AND WOMEN VOTERS PARTICIPATION IN THE DECEMBER 1992 GENERAL ELECTIONS

By the National Committee on the Status of Women

Introduction

The National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) is a product of the Repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution that took place in December 1991. The repeal allowed for the return to a multi-party political system of government in Kenya. For many Kenyans, this also meant opportunity for participation in mapping out their new democratic agenda under a multi-party context. As women of Kenya, we felt that this was a good opportunity to ensure that the women's agenda is fully addressed in the context of multi-party democratization.

NCSW started out as an *ad hoc* organization of 120 Kenyan women, representing diverse women NGOs and individual professionals who gathered at a Nairobi hotel on January 11th 1992 to discuss what role women should play in the new multi-party democratization process in Kenya. The feeling was unanimous that in the past 30 years since independence, women have held a subordinate status to men and have remained highly marginalized in politics and public decision making. This is despite the fact that women fought for political independence alongside men, constitute the majority of voters, form 52% of the total population and are a central and critical resource in the reproduction and production activities of the society and economy. It was therefore felt that women needed to play a more active role to achieve more political power and influence in the current democratization process; it was important that they acted in proper appreciation of the power of the vote to use it strategically to vote for committed women. Most importantly, it was felt that women must offer themselves as candidates for them to attain a *critical mass* of women's parliamentary representation (of 30-35%).

A critical mass is necessary for women to make a significant and positive difference to politics and public life in general.

On January 11th a Steering Committee was appointed and given the mandate to formulate strategies and work out the modalities of ensuring that women actively participated in the new democratic process and that women issues were mainstreamed in development policies and programmes. The mandate also included working out modalities for setting up an umbrella women's organization under whose banner women could reach across the country to mobilize their fellow women to play a more active role in the political process.

It is in the fulfilment of that mandate that the NCSW was subsequently formed as a national coordinating and lobby organization, charged with the responsibility of injecting a gender dimension in the democratisation process. The newly elected Executive Committee then quickly began working out strategies and defining the long-term and short-term objectives of the NCSW. The structure of the committee also became formalized during this period. The NCSW then became a national non-governmental women's organization.

The Major Objectives of NCSW

The major objectives of the NCSW are as follows:

- To increase women's power and influence by working towards the attainment of at least 30-35% women's representation in parliament and other political decision making positions. The NCSW treats this as the most crucial short-term objective. We believe that if women are in policy making positions in large enough numbers, they can be instrumental in initiating changes that would advance women's status and place in the mainstream women's agenda in national development policies and programmes.
- To initiate changes and removal of discriminatory laws and policies that perpetuate the subordinate status of women.
- To scrutinize political party documents (constitutions, manifestos, etc.) with a view to getting gender issues mainstreamed.

- To sensitize women and men on gender issues and the linkage between democracy and gender equity.

Major Strategies

To achieve the above objectives, NCSW worked out the following strategies:

- To identify, encourage and persuade qualified women to stand as candidates in civic and parliamentary elections in large enough numbers so as to attain a critical mass in parliament.
- To accord women candidates both moral and material support to ensure they win political seats in the 1992 general elections and subsequent elections.
- To sensitize and educate women voters to appreciate the power of the vote, so that they can use it wisely and strategically to vote for committed women, wherever possible. In this latter context, the objective is to sensitize women to accept the merits of voting for other women, and shed off the socio-cultural stereotyped belief that only men can make good leaders and decision makers.
- To scrutinize and carry out a critical analysis of the existing laws and policies as well as multi-party constitutions and manifestos, with the view to detecting and highlighting gender issues and seeking to correct discriminations, and/or gender blindness contained in them.
- To serve as an advocacy group closely monitoring, highlighting and taking a position on events and issues that affect the status of women.
- To serve as a source of information on women's issues in general and politics in particular as well as collect and store important documents relevant to political participation and the status of women. These include party constitutions and manifestos, national development plans, laws of Kenya, press clips on women's issues, books and journals on women and development in general.

NCSW Achievements to December 1992

The NCSW throughout the year 1992 demonstrated consistent and active interest in promoting women's political participation and involvement in the democratisation process in general. Towards this end, the NCSW co-ordinated the historic February 1992 National Women's Convention where the women's agenda in the democratisation process and broad policy objectives were defined.

Subsequently, appropriate seminars were held whose objective was to concretise the women's agenda and strategies regarding the mode of its achievement. These seminars culminated in the first ever National Workshop for women candidates organised by the NCSW in July 1992, for enhancing women candidates' winning capacity in the 1992 general elections. The women's capacity building workshops were immediately followed up by grassroots capacity building workshops, where also civic education and gender sensitization were extended to voters with specific emphasis on women voters. The NCSW's interest in women candidates increased when the Committee organised campaign managers' training workshops. These workshops brought the Committee into a closer relationship with women candidates and voters. In a way, it was at that time that the NCSW began observing the campaign activities of women candidates and noting some of the key problems and irregularities which they encountered in the electoral process.

The NCSW was interested in the political participation and campaign activities of women candidates because women are always the first victims of rigging in elections. Kenya in the past has been notorious in rigging of elections. The concern of the NCSW has been to ensure that women receive a fair chance and a substantial number of women are elected into parliament. Therefore it was imperative for the NCSW to monitor these women candidates since the Committee had nurtured them from the stage of "capacity building," through "campaign managers" training workshops and up to the actual election monitoring/observing processes.

Indeed, as elections got under way, NCSW had already made a substantial impact in sensitizing women voters, as well as recruiting and building capacity of about 250 civic and parliamentary women candidates who vied for political posts in the 1992 elections. Close to the December 1992 elections, the NCSW relocated the capacity building of women

candidates from training to highlighting through the media, the leadership qualities and vision of women candidates through personal profiles. Thereafter, the Committee embarked on election monitoring activity.

Monitoring Justification

Our interest in election monitoring for women candidates and women voters logically flowed from the above summarized activities. Furthermore, although the Committee was accredited as an election monitoring unit in November 1992, our commitment to election monitoring related activities, as already noted, predated the above date. NCSW formally began election monitoring with the observation of the nomination process as it related to women candidates. Thereafter, we focussed on their campaigning activities, culminating in our monitoring the actual polling and finalization of the electoral results.

Scope and Focus in Monitoring

The NCSW had well trained personnel who participated in election monitoring/observing activities. A total of 100 election monitors/observers were recruited and trained. The NCSW monitoring/observing activities were concentrated in all those constituencies (a total of 91) where there were women candidates, both civic and parliamentary. At least two monitors/observers were sent out to each constituency where women candidates vied for political representation.

The election monitors/observers were supervised by a team of co-ordinators. There was at least one co-ordinator per constituency and one principal co-ordinator who co-ordinated the activities of all the election monitors/observers in each province.

The NCSW had commissioned a team of journalists who prepared personal profiles of all the nominated parliamentary women candidates. Indeed, the team of journalists also helped to monitor/observe the nomination process on behalf of NCSW because they were in the field throughout the electoral process, including polling day.

The election monitors/observers were adequately trained by com-

petent local lawyers from the Legal Education and Aid Programme (LEAP). During their training, the observers were instructed to look for election irregularities and malpractices. The election observers attended most of the campaign rallies in the constituencies where they observed elections. On polling day, observers were stationed in specific polling stations to witness the actual casting of votes, voter turn-out and the counting process.

The observers had a questionnaire which they duly completed before and after completion of the polling exercise. The observers were also instructed to observe the manner in which various party agents were handled by the presiding officers and their deputies, the ways in which women voters, particularly illiterate women, were treated or assisted by polling clerks. They were also supposed to note the treatment which women voters received generally at the polling stations.

Serious irregularities were communicated to the Principal Co-ordinator of the National Committee on the Status of Women for action. The observers were further instructed to watch out on such matters as how ballot boxes were handled by the presiding officers, handling of ballot papers and the sealing of ballot boxes. Any interference with ballot papers or boxes was considered a serious offence which had to be reported to the Principal Co-ordinator in Nairobi immediately for action.

The Principal Co-ordinator of the NCSW election monitoring/observer unit was responsible for releasing all statements on the irregularities and malpractices which affected women candidates.

Some of the earlier reports, including those on activities on the polling day, were released through television and print media in the form of press statements and press conferences made particularly by the Principal Co-ordinator of the NCSW.

Consequently, although the NCSW was unable to monitor earlier stages of the electoral process as we were too busy providing civic education to women voters, we felt that the NCSW could make a significant difference by participating in the remaining process through the campaign period leading up to and including polling day on December 29th 1992. We felt we had a responsibility to monitor the extent to which women candidates were treated fairly or unfairly on account of their gender. It was equally important to monitor the extent to which women voters were denied their democratic right to vote for the candidate of

their choice, either through bribery, coercion and manipulation of their ignorance of electoral procedures.

We were aware that there were a few other local monitoring groups who also participated in the exercise, such as NEMU and BEERAM. The NCSW/NCWK monitoring unit therefore collaborated and worked closely with the other local and international monitoring groups, as our objective was basically the same as theirs. But since none of the other monitoring groups was focussing on the gender dimension of the electoral process, we felt that this is the area where the NCSW could make most impact. That is why we targeted those constituencies and wards where women candidates were vying for civic and parliamentary seats.

Towards this end, we monitored the entire election campaign process and the sequence of events during the campaign process and on polling day and took note of any electoral malpractices.

During the campaign process, we provided regular reports to the public through the media on our observations on the campaign trail. In particular, we sponsored personal leadership profiles of all parliamentary women candidates who had been nominated by their parties.

NCSW's Election Monitoring Objectives

These were the objectives of the NCSW's monitoring effort:

- To observe the electoral process in order to determine whether the December 1992 general elections would be free and fair, especially in constituencies and wards where women candidates were running.
- To produce and expose through the media tangible evidence of rigging and other electoral offences and report the same to the relevant election officials.
- To compile a report on the NCSW's monitoring findings in order to assist those aggrieved by the election results, and who may wish to petition the High Court for a reversal of such results.

Scope and Duration of Election Monitoring

NCSW's monitoring process began on 16 November, 1992 and continued everyday, including weekends, through election day, 29 December 1992, as well as the extra three days of counting votes and up to the end of another eight (8) days of receiving and compiling the evidence from the various monitors. The NCSW Secretariat also spent an additional four weeks preparing the final report, in readiness for printing and publishing.

Election Observations

On the basis of our extensive observations prior to and during the polling and counting processes, we have the following final report to make. The report focuses on the problems faced by women civic and parliamentary candidates and voters through all the stages of the electoral process beginning with the *pre-nomination stage* to *polling and counting stage*. A final *assessment* of the findings is then made, followed by some action oriented *recommendations*.

Problems Faced by Parliamentary and Civic Women Candidates and Voters

Both women and male candidates and voters encountered a series of problems in the December 1992 general elections. However, women candidates and voters were the subject of gender based problems which we seek to highlight in this segment of the report. We deem it appropriate to present these problems and irregularities on the basis of the different stages of the elections.

Pre-nomination Stage

Some political aspirants who attended the NCSW July 1992 National Workshop for *Capacity Building for Women Candidates* and who had ex-

pressed a determination to contest the elections, subsequently withdrew before the party nomination stage. During the July meeting, about 70 women declared interest in parliamentary and civic seats. In the next two months, this number rose to about 300. But by the time of the nomination, this number dropped slightly. Ultimately, we approximate that about 50 women participated in parliamentary party nominations and about 200 in civic party nominations. The single most important factor in discouraging women candidature in the elections was *lack of independent resources*. This concern was expressed at the July 1992 meeting. Our observers also confirmed this reality in the field. Indeed even those women who had passed the nomination threshold pointed out lack of independent resources as the most inhibiting factor in their efforts to vie for elective office. In 17 of the constituencies we monitored, lack of independent resources was identified as a key stumbling block. In a few instances, some *women withdrew due to the prompting of spouses, male relatives and male community leaders*. Even after capturing nominations, discouragement continued to flow from spouses, male relatives and others. In four constituencies where this information was sought, one woman candidate faced discouragement from male relatives.

However, the point must be made that in most cases women candidates received support from their spouses. This was so especially where the women candidates faced a very hostile electoral environment such as in Kerio South, Kitui Central, and Kibwezi. Spouses and male relatives in such cases were also forthcoming in terms of financial support.

Our observers and some of the journalists covering women candidates on our behalf found that several women aspirants were unable to find a political party sponsor. The tendency within the parties was to receive women candidates as a last resort upon failing to attract "suitable" male candidates for nomination. The thinking among the political parties seemed to be: men candidates were more likely to win than women candidates. It is our view, therefore, that if pre-election electoral law reform had allowed for "independents" to run, conceivably a higher number of women could have vied for electoral seats irrespective of political party support.

Our field observations also revealed that there were a few potential women candidates who withdrew because they grew cold feet, due to the belief that they could not successfully compete against their male adversaries.

Clearly then, several threshold constraints prevented a significant percentage of potential women candidates from pursuing candidature. Generally the political parties did not make unequivocal statements to the effect that they would encourage women candidates within their political parties. As already noted, the NCSW did organize seminars aimed at encouraging women to offer themselves as candidates as well as assisting in capacity building. However, due to lack of resources and time, these seminars, including the Campaign Managers Training Workshops, did not cover much of the country. Perhaps women apex groups such as ourselves, the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA)-(Kenya Chapter), League of Kenya Women Voters, etc., could have involved themselves more in counselling and encouraging women to stand for elections. But time too was short.

To summarise, during this pre-nomination stage, women voters were affected adversely in three major ways as far as their participation in the elections was concerned.

(i) Since October 1991, the so-called *ethnic clashes* had affected parts of the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces. This led to the displacement of an unknown but substantial number of people who, as a result, were unable to register to vote. Both the NCKC and Kiliku Commissions on *The Ethnic Clashes* received evidence that women and children were the most affected persons in the ethnic violence. This then means the majority of those displaced and disenfranchised as a consequence of the clashes, especially in the Rift Valley, were women.

(ii) Between the 1989 Population Census and the 1992 elections, no major citizens' registration drives occurred. Consequently, the majority of those who were less than 18 years in 1989, but are now over 18, did not have their national identity cards. This figure has been approximated at over 3 million. Without being in possession of a national identity card, an individual could not vote. Consequently, *apart from those disenfranchised through the "ethnic clashes", a further 3 million potential voters were disenfranchised since the government did not issue them with national identity cards.* The majority of these potential voters are likely to have been women because in Kenya women outnumber men.

(iii) Prior to the elections, minimal voter education was conducted. The Electoral Commission which was charged with the mandate of voter education hardly engaged in such education. Towards the end of the

campaign period, the Electoral Commission belatedly attempted to do this by inserting some advertisements in the electronic and print media urging citizens to vote wisely and to uphold peace. None of these messages were gender specific. Furthermore, the posters provided in the print media required a literacy potential by the reader before the message could be understood.

The non-governmental community tried to engage in general voter education prior to the elections. Such NGOs were NCSW, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Legal Education and Aid Programme of Kenya Adult Education Association (LEAP-KAEA), Kituo Cha Sheria, FIDA, International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) (Kenya Section), League of Women Voters, FEMNET, Professional Committee for Democratic Change (PCDC), etc. However, these NGOs did not have adequate resources and time to cover the entire country. Their efforts were often conceived in a hurry and were in printed form, thereby excluding the illiterate segments of our population. Furthermore, only a few of the NGOs developed gender biased materials, such as NCSW, League of Women Voters, FEMNET and LEAP-KAEA.

Lack of appropriate and widespread voter education certainly compromised the elections in a big way. This was especially so because the country was conducting a new type of election, i.e. a multi-party election, with three different elections taking place simultaneously, viz. *presidential*, *parliamentary* and *civic* elections. The citizens, being overwhelmingly illiterate, and with the percentage of illiteracy being higher among women than men, would have needed thorough prior voter education on this complex electoral process. Both women voters and men voters needed gender sensitive voter education to ensure their full and meaningful participation in the elections.

Nomination Stage

By past standards, a high number of women were nominated for both civic (about 130) and parliamentary (about 20) positions. However, many women aspirants faced indomitable problems during the nomination process. Five of the six elected women MPs were in the opposition not necessarily because of preference but because some of them sought and failed to get support from political parties of their choice. This situation applied to many of the women who did not win the elections. Candidate

Tabitha Seii, for example, was "ousted" from contesting the parliamentary seat in Kerio South during the KANU party nominations. Her male and powerful opponent, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, insisted the party election should take place by queue voting instead of secret ballot. Our observation revealed that many voters were highly intimidated and dared not vote against Mr. Biwott in the open. Furthermore, socio-cultural beliefs also forbade men to queue behind a woman in that part of the country. Tabitha Seii eventually had to switch her candidature to DP, although it was only KANU which was popular in Kerio South.

In several instances, the men candidates prevailed over their women counterparts in the party nomination because of committing blatant electoral malpractices such as illegal change of the nomination venue, buying party cards for their supporters, financially inducing supporters to vote for them and even colluding with their political parties to annul the nomination of women candidates in preference to defecting male candidates. For example, Grace W. Mwea was duly nominated by the DP to contest the Likoni seat. However, a Mr. Shakombo, after failing to secure nomination through KANU, resorted to the DP which purported to annul Mwea's nomination in preference to Mr. Shakombo. In Changamwe, the DP requested an already nominated male candidate to amicably stand down for Mr. Kiliku who had defected from KANU after DP's nominations. Similarly, Margaret Weveti Mugeni's nomination in Runyenjes under a DP ticket failed after the nomination venue was changed on the eve of elections without appropriate notice to herself and her supporters. Her late arrival at the new nomination venue gave her opponents the excuse to claim that there were no more ballot papers left for her supporters to nominate her. Mugeni thereafter shifted to FORD-Kenya. Grace Adeyo Onguru and Margaret Kiragu similarly gave us evidence that the DP had unfairly preferred men candidates over them in civic positions within Langata.

In the case of Jael Mbogo, FORD-Kenya claimed that a consensus had been reached among the aspirants in Embakasi Constituency in Nairobi that Dr. Munyua Waiyaki would stand on the FORD-Kenya ticket. Whatever the nature of this process, it probably robbed FORD-Kenya of the more promising candidature of Jael Mbogo.

The evidence available to us clearly indicates that the nomination process was often manipulated against women candidates to serve the narrow interests of a male dominated and driven party hierarchy. Several

women candidates, we found, were forced to seek nomination through the less popular political parties in their geographical area in lieu of opting out of the electoral contest altogether. Such women, almost as a rule, lost the elections.

Campaign Stage

As shown in the Appendices, an extraordinarily high level of harassment and violence was unleashed against women candidates and voters. Often it was witnessed by male officials who chose to take no action to legally combat it. Indeed, some of this harassment and violence was perpetrated by officials and quasi-official organs, such as chiefs, administrative police and Youth for KANU 1992 operatives.

The harassment of women candidates during the campaigning phase took diverse forms including the use of derogatory and violent language; manipulation of socio-cultural beliefs to bias voters against women; lack of security for women candidates especially during campaigns at night and in certain areas; heckling at meetings and harassment by partisan lobby groups, etc.

Women voters were also not spared harassment. In several constituencies women voters were exposed to physical violence. Typical examples of extreme acts of violence were reported in Kitui Central and Kerio South. On the 27th December 1992, in Kitui Central constituency, Charity Mwendwa and her supporters were pelted with stones. Two of their vehicles were damaged. Later at about 8 p.m. the same day, Charity Mwendwa's car was burned to ashes. In the process, some of her women supporters were raped. According to our election observers, these acts were witnessed by some armed policemen. Previously, on 23rd December 1992, a man had threatened to shoot the woman candidate — Mrs. Charity Mwendwa. An identified individual (NCSW has his name) had also pointed a gun at Mrs. Mwendwa's son, Vonza. Mrs. Mwendwa in a separate incident had YK'92 supporters stop her convoy and physically beat up her supporters. In this incident, an assistant chief is reported to have said that the houses of Mrs. Mwendwa would be burned. Also some areas in Kitui Central had been zoned off: Mrs. Mwendwa was unable to penetrate them for campaigns. These were Ithiani, Tiva and Kaliokokya. Here we would like to acknowledge the

timely intervention of the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, who arranged for special security for Mrs. Mwendwa on election day.

In Dagoretti, candidate Beth Mugo was also threatened with assassination and subjected to defamatory language.

In Ndia, Joyce Muthoni Githee had a gun drawn at her by an administrative official on two occasions, apart from being threatened with arrest on several occasions.

In Kerio South, administrative police and YK'92 supporters unleashed violence on Tabitha Seii. In one incident at Flax, a chief abused Mrs. Seii, and his guards threatened to shoot her. On December 28th, 1992 some YK'92 supporters tried to stone Seii. However, on the above two occasions, Seii was saved by the police security provided to her through the intervention of the Chairman of the Electoral Commission.

Mrs. Agnes Ndetei, MP candidate for Kibwezi, was shot at, less than 24 hours after she was declared victorious. Fortunately, the bullet missed her but wounded one of her supporters.

In Nyanza Province, any candidate—including women candidates—who did not support FORD-Kenya was harassed substantially. Violence was unleashed on her/his supporters as well.

As one of the Appendices reveals, the patterns of harassment and violence against women candidates and voters included:

- *Psychological intimidation.* An orchestrated campaign by male candidates claimed that the high incidence of women's elimination at the party nomination's stage was an indication of women's incompetence and general inability to win elections. The argument used was that even those women who made it through the nomination stage did so by default and therefore should be rejected by voters.
- *Tearing down of posters.* This affected women candidates more than men because of their thin resource base; they could not easily replace torn posters.
- *Single motherhood* was used against women candidates. Such marital status was equated with prostitution.
- *Denial to women candidates of licences to hold campaign meetings.* For instance, Tabitha Seii was given only 3 days to campaign officially. Even then, she encountered constant obstruction from her opponent's supporters. In this regard, widespread heckling and disruption of campaign meetings, including organized

thuggery intended to disrupt her meetings, were employed by her opponent's supporters.

- *Threatening letters* from unknown sources.
- *Harassment from fellow women voters*, who were acting out of lack of gender awareness and illiteracy.
- *Use of unsavoury and defamatory language*. One male candidate called his female counterpart a prostitute who had asked him for a date. The woman candidate in question, Mrs. Beth Mugo, was forced to introduce her husband in subsequent meetings to defend her integrity. Similarly Dyphina N. Simiyu, a civic candidate, was repeatedly told in a rally: "Go away, you are stinking! Go and cook for your husband." This abuse summarizes many insults hurled at women candidates.
- *Police surveillance of vocal women candidates* and imprisonment on false charges or restriction of at least one woman candidate, Mrs. Charity Mwendwa. As already noted, just prior to polling day, she was restricted to her house by her opponent's supporters until the police corrected the situation.
- *Invocation of supernatural forces* in favour of male candidates seems to have affected women voters more than men.
- *Pushing of women voters* in queues was quite common.
- *Because of lack of security for many women candidates*, most of them did nominal campaigning during the night. Most of the women candidates interviewed were unable to organize a door-to-door campaign exercise which ordinarily takes place at night. Door-to-door campaigning is one of the most effective forms of campaigning.
- *Socio-cultural beliefs were manipulated to bias women candidates* in several ways. These included:
 - (i) harping on the theme that women in the African context cannot and are not meant to be leaders;
 - (ii) questioning the moral uprightness of women candidates only. There were often innuendos to the effect that a woman interested in politics must be a prostitute.

Many other problems affected women candidates and women voters during the campaigns. Some of these are:

- Voters and campaigners routinely and everywhere in the Republic expected money in exchange of their votes and campaign help. Women candidates hardly had any resources to buy votes and campaigners. This commercialization of the electoral process hurt women candidates significantly. We have already stated that many of them did not have an independent source of finance. Furthermore, even when political parties nominated women candidates, our information reveals that the parties preferred to direct their resources first and foremost to male candidates who were thought to have higher chances of success than their women counterparts. Even in some instances where political parties promised material support to women candidates, such assistance was not always forthcoming.
- Inadequate time was availed to women civic candidates in campaign meetings. Where a political party meeting involved a male parliamentary candidate, a civic female candidate was only allowed to talk at the end and only for a brief period when the voters were dispersing.
- The limited time availed for campaigns made it harder for new political comers, many of them women candidates, who therefore did not sufficiently introduce themselves to the electorate.
- Illiteracy and lack of political and gender awareness made many women voters manipulable by the male dominated political parties against women candidates.
- Women voters were more vulnerable to manipulation and the selling of their voting rights than men voters due to their higher levels of poverty and responsibility for family maintenance. In some parts of Eastern Province, women thought those who had provided them with material assistance had tied this assistance, including famine relief, to an "oath" of allegiance. As a result, failure to vote for such male candidates, many women voters opined, could lead to catastrophes befalling their families. The voting of such women was, therefore, not free.

Women candidates, therefore, were thoroughly disadvantaged during the campaign period. Most of the campaign messages from men can-

didates sought to manipulate women voters rather than seek their vote in a fair and free manner.

Polling and Counting Stage

Although many of the problems encountered during the polling and counting stage were non-gender specific, there were some that affected women candidates and voters only. A dramatic incident of electoral malpractice was witnessed in Starehe where a woman parliamentary candidate, Ms. Orié Rogo-Manduli, informed us that she caught a returning officer ferrying a carton of already marked (and stamped) ballot papers into a polling station. The international press was subsequently called to witness the incident.

Perhaps the widespread illiteracy of women voters country-wide was the single most important factor responsible for voter manipulation. Our observers were unanimous that some party agents in "helping" illiterate voters to vote (the majority of whom were women) merely substituted the voter's preference with their own. Many illiterate women were instructed in polling queues and within polling booths about whom to vote for. When illiterate women were asked to loudly proclaim their voting preference before agents, they seemed intimidated into preferring candidates of one political party. Many polling booths, just like the previous queue voting system, did not provide for secrecy, hence creating the possibility for voter intimidation and manipulation during the voting exercise. Strictly speaking, secret balloting was a mirage for most women voters in rural areas.

The countrywide delays in the start of polling and "slow voting" adversely affected women voters more than their male counterparts. Delays meant the election ran into the night of December 29th, 1992 and, in some areas, into several days thereafter. Some women had to forfeit voting in order to return home to attend to their domestic chores.

Finally, most of the election officials were men. It is possible that women voters could have considered the polling exercise as a more voter friendly exercise if more women election officials were at hand to assist the women voters.

Gender Neutral Constraints in the Electoral Process

Although our interest was in those electoral malpractices which were gender specific, there were non-gender electoral constraints which compromised the elections for both women and male candidates. Other monitoring groups such as the Commonwealth Group, the Independent Republican Institute (IRI), the National Election Monitoring Unit (NEMU) concentrated on these. We therefore simply state some of these in general terms. These include:

- Widespread voter registration anomalies.
- Ethnic clashes which disenfranchised large segments of the population in Western, Nyanza and Rift Valley Provinces. Many people who were registered as voters in some constituencies could not vote. Mobile voting units which were promised by the Electoral Commission to cater for displaced persons apparently never materialised.
- Political zoning of the country constrained free campaigning for all candidates in all parts of the country.
- The swamping of the electoral process with campaign money after electoral expenses law was repealed. Voters and campaigners were indiscriminately "bought".
- Illegal prevention of some duly nominated party candidates by their opponents and/or government security officials from reaching returning officers for final nomination.
- Ineffective administration of the electoral process which made it amenable to manipulation.
- Inordinate delays in the starting of polling and counting of votes.

The above general constraints have already been amplified and elaborated upon by, *inter alia*, the Commonwealth Observer Group. These constraints, it must be repeated, compromised the electoral process for both men and women candidates.

Assessment

The twin combination of the gender specific electoral malpractices and the general constraints heavily compromised the electoral process especial-

ly in relation to women candidates. Both intra- and inter- party activity did not create a level political playing field for women candidates. Women aspirants found it hard to be nominated especially by the major political parties. Massive harassment and various discriminations against women candidates and women voters compounded the problem. Many illiterate women voters were disenfranchised as a result of fraudulent campaign messages and fraudulent assistance voting.

In our estimation, more women candidates could have won the elections if the level of electoral malpractices was lower. There is no single constituency where we carried out observations in which we did not unearth a high level of electoral irregularities directed against women candidates. Similarly, there was no single constituency which we monitored in which women voters were not manipulated especially due to their illiteracy, poor economic condition and socio-cultural factors. For women candidates and women voters, therefore, our observations have led us to conclude that the electoral process was not free and fair.

The above observations notwithstanding, we wish to observe that however flawed the December 1992 general elections were as far as women voters and women candidates were concerned, they nevertheless formed an important step forward for women voters and women candidates for the following reasons:

- (i) The largest number of women parliamentarians and councillors since independence were elected.
- (ii) In preparation for the elections and participation in the democratization process in general the women of Kenya organized themselves at a level they may not have done previously. Many new women lobby groups were formed. These groups organised many seminars/conferences in which women endeavoured to develop their agenda and strategies. The February 1992 Women's Convention and the July 1992 National Workshop for Capacity Building were perhaps the most important events for Kenyan women in 1992.
- (iii) A solid background for participation of women candidates in elections has in our estimation been laid.
- (iv) Political parties were forced to acknowledge that women and the women's movement in Kenya were an important force which must be given more than token recognition.

Therefore, our assessment of the December 1992 general elections

from the vantage point of women voters and women candidates, has led us to concede that they represented an important step forward on the road to the democratization process of this country. In this regard, we recognise that our country needs to urgently develop the requisite democratic culture and practice to enable it to experience reasonably free and fair elections for both women and men candidates and voters in future.

Recommendations

1. There is urgent need for eradication of illiteracy among women and girls, so that in future elections they do not vote by proxy. Both the government and NGOs should take concerted action in this regard.

2. There is also urgent need for massive countrywide civic education of both women and men voters, on their rights as citizens and the dynamics of a multi-party democratic political system.

3. The existing legal awareness programmes such as those currently undertaken by the Legal Awareness and Educational Programme (LEAP) and Kituo cha Sheria should be strengthened. In particular a strong gender component should be incorporated into these programmes. Women's legal organizations such as FIDA should also take up seriously the role of providing legal awareness to women, especially at the grassroots levels.

4. Women's organizations must strengthen their institutional and operational capacities in order to become viable channels for mobilizing and empowering women to participate on equal basis with men in all aspects of public life.

5. Women should also form their own autonomous political groups which can form the basis of recruiting and building capacity of women political leaders. The formation of a women controlled political party is highly recommended in this regard.

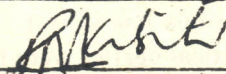
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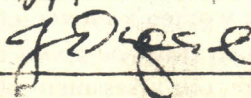
Dr. Maria Nzomo, CHAIRPERSON



Dr. Ruth N. Kibiti, SECRETARY



Ms. Julie Ongudi, TREASURER



PART 4

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN MANAGERS ORGANISED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW) HELD ON 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1992

PROGRAMME

8.00 - 9.00 a.m.	Registration
9.00 - 9.30 a.m.	'Welcome and Introductory Remarks' by Mrs. S.A. Oyugi and Mrs. M.P. Auma
9.30 - 10.00 a.m.	Introduction for All Participants
10.00 - 10.30 a.m.	'Opening Remarks' by Dr. Maria Nzomo
10.30 - 11.00 a.m.	Tea Break
11.00 - 11.30 a.m.	'Electoral Laws' by Prof. Kivutha Kibwana
11.30 - 12.00 noon	'Women Campaign Issues' by Dr. Ruth Kibiti
12.00 - 12.30 p.m.	'Women Campaign Strategies' by Dr. Maria Nzomo
12.30 - 1.00 p.m.	Reaction from Participants
1.00 - 2.00 p.m.	Lunch Break
2.00 - 3.00 p.m.	Discussion Groups (Discussion Questions to be Issued by Resource Persons)
3.00 - 3.30 p.m.	Group Reports
3.30 - 4.30 p.m.	Plenary Discussion
4.30 - 5.00 p.m.	Chief Rapporteur's Report and Plan of Action
5.00 p.m.	Closing Remarks.

Appendix 2

TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN MANAGERS ORGANISED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW) HELD ON 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1992 AT LIONS GIRLS HOSTEL, KARIOKOR, NAIROBI

PARTICIPANTS

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Serah A. Oyugi — Civic Candidate,
Huruma Ward 51, Mathare | 26. Josephine Achieng |
| 2. Thomas Wadegu Ador | 27. Roselyne Nyangaga |
| 3. Pamela Elizabeth Obiero | 28. Beleta Wanjiku |
| 4. Omondi Alego | 29. Jane Okoth |
| 5. Paul Odipo | 30. Alice Onyango |
| 6. Zedekia Olunga | 31. Dalmas Olando |
| 7. Esna Aluvisa | 32. John Okoth |
| 8. Josephine Njoki | 33. Clement Ranago |
| 9. Margaret Njeri | 34. Paul Ondiek |
| 10. Mary Mbone Mutambi | 35. Nelson Agot |
| 11. Alice Changwe | 36. Florence Amolo |
| 12. Josephine Adhiambo | 37. Mary Amol Akinyi |
| 13. Risper Aoko Ouma | 38. Margaret Atieno |
| 14. Joyce Atieno | 39. Francis Akaliche |
| 15. Ogollah Oloo | 40. Mary Muthoni |
| 16. Tabu Odera | 41. Carol Wangari |
| 17. Benta Akinyi | 42. Rosemary Otong |
| 18. Zipporah Otieno | 43. Patricia Achieng |
| 19. Hezekiah Ogutu | 44. Nelson Abot |
| 20. Benard Owino Nyolo | 45. Owira Abade |
| 21. Joshua Orero | 46. Salim Juma |
| 22. James Mogwamba | 47. Joab Anunda |
| 23. Pamela Akinyi Wao | 48. Robby Munyasa |
| 24. Charles Omondi | 49. Nicholas Muteti |
| 25. Ann Wanjiru | 50. Philista Anyango |

Appendix 3

TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN MANAGERS ORGANISED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW) AT KARIOKOR LIONS GIRLS HOSTEL ON 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1992

PARTICIPANTS

1. Mary Auma — Civic Candidate,
Ruaraka Ward 53, Mathare
2. Mary Mwangi
3. Jacqueline Ndesajo
4. Caroline Ndesajo
5. David Onditi
6. Tabitha Alomo
7. Audi Olali
8. Florence Meya
9. Teresia Musao
10. Regina Onyango
11. Raphael Obondo
12. F.A. Akongo
13. Joseph Otieno
14. Wilfred Anyango
15. Margaret Anyango
16. Jane Ayoo
17. Margaret A. Owino
18. Emily Adhiambo
19. Pastor Samuel Mwaka
20. Isaac Owiti
21. Lucy Nduta
22. Neddy Vugutsa
23. Teresia Mbeti
24. Hellen W. Randa
25. Esther Mwende
26. Boniface Nzoka
27. Allan Wambua
28. Benta A. Wadegu
29. Nelson Wao
30. Vincent Ochieng
31. Peter Omollo
32. Lucas Juma
33. Anastasia Apiyo
34. Kesia Akinyi
35. Lukadia Juma
36. Brigitte Nyaminde
37. Alice Atieno
38. Mrs. Consolata Awuor
39. Damrose Akinyi
40. Pius Ndolo
41. Rose Achieng
42. Peninah Adhiambo
43. J.M. Nzuki
44. Andrew Opee
45. Monica Kaiguru
46. Michael Owiti
47. Esther Osengo
48. P. Olwal Ooro
49. Agnes Akumu
50. Isaac Muiruri

Appendix 6

TRAINING WORKSHOP FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN MANAGERS ORGANISED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW) AT RUNYENJES MARKET SOCIAL HALL ON 31.10.92

PROGRAMME

8.00 - 9.00 a.m.	Registration
9.00 - 9.30	'Welcome and Introductory Remarks' by Mrs. Margaret Weveti Mugeni
9.30 - 10.00 a.m.	Introduction for All Participants
10.00 - 10.30 a.m.	'Opening Remarks' by Dr. Maria Nzomo
10.30 - 11.00 a.m.	Tea Break
11.00 - 11.30 a.m.	'Electoral Laws' by Prof. Kivutha kibwana
11.30 - 12.00 noon	'Women Campaign Issues' by Dr. Ruth Kibiti
12.00 - 12.30 p.m.	'Women Campaign Strategies' by Dr. Maria Nzomo
12.30 - 1.00 p.m.	Reaction from Participants
1.00 - 2.00 p.m.	Lunch Break
2.00 - 3.00 p.m.	Discussion Groups (Discussion Questions to be Issued by Resource Persons)
3.00 - 3.30 p.m.	Group Reports
3.30 - 4.30 p.m.	Plenary Discussion
4.30 - 5.00 p.m.	Chief Rapporteur's Report and Plan of Action
5.00 p.m.	Closing Remarks

Appendix 7

2 TRAINING WORKSHOPS FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES' CAMPAIGN MANAGERS ORGANISED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW) AT RUNYENJES MARKET SOCIAL HALL ON 31.10.92

PARTICIPANTS

NAME	STATUS
1. Margaret Weveti Mugeni	Parliamentary candidate
2. Hellen Wanjuki Murangiri	Civic candidate
3. Priscilla Muthoni	Civic candidate
4. Mary I. Ruraa	Civic candidate
5. Hellen K. Gatumu	Civic candidate
6. Agnes Muthanje Waganagwa	Kyeni Social Women Group
7. Mercy Wairimu Njeru	MYWO (Kithimu)
8. Nicerata Rwamba	Karurumo Women Group
9. Lydia Muthanje	Kanja Church Organization
10. Rebecca Muthoni	Kyeni Social Women Group
11. Anastasia Wambeti Njagi	Mbui Njeru Social Women
12. Loise Warue	Kithegi Social Women Group
13. Sophia Wandiri	Kithimu Social Women Group
14. Anisia Wanjuki	Farmer
15. Lispa Wanja	Farmer
16. Natalia Njura	Farmer
17. Spora Mukiri Murigo	ENA/Christian Group
18. David Maina	Farmer
19. Washington Ireri	Businessman
20. Lawrence J. Njiru	Civic candidate (Kithimu)
21. Penina Kaumbuthu	Kyeni North Women Group
22. Mary Wanjuki	Farmer
23. Ndionisia M. Ireri	Kagari North Women Leader
24. Anna Njura	Kyeni South Women Leader

25.	Tracy Muganje	Thagaiya Women Leader
26.	Alieti Kare	Farmer
27.	John Njue	Farmer
28.	Paul Njue	Farmer
29.	Alfred Ngare	Farmer
30.	Monica Njoka	Farmer
31.	Leminjia Kanini	Secretary
32.	Lilian Dorothy Muthoni	Kyeni North Co-ordinator
33.	Mary Muthanje	Ass. Women Co-ordinator
34.	Mr. M.M. Nyagah	Farmer
35.	Nasalia Muthoni	Farmer
36.	Rachael Muthanje	Farmer
37.	Anastasia Wanja	Gaturi Women's Group
38.	Naselina Maregu	Gaturi Women's Group
39.	Japheth Njiru	C.P.K. Secretary Kagari
40.	Martin Nthiga	Teachers Kevote
41.	Esther W. Ujungi	Business-woman
42.	Sarah Maregu	Farmer
43.	Misilata Rwamba	Farmer
44.	Peris Wanja Gatumu	Farmer
45.	Beth Ciaronje	Chairlady, Women's Group
46.	Alice Tata	Mwereri Women's Group
47.	Thairi Gisuku	Farmer
48.	Charity Mbiru	Farmer
49.	Rosemary Kithaka	Business-woman
50.	Nancy Njoki	Chairlady, Women's Group
51.	Judith Wanjera	Chairlady, Women's Group
52.	Fides Maregu	Farmer
53.	Lucy Warue	Farmer
54.	Serah Ciumuri	Farmer
55.	Faith Wanjera	Farmer
56.	Elizabeth John	Kanja Women Group
57.	Rosemary Wagina	Farmer
58.	Mary Njura Jason	Farmer
59.	Miss Muthoni Kambuthu	Business-woman
60.	Mr. Gregory Mbiti	Farmer
61.	Aloise Njeru	Farmer
62.	Mary Njeri	Farmer
63.	Mrs. Wakina Nthiga	Farmer
64.	Mrs. Mercy Muthanja	Farmer
65.	Elima Giteri	Farmer
66.	Jane Igandu	Farmer

67. Susan Igandu	Farmer
68. Judith Njeri	Kaduthi Women's Group
69. Tabitha Muragu	Farmer
70. Elizabeth Nguu	Farmer
71. Mary Muragu	Farmer
72. Lilian Syomwale	Farmer
73. Nisirata Rurigi	Farmer
74. Esther Syomwale	Farmer
75. Augustine Njagi	Farmer
76. Paul Njiru	Councillor
77. Sammy Mutua	Civil servant
78. Livingstone Mbogo Philip	Civil servant
79. Lucy Njeru	Manager, Mashariki Bakery
80. Peter Njeru Waweru	Primary school teacher
81. Mary Njagi	Teacher/Women leader
82. Mr. Mbaka	Men leader
83. Mrs. Nderi	Teacher
84. Mr. Dishon Giciru	Youth leader
85. Mrs. Madris Mati	Women leader, C.P.K.
86. Sarah Trupas Wakariyu	Women leader
87. Ruth Njeru Timotheo	Business-woman
88. Mary Kiarago	Business-woman
89. Mrs. Naomi Wamae	Teacher, Kigari College
90. Mrs. Kangichu	Women leader, Salvation Army
91. Lucy Kago	Teacher (Ntagaiya Pri. School)
92. Diana Kivuti	Women leader C.P.K.
93. Mrs. Waweru	Women leader
94. Mary Muthoni Simon	Business-woman
95. Anne Muchungu	KANU Women leader
96. Anna Wangu Muthee	Teacher (Gatoori Pri. School)
97. Mrs. Njagi Karue	Teacher
98. Kallen Njeru	Women leader/teacher
99. Beth Joshua Paulo	Women leader (Catholic)
100. Mrs. Mugo	Headmistress, Kyeni Sec. School

Appendix 8

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN WORKSHOP ON ELECTION MONITORING HELD AT Y.M.C.A. NAIROBI ON FRIDAY 4TH DECEMBER, 1992

PROGRAMME

8.00 a.m.	Registration
8.30 a.m.	General Introduction (Dr. Maria Nzomo) Discussion on <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Objectives of the Workshop● Draft Programme
9.00 - 11.00 a.m.	Election Monitoring <ul style="list-style-type: none">● The Process● The Actors Involved● The Work Involved● The Monitoring Rules Discussion (Facilitator: OKECH OWITI, Legal Education and Aid Programme of Kenya Adult Education Association LEAP/KAEA)
11.00 - 11.30 a.m.	Tea Break
11.30 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.	Electoral Laws and Procedures <ul style="list-style-type: none">● General Survey● Election Officials● Campaigning● Voting Process● Counting● Election Offences● Possible Electoral Malpractices Discussion (Facilitator: CHIURI NGUGI, LEAP/KAEA)
1.00 - 2.00 p.m.	Lunch
2.00 - 4.00 p.m.	Elections and Women Candidates <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Discriminatory Practices against Women Candidates
4.00 - 4.30 p.m.	Tea Break
4.30 - 5.30 p.m.	Discussion (Facilitator: MS. VIOLET K. MAVISI, LEAP/KAEA)

Appendix 9

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN LIST OF ELECTION MONITORS

Name

1. Dr. Maria Nzomo
2. Dr. Ruth Nasimiyu Kibiti
3. Juliet Nyabate Ongudi
4. Dr. Pamela Kola
5. Roselyn A. Nyakundi
6. Abigael Vulule
7. Linda Onimbo
8. Veronica Waweru
9. Esther Wairimu Kiragu
10. Lena Omondi
11. Joyce Wambui
12. David Moroki
13. Peter Mukenya
14. Leonard Makokha
15. Pauline Kemunto
16. Anne Ayo
17. Faith Mueni Muya
18. Rosemary Kyee Mutuku
19. Josephine Nyambura Mucuku
20. Loise Waiganjo Mwangi
21. Joshua Mwambia Muturia
22. Danford Ngei Mwanzia
23. Mary Karimi Kimaita
24. Kimathi Muthuri
25. Daniel Lango
26. Otieno Ochido
27. Permenas David Muttu
28. Mary M. Musee
29. Margaret Mutua
30. Jane Kinaru
31. Naomi Njeri
32. Ndirangu Muhoro

33. Jane Munyi
34. Atieno H. Anyango
35. Charity Nashipae Kinaiya
36. Magambo J. Kimathi
37. Lucy Nkatha
38. Njeru P. Karimi
39. Ayuka Francis Carey
40. Douglas Ileri
41. Regina Mutiso
42. Njuguna S. Njenga
43. Japheth Gikunda
44. Daniel M. Ndolo
45. Doris N. Mutea
46. Katutu R.M.
47. Purity Senewa
48. Lilian Wanjiru Kamau
49. Narson Omondi Khayombe
50. Alexis W. Ndoi
51. Dominic M. Ndewa
52. Judith Onsomu
53. Edward O. Mogire
54. Joshua A. Okumu
55. Beatrice Nyamoita
56. Catherine Kamau
57. Elizabeth Sirengo
58. Jane Muthoni Kihuria
59. Makokha M.S.
60. Wafula C.S.
61. Regina Wairimu Kangethe
62. Mary Lwangasi
63. John Toywa
64. Roselyne Murugu
65. Jane W. Muruga
66. Chebet C. Mwarey
67. Julia C. Rotich
68. Julie Kisaka
69. Veronica Mwanzia
70. Mudogo Robert
71. Sally N. Kamau
72. Ngugi W. Jane
73. Eva A. Ocham
74. Monica N. Mwove

75. Florence Karuru
76. Elizabeth Otieno
77. Elizabeth Mbugua
78. Edith Mutie
79. Kariuki A.W.
80. Elizabeth Isoyi
81. Wambui F. Kariuki
82. Cecilia Muteti
83. Harrahs Malinda
84. Rukwaru Immaculate
85. Jennifer G. Njenga
86. Regina W. Wamuri
87. Lydiah Ayanga
88. Muthoni Mary
89. Caroline Muriira
90. Mercy Kiumbe
91. Susan Kanafunzi
92. Anne W. Kamau
93. Mwangangi Nzisa
94. Gichinga Ndirangu
95. Michael Otieno
96. Enock Aloo
97. Margaretta wa Gacheru
98. Prof. Kivutha Kibwana
99. Terry Kariuki
100. S.M. Kamau

Appendix 10

FORM A: CHECKLIST FOR MONITORING: BEFORE VOTING

1. POLLING STATION

Province _____ Town _____

District _____ Village _____

Actual time polling station opened _____

Actual time voting began _____

Total number of voters on register _____

2. NAMES OF PEOPLE PRESENT

Electoral officials (No.)

1. _____

2. _____

Party representatives (No.)

1. _____

2. _____

Non-partisan monitors (No.)

1. _____

2. _____

International Observers (No.)

1. _____

2. _____

Media:

3. SECURITY PERSONNEL PRESENT: (Yes/No and how many)

Soldiers _____

Police _____

Plainclothes _____

Paramilitary _____

4. AT THE TIME POLLING BEGINS ARE THE FOLLOWING ELECTION MATERIALS PRESENT AT THE POLL SITE? YES _____ NO _____ IF NO THEN MARK THE TIME THE MATERIAL ARRIVE _____

Voters list

Ballot Boxes

Election Commission forms reporting count. (Form GEN7)

Ballot papers with official marks

Indelible Ink

Official Seal and Party Seals

Polling booths screened to ensure secret casting of ballot?

Voting instructions and procedures posted inside and outside the station?

Notices with candidates' names?

Notices showing symbol for each candidate/party?

5. BEFORE BALLOTING ARE THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS MET?
YES/NO.

Is the polling place accessible to voters including the handicapped? Were all the candidates given written notice by the electoral office as to:

(i) when voting is taking place?

(ii) which place and what time the votes will be counted?

Were the ballot boxes opened and turned upside down in your presence to verify that they are empty?

Were the boxes locked and sealed in your presence with official seals and various party seals? (N.B.: Boxes should not be opened or unsealed until the actual counting of ballots.)

Were the keys to the ballot boxes put in an envelope and sealed with official seals? (Envelopes should not be opened until counting takes place.)

Were the ballot boxes placed in an open position where they can be seen by everyone permitted to be present?

Were there campaign propaganda material inside the poll station or within 100 metres of the polling station?

Did each ballot paper have a counterfoil bearing the same serial number as the ballot paper? (regulations)

6. Please grade electoral process at your polling station

Proces worked well 1 2 3 4 5

Balloting was fair 1 2 3 4 5

Minor problems but overall process was satisfactory 1 2 3 4 5

Failure to allow for honest process 1 2 3 4 5

7. Please document and comment on any problems that you see.

Signature of Monitor

Print Name of Monitor

Print Address of Monitor

Appendix 11

FORM B: CHECKLIST FOR MONITORS — DURING VOTING

1. POLLING SITE

Province _____

Signature of Monitor

District _____

Town _____ Village _____

Signature of Monitor

Print Name of Monitor

Print Address of Monitor

ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

2. Was the authorized polling officer always on duty during the day?
3. Was there complete secrecy of the balloting possible at all times for all voters?
4. Did you observe any irregularities during the voting procedures?
 - (a) Voters must present themselves to the polling officer producing the following:
 - national registration card
 - voters registration card
 - both hands free of indelible ink
 - (b) Voters' name and number must appear on the register's list and be properly checked off by the polling officer.
 - (c) Ballot papers must be properly distributed:
 - one ballot for presidential election and one ballot for parliamentary election and one ballot for civic election
 - stamped with the official stamp and free of any pre-markings
 - voter's number written on counterfoil and counterfoil detached from the ballot
 - (d) Spoiled ballot papers must be properly cancelled and a replacement ballot paper issued.
 - (e) Disabled persons may request assistance from presiding officer, relative or friend.
5. Did you observe any irregularities during the closing of the polls? e.g.
 - (a) Were all persons seeking to vote allowed to vote?
 - (b) Were the ballot boxes closed and sealed in the presence of agents and observers?
 - (c) Were the party agents invited to add their seals to ballot boxes?
 - (d) Was the name of the polling station marked clearly on the boxes?

6. Did the presiding officer complete the ballot paper account form?
7. Please grade the balloting and counting process at your polling station.
- | | |
|---|-----------|
| Process worked well | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Balloting was fair | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Minor problems | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Process was satisfactory | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Failure to allow for honest process | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Minor problems but overall process was satisfactory | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Failure to allow for honest process | 1 2 3 4 5 |
7. Please document and comment on any problems that you see.

Signature of Monitor

Print Name of Monitor

Print Address of Monitor

Appendix 12

INDICES FOR ELECTORAL IRREGULARITIES AND PROBLEMS AS THEY AFFECTED WOMEN VOTERS AND WOMEN CANDIDATES ON A CONSTITUENCY BASIS

Before Nomination

	Msambweni	Mvita	Likoni	Kimilili	Kitui West	Limuru	Githunguri	Lari	Siaya	Kinangop
Discouragement from relatives, spouses	—	—	×	✓	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lack of independent resources	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rejection by political parties	—	—	✓	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inferiority complex	—	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Denial of permits	—	—	×	—	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—

Nomination Stage

Manipulation of rules in favour of men	—	—	✓	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
Outright male bias	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	—	✓
Resort to smaller parties	—	—	×	×	—	—	—	—	—	—

Campaign Stage

Use of derogatory language	×	—	×	✓	—	✓	✓	—	—	✓
Use of biased social cultural beliefs	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓	✓
Lack of security	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Intimidation by spouses, relatives, friends	—	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—	✓	—
Physical violence	—	—	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	—
Tearing of posters	—	—	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—
Single motherhood bias	—	—	—	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	—

	Msambweni	Mvita	Likoni	Kimilili	Kitui West	Limuru	Githunguri	Lari	Siaya	Kinangop
Availed inadequate time in rallies	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	✓	—
Allocation of last chance to address rallies	—	✓	—	✓	—	—	✓	—	✓	—
Discriminatory heckling	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓	—	—	—	—
Gender police harassment	—	—	✗	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—
Threatening letters	—	—	—	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	✓
False imprisonment	—	—	—	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—
Discouragement from fellow women	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	✓	✓	—

Polling Stage

Illiteracy of women voters	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	✓	✓	—
Intimidation of women voters by officials	—	—	—	✗	—	—	—	—	✓	—
Delays in the process	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	✓	✓
Discouragement by darkness	—	—	✓	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hostility from male officials	—	—	—	✗	—	—	—	✓	✓	—

General Problems

Registration anomalies	—	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	✓	—
Cooperation from officials	—	—	✗	✓	✗	—	—	—	✗	—
Exclusion of certain parties from campaigns	—	✗	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Physical restraint during nomination day	—	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delays in start of polling	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—	—	✓
Theft of votes	—	✗	✗	✓	—	—	—	—	—	✓
Stuffing of boxes	—	✗	—	✗	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Improper counting	—	✗	✗	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—
Improper announcement of results	—	✗	✗	✗	—	—	—	—	—	—

KITUI CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY

Before Nomination

Discouragement from male relatives,
spouses, friends etc.

Want of independent resources

Rejection by political parties

—
✓
—

Nomination Stage

Manipulation of rules in favour of men

Outright male bias

Resort to smaller parties

—
—
—

Campaign Stage

Use of derogatory language

Use of biased social cultural beliefs

Lack of security

Intimidation by spouses, relatives, friends etc.

Physical violence

Tearing of posters

Single motherhood bias

Avalied inadequate time by men during rallies

Allocation of last chance to address rallies

Discriminatory heckling

Gender police harassment

Threatening letters

False imprisonment

Discouragement from fellow women

✓
✓
✓
—
✓
✓
—
✓
—
✓
✓
✓
—
—

Polling Stage

Illiteracy of women voters

Intimidation of women voters

Delays in the polling process

Discouragement by darkness

Hostility from male officials

—
✓
—
—
—
✓

General Problems

Registration anomalies

Co-operation from officials

Exclusion of certain parties from campaigns

Physical restraint during nomination day

Delays in the start of polling

Theft of votes

Shifting of boxes

Improper counting

Improper announcement of results

—
X
✓
X
—
✓
✓
—
—

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Before Nomination

	Ndia	Nakuru East	Elgeyo Marakwet	Kerio South	Kajiado, North	Starehe	Nakuru	Meru	Gachoka & Runyenjes
Discouragement from male relatives, spouses	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
Lack of independent resources	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rejection by political parties	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inferiority complex	X	X	—	—	—	—	✓	—	—
Denial of permits	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X

Nomination Stage

Manipulation of rules in favour of men	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
Outright male bias	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	✓	✓
Resort to smaller parties	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Campaigning Stage

Use of derogatory language	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Use of biased socio-cultural beliefs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Lack of security intimidation by spouses, relatives etc.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Physical violence	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	✓	—
Tearing of posters	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Single motherhood bias	X	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓	—	—
Availed inadequate time in rallies	✓	—	—	X	X	—	X	—	—
Allocation of last chance to address rallies	X	—	—	✓	—	✓	—	✓	—
Discriminatory heckling	X	—	—	✓	X	✓	✓	—	✓
Gender police harassment	✓	—	—	✓	✓	—	—	—	—
Threatening letters	✓	—	—	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	—
False imprisonment	✓	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—
Discouragement from fellow women	X	—	—	✓	X	✓	✓	—	—

Polling Stage

	Ndia	Nakuru East	Elgeyo Marakwet	Kerio South	Kajiado North	Starehe	Nakuru	Meru	Gachoka & Runyenjes
Illiteracy of women voters	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Intimidation of women voters by officials	×	—	—	✓	✓	—	—	✓	—
Delays in the process	—	—	—	✓	—	—	✓	✓	—
Discouragement by darkness/insecurity	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hostility from male officials	—	—	—	✓	✓	—	—	✓	—

General Problems

Registration Anomalies	—	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Cooperation from officials	—	—	—	×	—	—	✓	×	—
Exclusion of certain parties from campaign	✓	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Physical restraint during nomination day	—	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Delays in start of polling	—	—	—	✓	—	—	✓	✓	—
Theft of votes	—	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Stuffing of boxes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Improper announcement of results	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Improper counting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	×

Before Nomination

	Kamukunji	Langata	Mathare	Starehe	Embakasi	Westlands	Dagoretti
Discouragement from male relatives, spouses, friends etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lack of independent resources	✓	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rejection by political parties	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Nomination Stage

Manipulation of rules in men's favour	—	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Outright male bias	—	✓	✓	—	✓	—	—
Resort to smaller political parties	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Denial of permits	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×

Campaigning Stage

Use of derogatory language	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
----------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

142 WOMEN'S INITIATIVES IN KENYA'S DEMOCRATIZATION

	Kamukunji	Langata	Mathare	Starehe	Embakasi	Westlands	Dagoretti
Use of biased socio-cultural beliefs	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓
Lack of security	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Intimidation of spouses, relatives, friends etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Physical violence	—	—	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Tearing of posters	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	—
Single motherhood bias	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Availed inadequate time in rallies	—	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Allocation of last chance to address rallies	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—
Discriminatory heckling	—	—	✓	—	✓	✓	—
Gender police harassment	—	—	✓	—	—	—	✓
Threatening letters	—	—	✓	—	—	✓	✓
False imprisonment	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Discouragement from fellow women	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Polling Stage

Illiteracy of women voters	—	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓
Intimidation of women voters by officials/ security	—	—	✓	✗	—	—	—
Delays in the polling process	—	—	—	✓	✓	✓	✓
Discouragement by darkness	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hostility from male officials	—	—	—	—	—	✓	—

General Problems

Registration anomalies	—	—	✓	—	—	—	—
Cooperation from officials	—	—	✗	—	—	✓	—
Exclusion of certain parties from campaigning	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Physical restraint during nomination day	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delays in start of polling	—	—	—	—	✓	—	—
Theft of votes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Shifting of boxes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Improper counting	—	—	—	—	—	✓	—
Improper announcement of results	—	—	—	—	—	✓	—

Appendix 13

SUMMARY OF ELECTORAL IRREGULARITIES AND PROBLEMS AS THEY AFFECTED WOMEN VOTERS AND WOMEN CANDIDATES IN 30 CONSTITUENCIES

Before Nomination

	✓	X	—
Discouragement from male relatives, spouses, friends etc	1	3	26
Lack of independent resources	27	2	1
Rejection by political parties	2	2	26

Nomination Stage

Manipulation of rules in favour of men	2	3	25
Outright male bias	12	1	27
Resort to smaller parties	—	2	28
Denial of permits	9	2	14

Campaigning Stage

Use of derogatory language	21	2	7
Use of biased socio-cultural beliefs	24	1	5
Lack of security	29	0	1
Intimidation by spouses; relatives etc	3	2	25
Physical violence	21	0	9
Tearing of posters	11	2	17
Single motherhood bias	3	3	21
Availed inadequate time by men during rallies	14	1	15
Allocation of last chances to address rallies	7	2	15
Discriminatory heckling	14	2	14
Gender police harassment	6	2	22
Threatening letters	14	0	16
False imprisonment	1	2	27
Discouragement	8	2	20

Polling Stage

Illiteracy of women voters	20	0	10
Intimidation of women voters	6	2	22
Delays in the polling process	13	0	17
Discouragement of darkness	2	0	28
Hostility from male officials	7	0	23

General Problems

Registration anomalies	6	0	24
Cooperation from officials	2	7	21
Exclusion of certain parties from campaigns	3	0	27
Physical restraint during nomination day	1	2	27
Delays in the start of polling	8	0	22
Theft of votes	4	2	24
Stuffing of boxes	2	2	26
Improper sealing of boxes	—	0	30
Improper counting of votes	1	3	26
Substitution of results	—	0	30
Improper announcement of results	1	3	26

Key for symbols

- ✓ confirmation of information sought
- X negative response
- information not sought

Appendix 14:

AN EXAMPLE OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION?

Likoni: Women intervene

Kenya Times, December 23, 1992

By TIMES Reporter

Two women's organisations yesterday demanded an explanation from DP presidential candidate Mr. Mwai Kibaki as to why he ordered the withdrawal of Mrs. Grace Wakarima Mwea's name as the party parliamentary candidate for Likoni in Mombasa District.

The two, the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW), said DP headquarters had already written to the Electoral Commission asking it to omit Mrs. Mwea's name among the list of candidates earlier cleared for the seat.

A statement read by the NCWK boss, Ms. Lilian Mwaura, and signed by the NCSW boss, Dr. Maria Nzomo, questioned why Mr. Kibaki discriminated against Mrs. Mwea in favour of Mr. Rashid Shakombo who had earlier contested for nomination of the same seat on a Kanu ticket but was defeated.

Ms Mwaura, who was accompanied by the NCSW publicity officer, Ms Margaretta wa Gacheru, charged that during the December 9 nomination exercise, DP forwarded the two names and that both were registered.

A bitter Mrs. Mwea said she started selling DP in Mombasa South since it was founded and that todate the party had gained ground in the area.

Appendix 15

PRESS STATEMENT

GENERAL ELECTIONS NOMINATION PROCEDURES AND OTHER ELECTION ISSUES AS THEY AFFECT WOMEN

Preamble

The events that took place at a Kanu rally in Kerio South, Elgeyo Marakwet District last Saturday, October 31st 1992, in which a woman parliamentary candidate, Tabitha Seii, was harassed and literally denied her democratic right to address the said rally, brings to light a number of crucial issues pertinent to women's democratic rights that must be seriously addressed at this time, if elections are indeed to be free and fair and if democracy is to be seen to be practised in this country.

1. The National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) and other women's organisations and lobby groups have been watching political events closely as they have unfolded in this country as we approach the forthcoming civic and parliamentary elections.

We have been saddened by the increased level of violence, the total lack of direction of the leaders of political parties as they fight over who becomes the next president. Greed, personal ambition and utter selfishness that have characterised the politics of this country for the last thirty years and which have caused so much misery to the majority of the citizens of this country have been the order of the day. The real pertinent issues of development and democratisation that ushered us into the multi-party era seem to have been lost and instead replaced by this senseless pursuit of power at whatever cost.

2. We, the women of Kenya, being the ones who have in the past borne the major burden and cost of all the catastrophes that have befallen this country and are likely to continue doing so unless the situation changes now, would like to plead at this important transitional period in our country's history, for a return to sanity by all those who are aspir-

ing to lead this country.

We in particular urge all leaders to rededicate themselves to the democratisation agenda that was in the minds and lips of all Kenyans as we started the multi-party era in December 1991.

3. The majority of the leaders of this country, especially in the political arena, have in the past been men. We have no guarantee as it is now, that if we have another male dominated political system things are going to change for the better. This is why we the NCSW and other women's lobby groups have worked tirelessly for the last 10 months with the objective of ensuring that women are represented in large enough numbers in the next government, both at the civic and parliamentary levels. In this regard, we embarked on a crash educational programme of capacity building of women candidates and women voters with the objective of ensuring that in the forthcoming general elections women fully exercise their democratic rights to vote and to be voted for as candidates for civic and parliamentary seats.

We have succeeded in attaining the highest number ever, of over 70 civic and parliamentary women candidates, all ready to vie for various civic and parliamentary seats in the country. Our hopes are high and we have a lot of confidence that many of these women candidates will win, if the elections are free and fair.

The trend of events at the moment, however, suggests that the forthcoming multi-party elections may not be free and fair. Apart from the many irregularities and the disenfranchisement that have already taken place starting with the registration of voters, there are other issues that now concern us as we approach the general elections.

4. In particular, we are concerned by the fluidity of the various modes of nomination procedures being employed by various political parties. Apart from the fact that each political party has its own nomination procedures, even within parties it is not always clear what nomination procedure is to be used; whether, for example, it is popular vote or delegate systems of nomination. This in itself creates a great deal of confusion among ordinary Kenyans, and leaves adequate room for unscrupulous leaders of political parties to manipulate and exploit the electoral process to serve their own ends rather than those of the electorate.

5. We women of Kenya are especially opposed to the use of the

queuing method in nominating civic and parliamentary candidates. We believe the use of this method is basically undemocratic and intimidating, especially to the women electorate, who not only fear the wrath of "powerful" male politicians but also domestic violence and even divorce by their spouses, that could arise if they queued behind a candidate other than that desired by their male overlords.

The 1988 General Elections clearly demonstrated this situation in a very graphic way. In any case, since the queuing method has already been proved to be the rigging method par excellence, as was clearly brought out in the findings of the KANU Review Committee, and since it was subsequently scrapped for use in the forthcoming general elections, we fail to understand why it should be provided for as an option to be employed in nominating KANU candidates for the forthcoming elections. Allowing the queuing method to be used, in our view, is a way of rigging the nomination process, thus preventing suitable candidates from contesting political office in the forthcoming elections.

6. In this connection, we would like to declare our total support for Tabitha Seii and other women candidates who have expressed their opposition to the attempt by some leaders to impose the undemocratic queue voting system for KANU nominations. It is only the secret ballot that can ensure that the direct mode of nomination of candidates adopted by KANU is going to be truly free and fair.

7. We are also concerned that unless the current trend, that has already been started by rich candidates of buying out voters cards from poor people, is brought to an end, these coming elections will not be free and fair and women candidates are likely to be the major victims. This is so because many of the poor people who are likely to be robbed of their voting rights are women. These are the same women from whom many women candidates are expecting to get the majority of their votes.

8. We, therefore, propose that: (i) all political parties simplify and harmonise their nomination and electoral procedures to avoid confusion and manipulation of ordinary Kenyans; (ii) the queuing method be completely abandoned as a method of nominating candidates by any political party intending to use it; (iii) intimidation and buying of voters cards from poor voters be exposed and unscrupulous candidates who involve themselves in voter card buying be disqualified from participating in the forthcoming general elections

Chairperson, National Committee on the Status of Women
Dr. Maria Nzomo

Chairman, National Council of Women of Kenya
Ms. Lilian Mwaura

Chairperson, FIDA
Jane Michuki

Chairperson, Women Voters League
Martha Njoka

National Executive Secretary, YWCA
Mrs. L. Owiti

Date: 3-11-92

Appendix 16

To: News Editors

1. Nation Newspapers
2. Standard Newspapers
3. Kenya Times Newspapers
4. K.B.C.
5. K.T.N.

PRESS STATEMENT ON THE INORDINATE DELAY OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELECTORAL RESULTS BY THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

*By: Dr. Maria Nzomo, Chairperson and National Coordinator, (NCSW)
Election Observer Unit*

Undoubtedly Kenya's 1992 multi-party elections have so far been characterized by an extraordinary peaceful atmosphere. Kenyan voters on the 29th December 1992 demonstrated to the whole world an extremely high level of political maturity. Hardly were the elections in any part of the country marred by violence. Indeed the Commissioner of Police has commended Kenyans for upholding peace during the polling process. Clearly Kenyans decided to talk through their vote; they decided to also vote for peace to the dismay of all those who predicted violence. On many of the polling queues that I saw on Tuesday, the voters from all walks of life and from both sexes evinced a strong sense of purpose and confidence in the democratic process. It is in this spirit that the voters did their bit: voting. The ball then was passed squarely into the Electoral Commission's court. It was expected, as the Commission had promised, that the results would be announced immediately they were ready and instantaneously from the appropriate constituency headquarters through the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation.

Unfortunately, very few results were announced on the night of the 29th. The 30th saw results beginning to trickle in but at a very slow pace. As of 12 noon on the 31st, only in half the constituencies had the presidential vote been announced. The majority of parliamentary and civic results have not been announced yet.

In previous elections, results have hardly taken more than a night and a day to be announced. Even if presidential elections have to be taken care of this time, the present delays are by any standards inordinate.

Already individual candidates and political parties have complain-

ed about delays. From field reports by our domestic observers, it would appear that there exists an inexplicable time lag between when counting is finalized and when results are aired by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation.

It is solely the duty of the Electoral Commission to announce electoral results. Such results should be those arrived at after witnessed counting at the constituency headquarters. Further, the results must be released instantaneously after counting is completed.

Up to date, the Electoral Commission has not sufficiently explained to Kenyans why the inordinate delay in releasing results. The Electoral Commission has to do exactly that. It must not precipitate a situation of confusion and panic among Kenyans.

By law, counting is done two times at the maximum. After the first count, an aggrieved party can ask for a recount. Are the results being counted more than twice or what?

As we go into the weekend, it must be appreciated that Kenyan voters may begin to become restive at the non-release of results. The above situation could cause an environment for high emotion and possible violent episodes. After Kenyan voters have shown such maturity and tolerance, violence precipitated on account of an omission by the Electoral Commission would bring the whole electoral process into an anticlimax and disrepute. The Electoral Commission, which is the organ constitutionally and independently in charge of elections, would certainly bear the blame for any violent episodes which take place from now due to the delayed and sluice gate release of the results.

If any violence ensues, as happened in the so-called ethnic clash areas, women and children are the major sufferers. It is because of this reason that the National Committee on the Status of Women decided to release this statement pending our specific report on our observation of the elections. The Electoral Commission and the political elite in this country must ensure that no act or omission serves as an excuse for introducing violence into what has been described already as one of the most peaceful multi-party elections in Africa to date.

Dr. Maria Nzomo

Chairperson, National Committee on the Status of Women

Nairobi 31st December 1992

cc: Justice Z.R. Chesoni *Chairman, Electoral Commission*

Appendix 17

PRESS RELEASE FROM NCSW:

SALUTE TO THE WOMEN WINNERS OF THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTIONS

On behalf of the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW), I would like to send our heartfelt congratulations to the brave and courageous daughters and mothers of Kenya who have won parliamentary and civic political seats in the just concluded 1992 General Elections.

It goes without saying that these women have overcome formidable obstacles in winning these elections. We in the NCSW have been working closely with and supporting all women candidates throughout 1992 and, hence, we fully appreciate the very extraordinary problems these women have faced as they fought their way into parliamentary and civic political seats. They have, in addition to all the other general problems faced by all political aspirants, endured gender-based harassment and intimidation of themselves and their potential voters. Despite all this and more, they have won—in some cases, with a landslide—the 1992 General Elections.

These political women have not only made history in being the first ones in a multi-party political system in Kenya; but also, in terms of numbers, they represent the highest number of elected women politicians in Kenya's post-colonial history. The Seventh Parliament will have a total of six strong and dynamic elected women.

We would also like to salute all the women candidates—over 250 of them—who had courage to plunge into politics, although they did not all make it to the end of the electoral process. Here, we would like to point out that many of those who did not win were very strong candidates and would have won if the elections had been truly free and fair.

The irregularities, rigging, financial and other problems women

candidates have faced notwithstanding, we are of the view that all women candidates should be congratulated for their courage and demonstration of their high level of political consciousness and political maturity.

Women's great leap forward into the political arena was also demonstrated by the women voters who not only turned out to vote in large numbers but certainly contributed to the winning votes of the women candidates. They have proved wrong all those who have said that women voters do not and cannot vote for other women!

The women lobby groups also need to be commended. They worked very hard throughout the year 1992 to have the women's voices heard and the women's agenda mainstreamed in the democratisation process. They contributed greatly to the blossoming of the women's political consciousness that developed through 1992.

The gender awareness process set in motion by various women's lobby groups not only needs to be commended, however, it also must be supported and promoted by the post-election government. We wish at this time to call upon the new government to appoint the parliamentary women to full ministerial positions, so that they can participate effectively in policy making. We would also hope that at least one of the key ministries, preferably Finance and Planning, will be headed by a woman.

We also suggest that those women who have won civic seats should not be satisfied simply with being councillors. They should seriously consider contesting for more powerful civic positions, such as the seat of mayor and chairpersons of strategic committees.

It can hardly be over-emphasised that the women of Kenya are now looking up to these elected political women to ensure the women's agenda is effectively included and implemented in the national development programmes of the new government. We in civil society will continue to support these women and to lobby for the attainment of gender equity and removal of all laws and practices that discriminate against women.

Dr. Maria Nzomo, *Chairperson*
National Committee on the Status of Women
 2nd January 1993

Appendix 18

ACCREDITATION OF NCSW & NCWK



ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Telephone: Nairobi 222072
When replying please quote
EC/EMG/4
R.f. No.
and date

ELECTORAL COMMISSION
ANNIVERSARY TOWERS
6TH FLOOR
UNIVERSITY WAY
P.O. Box 45371
NAIROBI

18th November, 1992.

Ms. Lilian Mwaura,
Chairman,
National Council of Women of Kenya,
P. O. Box 43741,
NAIROBI.

Dr. Maria Nzomo,
Chairman,
National Committee on the Status of Women,
P. O. Box 43741,
NAIROBI.

Dear Ladies,

APPROVAL OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF KENYA AND
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN AS
JOINT DOMESTIC OBSERVERS

I wish to inform you that the Electoral Commission has considered your joint application to observe the forthcoming General Election and has decided to accredit your two organisations as joint observer under Regulation 23 para (1) sub-para (e) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Election Regulations of 1992.

We trust that The National Council of Women of Kenya and The National Committee on the Status of Women will make an objective assessment of the electoral process. You will be entitled to have a joint representative of your two organisations within the precincts of the polling station so as to enable him, or her, to properly observe the election process.

Yours Sincerely,

JUSTICE Z. R. CHESONI
CHAIRMAN

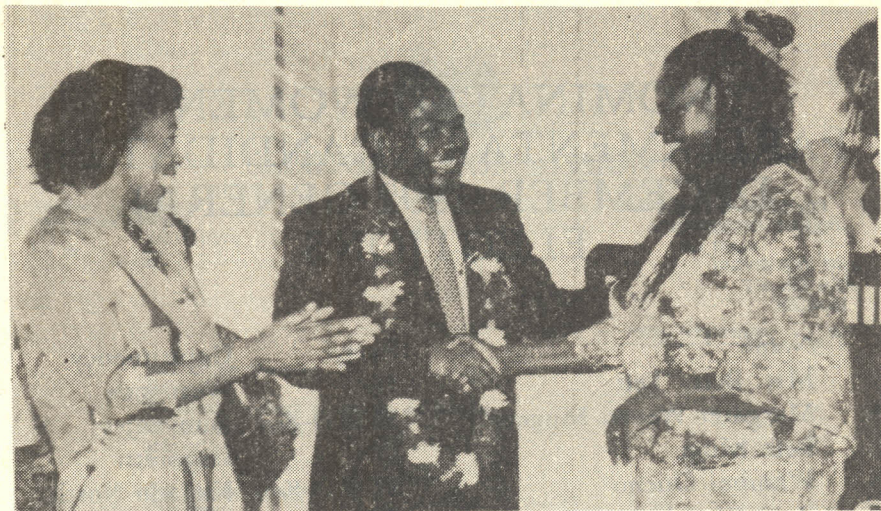
Appendix 19

NOMINATED WOMEN PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES: DECEMBER 1992 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Name	Party	Constituency
1. Mrs. Betty Tett	DP	Westlands
2. Margaret Weveti Mugeni	FORD-K	Runyenjes
3. Beth Mugo	DP	Dagoretti
4. Wambui Otieno	FORD-K	Kajiado North
5. Rose Waruhiu	DP	Githunguri
6. Tabitha Seii	DP	Kerio South
*7. Martha Njoka-Karua	DP	Gichugu
8. Beatrice Kanini Nyagah	FORD-K	Gachoka
9. Pauline Mwai	DP	Lari
*10. Phoebe Asiyu	FORD-K	Karachuonyo
*11. Mary Wanjiru Gichuki	FORD-A	Kinangop
*12. Winfred Nyiva Mwendwa	KANU	Kitui
*13. Agnes Ndeti	DP	Kibwezi
14. Lydia Wanjiru Kimani	KANU	Runyenjes
15. Fatuma M. Jeneby	KNC	Mvita
*16. Charity K. Mwendwa	DP	Kitui Central
17. Marere M.W. N'Chibohe	DP	Msambweni
18. Marie Orié-Rogo	FORD-K	Starehe
19. Grace Emily Ogot	KANU	Gem

*The winners of the 1992 General Elections.

IMAGES OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION



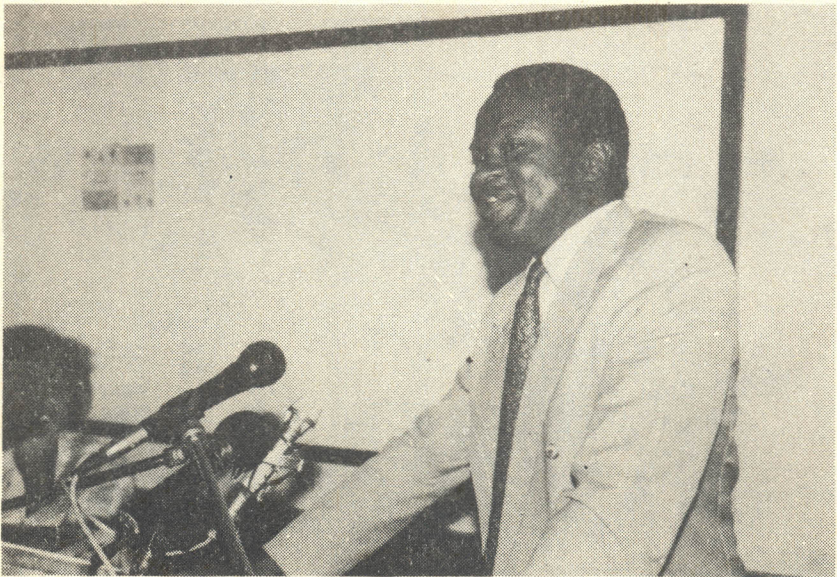
Women's new year post-election tea party. Dr. Maria Nzomo – Chairperson NCSW, Justice Z.R. Chesoni – Chairman Electoral Commission, Prof. Wangari Maathai – Chairperson Green Belt Movement.



NCSW seminar on post-election Women's Agenda February 20, 1993. H.E. Margaret Kenyatta, Commissioner – Electoral Commission and Prof. Wangari Maathai.



Women's new year post-election tea party. Agnes Ndeti MP Kibwezi and Dr. Nzomo.



NCSW seminar on post-election Women's Agenda February 20, 1993. Dr. Khama Rogo addressing the participants.



NCSW General Election Monitoring Workshop December 1992 featuring: Chairman, Electoral Commission – Justice Chesoni, Chairperson, NCSW – Dr. M. Nzomo.



Trainees in session at the December 1992 NCSW General Monitoring Workshop. Also present one of the trainers – Oketch Owiti.



NCSW seminar on Post Election Women's Agenda. Professor Kivutha Kibwana addressing participants.



Women's new post election tea party. From left Martha Karua MP Gichugu, Agnes Ndeti MP Kibwezi, Phoebe Asiyo MP Karachuonyo, Charity Kaluki Ngilu MP, Kitui Central.



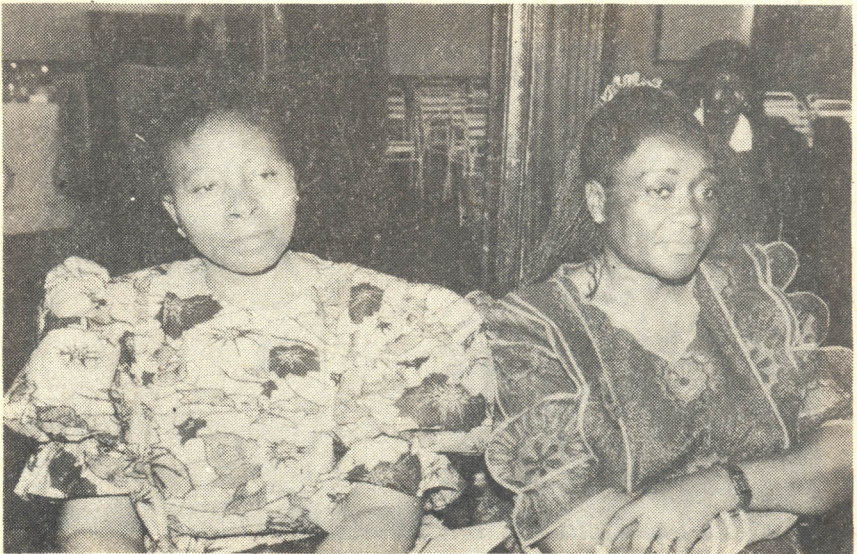
Women's new year post-election tea party. Nyiva Mwendwa MP Kitui West, Martha Karua MP Gichugu, Dr. Maria Nzomo.



Women's new year post-election tea party. Dr. Nzomo and Justice Chesoni Chairman Electoral Commission.



NCSW seminar on post-election Women's Agenda February 20, 1993 H.E. Eness Chiyenge Zambian High Commissioner, H.E.A.L. Makwavarara Zimbabwe High Commissioner, Dr. Florence Manguyu Consultant Paediatrician.



Seminar on post-election Women's Agenda February 20, 1993. Dr. Eddah Gachukia - Chairperson FEMNET and Ms Julie Ongudi Treasurer NCSW.



NCSW General Election Monitoring Workshop: From left: Oketch Owiti - Trainer, Dr. Nzomo, Mr. Timmo Koster - representing Royal Dutch Embassy - Nairobi, Dr. Pamela Kola - NCSW Member, Margaretta wa Gacheru - Journalist and NCSW Member.



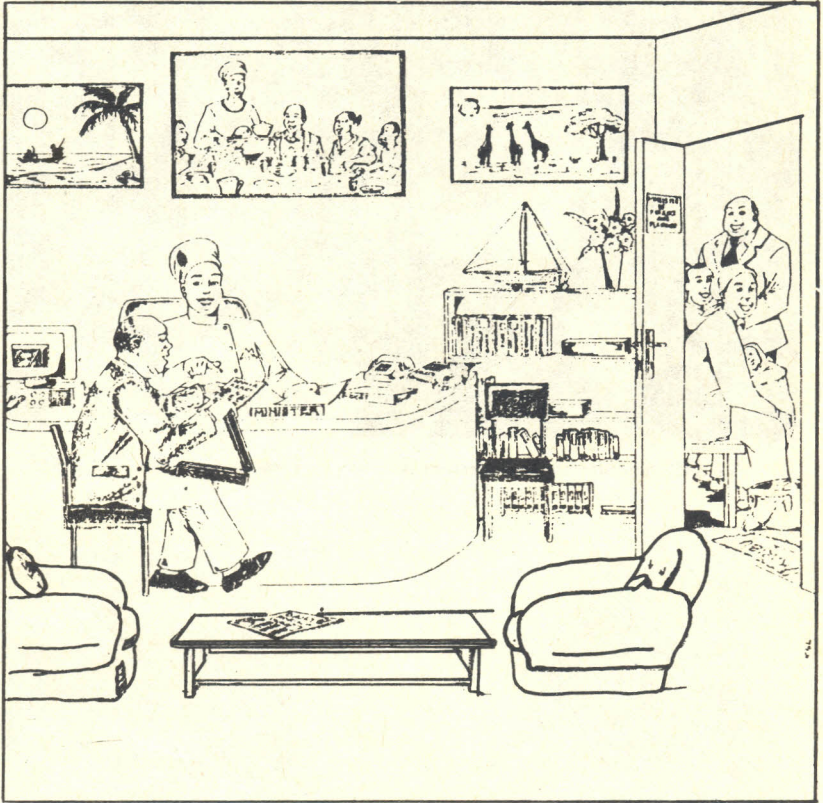
Dr. Nzomo with one of the parliamentary women candidates - Ms Fatuma Jeneby, during election observation in Mvita, Mombasa December 1992.



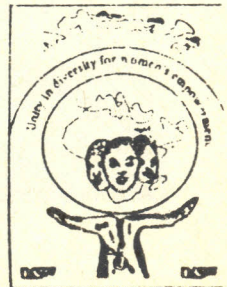
NCSW seminar on post-election Women's Agenda February 20, 1993.

THE NOMINATOR SHOULD
ALSO BE THE STATEWIDE
VOTE FOR A WOMAN

MAMA ANAYEITUNZA NYUMBA AWEZA PIA KULISIMAMIA TAIFA



**THE HOMEMAKER SHOULD
ALSO BE THE STATEMAKER:
VOTE FOR A WOMAN**



A PARLIAMENT WITHOUT WOMEN IS LIKE A FIRE PLACE WITH TWO STONES



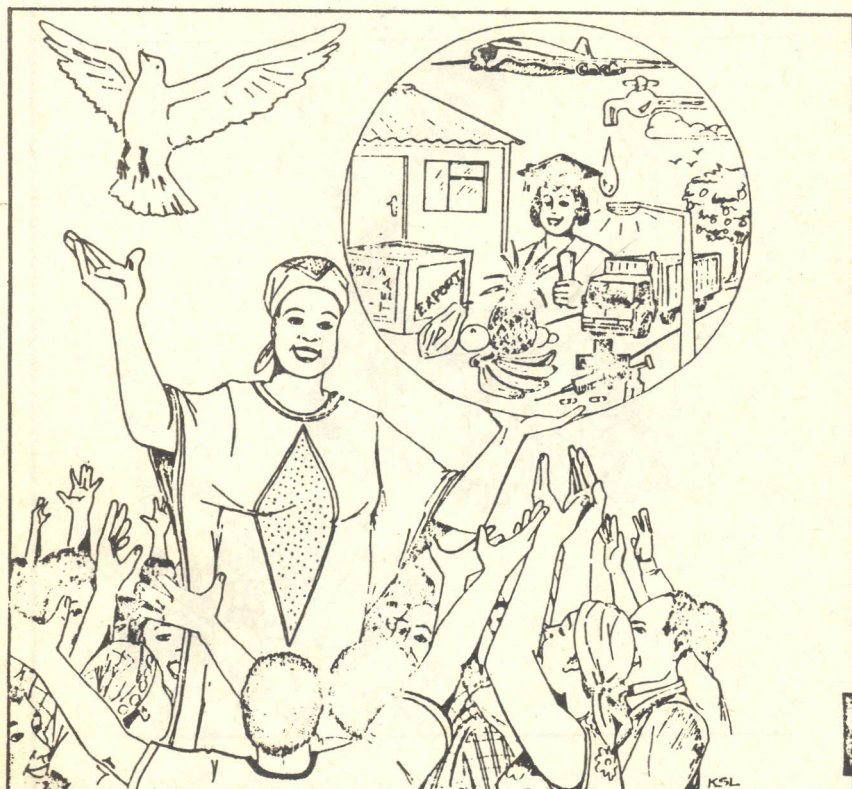
**BUNGE BILA KINA MAMA NI
KAMA JIKO BILA JIWE LA TATU**



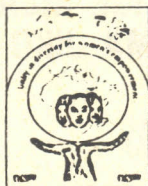
**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE
STATUS OF WOMEN (N.C.S.W.)**

affiliated to the National Council of Women of Nigeria

A VOTE FOR A WOMAN IS A VOTE FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT



**KURA KWA MAMA NI KURA
YA AMANI NA MAENDELEO**



**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE
STATUS OF WOMEN (N.C.S.W.)**