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Resilient nations.*

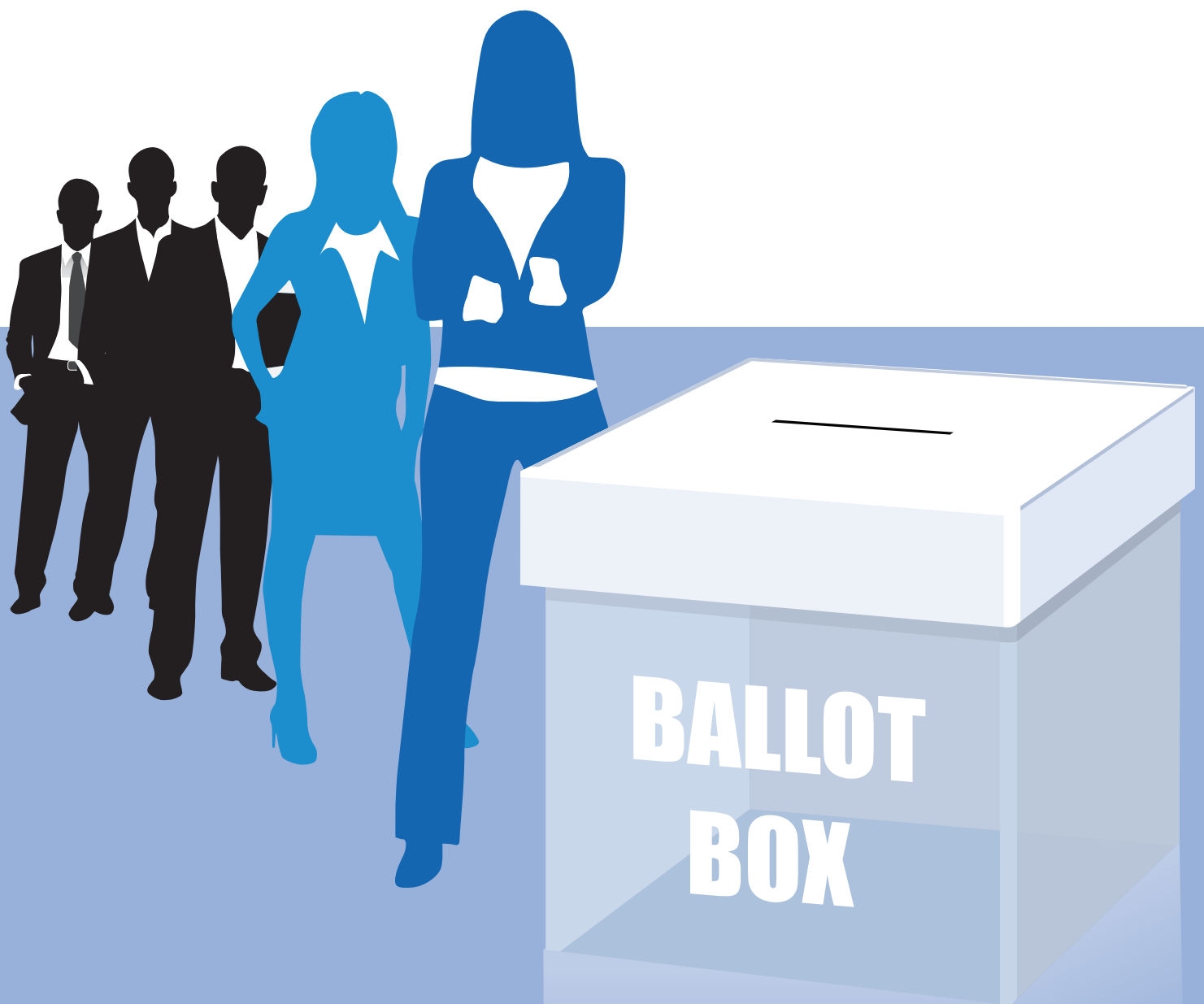
# REPORT ON THE REGIONAL DIALOGUE ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP



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“Championing Women’s Political Leadership:  
Delivering the One-Third Promise in Kenya”

14<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> August 2012



Safari Park Hotel, Nairobi - Kenya







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## Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....	iii
Foreward .....	iv
Executive Summary.....	vi
Introduction .....	1
Fast Facts on Women Leadership in Kenya.....	2
Opening Ceremony.....	3
Session 1: Women's Engagement in the Political Process - The Kenyan Experience.....	6
Session 2: Women's Engagement in Political Process - Lessons from the Region .....	8
Tanzania's Experience: Presented by Hon. Margareth Abdallah, 8 <sup>th</sup> Member of Parliament, Tanzania.....	8
South Africa's Experience: Presented by Hon. Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly .....	9
Uganda's Experience: Presented by Hon. Miriam Matembe, former Minister for Ethics and Integrity, Uganda .....	9
Rwanda's experience: Presented by Hon. Oda Gasinzigwa, Chief Gender Monitor, Gender Monitoring Office, Rwanda.....	9
Session 3: Implementing Affirmative Action Policies for Women in Politics .....	11
Session 4: Towards Inclusive Parties: Fostering Party Reforms to Gender Equality .....	13
Session 5: Peaceful, Fair and Transparent Elections – Prospects for Kenya .....	17
Session 6: Engaging with the Media.....	18
Closing and Way forward .....	20
Addendum .....	22
Annexes .....	23
Annex 1: Concept note .....	23
Annex 2: Workshop Programme.....	26
Annex 3: List of participants .....	31
Annex 4: Questions - Group Sessions .....	36
Annex 5: Remarks and Presentations .....	37
Remarks: Mr. Aeneas Chuma, UNDP Resident Representative .....	37
Remarks: Commissioner Winfred Lichuma, chairperson, National Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya.....	41
Remarks: Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development, Kenya .....	48
Keynote Address: Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga, Chief Justice/President, Supreme Court of Kenya .....	51



## Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CKRC	Constitution of Kenya Review Commission
GBV	Gender Based Violence
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPPG	Inter Party Parliamentary Group
KNICE	Kenya National Integrated Civic Education
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme



## Foreward



The Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership workshop came at a critical time when Kenya was getting ready to enjoy the fruits of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 in the fight towards gender equality. This was so because the country was preparing for the 2013 General Elections which had provisions for both elective and nominative posts that were intended to open up spaces for women's participation in decision making processes.

The regional dialogue workshop was held from the 14th to the 16th of

August 2012 in Nairobi, Kenya under the theme "Championing Women's Political Leadership: Delivering the one-third promise in Kenya". The meeting brought together local and international participants from Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa to share experiences on how they had implemented the gender quotas and to build consensus on how best to operationalize the quota provisions. This was aimed at enabling Kenya to learn from the experiences of other countries and develop its own concrete strategies to implement the gender provisions.

The workshop brought forth challenges that are encountered by Kenyan women in the fight for political participation. From the sharing of the experiences it emerged that these were not unique to Kenya but were also experienced by other women across the region. It was therefore important for the participants to deliberate on how to influence and lobby political parties and other relevant institutions and stakeholders to adhere to the gender equity constitutional requirements in their party constitutions, nominations, party lists and manifestos and all other processes thereby enhancing women's participation in the political sphere.

It should be noted that from the dialogue meeting the Electoral Commission reduced the nomination fees for women aspirants at all levels. Also, the dialogue raised media's awareness on the 2/3 gender rule and this led to sustained media engagement.

It should however be noted that the Supreme Court on 11th December, 2012 ruled that the one-third gender rule was intended to be enforced progressively.





This meant that the National Assembly and the Senate would not be required to have minimum 1/3 quota reserved for women after the March 4, 2013 General Election . The Court gave Parliament up to August 27, 2015 to come up with legislation on how the one-third gender rule will be met in the 2017 General Election. Following the above ruling, it is therefore important for efforts to continue in encouraging women to present themselves as candidates during the 2013 general elections. This would ensure that there is an improvement in the representation of women in parliament.

After the regional dialogue workshop a robust capacity building program for all the women leaders who indicated interest in presenting themselves as aspirants or to be appointed to take up positions in the public service was conducted by many stakeholders. The capacity building included leadership skills, management, strategic planning and implantation, public policy, HRBA to development, public financial management among others. Comprehensive Civic education was also conducted to educate the population as a whole on the need for women's engagement in political and leadership processes and help to break down the barriers that women in Kenya face.

This report has made a special effort to document the proceedings of the workshop for future reference and also highlighting key recommendations with areas of intervention in order to support the delivering of the one-third promise. An update the post 2013 general election developments is reflected under this publication's addendum.

UNDP believes that this report which comes on the heels of the first democratically held elections held in Kenya under the New Constitution is a landmark publication which supports in the wider sense and wide range of other initiatives which support women's emergence in the political arena in Kenya and the region.

Maria Threase Keating

Country Director

United Nations Development Programme – Kenya



## Executive Summary

Women's political participation in Kenya has come a long way and women have constantly fought for space in the political arena but with minimal gains. The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was therefore a major milestone in the fight towards gender equality as it opened up spaces for women's participation in decision-making processes. Articles 27 (8) and 81 (b) provide that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. These provisions give Kenya the opportunity to quickly meet the requirements of and commitments to the Millennium Development Goal number three and to fulfill the minimum target of 30% representation of women in national parliaments agreed by the Beijing platform of action.

Constitutional gender quotas had proved to be a critical way of enhancing women's participation and representation in political life. Countries such as Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda have made some progress in enhancing women's representation by use of constitutional gender quotas. Kenya did not need to reinvent the wheel as it had the opportunity to learn from the experiences of these countries as it endeavors to operationalize the gender provisions in the Constitution. To facilitate this experience sharing process, UNDP in partnership with UN Women and the National Gender and Equality Commission organized a Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership to enable Kenya draw lessons from the experiences of other countries in the region that had made some progress in the implementation of constitutional gender quotas.

The regional dialogue workshop was held from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 2012 at the Safari Park Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya under the theme "*Championing Women's Political Leadership: Delivering the one-third promise in Kenya*". The workshop brought together local and international participants from Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa. Local participants included the National Gender and Equality Commission, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Justice, representatives from the civil society, academia, the media, Members of Parliament and women political aspirants. The meeting provided an opportunity for the participants to share their experiences on how they had implemented the gender quotas and to build consensus on how best to operationalize the quota provisions. This was aimed at enabling Kenya learn from the experiences of other countries and develop its own concrete strategies to implement the gender provisions.

It emerged that challenges encountered by Kenyan women in their fight for political participation was not unique to Kenya but were also experienced by other women across the region. Such challenges include low literacy levels, limited resources, cultural attitudes, religious beliefs and inhibitions and patriarchy.



Participants noted that patriarchy was perpetuated by culture through socio-cultural beliefs and values.

Various strategies were highlighted to help address the above challenges and to enhance the implementation of the gender provisions. These included: the development of clear mechanisms of implementation to realize gender constitutional provisions; a strong women's movement and political will; women to engage in cross party platforms as these are powerful avenues for uniting women beyond party lines and rallying them around a common agenda; women to register as members of political parties, seek leadership positions within parties, remain vigilant and participate in determining how party lists are drawn; women to use their strength in numbers to compel political parties to adhere to the quota provisions; integrating the struggle for gender equity with the struggle for democracy; women to identify male allies to help them lobby for the implementation of the quotas; gender responsive civic and voter education to share information with women and the community at large on the need to have women take up leadership positions; capacity building of women to enhance their engagement in the political life.

In conclusion, participants highlighted that Kenya stood a good chance in actualizing the gender quotas and that the various stakeholders needed to dialogue and hold each other accountable with regards to implementation of the gender quotas.

The Minister for Justice and the Minister for Gender reiterated the government's commitment to women empowerment. On their part, NDI committed to continue training women political aspirants and to build a media platform for women to articulate their agenda. The Swedish Ambassador H.E. Ann Dismorr reiterated her government's commitment to build women's capacity through training. UN Women and UNDP gave their commitment to continue supporting women's empowerment in Kenya.



## Introduction



The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was a major milestone towards gender equality. Through its provision on gender quotas, the Constitution had opened up spaces for women's political participation and their representation at decision making levels. Articles 27 (8) and 81 (b) provide that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall

be of the same gender. By enacting the gender legislation, Kenya joined other countries in the region using constitutional reserved seats to increase women's political participation.

Countries such as Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda had made some progress in enhancing women's representation by use of constitutional gender quotas. Kenya could therefore learn from the experiences of these countries instead of trying to reinvent the wheel. To facilitate this knowledge and experience sharing process, UNDP in partnership with UN Women and the National Gender and Equality Commission organized a regional dialogue meeting on Women Political Leadership whose theme was "*Championing Women's Leadership in Kenya: Delivering the One-third Promise in Kenya*". The meeting was held on the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> August 2012 at the Safari Park Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya.

The meeting provided a platform for local and international participants to share their experiences in implementing constitutional gender quotas with the aim of enabling Kenya to learn from the experience of others and come up with mechanisms of operationalizing the gender quotas as provided for in the Kenya Constitution. Countries represented in the regional dialogue included Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, South Africa and Kenya. Local participants included the National Gender and Equality Commission, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, Ministry of Gender, Ministry of Justice, representatives from the civil society, academia, Members of Parliament and women political aspirants. The dialogue meeting was therefore aimed at building consensus on how best to operationalize the constitutional quotas on gender.



More specifically, the objectives of the Regional dialogue were;

- to share global trends and good practices of articulation and operationalization of constitutional quotas at national and local levels
- to raise awareness and generate a consensus on affirmative action as a mechanism for women political leadership in the new constitutional dispensation
- to identify key issues which could constitute a gender equality agenda for the next parliamentary period

During the dialogue meeting, participants from the different countries shared their experiences in implementing the gender quotas and highlighted the various challenges they encountered and strategies they adopted to address those challenges. They further made recommendations to enable Kenya operationalize the gender provisions in the Constitution as detailed in this report.

## Fast Facts on Women's Leadership in Kenya as of August 2012

**39** million people is the approximated population in Kenya and 52 per cent are women

**222** is the number of Members of Parliament in Kenya, with only 22 female MP's. At just 9.9 per cent of the total, this figure is far lower than the 30 per cent required in meeting the constitutional threshold of two-thirds representation

**22** of the female Members of Parliament, 16 women were elected and 6 were nominated by political parties

**9.9%** is the percentage of women in Parliament, Kenya lags behind in women representation in Africa, while countries such as Rwanda 56 per cent, Uganda 35 per cent, Tanzania 36 per cent and South Africa 44 per cent have progressed

**8%** is the highest percentage of female MPs elected in the 2007 General Election since independence

**12** out of 42 Cabinet Ministers and 52 Assistant Ministers are women

**7** out of 44 Permanent Secretaries are women

**1** out of 8 Provincial Commissioners is a woman

According to Article 27(3) of the 2010 Constitution, women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres.

While Article 27(8) provides that the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.



## Who will Kenya be electing in the March 2013 General Election?

POSITION	NO. OF VACANCIES
County Ward representatives	
National Assembly <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MP's of single member constituencies</li> <li>• Women Rep. elected from each county</li> <li>• Members nominated by parliamentary political parties</li> </ul>	290 47 12
Senate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Senators elected from each county</li> <li>• Women nominated by political parties</li> <li>• Youth representatives (male &amp; female)</li> <li>• PWD representative</li> </ul>	47 16 2 2
Governors	47
President	1

## Opening Ceremony



Participants at the workshop

Ms. Winnie Byanyima, the UNDP Director for Gender set the context for the meeting and started by noting that while constitutional quotas had enhanced women's empowerment at all spheres of life, they were not a guarantee for women's effective participation. Ms Byanyima pointed

out that though legislation is necessary, it is not enough by itself in enhancing women's engagement in political life. She highlighted that there was need for clear mechanisms to operationalize the gender provisions in the Constitution. In addition, women need to be aware of gate keepers such as political parties and other institutions such as the media.

In his welcoming remarks, the UNDP Resident Coordinator, Mr. Aeneas Chuma noted that the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was a great milestone that brought a lot of hope for gender equality, human rights and devolution. He noted that it was a progressive Constitution especially in its



provision on gender quotas, requiring that no more than two-thirds of members of each elected and appointed body shall be of the same gender. He expressed his appreciation for the pivotal role played by various stakeholders in government, the media, civil society and other key institutions towards the successful operationalisation of the quota provision. He however cautioned that the constitutional gender provisions were only a starting point and that more effort and political will were needed to ensure that the spirit and intent of the gender provisions were realized in the day-to-day lives of the Kenyan people. He emphasized that it was important to ensure that quotas were met through the application of gender-responsive electoral arrangements, support to women candidates and assurance of political will at the highest levels of political parties and government to overcome the gender imbalances in Parliament.

*H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia* in her video message to participants pointed out that the challenges in ensuring women's equal participation in decision making across Africa from the grassroots up to the highest offices were well known. She further added that to overcome the challenges, it was imperative for women to learn from each other and celebrate their victories in their long march towards gender equality. She noted that women's low political participation occurs globally and that only 29 countries had achieved the Beijing platform for action target of a minimum of 30% women in decision making positions. She added that constitutional and statutory quotas had been instrumental in increasing women's representation. She however cautioned that key actors such as political parties and the media can make or break women's political careers. Further, despite the advancement in women's representation, they were yet to see enormous payoffs in being elected into office and receiving political appointments. This was due to the fact that women often lacked the education, resources, political experience and connections to run for office. Cultural attitudes had also constrained women's involvement in politics and these were often times reflected in the voting patterns, media coverage of female politicians and in attempts to suppress women's assertion of their political rights and views.

She cautioned that legislating on women representation at the decision making levels was not enough to change the status quo. For progress to be made, there was need to change the hearts, minds and attitudes of those who would obstruct women's access to decision making. In addition, there was need to reach out and engage the men to persuade them to allow women access political space. She lay emphasis on the need for grassroot action to groom and train future women political leaders to enhance their participation and representation in political bodies. She urged participants to continue the fight for gender equality and women's full empowerment.

In her remarks, *Ms Winfred Lichuma of the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC)* pointed out that Kenyan politics had been dominated by



men due to the patriarchal nature of the Kenyan society. Women attempting to enter this male dominated field had suffered ridicule, harassment, sexual based violence, humiliation and gossip aimed at maligning their engagement with male counterparts. She highlighted that women's political participation in Kenya was very low compared to other countries in the region; Kenya 9.8%, Rwanda 56.3%, Uganda 35%, Burundi 30.5%, Ethiopia 27.8%. She underscored the importance of women's political participation that could only be effectively discussed in the context of cultural, historical and socio-economic factors inhibiting women's participation. The role of NGECC was to continuously release audit reports giving the status of implementation of the principle of equality and freedom from discrimination. NGECC would also undertake an analysis of the political parties' compliance with the equality principle and make recommendations on the same. Further, NGECC was to soon launch a campaign dubbed 'wise up to women leadership: keep the promise' aimed at tackling political participation with a gender transforming perspective. The campaign was to urge voters to consider women as responsible individuals, capable of taking decisions and are indispensable in society's democratization process.

*Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development* pointed out that Kenya's Constitution was a major historical step given that women in Kenya had been poorly represented in decision making processes. In her speech, she noted that the constitution had opened room for improving women's political participation and that Kenya needed quality leaders with a transformative agenda that placed women's needs in all decision making processes. There was need to build capacity of women on how to participate in the decision making organs. Greater advocacy to articulate gender provisions would allay fears among the citizenry that women are pushing men out of their spaces. Factors such as religious beliefs and inhibitions, cultural attitudes, perceptions on women's leadership, low literacy levels, women's limited resources, political violence and discriminatory practices also needed to be addressed.

The *Minister for Justice and Constitutional affairs, Hon. Eugene Wamalwa* highlighted that despite Kenya being an economic giant within the region it had performed dismally in matters of women representation. He however affirmed the government's commitment to realizing the constitutional quotas. The Minister noted that while Article 177 ensures that Articles 27(8) and 81(b) are complied with at the County level through the nomination of special seat members, the same was not guaranteed at the National Assembly and the Senate. This scenario prompted the Ministry to develop the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Bill 2011 that provided for special seats in the National Assembly and the Senate consisting of such numbers as was necessary to ensure that no more than two-thirds of members were of the same gender. These seats were to be filled by the political parties in proportion to their numbers in the National Assembly and Senate after the declaration of elected members from each constituency. The





Minister therefore urged women and development partners to lobby Members of Parliament to pass that crucial Bill.

In his keynote address, *Dr. Willy Mutunga, the Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Kenya* said that the Constitution had opened a long overdue space for women's participation in leadership and decision-making in Kenya. He however pointed out that the gender provisions would be put to test at Kenya's forthcoming general elections. He reiterated the judiciary's commitment to justice for all irrespective of their economic or social status including gender. A Judicial Working Committee on Election Preparations to develop a strategy to efficiently and effectively manage the upcoming elections had been constituted. He further pointed out that the Ministry of Justice had embarked on a programme on judicial reforms to address electoral related judicial disputes. In addition, they would be working hard to ensure that women enjoy equal rights of participation in the elections whether as voters, candidates or as election officials. He concluded by urging participants to examine the experiences of the different countries in the region then come up with their own concrete strategies and policy proposals that would enable Kenya realize the gender provisions in the Constitution.

## Session 1: Women's Engagement in the Political Process - The Kenyan Experience

*Presented by Prof. Wanjiku Kabira, Chair, Department of Literature, University of Nairobi*



Mary O'Hagan (Senior Resident Director - NDI)

The presenter traced back political participation of women in Kenya pointing out that they had come a long way and that they had constantly fought for space in the political arena however with minimal gains. Various factors found to inhibit effective participation by women in leadership included lack of economic empowerment and patriarchy which was perpetuated by culture

through socio-cultural beliefs and values. Despite the many years of lobbying and advocacy attempts by Kenyan women to access political offices, little success had been achieved.



She highlighted that the journey for an increased women's representation dated back to 1992 when Prof. Maria Nzomo, at a National Women's conference, challenged political parties to increase women's representation. Soon after, women engaged the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) for reforms to ensure affirmative action for women within the IPPG process. In 1997, former MP Hon. Phoebe Asiyo moved a landmark motion known as the "*Phoebe Asiyo Motion*" calling for affirmative action by allocating 12% seats for women in Parliament. The motion received support from some male MPs such as the late Ooko Ombaka, James Orenge and Kiraitu Murungi. Although the Bill failed due to lack of support from parliamentarians, women organized themselves for increased women representation and the Women Political Caucus, a cross-party women's organization, was born. This marked the beginning of the National Women's Political Movement for increased women representation in Parliament. Through the women's political caucus, five women were nominated to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC), a move that was met with opposition by some anti-reformists who sued the five women on grounds that they were not representative enough. Their attempts however failed and the women remained in the Commission.

She further highlighted that attempts by Hon. Martha Karua, the former Minister for Justice to introduce the Affirmative Action Bill in 2003 for fifty parliamentary seats for women. The bill failed due to lack of support despite the women's movement collecting thousands of signatures and organizing a march for 'Fifty Seats and the One Million Signatures' campaign. That repeated lack of support for affirmative action in Parliament convinced women that the Constitution was the only opportunity left to fast track affirmative action. Kenyan women returned to the drawing board by investing their energies in the constitutional review process. That was not without challenges; women lost all the gains made in the new Constitution in the 2005 referendum when the NO campaign won after the Constitution was contested over other issues such as devolution. That was a lesson for women that all women's issues were related to core contestable issues and there was need to negotiate their space within these issues.

Finally in 2010, a new Constitution that guaranteed that neither gender should hold more than two-thirds in elective and appointed positions was passed. However, Articles 97 and 98 on composition of Parliament and Senate respectively did not expressly indicate how the one-third representations could be achieved. The only provision women secured was in the County Governments and there was need therefore to raise awareness on the impending constitutional crisis to increase support from parliamentarians. Dr. Kabira concluded by proposing that as Kenya sought to actualize the constitutional gender quotas it was also time to increase women's political representation by developing strategies that would not only ensure women's participation but also their effective and sustainable representation.



## Session 2: Women's Engagement in Political Process - Lessons from the Region



During this session, participants from the region (Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and South Africa) shared their experiences in implementing constitutional gender quotas to enable their Kenyan counterparts draw lessons from them. It emerged that the challenges encountered by Kenyan women in their journey towards political representation was no different from challenges

witnessed in other parts of the region providing an opportunity for Kenya to learn from other countries that had already made some progress in implementing Constitutional quotas. It was noted that countries, especially those in post conflict situations, had managed to increase women's political representation through legislation. Quotas in particular had proved to be a potential way of achieving women's empowerment as highlighted by the various speakers during the session and as summarized below;

*Tanzania's Experience: Presented by Hon. Margareth Abdallah, 8<sup>th</sup> Member of Parliament, Tanzania*

The presenter highlighted that Tanzania was well known for its socialist ideology as championed by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and that the ideology had been useful in deconstructing patriarchy in Tanzania by entrenching a sense of equity. She pointed out that women in Tanzania were active in the party politics and had managed to influence party lists and increase parliamentary representation to 35%. Another example given was of the CHADEMA party where women who contested elections and lost were given first priority in party nominations. She highlighted that this had been instrumental in mentoring these women to contest again and that most of them later contested and won elections. She pointed out that Tanzania was probably the best country for Kenya to learn from since they had managed to ensure women's participation without a post conflict situation.



*South Africa's Experience: Presented by Hon. Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly*

She started by pointing out that women's representation in South Africa stood at 44%. Women in South Africa had been involved in the fight against apartheid and were actively involved in activities of the African National Congress (ANC) party. Women participation in political parties was a major advantage to women in an event when their parties eventually captured state power. She highlighted that women's fight against apartheid had portrayed them as champions, making it easier for people to elect them because they had seen what women could achieve.

*Uganda's Experience: Presented by Hon. Miriam Matembe, former Minister for Ethics and Integrity, Uganda*

The presenter pointed out that constitutional provision on gender had been instrumental in ensuring women had 35% parliamentary representation in Uganda. However women participation had not been effective despite their representation. This was thought to be attributed to tokenism, a situation she referred to as '*having power without real power*'. She cautioned Kenyan women against being in power without power. Hon Miriam underscored the importance of having quality numbers in representation and it was important for Kenya to avoid having women in parliament who were simply stooges for men in power.

*Rwanda's experience: Presented by Hon. Oda Gasinzigwa, Chief Gender Monitor, Gender Monitoring Office, Rwanda*

The presenter briefed the participants on how women political participation was appreciated in Rwanda and how it increased after the genocide. She pointed out that it was during the reconstruction of Rwanda that women's representation increased. This was because after the genocide, women formed close to 70% of the population as most men had fled the country and others killed during the 1994 genocide. This increased women's opportunity in leadership positions and further gave them a chance to exercise their leadership capabilities. Women representation was further boosted by the entrenchment of the one-third quota for women's representation in the Rwandan Constitution. The country women's parliamentary representation currently stands at 56% and is the highest in the world.

In the discussions that ensued, Prof. Maria Nzomo of the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi, pointed out that Kenya had not



undergone a serious crisis to change social and institutional structures and that this had maintained the status quo. She highlighted that Kenya was going through a fluid political process where parties were forming alliances as they prepared to compete in the general election scheduled for March, 2013. She urged women to take advantage of the situation and position themselves strategically in the alliances in order to influence party decisions.

Participants had the opportunity to examine the uniqueness of each country's experience and how such experiences could be domesticated by Kenya as it prepared for the general elections. One of the key recommendations was that a constitutional framework was critical starting point for women's effective representation. The Kenya Constitution had provided for two-thirds gender representation and the challenge was in putting in place mechanism to implement that provision.

To increase representation and establish mechanisms to implement the gender quotas, cross party platforms in Tanzania and Rwanda were identified as powerful avenues for uniting women beyond party lines and rallying them around a common agenda. Women were urged to unite across parties to consolidate support within them and lobby as a group.

It was revealed that the slogan '*women are their worst enemies*' had been used by male chauvinists in Tanzania to discourage women from supporting each other. To counter this, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Women's league had come up with the motto "*Rafiki wa Mwanamke ni Mwanamke*" meaning a woman's friend is a woman." This motto was used to rally support for fellow women in all spheres of life while urging them to unite and support each other.

There was a general agreement that political parties were the vehicles through which political power was clinched. Women should therefore not shy away from party politics. They needed to register as members of political parties and seek leadership positions within parties. Effective participation within political parties would enable women to hold parties accountable and enforce the constitutional

#### Key Recommendations:

- A constitutional framework as a critical starting point for women's effective representation.
- Cross party platforms as powerful avenues for uniting women beyond party lines and rallying them around a common agenda
- Women to register as members of political parties and seek leadership positions within parties
- Women to engage the public by participating in public life
- Integrate the struggle for gender equity with the struggle for democracy
- A strong women's movement and political will as crucial to women's effective engagement in the political process



quotas. Women were therefore urged to come out of the domestic arena and engage in the public sphere.

It was also recommended that women integrate the struggle for gender equity with the struggle for democracy. An environment where human rights were protected and upheld was conducive for women to participate in public life. For instance where democratic space was available, there was little violence hence minimal or no conflict. Violence negatively affects women as had been witnessed in African countries that had experienced violence. Opening up the democratic space therefore facilitates the achievement of women empowerment.

It was also highlighted that a strong women's movement and political will were important in realizing constitutional quotas. The women's movement also needed to nurture and mentor young women to prepare them to occupy leadership positions in future.

### Session 3: Implementing Affirmative Action Policies for Women in Politics

*Presented by Prof. Aili Tripp, the Director, Centre for Research on Gender and Women at the University of Wisconsin in Madison USA*



Commissioner IEBC

Prof Aili Tripp brought to the attention of the participants that research in Africa had shown women participation in leadership tripled back in 1990 mainly due to quotas. Given that Kenya already had the constitutional quotas in place, the challenge was in implementing the quotas and realizing the gains as provided for in the Constitution.

Having quotas was necessary but not sufficient in ensuring women's effective participation in political life. Women were therefore urged to be vigilant and ensure that mechanisms to implement the quotas were developed and that the Constitution was fully implemented in as far as gender equality was concerned.

In the discussion that followed, several strategies were recommended to help enhance Kenya's implementation of the gender quotas; the women's movement



should remain vigilant and monitor the implementation of the constitutional quotas. In addition, the Constitutional Amendment Bill 2011 should be monitored closely to ensure that the mechanisms for women representation in the National Assembly and Senate were clear. Women should also engage political parties and ensure that the Political Parties Act was implemented to the letter. Women were also urged to use their strength in numbers to compel parties to adhere to the quota provisions.

It was also recommended that women identify male allies to help lobby for the implementation of the quotas. The youth and other marginalized groups needed to be incorporated in the fight for women representation. Hon. Miriam Matembe however cautioned Kenyan women on dishonest associations taking note of the fact that insincere allies had made the Ugandan women to be in “power without power” hence the need to vet such people.

Efforts between the women's movement and women parliamentarians needed to be strengthened. The women's movement could support women parliamentarians with technical issues like drafting of memoranda to the various institutions.

Women were urged to register as members of political parties especially because the party lists would be used during nominations. There was also need to be vigilant and participate in determining how party lists were drawn. This was because in some countries, names of women appeared at the bottom of the party list thereby reducing their chances of being nominated for any seat. To address this, it was recommended that women insist on the ‘Zebra listing’ where names of men and women appear interchangeably. Being in a political party was not enough and women were urged to seek leadership positions within their respective parties as this was the only way they could influence party decisions.

Capacity building for women needed to be undertaken to ensure women were well prepared to take up leadership positions. To this end, the

#### *Strategies to ensure implementation of the Quota*

- Women's movement remains vigilant and monitors the implementation of the quotas
- Women use their strength in numbers to compel political parties to adhere to the quota provisions
- Women identify male allies to help them lobby for the implementation of the quotas
- Women register as members of political parties, seek leadership positions within their respective parties, are vigilant and participate in determining how party lists are drawn i.e. insist on ‘zebra listing’ in party lists
- Undertake continuous capacity building for women
- Conducting civic and voter education for the public



National Democratic Institute (NDI) in partnership with UNDP had put in place capacity building programmes for women aspirants and they were urged to take advantage of such opportunities. It was also highlighted that capacity building needed to be continuous to ensure that skills and knowledge were transferred to as many women as possible and to guard against last minute preparations for elections.

Civic and voter education were needed urgently to counter the existing misconceptions with regards to women's candidature e.g. '*women should not vie for other seats since the women representative seats were already reserved for them*'. It emerged that knowledge of the content of the Constitution was still low despite the Kenya National Integrated Civic Education (KNICE) programme. CSOS were urged to complement the KNICE programme by providing civic education at the grassroots' level. Voter education especially on the Elections Act and the Political Parties Act was needed given the various regulations and requirements that one needed to adhere to.

## Session 4: Towards Inclusive Parties: Fostering Party Reforms to Gender Equality



Lucy Ndung'u – Registrar of Political Parties

This session included brief presentations by various panelists and culminated in breakout group sessions whose recommendations were captured in line with the different themes in the various sessions and as summarized in this session.

Political parties are very important institutions for women's access to politics and to increase their numbers. Unfortunately,

these institutions have been male dominated and have continuously marginalized women. Women are faced with myriad challenges when engaging political parties. First, political parties are patriarchal and male dominance is entrenched hence women lack the space and opportunity to engage effectively.

Secondly, there is affirmative action only on paper due to lack of political will in the parties. Political parties that have in the past pledged support for women representation and have failed to honor their pledges and continued to lock





out women from representative politics. The lack of a mechanism to demand for accountability from parties further exacerbates the situation.

Thirdly, there is limited internal regulation of political parties. Parties lack internal democracy as evidenced by parties hardly holding elections and when they do, the elections are often flawed. Party nominations expose the lack of democracy as nomination certificates are sold to candidates who do not necessarily qualify but have the financial muscle.

Fourthly, funding is a major challenge. Many parties are owned by individuals and are financed by the owners. The decisions and programmes implemented are therefore those that the owners choose to support. The lack of clear funding has made women lose their voices as many lack financial ability to fund parties.

The above challenges have kept women away from party politics and they have largely remained as supporters and mobilizers but not the decision makers. Women leagues in parties have largely been ineffective when it comes to championing the women's agenda. The women leagues do not make decisions and are used to mobilize the women's votes. These leagues are often times only active during elections and become dormant thereafter.

In Kenya, political parties are male dominated. Currently, out of the 51 registered political parties, men constitute 53% while women constitute 47%. At the National Executive Committee (NEC) level, women constitute 39% while men constitute 61%. From the top NEC officials in the 51 registered political parties, women constitute 24% while men constitute 76%. The number of women representation in party positions decreases along the hierarchy of the party's decisions making organs.

*The Registrar of Political Parties in Kenya, Ms Lucy Ndungu* underscored the gains that implementation of the Constitutional provisions and the requirements by the Political Parties Act would have in terms of paradigm shift in the way political parties conduct their affairs. The Political Parties Act requires that allocations of not less than 0.3% of revenue collected

#### *Strategies to ensure inclusive parties*

- Active participation of women in political parties
- Undertake calculated and deliberate recruitment of women into politics
- Women to ensure party policies are gender sensitive
- Women to build coalitions across political and social divide and form women caucuses within parliament
- capacity building of women parliamentarians and other governance bodies is undertaken
- a strong women's movement capable of exerting pressure on political parties and government



by the National Government funds be used for purposes compatible with democracy such as promoting representation of women. Article 91(1) of the Kenya Constitution requires that nominations to be democratic and has outlined some basic requirements for political parties that include but not limited to:

- having a democratically elected governing body;
- abiding by the democratic principles of good governance, promoting and practicing democracy through regular, fair and free elections within the party;
- respecting the right of all persons to participate in the political process, including minorities and marginalized groups;
- respecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and gender equality and equity;
- Subscribing to and observing the code of conduct for political parties.

Under Article 91(2), a political party shall not among other things:

- be founded on a religious, linguistic, racial, ethnic, gender or regional basis or seek to engage in advocacy of hatred on any such basis;
- Engage in or encourage violence by, or intimidation of its members, supporters, opponents or any other person

Despite the above provisions, women in Kenya are decimally represented in top party organs. The legal framework is not an end to itself but a means to an end hence the need for clear mechanisms on how to implement the legal provisions. Participants shared their experiences on how they had engaged political parties to ensure that gender provisions were actualized. One of the major strategies employed by women was their engagement with political parties in large numbers. As political mobilizers, women had used their numerical strength to demand that parties implement the gender provisions to the letter, failure to which they threatened to withdraw their support. In South Africa, women were very active in the ANC and they managed to pass a resolution requiring 50% women representation. Although this had not been actualized, it provided a bargaining point for women to demand representation.

In Tanzania, women's participation in political parties resulted in CCM and CHADEMA parties developing mechanisms for ensuring women were in party lists. Indeed, CHADEMA actually gives priority in nominations to women who lose in elections. It was therefore recommended that the active participation of women in political parties was the only way Kenyan women would influence their parties in planning and ensuring that their voices were heard.

As women struggle for inclusion in the political space, a question that lingers on is whether women will make a difference in leadership. In response to this question, Hon. Miriam Matembe a former Minister of Ethics and Integrity in



Uganda pointed out that women do actually make a difference. Her argument was based on the case of Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga, former deputy speaker in Uganda as highlighted in the box below;

*Do women actually make a difference in leadership? Presentation by Hon. Miriam Matembe*

In 2001, Hon. Kadaga became the Deputy Speaker of the Uganda Parliament. During her first tenure, she concentrated on developing and connecting Parliament to Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). In her second tenure following her appointment as Madam Speaker, she was able to make a difference using her power and influence to champion the women agenda in several ways:

- Rt. Hon Kadaga used her position to get the Uganda President, Yoweri Museveni to launch an anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) campaign. The President's commitment ensured parliamentarians' commitment to get the anti-FGM law passed in Parliament. To achieve this, Rt. Hon Kadaga used strategies such as the shock therapy on the MPs by showing a video in the chambers on the effects of FGM and the Bill was passed.
- Another instance was when MPs became reluctant to pass the Maternal Health Law. Hon. Kadaga warned the MPs that any matter brought by them to Parliament would not see the light of day until they committed to women issues. The majority of the male MPs dismissed her threats and she ended up throwing out five laws that did not advance women's health needs. Her determination to advance women issues compelled the MPs to bring the Maternal Health Bill before the floor. The Bill was eventually passed leading to increased resources for women's health e.g. a women's hospital being built at Mulago.
- She made an impact regionally by assisting Kenyan women parliamentarians to participate effectively in parliament. It was during her tenure as Deputy Speaker that the benchmark visit by women MPs from Kenya took place and Ugandan women advised the Kenyan women on how to beat the 'no-bags' rule in the Kenyan Parliament. It was as a result of the same visit that the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) was formed.
- As speaker, she ensured that the rule of law was followed and supported integrity in leadership. She used her power and authority to reject five names of unqualified people proposed by the president for Cabinet positions.
- She used her position as Speaker to implement the Parliamentary Accounts Committee (PAC) report on questionable compensations to National Resistance Movement (NRM) members despite her being a member of the NRM party. The corrupt Ministers were dismissed on Parliamentary recommendation. Hon. Kadaga insisted that people are corrupt as individuals not as a team.
- On increasing effective women's participation in parliament, she wrote to the Parliamentary Committees and demanded a 40% women membership and several committees complied with this.



The above case as argued by Hon. Matembe was a clear indication that women make a difference in leadership especially in bringing women's concerns on board and in improving governance. The challenge therefore was for governments to ensure that there exists a level playing field for women to participate effectively in politics.

## Session 5: Peaceful, Fair and Transparent Elections – Prospects for Kenya



Participants

The culmination of women's participation in a political process is the elections. Kenya is preparing for an election that is the first of its kind in the country; it is the first election under the new Constitution and unlike previous elections, there are more positions to vote for and Kenyans would be casting six ballots i.e. president,

governor, senator, women's representative, member of parliament and ward representative. This is bound to pose challenges to the voter as well as to the IEBC. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has provided for major reforms in the electoral process, the judiciary and the police among other institutions of governance.

Kenya is however facing various challenges such as security, slow cohesion, people still living in internally displaced persons' (IDP) camps, secessionist tendencies from groups such as the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC), uncertainty over the ICC process and the military operation in Somalia – 'operation linda nchi'. Women and children are often the main victims of conflict and violence and these among other factors contribute to them being sidelined from participating in politics. Women's participation in the electoral process cannot be isolated from these realities as an increase in democratic space which includes peaceful and fair elections is critical for effective women's participation. It is therefore important to examine how the political process can be managed while appreciating the above scenario to ensure that peace prevails and women are involved in the peace process.



Commissioner Fatuma Mohammed of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) enumerated the strategies the commission had developed to ensure peaceful elections. First was the *Uwiano* platform for peace - a multi-sectoral platform that provided strategic leadership for conflict prevention and peace building programmes in Kenya. To this end, NCIC had strengthened the Early Warning Systems by working with local Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and government officials. NCIC was also in the process of establishing a monitoring response system for Gender Based Violence (GBV). Secondly, NCIC had enhanced the regulatory mechanisms for hate speech such as the laws and institutions. It had partnered with CBOs and the CID to monitor hate speech especially during the campaign period. Thirdly, they had enhanced inter and intra community peace dialogues. An example given was the peace and reconciliation forums held in Mt. Elgon, Borabu and Sotik. Fourthly, NCIC had trained women on peace building and conflict resolution with a particular focus on the gendered aspects of conflict and the role of women in peace building. There was also the launch of a 'Kenya Kwanza' (*Kenya first*) campaign to promote responsible citizenship especially during the election period. NCIC targeted political parties as a strategy to ensure they supported peaceful election by committing on paper.

On his part, the Police Commissioner, Mr. Mathew Iteere explained to the participants that the constitutional role of the police was to protect the people's sovereignty. He highlighted that the police were prepared for the elections and the police officers had been trained on how to respond to conflict and on their new duties as outlined in the Constitution. He further pointed out that the police force had recruited more officers to ensure that it had enough officers during the election period to address violent incidents.

## Session 6: Engaging with the Media



The media is viewed as not only powerful but yields power in itself. The power of the media is manifested on the influence it has on the decisions made by citizens. It is a reflection of the society and by extension how society perceives women. The media has often been accused of biased

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coverage and the negative portrayal of women. Various factors were highlighted as contributing to the negative publicity and these included; negative perception of women by society; lack of a feminist agenda in media houses since most media houses are owned by men serving male interests; inequality in media jobs with women mainly serving in sales, as news anchors or as underpaid correspondents but not as editors, decision makers or managers and therefore cannot influence the content that appears in the media. These factors had muted the voices of women in media while men carried the day.

Like other institutions in society, the media is highly patriarchal and needs to be reformed to ensure that women got fair coverage. Several mechanisms were identified to enhance women's coverage in the media. Women were urged to consistently engage with the editors as they were the ones who make decisions on what gets covered in the media as well as prepare editorials. It is also important for journalists to be trained on gender sensitive writing and reporting since they are the ones who inform the public on these issues. Women were advised to package themselves and their message well while women aspirants were urged to clearly understand the type of media that were available for use e.g. social media was said to be a good way to engage the youth while the mainstream media such as newspapers and radios were said to be appropriate in reaching the older generation.

Women aspirants were cautioned not to get caught up in scandals because the negatives were more likely to get more publicity as opposed to their development agenda. Women were advised to be available at all times when called upon to appear in the media. It was pointed out that often times, women shy away from the media and refuse to comment on issues when called upon. In contrast, the men were said to be readily available for comments and opinions when called upon by journalists. Over time, this had led to a negative perception of women by the media since they are not available to the public to give their comments. Being available for comments would enable women to tell their story and would go a long way in deconstructing existing stereotypes.

Women were further advised to be proactive and confident when engaging with the media. This coupled with consistency would create an interest in the media and capture the media's attention on women. It was also important for women to get tough on issues because the media has the ability to promote one's status as well as to degrade the same. Drawing from her personal experience in politics, *Hon. Elizabeth Ongoro, MP Kasarani* advised aspirants to engage with the media from the start since they are public figures. She pointed out that if an aspirant did not engage with the media, other people would tell their story and were bound to distort it. She advised that one should always confront propaganda as it would always be there. With regards to the media, she noted that it needed to engage more with women leaders and women aspirants and urged the various stakeholders to create platforms for such engagement. There was also need for



women to create platforms for continuous engagement with each other. To the media, she cautioned that women should not be expected to completely stop being women just because they had entered the political space. She further cautioned that women were not 'super human beings' and should therefore not be expected to perform or behave as such.

## Closing and Way forward

The issue of women's participation in politics was no longer in contention and central to the debate was how to make women's participation possible through quotas. This debate was timely for Kenya as the country prepared for the general elections scheduled for March 2013. Speakers at the dialogue noted that Kenya had all the institutions and laws in place and what was remaining was to actualize these gains by increasing the number of women in politics and governance institutions with the goal of realizing women empowerment in general.

In her closing remarks, *the Swedish Ambassador to Kenya, H.E. Ann Dismorr* reiterated her government's commitment to build women's capacity through training. She highlighted that a peaceful and fair election was critical for women's participation. The IEBC, political leaders, security agents and state institutions as well as the media had key roles to play in ensuring a free, fair and peaceful election. She pointed out that there were a lot of political and institutional reforms in Kenya and that these should be the catalyst for women to realize the fruits of the struggle for inclusion and participation both in the political process and socio economic structures.

Participants were in agreement that the quota system had proved to be the fastest mechanism for increasing women's numbers in politics. However, gender quotas needed to be supported by clear implementation mechanisms. Women were urged not to rest but instead engage Parliament to ensure that Bills being developed were gender sensitive. In addition, women were urged to remain vigilant to ensure the gains in the Constitution were protected.

Several strategies were identified to enhance the implementation of the two-thirds gender principle;

- Build support for the women's quota from the bottom-up using the existing coalitions while warning parliamentarians about the impending constitutional crisis
- Build women's leadership capabilities to engage with political parties and electoral parties
- Support dialogue with all concerned institutions while holding them accountable to comply with the two-thirds gender principle



- Monitor compliance from a gender perspective with the whole electoral process before, during and after the elections

Political will was identified as a crucial ingredient as women sought political power. The Minister for Justice and the Minister for Gender reiterated the government's commitment to women's empowerment. For example, the Judiciary had opened up space to access justice as indicated by the Chief Justice and it was preparing to handle the elections process in a just manner especially with regards to electoral disputes.

Participants were of the view that Kenya stood a good chance in actualizing the quotas and women were urged to actively engage political parties to ensure that the gender provisions were translated into real gains. It further emerged that there was need to build women's leadership capabilities to enable them effectively engage with political parties and the electoral process. It was highlighted that UNDP in partnership with NDI were already undertaking capacity building activities. The Swedish government through their ambassador reiterated their commitment to continue building the capacity of women through training.

Emphasis was laid on the need to create dialogue amongst all concerned institutions while holding them to account with regards to the implementation of the gender quotas. UN Women and UNDP reiterated their commitment to continue supporting women in Kenya. NDI on their part committed to continue training women aspirants and to also build a media platform for women to articulate their agenda.





## Addendum

Efforts after the regional dialogue by the women's movement in Kenya, together with the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, the Kenya Women's Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), and the NGECC to lobby Parliament, the President and Prime Minister of Kenya to support the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill 2012, failed, due to opposition from members of Parliament.

However, in October 2012, due to contradictory opinions regarding the pace of implementation of the Two-thirds gender rule, the Attorney General of Kenya filed a Petition No. 2 of 2012 before the Supreme Court, seeking direction as to whether the Two-thirds gender rule is to be realized progressively, or immediately through the 2013 election. There was a lack of clarity as to meaning of Article 81 (b) of the Constitution and whether the failure to realize the Two-thirds gender rule in the 2013 election would lead to a constitutional crisis in that the Parliament would be declared improperly constituted and therefore incapable of conducting its business.

On 11th December 2012 the Supreme Court ruled that the Two-thirds gender rule was to be realized progressively. The Supreme Court determined that Parliament had until August 2015 by which to enact legislation to operationalize Articles 27(8) and 81(b) of the Constitution. Kenya's political parties and the electorate therefore went into election without any mechanism and/or impetus to ensure that the two-thirds gender rule would be realized. As a consequence, women did not receive the necessary support from their parties during the party nominations and few women vying for seats other than the Women's County Representative seats, received support. Consequently, after the elections of 4th March 2013, fewer women were elected as members of the National Assembly as a proportion of the total membership, than in the previous Parliament. Sixteen (16) women were elected to the National Assembly<sup>1</sup>. However, together with the 47 Women's County Representatives who will serve as Members of Parliament for their counties, and the six (6) women who were nominated to the National Assembly, this made for a total of 69 women in the National Assembly, the highest number of women that the National Assembly has ever had.

However, no women were elected to the Senate. But, in line with Article 98 of the Constitution, 18 women were nominated to the Senate. 88 women were also elected to the county assemblies. In line with Article 177(1) (b), the IEBC will be supervising the nominations of over 500 women to the county assemblies; to ensure that Article 177(1) (b) is realized.

<sup>1</sup> The members of Parliament for: Teso South, Kilome, Kibwezi East, Thika town, Ruiru, Kandara, Othaya, Baringo South, Kajiado East, Taveta, Runyenjes, Nyeri town, Mogotio, Mbita, Sotik, Kitui South.



## Annexes

### Annex 1: Concept note

#### 1. Background and rationale

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya has opened space for women's participation in decision-making within the three arms of government (Legislative, Executive and Judiciary) through the provision of a gender quota requiring that no more than two-thirds of the members of each elected and appointed body shall be of the same gender. Kenya has joined other countries of the region using constitutional reserved seats to increase women's political participation. The new provision will be put to test at the next general election scheduled to take place in March 2013.

In the meantime, the provision has to be operationalized through an enabling law to achieve a minimum of one-third of women in the next parliament. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, political parties, parliament, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Gender, the National Gender and Equality Commission and other key institutions have important roles to play in the successful operationalization of the quota provision. Furthermore, there is a need to facilitate a public consensus around the articulation of the affirmative action provision on the right as well as important role of women in political decision-making. In this respect, the media has a critical role to play. The effectiveness and numbers of women in politics can also be enhanced through a strategic partnership with the civil society organizations which is the home for the women's movement.

Therefore, while the affirmative action has opened the political space and created opportunities for thousands of Kenyan women to be political decision-makers it also presents several challenges. However, Kenya does not have to reinvent the wheel. The country can learn from more than 25 years of experimentation with constitutional reserved seats in the Eastern African region and beyond.

It is in this framework that UNDP, UN Women, National Gender and Equality Commission, Ministry of Gender and other government partners are organizing a High Level Regional Dialogue on Women Political Leadership in Kenya drawing lessons from the experiences of Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Ghana and South Africa.

#### 2. The specific objectives of the Roundtable include:

- Sharing global trends and good practices of articulation and operationalization of Constitutional Quotas at national and local levels



- Raising awareness and generating a consensus on affirmative action as a mechanism for women political leadership in the new constitutional dispensation.
  - Identifying key issues which could constitute a gender equality agenda for the next parliamentary period
3. **Expected Outcomes:**
- Dialogue and commitment on gender equality reforms within political parties and political processes in the context of the new constitutional dispensation.
  - Strengthened partnerships between the Government and the national women machinery, civil society, academia, media, development partners and national leaders on gender issues during the forthcoming elections and beyond.
4. **Key institutions and participants will include:**
- National Leaders
  - Government Institutions
  - Women aspiring for political office
  - Political parties
  - Independent Commissions
  - Civil society organizations
  - Academia
  - Media representatives
  - UN agencies and development partners.
5. **Resource persons will include:**
- National and International Experts
  - Researchers
  - Women Parliamentarians
  - Government Officials
  - Civil Society Leaders
  - Political party leaders
  - Media Leaders



6. **Format:**

The roundtable will be conducted over three days and will involve plenary sessions informed and guided by paper presentations. It also will involve interactive group sessions among participants with opportunities for small group discussions and networking.

7. **Partners:**

National Gender and Equality Commission, Ministry of Gender, NDI and UN Women will be invited to partner with UNDP

8. **Dates:**

The Roundtable will be held from 14th to 16th August 2012.

9. **Source of Fund:**

UNDP, UN Women, Gender Commission, Government of Kenya.

10. **Draft programme:**

See separated document.



## Annex 2: Workshop Programme



Empowered lives.  
Resilient nations.

### Regional Dialogue on Women Political Leadership

14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2012

Safari Park Hotel, Nairobi, Kenya

## CHAMPIONING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP: DELIVERING THE ONE THIRD PROMISE IN KENYA

### DAY 1 – 14<sup>th</sup> August 2012

8:00 am – 9:00 am	Registration
<b>Opening Ceremony</b> <i>Master of Ceremony – Dr. James Nyikal, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, Kenya</i>	
9:00 am – 9:15 am	Round table Context Setting: <b>Winnie Byanyima</b> , UNDP Director for Gender, New York
9:15 am – 9:30 am	Welcome Remarks: <b>Aeneas Chuma</b> , UNDP Resident Representative and UN Resident Coordinator, Kenya
9:30 am – 9:45 am	Video Message: <b>H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf</b> , President of the Republic of Liberia
9.45 am – 10:00 am	Remarks: <b>Commissioner Winfred Lichuma</b> , Chairperson, National Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya
10.00 am – 10:15 am	Remarks: <b>Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban</b> , Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development, Kenya
10:15 am – 10:30 am	Remarks: <b>Hon. Eugene Wamalwa</b> – Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, Kenya
10:30 am – 10:45 am	Remarks: <b>Ahmed Issack Hassan</b> , Chairman, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, Kenya
10:45 am – 11:15 am	Keynote Address: <b>Rt. Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga</b> , Chief Justice and President, Supreme Court of Kenya

"Championing Women's Political Leadership: Delivering the One-Third Promise in Kenya"



11:15 am – 11:30 am	Coffee
<b>Session 1 – Women’s Engagement in the Political Process – The Kenyan Experience</b> <b>Moderator: Betty Kaari Murungi, Gender and Conflict Expert</b>	
11.30 am – 1:00 pm	<p><b>Presenters:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Historical Journey on Women Political Leadership in Kenya - <b>Prof. Wanjiku Kabira</b>, Chair, Department of Literature, University of Nairobi, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Hon. Sophia Abdi</b>, Member of Parliament, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Councillor Muthoni Kihara</b>, Assistant National Treasurer, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization, Kenya</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Discussant: Uduak Amimo</b>, Media Trainer, Journalist and Host 'Cheche' Citizen TV, Kenya</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Plenary Discussion</b></p>
1:00 pm – 2:00 pm	Lunch
<b>Session 2: Women’s Engagement in Political Process – Lessons from the Region</b> <b>Moderator: Winnie Byanyima, Director of the UNDP Gender Team</b>	
2:00 pm – 4.45 pm	<p><b>Plenary Session</b></p> <p><b>Panelists:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Hon. Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge</b>, former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, South Africa</li> <li>- <b>Hon. Miria Matembe</b>, former Minister of Ethics and Integrity, Uganda</li> <li>- <b>Hon. Oda Gasinzigwa</b>, Chief Gender Monitor, Gender Monitoring Office, Rwanda</li> <li>- <b>Hon. Martha Karua</b>, Member of Parliament &amp; Chair, National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), Kenya</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Plenary Discussion</b></p>
4:45 pm – 5:00 pm	Coffee and Departure

**DAY 2 – 15<sup>th</sup> August 2012**

<b>Session 3 - Implementing Affirmative Action Policies for Women in politics</b> <b>Moderator: - Consolata Ngondi - Human Rights and Gender Expert, Kenyatta University</b>	
8:30 am - 10:30 am	<p><b>Plenary Session:</b></p> <p><b>Key note address: Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga</b>, Speaker of Parliament, Uganda</p> <p><b>Presenter: Prof. Aili Tripp</b>, Director, Centre for Research on Gender and Women, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA</p> <p><b>Discussants:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Hon. Anna Margareth Abdallah</b>, Member of Parliament &amp; Chair, Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform, Tanzania</li> <li>- <b>Solome Kimbugwe</b>, Chairperson, Forum for Women in Democracy, Uganda</li> <li>- <b>Prof. Maria Nzomo</b>, Institute of Diplomacy &amp; International Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Plenary Discussion</b></p>



10:30 am - 11:00 am	<i>Coffee Break</i>
<b>Session 4 - Towards Inclusive Parties: Fostering Party Reforms to Promote Gender Equality</b> <b>Moderator : Njeri Kabeberi, Executive Director, Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (Kenya)</b>	
11:00 am - 1:00 pm	<b>Panellists:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Hon. Linah Jebii Kilimo</b>, Member of Parliament (Marakwet East) and Chair, Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Lucy Ndungu</b>, Registrar of Political Parties, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Hon. Geoffrey Ekanya</b>, Member of Parliament, Uganda</li> <li>- <b>Mrs Francesca Tengera</b>, President of National Women's Council, Rwanda</li> <li>- <b>Jenerali Ulimwengu</b>, Chair, Habari Corporation, Tanzania</li> </ul> <b>Plenary Discussion</b>
1:00 pm - 2:00 pm	<i>Lunch</i>
2:00 pm - 4:45 pm	<b>Breakout Group Sessions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Group 1a.</b> How do we achieve the two- thirds representation in leadership? <b>Group Session Chair: Daisy Amdany</b>, Chair, Women Political Alliance, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Group 1b.</b> How do we achieve the two- thirds representation in leadership? <b>Group Session Chair: Commissioner Safia Abdi</b>, Transitional Authority, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Group 2a.</b> How can women political leaders effectively articulate the women rights agenda? <b>Group Session Chair: Debra Okumu</b>, Chief Executive Officer, Women Political Caucus for Leadership, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Group 2b.</b> How can women political leaders effectively articulate the women rights agenda? <b>Group Session Chair: Grace Maingi</b>, Chief Executive Officer, FIDA-Kenya, Kenya</li> </ul> <b>Feedback from the Group Sessions : Plenary</b>
4:45 pm - 5:00 pm	<i>Coffee and Departure</i>



**COCKTAIL TO LAUNCH THE UNDP/NDI GUIDEBOOK ON EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR STRONGER POLITICAL PARTIES (By Invitation Only)**

**DAY 3 – 16<sup>th</sup> August 2012**

<b>Session 5 - Peaceful, Fair and Transparent Elections...Prospects for Kenya</b> <b>Moderator: Winnie Guchu, Electoral Expert and former Commissioner Interim Independent Electoral Commission (IIEC), Kenya</b>	
9:00 am - 11:00 am	<p><b>Presenters:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Ahmed Issack Hassan</b>, Chair, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Dr. Mzalendo Kibunjia</b>, Chair, National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Police Commissioner Matthew Iteere</b>, National Police Service, Kenya</li> </ul> <p><b>Discussants:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Mary O’Hagan</b>, Senior Resident Director, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Christine Musisi</b>, Regional Director (East &amp; Horn of Africa), UN Women, Kenya</li> </ul> <p><b>Plenary Discussion</b></p>
11:00 am - 11:30 am	<i>Coffee</i>
<b>Session 6: Engaging with the Media</b> <b>Moderator: Moderator: Maimouna Mills, Journalist and Communication Expert</b>	
11:30 am - 1:30 pm	<p><b>Plenary Session - Presenter Winnie Byanyima, Director for Gender, UNDP New York</b></p> <p><b>Discussants :</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Ananilea Nkya</b>, Executive Director, Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) Tanzania</li> <li>- <b>Anne Mugisha</b>, AMISOM Public Information Officer, Uganda</li> <li>- <b>Njoki Karuoya</b>, Senior Associate Editor, Standard Group, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Charles Onyango-Obbo</b>, Executive Editor Africa &amp; Digital Media, Nation Media Group, Kenya (TBC)</li> <li>- <b>Jenerali Ulimwengu</b>, Chair, Habari Corporation, Tanzania</li> <li>- <b>Zipporah Musau</b>, Independent Media Consultant and former Editor, Standard Group, Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Sarah Kimani</b>, East Africa Correspondent, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Kenya</li> <li>- <b>Kiprono Kittony</b>, Chair, Media Owners Association &amp; Radio Africa Group, Kenya</li> </ul> <p><b>Plenary Discussion</b></p>



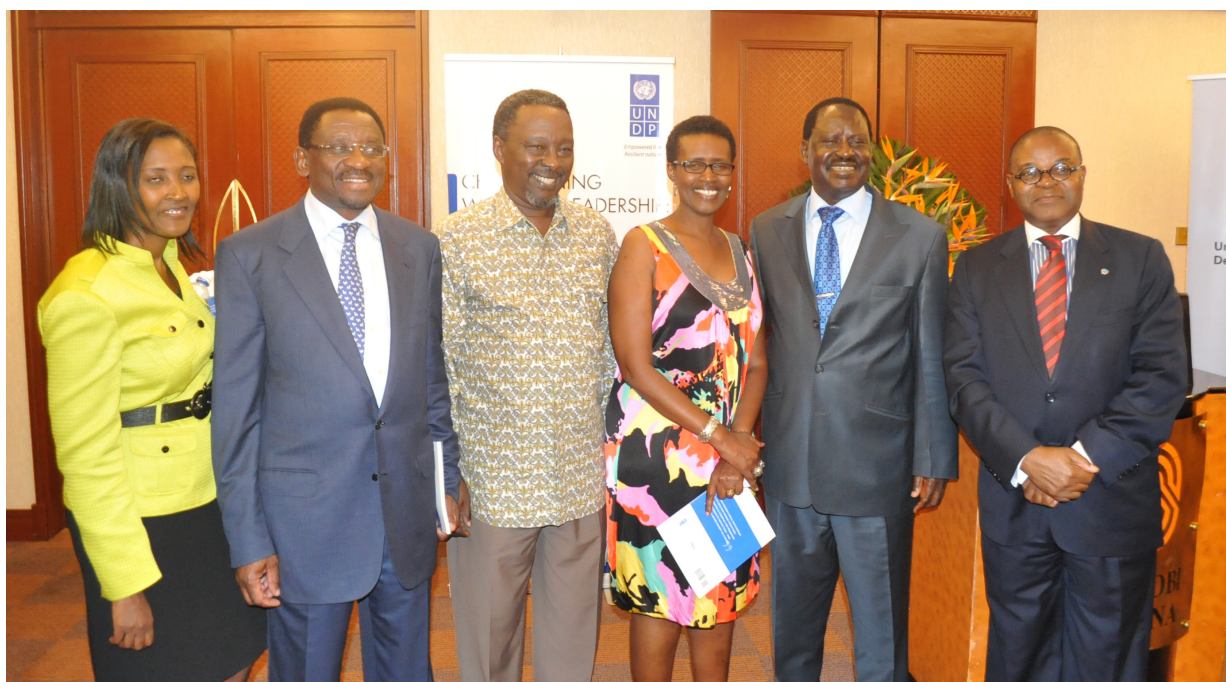


<b>Closing Ceremony</b> <i>Moderator: Sheila Ngatia - Team Leader, Democratic Governance, UNDP Kenya</i>	
1:30 pm - 2:15 pm	<p>Summary of main Recommendations : <b>Winnie Byanyima</b>, UNDP Director for Gender, UNDP (New York)</p> <p>Way forward: <b>Commissioner Winfred Lichuma</b>, Chairperson, National Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya</p> <p>Remarks : <b>Aeneas Chuma</b>, UNDP Resident Representative and UN Resident Coordinator</p> <p>Closing Address: <b>H.E. Ann Dismorr</b>, Ambassador of Sweden to Kenya</p> <p>Vote of Thanks: <b>Zebib Kavuma</b>, Kenya Country Program Director, UN Women, Kenya.</p>
2:15 pm - 3:15 pm	<i>Lunch and Departure</i>

## **CHAMPIONING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP: DELIVERING THE ONE THIRD PROMISE IN KENYA**



## Annex 3: List of participants



### Organization

NARC-KENYA  
 The National Vision Party (NVP)  
 The Labour Party of Kenya (LPK)  
 Grand National Union (GNU)  
 Mwangaza Party (MP)  
 Restore and Build Kenya (RBK)  
 United Democratic Forum Party (UDFP)  
 Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK)  
 Kenya National Congress (KNC)  
 Mazingira Green Party of Kenya (MGPK)  
 National Democratic Movement (NDM)  
 Wiper Democratic Movement -Kenya (WDM-K)  
 Democratic Party of Kenya ((DP)  
 Party of National Unity (PNU)  
 Party of Action (POA)  
 Alliance Party of Kenya (APK)  
 Agano Party (AP)  
 The Independent Party (TIP)

### Position

Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General  
 Secretary General



Kenya Social Congress (KSC)	Jephita Oeke Otuke
New Ford Kenya (NFK)	Secretary General
Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	Secretary General
Peoples Party of Kenya (PPK)	Secretary General
Forum For Restoration of Democracy- Kenya (FORD-KENYA)	Secretary General
FORD- People(FORD- P)	Secretary General
Progressive Party of Kenya ((PPK)	Secretary General
United Republican Party (URP)	Secretary General
Conservative Party (CP)	Secretary General
Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)	Secretary General
National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	Secretary General
Kenya African Democratic Union - Asili (KADU-ASILI)	Secretary General
Chama Cha Mwananchi (CCM)	Secretary General
Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP)	Secretary General
Kenya African National Union(KANU)	Secretary General
Safina Party	Secretary General
The National Alliance (TNA)	Secretary General
Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)	Titus Kaloki
National Agenda Party of Kenya (NAPK)	Secretary General
Mkenya Solidarity Movement(MSM)	Secretary General
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Secretary General
New Democrats(ND)	Ms. Elizabeth
	Kaptuya Barbett
United Democratic Movement (UPK)	Secretary General
Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK)	Secretary General
Unity Party of Kenya (UPK)	Secretary General
Party of Democratic Unity (PDU)	Secretary General
Sisi Kwa Sisi Party (SSP)	Secretary General
Saba Saba Asili (77)	Secretary General
Farmers Party (FP)	Secretary General
National Labour Party (NLP)	Secretary General
Federal Party of Kenya (FPK)	Secretary General
Muungano Development Movement Party of Kenya (MDM)	Secretary General



## Name

Prof. Wanjiku Kabira  
Hon. Sophia Abdi  
Councillor Muthoni Kihara,  
  
Uduak Amimo, Media Trainer  
Hon. Nosizwe Madandla-Routledge  
  
Hon. Miria Matembe  
  
Hon. Angelina Muganza  
  
Hon. Dr Mary Michael Nagu  
  
Hon. Martha Karua  
Presenter Prof. Aili Tripp  
Irene Ovonji-Odida  
  
Hon. Anna Abdallah  
  
Prof. Maria Nzomo  
Prof. Collete Suda  
  
Daisy Amdany  
Commissioner Safia Abdi  
Debra Okumu  
  
Grace Maingi  
Lucy Ndungu  
Hon. Linah Jebii Kilimo  
  
Hon. Tito Rutaremara  
Hon. Margaret Zziwa  
  
Jenerali Ulimwengu  
Ahmed Issack Hassan  
  
Dr. Mzalendo Kibunjia  
  
Matthew Iteere  
Christine Musisi  
Ananilea Nkya

## Organisation

University of Nairobi  
Nominated Member of Parliament  
Assistant National Treasurer Maendeleo ya  
Wanawake  
Journalist Citizen TV  
Former Deputy Speaker of the National  
Assembly, South Africa  
Former Minister of Ethics and Integrity,  
Uganda  
Former Minister of Gender and Family,  
Rwanda (tbc)  
Minister of State of Investment and  
Empowerment, Tanzania (tbc)  
Member of Parliament , Kenya  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Former Member of the East African Legislative  
Assembly, Uganda (tbc)  
Chair of the Tanzania Women Cross Party  
Platform,Tanzania  
University of Nairobi, Kenya  
Secretary, Gender and Social Development,  
Ministry of Gender, Children and Social  
Development  
Chairperson, Women Political Alliance  
Transitional Authority  
Chief Executive Officer, Women Political  
Caucus for Leadership  
Chief Executive Officer, FIDA  
Registrar of Political Parties, Kenya  
Member of Parliament (Marakwet East) and  
Chairperson, Kenya Women Parliamentary  
Association (KEWOPA)  
Senator, Rwanda ( tbc)  
Speaker of the East African Legislature,  
Uganda (tbc)  
Chairman of Habari Corporation, Tanzania  
Independent Electoral and Boundaries  
Commission ( IEBC) Chairman  
National Cohesion and Integration  
Commission (NCIC) Chairman  
Police Commissioner, Kenya Police  
UN Women Regional Director  
TAMWA Executive Director, Tanzania



Njoki Karuoya Zipporah Musau	Senior Associate Editor Standard Group, Kenya Independent Media Consultant and former Editor, Standard Group Kenya
Sarah Kimani Kiprono Kittony	SABC, Southern Africa Chairman, Media Owners Association and Chairman, Radio Africa Group
Ms Betty Murungi Winnie Byanyima Consolata Ngondi	Gender and Conflict Expert Director of the UNDP Gender Team Human Rights and Gender Expert, Kenyatta University
Njeri Kabeberi	Executive Director, Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (Kenya)
Winnie Guchu,	Electoral Expert and former Commissioner IIEC, Kenya
Maimouna Mills, Sheila Ngatia	Journalist and Communication Expert Team Leader, Democratic Governance, UNDP Kenya
Winnie Byanyima Aeneas Chuma Diakhoumba Gassama	Director, UNDP Gender Team Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator Special Assistant to Special Assistant to the Director, UNDP Gender Team
Jacqueline Mogeni	UNDP Kenya
Joan Vwamu	UNDP Kenya
Joyce Deloge	UNDP Kenya
Nazila Vali	UNDP Kenya
Caroline Maweu	UNDP Kenya
Pauline Irungu	UNDP Kenya
Mariam-Huri Ibrahim	UNDP Kenya
Patterson Siema	UNDP Kenya
Nicholas Njoroge	UNDP Kenya
Gregory Akall	UNDP Kenya
Maria-Threase Keating	UNDP Kenya
Alfredo Teixeira	UNDP Kenya
Ezra Chiloba	UNDP Kenya
Evelyn Batamuliza	UNDP Kenya
Hulda Ouma	National Gender and Equality Commission
Eunice Ndonga	Gender Advisor (MoGCSD), UN Women
Ursula Sore Bahati	UN Women
Zebib Kavuma	UN Women
Wandia Maina	Phoenix Training Solutions
Abel Jeru Mbilinyi	Deputy Representative, UNHCR Representation in Kenya
Dan Rugabira	FAO Kenya
Cecilia Kimemia	Assistant Representative, UNFPA



Janet Kabeberi-Macharia  
 Kanyankore Marcel Rudasingwa  
 Pauline Maingi  
 Chris Ayieko  
 Nixon Ng'ang'a  
 Mary Muyonga  
 Nancy Wamwea  
 Micah Cheserem  
 Fatuma Abdikadir  
 Rose Osoro  
 Jane Likimani Gachanja  
 Martha Mathenge

Senior Gender Adviser, UNEP  
 Representative, UNICEF Kenya  
 WFP  
 ICJ  
 IEBC  
 SID  
 URAIA  
 Chairman, CRA  
 Vice Chairperson, CRA  
 Commissioner, CRA  
  
 UNDP Kenya

Name	County
Benta Opande	Bondo
June Koinange	Kiambu
Vicky B. Chepkorir	Bomet
Irene Wanyoike	Nairobi
Faith Muli	Machakos
Eunice Muriithi	Nakuru
Susan Kanyokoh (disabled)	Kisumu
Happy Golria Akhayalu	Busia
Lina Bunni	Kilifi
Monicah Kakuko Ng'imor	West Pokot
Beatrice Elachi	Lugari
Irene Masit	Elgeyo Marakwet
Jane Njiru	Embu
Alice Wahome	Kandara
Ruth N. Enkeseni	Kajiado
Dorcias Jepkemboi	Uasin Gichu
Rebecca Kitana	Machakos
Zulfa Hakim Mohamed	Lamu
Jane Putunoi	Laikipia
Catherine Wanjiku	Nyeri
Anne Githinji	Muranga
Grace Kipchoim	Baringo
Violet Shivutse	Kakamega
Beatrice Kamau	Nayandarua
Dr. Esther Keino	Kericho
Joyce Lusiji	
Tiyah Galgalo Ali	Isiolo
Beatrice Kamemia	Kiambu
Rachael Bessie Dzombo	Kilifi
Naomi Cidi	Kilifi
Esther Tole	Taita Taveta

Name	County
Betty Tett	Lamu
Amina Abdalla	Mombasa
Alice Mbodze	Mombasa
Mishi Juma	Mombasa
Zainabu Chisuga	Kwale
Beatrice Kanini Nyaga	Embu
Rhoda Maende	Makueni
Susan Kiamba	Makueni
Emmaculate Musya	Nairobi
Josephine Wandago	Nairobi
Mary Mwangi	Nairobi
Rukia Subow	Wajir
Janet Ongera	Kisii
Grace Akumu	Kisumu
Christine Ombaka	Siaya
Rose Nyamuga	
Susan Owino	Migori
Rahab Robi	Migori
Catherine Nyamato	Nyamira
Monica Amollo	Homa Bay
Mary Patricia Ouma	Homa Bay
Eunice Marima	Narok
Jenepher Masis	Trans Nzoia
Edna Bore	Kericho
Hon. Dr. Joyce Labaso	Bomet
Maggie Ochieng	Nakuru
Liza Chelule Chepkorir	Nakuru
Zipporah Muthoni	Nakuru
Beatrice Askul	Turkana
Alice Kirambi	Vihiga
Dr. Reginalda N.Wanyonyi	Bungoma
Rachel M'migano	Busia
Winnie Karimi	Kirinyaga



## Annex4: Questions - Group Sessions



"Championing Women's Political Leadership: Delivering the One-Third Promise in Kenya"



## *Annex 5: Remarks and Presentations*

*Remarks: Mr. Aeneas Chuma, UNDP Resident Representative*



### **Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership**

Remarks by Mr. Aeneas C. Chuma

UN Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator  
UNDP Resident Representative

14 August 2012

Safari Park Hotel, Nairobi

Chief Justice and President of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kenya Hon. (Dr) Willy Mutunga,

Speaker of the Ugandan National Assembly, Hon. Rebecca Kadaga,

Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, Hon. Eugene Wamalwa,

Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development, Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban,

Chair of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, Ahmed Isaack Hassan,





Chair of the Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform, Hon. Anna Margareth Abdallah,

Chair of the National Gender and Equality Commission, Commissioner Winnie Lichuma

Members of the Diplomatic Corp,

Director for Gender, UNDP New York, Ms. Winnie Byanyima,

Colleagues from the United Nations,

Distinguished Ladies and Gentleman;

It is my pleasure to welcome you to Kenya on the occasion of the High-Level Regional Dialogue on Women Political Leadership. The theme of this meeting “Championing Women’s Political Leadership: Delivering the one-third Promise in Kenya” sets the agenda for Kenya to realize a key promise of the new Constitution that Kenyan women have fought for over the last two decades. The 2010 Constitution is so progressive in its requirement on gender quotas providing that no more than two-thirds of the members of each elected and appointed body shall be of the same gender.

The very high-level presence at this dialogue and underscores the importance given to this subject at hand. The fight for equal rights and opportunities has been for many decades, and remains, a matter of great importance for women and men worldwide. The women’s movement has grown in solidarity and strength across the continent as witnessed by the presence today of women leaders from South Africa, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda in solidarity with the Kenyan women. To you all, we applaud your determination, your strength of character and your vision for a better future for this continent.

I appreciate the presence of the Chief Justice and President of the Supreme Court of Kenya, Chairman of the IEBC, Speaker of the Ugandan National Assembly, Minister for Justice and Minister for Gender from Kenya, Members of Parliament from Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and the donors present. Your presence demonstrates the importance that we all attach to this critical process of facilitating a public consensus around the articulation of the affirmative action provision on the right and important role of women in political decision-making.

We acknowledge the pivotal role played by the Ministry of Justice National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, the Ministry of Gender, the National Gender and Equality Commission, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission including the Registrar of Political Parties, Commission for Implementation of the Constitution, political parties, Parliament, the media, civil society and other key institutions in the successful operationalization of the quota provision.



From the outset, let me clear the myth that this important issue of women's leadership is an issue for women only, and neither is this dialogue a meeting for women only. Not at all. To the contrary, this is a meeting about bringing to life what the Constitution provides as a means to empower all segments of society, men and women, and ensure that their rights, concerns, needs and their aspirations are taken into account and are given equal opportunity as citizens of this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen; the promulgation of the Kenya's Constitution in 2010 was a great milestone for the country and could well provide best-practice model for many countries if implemented fully in letter and spirit. The Constitution brings with it a great anticipation by all groups in the country, and especially by women, for real change on issues pertaining to human rights, gender equality, equitable participation in decision-making, and the devolution of power. But the gender gains provided for in the Constitution only provide a starting point in providing a legal backing for ensuring equal access, by women and men, to opportunities, resources and the rewards. Under Article 27, the Constitution of Kenya recognizes the principle of gender equality as a key national value and a guiding principle and secure access to opportunity and help guarantee effective representation by women. Article 81 of the Constitution requires that the electoral system shall ensure that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective bodies shall be of the same gender. We need to remember that this provision is only a starting point and that more efforts and political will are needed to ensure that the spirit and intent of the message becomes fully functional in the day-to-day lives of the Kenyan people. The principle must become a fundamental pillar of the electoral system.

Ladies and Gentlemen; in the run up to the elections of 2013, it will be important to ensure that quotas are met through the application of gender-responsive electoral arrangements, support to women candidates, and the assurance of political will at the highest levels of political parties and government to overcome the gender imbalances in Parliament.

Given the magnitude of this electoral task, you will understand why this meeting is so timely and important. And how important it is for Kenya to draw lessons from other countries in the region on what has worked and what has not. We have representation from the East African region - Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania - who have walked the path before us. And their experiences - both good and bad - will be of great importance to Kenya. As well, the experiences of our friends from South Africa - working with political parties and structures to ensure gender equitable representation in their jurisdiction, will be equally meaningful.

While Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights explicitly states that women and men have the right to equal treatment including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social life, it also underscores



that the State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground including a person's gender.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Kenya's Constitution outlaws all forms of discrimination including Violence against Women, and includes provisions to ensure equality within marriages and parenting responsibilities, citizenship rights, land ownership and inheritance rights. The true test for Kenya is implementing the 2010 Constitution to ensure that women have equal representation in all elected and appointive bodies - including the public service and county governments. Hon Chief Justice allow me to commend you for ensuring that the Judiciary has set the standard in ensuring fidelity to the principles of gender equality in the appointment of Judicial officers. You have set a standard that all other arms of Government must follow.

As the country prepares for the 2013 General Election, enabling laws need to be implemented to ensure that at least one-third of women are elected and appointed to key decision-making institutions as required by the Constitution. Strong leadership, financial backing and consistent monitoring and inclusion of gender aspects into laws, policies and programmes are needed for the implementation of the gender gains in the Constitution and the respect for the international agreements. Please note increasing women's representation, through quotas and other special measures, while necessary, is insufficient. A lot of hard work lies ahead and the recommendations from this meeting should influence policy decisions to actualize the constitutional principles.

Allow me to take this opportunity to thank the following institutions who have partnered with the UNDP and UN Women: the National Gender and Equality Commission and the Ministry of Gender. Allow me to salute my colleague from UNDP Headquarters, Winnie Byanyima, Director for Gender, for her vision and her unwavering commitment to support Kenyan women. We look forward to fruitful deliberations and practical recommendations that will lead to actualizing the constitutional provisions on gender and leadership.

*Asanteni Sana*



*Remarks: Commissioner Winfred Lichuma, Chairperson, National Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya*



## **THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL GENDER AND EQUALITY COMMISSION IN WOMEN LEADERSHIP:**

### **WISE UP TO WOMEN LEADERSHIP: KEEPING THE PROMISE!!**

#### **Setting the Stage**

The Kenyan politics have been dominated by men due to the patriarchal nature of the Kenyan society. Women who have made attempts to enter this male dominated field have suffered ridicule, harassment, sexual based violence, humiliation and gossip aimed at maligning their engagement with male counterparts. Women's political careers for a long time have caused them suffering in both public and private life. For a long time women who spoke out against injustices meted to women were dismissed as divorcees. There has been notable inequality in women's political participation and representation in Kenya.

#### **Political Leadership with Gender Lens**

Tackling governance, leadership and political participation from a gender transforming perspective involves considering women as responsible individuals capable of taking decisions and indispensable for their societies' democratization processes. We have as a country for many years undertaken a gender analysis of our political participation. We have documented the causes of inequality in this area with an aim of finding more sustainable ways to eliminate the barriers preventing women participation and their representation in decision making levels. We did find that the relation between political participation, gender equality and democratic process is inter-related and inter-dependent since the implementation of each depends on the implementation of the other and vice versa. In fact, I hasten to add that full equality between men and women in all aspects of life cannot be achieved if equality between men and women is not achieved in the area of governance and political representation.



Women's political participation is a **MUST** for any democratic governance.

Women political representation in Kenya is very low compared to other countries in the region. Currently it stands at 9.8% against Rwanda's 56.3%, Uganda 35%, Burundi 30.5% and Ethiopia, 27.8% among others.

Women's under representation in all political areas is both a cause and effect of the multiple inequalities suffered in all other areas of life. To this end the Constitution of Kenya 2010 seeks to promote equality and freedom from discrimination by outlining that every person is equal before law and has a right to equal protection and benefit of the law. That we needed to be reminded by legislation that women and men have the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. Indeed this is not strange. Article 27(4) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 prohibits direct and indirect discrimination against any person on any ground including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.

The law further provides for the affirmative action to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination. In addition the law clearly provides that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.

## **FACTORS ENHANCING INEQUALITY IN WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA**

### **1) Ideological Factors**

The ideology of gender roles is used by the patriarchal systems as an ideological tool to place women in the private sphere as mothers and wives and the place of men in public sphere. Domestic sphere is considered women's territory. Women have not managed to negotiate to get to the public sphere fully.

### **2) Political Factors**

Men are predominant in politics, in political parties and in formal political structures. This acts as an obstacle to women's political participation. National priorities are seen from the lens of men and not women, not many women have access to decision making positions in political parties. Voting for preferred candidates also works against women candidates. Arrangement in political parties may reinforce and further perpetuate discrimination against women. Some situations are marred with corruption, violence and sexual abuse.



### 3) **Socio-cultural Factors**

Women's subordination to men remains universal. Ideological factors on women's gender roles undermines their political roles and arises from inequalities in education, health, work, access to ownership of production resources and national policies. Gender roles and stereotypes keep women away from political arena.

### 4) **Economic Factors**

In order to participate in politics it is necessary to have access to material resources. Electoral campaigns are very expensive and women lack resources to manage campaigns.

### 5) **Lack of social capital and political capabilities**

Traditional women roles have prevented them from reaching position of leadership. They lack the capabilities and means for political participation. Women's participation in representation in decision making level is in order.

### **International and Regional Treaties Ratified By Kenya**

- **CEDAW:** Art. 2 & 4 & 7 of CEDAW (1979) include all the specific actions concerning elimination of all forms of discrimination against women's political participation and recommend legal and temporary measures as well as position actions.
- **Beijing Platform for Action Declaration** in 1995 identifies women's full participation, power structures and decision making as one of its priorities. It considers full participation of women in power structures and decision making and calls on states to increase women's capacity to participate in decision making and leadership.
- **UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security** of 2000 re-affirms the importance of women's leadership in the prevention and resolution of conflicts including peace-building.
- **MDG Declaration.** Objective 3 of the declaration of 2000 establishes gender equality as a goal and a condition for meeting their goals. One of the indicators under here is the proportion of seats held by women in National Parliament.
- **The Maputo Women protocol** –That calls on the state to allow women an opportunity through affirmative action to participate in political arena.



### **What the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) is mandated to do.**

The NGEC is established pursuant to Article 59(4) and (5) (c) of the Constitution and the National Gender and Equality Commission Act 2011. Its functions include to:

- a. Promote gender equality and freedom from discrimination in accordance with Article 27 of the Constitution.
- b. Monitor, facilitate and advise on the interpretation of the principles of equality and freedom from discrimination in all national and country policies, laws and administrative regulations in all public and private institutions.
- c. Act as the principal organ of the state in ensuring compliance with all treaties and conventions ratified by Kenya relating to issues of equality and freedom from discrimination and relating to special minorities and marginalized persons, women, persons with disabilities and children.
- d. Coordinate and facilitate mainstreaming of issues of gender, persons with disabilities and other marginalized groups in national development and the advice the Government on all aspects thereof.
- e. Monitor, facilitate and advise on the development of affirmative action implementation policies as contemplated in the Constitution.
- f. Investigate on its own initiative or on the basis of complaints any matter in respect of any violations of the principle of equality and freedom from discrimination and make recommendation for improvement of functioning of the institutions concerned.
- g. Work with other stakeholders in the development and standards for implementation of policies for the progressive realization of economic and social rights as specified in Article.43 of the Constitution
- h. Co-ordinate and advice on public education programmes for the creation of a culture of respect for the principles of equality and freedom from discrimination.
- i. Conduct and co-ordinate research activities on matters relating to equality and freedom from discrimination.
- j. Receive and evaluate annual reports on progress made by public institutions and other sectors on compliance with constitutional and statutory requirements in the implementation of equality and freedom from discrimination.



- k. Prepare and submit annual reports to parliament in status of implementation of its obligations.
- l. Conduct audits on the status of special interest groups including minorities, marginalized groups, persons with disabilities, women, youth and children.
- m. Establish, consistent with data protection legislation databases on issues relating to equality and freedom from discrimination for different affected interest groups and produce periodic reports for national and regional and international reporting on progress in the realization of equality and freedom from discrimination for these interest groups.

### **What the Work of NGEN Means for Political Participation with a Gender Lens**

Women's political participation can only be effectively discussed in the context of cultural, historical and socio-economic factors that has inhibited women participation. On the function to promote gender equality and freedom from discrimination, women's political participation will be aimed at influencing the structure of the government, the appointment of leaders and policies they execute.

The work of the National Gender and Equality Commission will continuously release audit reports that will give the status of implementation of the principle of equality and freedom from discrimination as outlined in Article 27 of the constitution.

The Commission will undertake analysis of the political parties in compliance with the equality principle and how they support men and women to participate in political activities. We shall also analyze women participation at three levels namely:

1. Public institutions
2. Private institutions
3. All other organizations operating in the country.

Our analysis will not just be a computation of data that will be left to gather dust on the shelves. It will be used to make recommendations to the government and all concerned institutions to comply with the equality principle in Art.27 of the constitution. The findings will also keep the gender and equality discussions active at all levels. We shall together with key stakeholders develop an action tool for engagement of all actors public and private in implementing the equality principle. We hope to achieve a gender transformation that will no longer require the affirmative action to implement.





## **Wise Up to Women Leadership; Keep the Promise!!!**

The National Gender and Equality Commission shall soon launch our campaign dubbed “*WISE UP TO WOMEN LEADERSHIP: KEEP THE PROMISE!!!*” that will aim at tackling political participation with a gender transforming perspective. In this campaign, we shall call on all Kenyans and especially voters to consider women as responsible individuals capable of taking decisions and who are indispensable for their societies’ democratization process.

In the campaign that aims to increase the number of women representation, we shall:

- Point out the causes of inequalities between men and women;
- Challenge the voters to participate in finding sustainable solution for eliminating the barriers preventing women’s political participation and their representation in decision making areas;
- Encourage women seeking any of the political seats to declare and remain steadfast;
- Emphasize will be put at the ward level which is in line with our mandate to promote participate of the vulnerable and the most marginalized;
- We shall work with political parties to ensure the realization of the gender equality principle including realizing progressively the 5% of the seats to People with Disabilities;
- We shall call on Kenyans to wise up to women leadership and the right thing; give women a chance to take up political leadership.

## **Conclusion**

As much as the Beijing Platform of Action and UNDP Human Development Report set the goal of 30% for Women in National decision making position as a milestone on the road towards the objective of ultimate equality, which Kenya has complied with the legislation, the challenge is to get women to fill the positions and further that we should aim at having equality at 50:50. These we can realize by holding the Government to account. They must keep the promise.

“We urge the Government to reaffirm its political commitment on gender equality as per the Constitution of Kenya 2010, specifically on the Affirmative Action. The global campaign for good governance can only be realized if all citizens have equal rights. For this to be fulfilled in Kenya, women must be represented in leadership positions and should participate in determined development



strategies. We call on all Kenyans to Wise Up to women leadership as we approach the next election and lobby for their inclusion in the political arena and decision making positions.” The Promise must be met now since women of Kenya cannot wait any more.

### **Parting Note**

In order to realize the affirmative action in political representation, there is no doubt we need to have **Articles 97 and 98** of the Constitution amended accordingly to allow for the fulfillment of the two-third principle. This is a promise that we must hold our parliamentarians accountable to keep.

**KEEP THE PROMISE AND WISE UP TO WOMEN LEADERSHIP.**

Thank You

Commissioner Winfred Lichuma

Chairperson NGEC.



*Remarks: Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development, Kenya*



**SPEECH BY HON. DR. NAOMI SHABAN, EGH, MP, MINISTER FOR GENDER, CHILDREN AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE REGIONAL DIALOGUE ON WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP HELD ON TUESDAY, 14<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST, 2012 AT SAFARI PARK HOTEL, NAIROBI**

**Rt. Hon. Dr. Raila Odinga**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya,

**Hon. Eugene Wamalwa** – Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, Kenya

*Dr. James Nyikal, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development*

**Commissioner Winfred Lichuma** – Chairperson, National Gender and Equality Commission

**Mr. Aeneas Chuma**, UNDP Resident Representative and UN Resident Coordinator

**Ms. Winnie Byanyima**, UNDP Director for Gender, New York

**Distinguished Guests,**

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Allow me to thank the United Nations Development Programme (**UNDP**) and **UN women** for partnering with the **Government of Kenya**, to convene this extremely important platform. I am also excited to be part of this gathering, as we share on one of the greatest priority areas for African Women and indeed the entire Globe. May I also take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to all our sisters and brothers, from different parts of the region, as well as our local participants and to sincerely thank you all, for responding positively to our invitation to join us in deliberating on this subject which is very dear to our hearts.

**Ladies and gentlemen;**

Your presence here cannot be taken for granted, as it is a clear indication of the commitment you have, in seeing greater participation of women in political leadership. The struggle for enhanced participation of women in political leadership is indeed not unique to Kenya, but something that has been witnessed elsewhere on the continent and across the globe.



Together therefore, we have the ideal opportunity, to put our thoughts together during the three days discussions on how best the Constitutional promise of the one third principle can be delivered to Kenyan women for the benefit of not just the women themselves but for the entire society.

**Ladies and gentlemen;**

When women are fully represented, societies are more peaceful and stable. **UN Secretary General Ban Ki –Moon** said and I quote” *when women take their rightful place at the negotiating table in parliament and in leadership positions across societies, we can unleash Africa’s enormous potential.*” It has often also been said that Women in leadership, is one of the priority areas in achieving gender equality. That equal participation of women and men in decision making, is a requirement for strengthened democracy and that a democratic political culture, offers opportunities for gender issues to be a shared concern for all citizens.

**Ladies and gentlemen;**

The various global and regional frameworks on gender equality such as **International Convention on the Elimination of all Form of Discrimination, (CEDAW)** which Kenya ratified in 1984, **the Millennium Development Goals, the Maputo protocol** among others express a vision for a better life for women, men, boys and girls and the entire society.

Today, Kenya has expressed this vision through the Constitution which has in store great prospects especially for women. Moreover, there are other National Development frameworks such as **Vision 2030** and the **Medium Term Plan, the National Policy on Gender and Development, 2011 as well as the National Affirmative Action Policy for Women 2011** which seeks to guide the implementation of the Constitution on that provision. The Kenya Constitution is a product of the women’s movement, especially the hard work of the civil society , which has been witnessed for many years. This Constitution is a major historical step because women in Kenya have been poorly represented in decision-making processes. Since independence, the highest representation of women in the National Assembly recorded is **9.9 %**. This is far below the commitments Kenya has made at international and regional level, through the ratification of key human rights instruments.

**Ladies and gentlemen;**

The Constitutional provision under article **27(8) that not more than two thirds of elective and appointive bodies should be of the same gender** has opened room for improving on the discouraging statistics in women’s political participation. Although these provisions do not give the 50/50 balance representation as envisioned in the African Union Gender Policy, considerable representation of men and women has been guaranteed in key decision-making organs in leadership.



### **Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Looking beyond this provision, we must acknowledge, as noted in the **Kenya's Women's National Charter**, that effective leadership and representation, is not just about presence in decision making bodies, but it is about positive value addition and accountability, measured by performance and influence, in a manner that delivers services.

We need quality leaders with a transformative agenda, that places the needs of women of Kenya at the centre of their vision and mission, in all decision making processes.

There is no short supply of women to take up political leadership in Kenya, however capacity building on how to engage in the decision making organs so that they can add the much needed value addition will be required.

### **Ladies and Gentlemen,**

However, even as we make progress towards the implementation of the Constitution, it is too soon to celebrate as there are still many challenges ahead which include the realization of the one third provisions for women.

As we wait for deliberations on the **Constitutional Amendment Bill**, greater advocacy on the not more than two thirds provision will need to be well articulated, in order to allay fears among the citizenry, that women are pushing men out of their spaces. In order for women to effectively take up political leadership, we must continue to address other factors such as **religious beliefs and inhibitions, cultural attitudes, perception of women's leadership, low literacy level, political violence and discriminatory practices as well as limited resources to launch successful campaigns.**

### **Ladies and Gentlemen**

As I conclude, may I once again say that this forum has come at an ideal time, when the Constitutional Amendment Bill 2011, is to be deliberated in Parliament, as we go into the Elections next year. There is much that we expect to share and learn during this meeting, especially from countries like **Rwanda, Uganda, and South Africa** who have a head start and are therefore, in a position to enrich our knowledge on how this provision on one third, can work in Kenya.

I thank you and look forward to informative deliberations.

Thank you

*Asanteni*

*Merci Beaucoup*



*Keynote Address: Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga, Chief Justice/President, Supreme Court of Kenya*



**Republic of Kenya**

## **REGIONAL DIALOGUE ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

*Remarks by:*

Kenyan Chief Justice Rt. Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga

14<sup>th</sup> August 2012

Safari Park Hotel, Nairobi

**The Speaker of Parliament of Uganda; Hon. Rebecca Kadaga**

**Minister for Justice; Hon. Eugene Wamalwa**

**Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development;  
Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban**

**Members of parliament**

**UN Resident Coordinator; Mr. Aeneas Chuma,**

**Ladies and Gentleman;**



I am indeed honoured to be among such distinguished representatives at this significant Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership in Africa. I extend Kenya's heartfelt gratitude to the representatives from Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa, here to share their experiences on affirmative action in their own jurisdictions. I would also like to convey my gratitude to the organizers of this very important and timely event, namely UNDP, UN Women, and the National Gender and Equality Commission of Kenya and the Ministry of Gender.

This roundtable is in recognition of Kenya's new Constitution which has opened a long overdue space for women to participate in leadership and decision-making in Kenya, through the provision of minimum gender quotas for all elected and appointed bodies. With this initiative, Kenya joins other countries in the region using constitutionally reserved seats to enhance women's political participation. The new provision will be put to test at the next general election, in 2013. We are aware of the challenges. We must never waver.

At this point, I need to take the opportunity to reiterate Kenya's commitment to justice for all, irrespective of their economic or social status, including gender, to protect and promote the Constitution. We are very conscious of our obligation to ensure equal access to justice for all – for women and men, boys and girls, for the rural or the urban, for rich or for poor.

I recently constituted a Judicial Working Committee on Election Preparations to develop a strategy to efficiently and effectively manage the upcoming elections. Our national teams have been hard at work, refining training programmes to equip judicial officers with the knowledge and skills they will need to perform their duties in these unprecedented circumstances, as well as on making plans on how we will inform Kenyans of their rights and responsibilities.

The Ministry of Justice has embarked on an ambitious programme of judicial reform as a way to address electoral related judicial disputes and ensure that the post election violence events of 2007/08 are not repeated. We must ensure that this will never happen again. That crisis in 2008 manifested the lack of public confidence in the Judiciary and this is the most compelling reason to undertake comprehensive reforms. The new order promised by the 2010 Constitution is fuelled by genuine and deep public demand and expectation. In response, we are committed to improving our performance, enhancing the quality of justice and improving our service delivery culture.

Although the efficient and expeditious resolution of electoral disputes is a critical facet of electoral justice, it is important to point out that the courts are only a last line of defense. Their role only arises as mitigation for the multitude of possible issues that can result in the process of actualizing the right to peaceful, free and fair elections, which are guaranteed in the Constitution.



And a significant part of our role in ensuring these peaceful fair and transparent elections is to address the challenges faced by women and other disadvantaged groups. It is regrettable that over the year, in the run-up to the last elections, we witnessed instances of manipulation, discrimination and violence against women, specifically targeted to confuse and intimidate in order to limit participation. We are mindful of that and we will be working hard to ensure that women enjoy their equal rights of participation in the upcoming elections - whether as voters, candidates or as election officials

That is why I am so pleased to join you here today in discussing affirmative action and women's political participation. I take this opportunity to once again welcome and thank the very senior leaders from Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa who have come all this way, and offered their time, to share with us in Kenya their own experiences. I urge you all to examine their presentations carefully - to come up with our own concrete strategies and policy proposals that will enable us as a nation to make the most of this historical constitution provision.

With these few remarks, I am pleased to declare this Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership in Africa, officially open.

Asanteni sana, Thank you very much.





## PROFILES



Rt. Hon. Dr. Raila Odinga, E.G.H,

Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya.

The Rt. Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga has been the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya since April 2008. He is also Member of Parliament (MP) for Langata Constituency in Nairobi. Mr Odinga became Prime Minister following the signing of a National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008, which created the office in order to facilitate power sharing between the main protagonists of the controversial 2007 elections in Kenya. A major hallmark of Mr Odinga's life and career has been his role in the struggle for freedom in Kenya since the 1970s for which he was successively detained without trial. During the 1990s, he worked as a resource person for conflict resolution initiatives in Africa under the auspices of the International Republican Institute (IRI) in countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Burundi and Nigeria. Mr Odinga has received honours and recognition for his various roles, including as an AU emissary for the post elections crisis in Cote de Ivoire and a doctorate degree (honoriscausa) from the University of Nairobi in recognition of his role in bringing back peace to Kenya following the 2007 elections. In May 2012, Mr Odinga was awarded an honorary doctorate degree (honoriscausa) by Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in Tallahassee, Florida, USA. Outside of politics, Mr Odinga is also a successful farmer and industrialist-businessman who pioneered the flagship family firm known as EA Spectre, a leading manufacturer of gas cylinders for Kenya and the region. Mr Odinga was born on January 7, 1945, in Maseno, Nyanza Province, Kenya, the second son of Jaramogi Odinga Odinga (later one of Kenya's Independence heroes and the nation's first Vice-President) and his wife, Mary Juma. Because of the political pressures back then in Kenya, Mr Odinga completed his secondary education at the Herder-Institut, Leipzig, Germany, before proceeding to the Magdeburg College of Advanced Technology for an Msc Degree. He returned to Kenya and taught at the University of Nairobi's department of Mechanical Engineering between 1970 and 1974. Mr Odinga remains committed to the successful implementation of the new constitution in Kenya and to the realisation of long-term and sustainable development for all the people of the Republic of Kenya. He is a contender for office of the President of Kenya in elections expected to be held not later than March 2013.



Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga  
is Speaker of the Parliament  
of Uganda

Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga is Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament since May 2011. She is a Ugandan lawyer and politician. She is the first female to be elected Speaker in the history of Parliament in Uganda. She succeeded Edward Ssekandi, who served as speaker between 2001 until 2011. She served as the deputy speaker for 10 years (2001-2011). She is also the current Member of Parliament (MP) for the Kamuli District Women's Constituency, Busoga sub-region, a position she has served in since 1989. Born in 1956 in Kamuli district, Uganda. She holds a Masters degree in Women's Law from the University of Zimbabwe. She graduated with a Law degree from Makerere University in 1978. She was admitted to the BAR in 1982. Before being deputy speaker, she served in various ministerial positions, including minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Minister for State Communication and minister for State, Regional Cooperation. She is a member of the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM).



Hon. Eugene Ludovic  
Wamalwa

Hon. Eugene Ludovic Wamalwa, MP, the Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, is an advocate of the High Court of Kenya with over 17 years of experience in the legal profession at both local and international fora. He is astute and widely experienced lawyer who has undertaken various legally challenging and high profile international consultancies. His areas of legal expertise include; commercial law and business administration; constitutional law; international law with bias to maritime law/law of the sea; labour law and company law. Hon. Wamalwa is also a Commissioner for Oaths and a Certified Public Secretary. He holds membership in various institutions including the Law Society of Kenya, the East African Law Society, the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators and the Institute of Certified Public Secretaries.



Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban

Hon. Dr. Naomi Shaban, is the Member of Parliament for Taveta constituency and was first elected to Parliament in 2002. Hon. Shaban is current Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development. Under her leadership, in this Ministry, the National Social Protection Policy was adopted by Cabinet and is currently being operationalized. She served as the Minister of Special Programmes from 2008 to 2010 and during her tenure she facilitated the resettlement of internally displaced persons that were a result of the 2007/08 post-election violence. Further, she was the Kenya branch representative of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association between 2003 and 2007. Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is a voluntary association of 54 countries that support each other and work together towards shared goals in democracy and development. As a member of Kenya Women Parliamentary Association she is on the forefront advocating for gender equality and empowerment. Noting her immense wealth of knowledge and experience, having served in Parliament for two terms, she mentors the newly elected women Members of Parliament on engaging at parliament and constituency levels.



H.E. Dr. Mary Michael

Nagu

H.E. Dr. Mary Michael Nagu is Minister of State for Investment and Empowerment, Office of the Prime Minister of Tanzania, a position she has held since 2007. Before becoming Minister of State for Investment and Empowerment, Dr. Nagu was Minister for Justice and Constitutional affairs from 2006-2007. She has been a Member of Parliament for the Hanang Constituency since 2005. Previous positions with the government include: Senior Consultant (1994-95), Presidential Parastatal Reform Commission (1995-2000), Member of Parliament and Minister for Community Development, Women Affairs and Children; and Member of Parliament and Minister of State, President's Office, Public Service Management (2000-05). Dr. Nagu held numerous positions in the private sector before joining



the government. From 1976-81 she was Assistant Operation Officer then Project Officer, NDC. From 1981-84, Dr.Nagu was Planning Officer, Morogoro Shoe Company and Marketing Officer, Morogoro Tanneries. And from 1984-94, she was, Planning and Commercial Manager and then General Manager, Leather Goods Factory, Morogoro. In 1976 she obtained a BA in Economics and in 1984 an MA in Economics from the University of Dar es Salaam. In 2004, she obtained a PhD from Washington International University.



H.E Mrs. Ann Dismorr

H.E Mrs. Ann Dismorr is the Swedish Ambassador to Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Seychelles and Comoros, based in Nairobi since September 2009. Mrs. Dismorr is Permanent Representative to UNEP and UNHABITAT. She is Chair of the Swedish European Union Presidency, second half of 2009. She served as Swedish ambassador in Swedish Parliament (2006-2009), Ambassador-in-Residence at Uppsala University (2005-2006), Turkey, Azerbaijan (2001-2005), and Lebanon (1999-2001). Ambassador Ann joined the Swedish Foreign Ministry in 1981. She holds a PhD in Political Science (EU-US relations) from Yale University, a postgraduate in political science from the University of Gothenburg and a Bachelor of Arts, University of Stockholm. Born in 1955 in Sweden, married with two daughters. She speaks Swedish, English and French.



Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kenya

Hon. Dr. Willy Mutunga is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kenya. Dr. Mutunga is a committed activist in the pro-democracy movement in Kenya since the 1970. He has worked in a number of prominent human rights organizations throughout the country, and has also been an active member of the university staff trade unions. He taught law at the University of Nairobi. Having been detained without trial from 1982-83 for his work in the pro-democracy



movement, he has since spoken out vociferously on behalf of political prisoners. Dr. Mutunga was Chair of the Law Society of Kenya from 1993-95. He is also the author of a number of widely published articles on human rights and democratization. He served as a founder Executive Director of the Kenya Human Rights Commission, a member of the National Convention Executive Council, co-Chair of the Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change and a member of the Board of Directors of Rights & Democracy. Before his appointment as Chief Justice he was the Resident Representative of the Ford Foundation for Eastern Africa. He is the first Chief Justice to be appointed through an unprecedented competitive and open process. Dr. Mutunga holds a law degree from University of Dar Es Salaam and from York University in Toronto, Canada. He is an Advocate of the High Court in Kenya.



Ms. Winnie Byanyima is the  
Director of the United Nations  
Development Programme (UNDP)  
Gender Group

Ms. Winnie Byanyima is the Director of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Gender Group. She joined UNDP from the African Union Commission where she was the Director of the Women, Gender and Development Directorate since 2004. She has been a politician in her country Uganda, serving three terms as Member of Parliament. Ms. Byanyima has more than 25 years of distinguished leadership on democratic governance, women's rights and peace building. A founding member of a major political party and the leader of her country's first parliamentary women's caucus, Ms. Byanyima introduced ground-breaking gender equality provisions in Uganda's 1995 post-conflict constitution, including a one-third quota for women in local government, which resulted in thousands of poor women elected for the first time to make decisions at all levels of local government. She has mentored women parliamentarians in Africa, Asia and Arab states, helped establish all party women's caucuses, and strengthened their skills for effective political participation. Ms Byanyima was a delegate and witness to her country's 1985 peace agreement signed in Nairobi, Kenya, and was instrumental in bringing women into the peace processes in Burundi and Sudan (Darfur). While at the African Union, she chaired an independent inter-agency commission of enquiry into allegations of misconduct by AU peacekeeping forces in Darfur, which resulted in far-reaching recommendations to prevent and address sexual exploitation and abuse. In 1994, Ms. Byanyima founded the Forum for



Women in Democracy, an organization that pioneered gender budgeting in Uganda and in other African and Asian countries. Ms Byanyima has served her country as a senior diplomat in France and UNESCO. Ms Byanyima has served on numerous global and regional public boards and commissions, authored several publications on gender and governance and is a recipient of numerous public awards. Ms. Byanyima has an M.Sc. in Mechanical Engineering in Energy Conservation and the Environment (University of Cranfield), a B.Sc in Aeronautical Engineering (University of Manchester).



Mr. Aeneas C. Chuma is UN Humanitarian Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative

Mr. Aeneas C. Chuma is a Macro-Economist by profession. Mr. Chuma began his professional life at the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe as a Macroeconomist/Econometrician and left the bank in 1985 to join the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Since then, he has served the UNDP with increasing responsibilities in the Sultanate of Oman, United Arab Emirates, UNDP Headquarters, Uganda, South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia and now Kenya where he has been the UN Resident Coordinator, UN Humanitarian Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative since July 2008.



Christine Musisi is UN Women's Regional Programme Director for East and Horn of Africa

Christine Musisi is UN Women's Regional Programme Director for East and Horn of Africa. She has over 20 years development experience in government, private sector and the United Nations. Ms. Musisi joined UN Women after her tenure as Deputy Country Director and Head of Programmes for UNDP Ethiopia where she successfully championed, among others, a complex Democratic Institutions Programme that strengthened the country's ability to run credible and efficient elections; addressing human rights; strengthening good governance in the public sector and ensure gender equality and women's empowerment in these



processes. Ms. Musisi has served in Africa, Europe and Central Asia as a social development professional and as senior manager with experiences ranging from Poverty Reduction and Civil Society Empowerment and Civil Society Empowerment. In her career span, Ms. Musisi was instrumental in introducing social mobilization and programming approaches that accelerated women's and community economic empowerment, local self-governance, women's leadership in politics; gender equality in policy making and planning and linking of community level experiences and voices to policy processes. Prior to joining the UN, Ms. Musisi worked with the Ministry of Women in Development in Uganda and with a Development consulting firm in UK.



Hon. Linah J. Kilimo is  
Assistant Minister for  
Cooperative Development

Hon. Linah J. Kilimo is Assistant Minister for Cooperative Development and Member of Parliament for Marakwet East. In the course of her career, she has been instrumental in working with the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) towards eradicating Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Her effort in fighting against 'the cut' culminated in the passing of the Anti-FGM Law in 2011, and she is still an ardent crusader of the laws' implementation. Hon. Kilimo has also been instrumental in bringing a lasting peace between the Pokot and Marakwet Communities in her constituency. Since her debut into politics in 2002, Hon. Kilimo has served in government in different capacities ranging from Minister of Immigration 2004-2005, and Minister of State, Office of the President 2003- 2004. Hon. Kilimo is the Chairperson of the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA).



Hon. Martha Karua is leader  
of Narc-Kenya

Hon. Martha Karua is Leader of National Rainbow Coalition of Kenya and a Member of Parliament for Gichugu Constituency. She is the sole woman aspirant



for presidential seat in the next general elections. Hon Karua is an Advocate of the High Court and holds a Masters degree in Business Administration from United States International University-Africa (USIU-A). Since her advent into politics back in the early 90's, she has been instrumental in fighting for reforms that saw the reintroduction of multi-party politics in Kenya and other key achievements. She has served in different capacities ranging from Minister of Water Resources Management & Development where she oversaw the implementation of the Water Act in 2002. Hon. Karua served as the Minister of Minister of Justice, National Cohesion & Constitutional Affairs until she resigned in April 2009. She is also a member of several House Committees including the House Business Committee, Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Privileges. Hon Karua is a member of the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA).

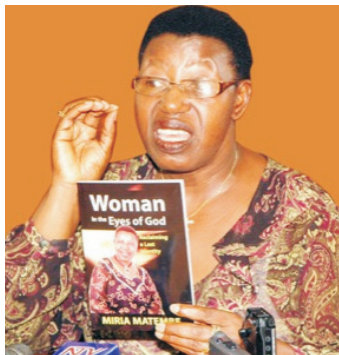


Hon. Sophia Abdi Noor

is a nominated MP

Hon. Sophia Abdi Noor is a nominated MP and the Deputy Chairperson of the Kenya Womens Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA). She holds a Masters in Executive Management Development (EMOD) from United States International University-Africa (USIU-A) and a Bachelor of Arts in Community Development Studies from Kimmage Development Studies Centre in Ireland. Hon Noor currently serves as the Chairperson of the Labour and Social Welfare Committee and a member of the Constitution Implementation Oversight Committee. Since her debut in parliament, Hon Noor has been in the forefront in the fight for the rights of the marginalized through gender equality campaigns. Her greatest achievement is the unrelenting fight against female genital mutilation (FGM), a rampant in north eastern Kenya. Together with Hon Linah Jebii Kilimo, she championed for the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, which was assented to law in October 7, 2012. As a victim of FGM, she was instrumental in the passing of the bill as chair of the parliamentary committee on Labour and Social Welfare. Hon Sophia Noor continues to campaign to end FGM as a harmful cultural practice.





Hon. Dr. Miria  
Matembe

Hon. Dr. Miria Matembe is former Ugandan Minister of Ethics and Integrity (1998-2003). She is a former member of the Pan-African Parliament from Uganda, where she was chairperson of the Committee on Rules, Privileges and Discipline, a permanent committee of the Pan-African Parliament. A lawyer by profession, she has been a strong proponent for and an advocate of women's rights in Uganda. She was the former chairperson of Action for Development, Uganda's leading women's advocacy organization, an organization she co-founded. For over two decades beginning in 1989, she was a member of Uganda's parliament. In 1995, she was a member of the Constitutional Court that created the Ugandan Constitution.



Ms. Nozizwe Madlala-  
Routledge

Hon. Nozizwe Madlala—Routledge is former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of South Africa (2008-2009). She served as deputy minister of Defence (1999-2004) and deputy minister of health (2004-2007). Ms. Nozizwe was Member of Parliament for the ANC and activist for Women's rights and peace. In 1979, she worked as a medical laboratory technologist for six years. She resigned during the height of the apartheid struggle to work as a full-time organizer for the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) for three years. She joined the underground structures of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1979. She holds a Bachelors degree in Social Science, majoring in Philosophy and Sociology from the University of Natal and a postgraduate diploma in adult education and medical technology from Fort Hare University



Hon. Anna Margareth

Abdallah

Hon. Anna Margareth Abdallah is Chair of Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform, Tanzania. She served in various ministerial positions (1987-2005), including minister for Health, Works, Regional Administration and Local Government, Local Government Authority and Community Development, Agriculture and Livestock Development, President's and Prime Minister's Office—Capital Development. She served as Regional Commissioner for Dodoma (1983-1987) and Morogoro (1975-1983). Hon. Abdallah was District Commissioner in the Prime Minister's Office (1973-1975). She was also the Principal of Buhare College, Magu, Tanzania (1969-1973) and worked as a Community Development Officer in the Ministry of Community Development (1960-1969). She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology from Missouri Sociology College, USA and a Diploma in Home Economics from the University of London, UK.



Dr. James Wambura Nyikal

Dr. James Wambura Nyikal is Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development (MGCSD) since October 2008. He previously served as a Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation, Director of Medical Services, Ministry of Health (2003-2008), worked for Government and Private run hospitals, a lecturer in the Department of Pediatrics and Child Health at the University of Nairobi (1987-1996), a fellow and registrar in New Born Emergency Transport Services and Neonatal Intensive care at Monash Medical Center, Melbourne, Australia (1990-1992). Dr. Nyikal is a Pediatrician / neonatologist and a Medical Scholar by profession. He holds a Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery, University of Nairobi in 1977 and a Masters degree in Pediatrics and child health in 1984. Some of his achievement in the health sector includes initiating and directing preparation and implementation of the second National Health Sector Strategic plan (NHSSpII). He was the Chairman of Medical Association (1997-2003), vice-chairperson of Medical Practitioners and



Dentists Board in Kenya, member of the executive board of the World Health Organization (2004-2008). He is the founding member of the first East African Federation of Medical Associations.



Professor Aili Mari Tripp

Professor Aili Mari Tripp is Professor of Political Science and Gender & Women's Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is also director of the Center for Research on Gender and Women. Her teaching and research interests are in African politics, comparative politics, women and politics and gender studies in an international context. Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime (Lynne Rienner, 2010) is her most recent book. Tripp has published articles and book chapters on women's movements and global feminism, civil society in Africa, gender and politics in Africa, women in post-conflict African countries, and on democratization and semi-authoritarianism in Africa. She is president of the African Studies Association. She has been a vice president of the American Political Science Association and has served on the boards of the African Studies Association, American Political Science Association, National Council for Research on Women, Tanzania Studies Association, University of Wisconsin Press, and numerous other journals and book series. Tripp is a member of the Relations and has served as an expert consultant for UNESCO, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), the World Bank, USAID, US State Department, China-Africa Development Fund, the Finnish Foreign Ministry, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Human Rights Council on violence against women, and numerous other agencies. She holds a PhD from Northwestern University, Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Chicago.



Professor Maria Nzomo

Professor Maria Nzomo holds the distinction of being the first Kenyan woman to attain a PhD in political science, which she earned in 1981 from Dalhousie University



in Canada. She has over 30 years of teaching experience at the University of Nairobi, starting out as a Tutorial Fellow in 1979 and rising up the ranks to become an associate professor of political economy and international studies in 1995. Well known locally and abroad as an astute professor of political science and international studies, Prof Nzomo has also established herself as a national ambassador of repute. Between October 2003 and January 2009, she held a number of ambassadorial posts in Southern Africa (Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe) and at the United Nations. In 2006, she was appointed the Kenyan ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, a position she holds to date. Maria Nzomo is also well known as an ardent promoter of gender and human rights and has published several articles on these subjects in peer-reviewed journals as well as newspapers and magazines.



Prof. Wanjiku Mukabi

Kabira

Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira is Associate Professor of Literature and Chair, Department of Literature and Director, African Women Studies Centre (AWSC), University of Nairobi, Kenya. She holds a PhD from University of Nairobi and an MA (Literature), from the University of Wisconsin, USA.

She has published widely in the field of oral literature and in gender/women studies. She has been a leader in women's movement for many years where she has consistently and passionately advocated for gender equality and equity in Kenya. She has mentored many women who have gone on to play critical roles in women's empowerment and advancement. Her involvement with women issues inspired her to spearhead the establishment of the African Women Studies Centre in 2009.



Winfred Lichuma is the  
Chairperson of NGEC

Winfred Lichuma is the Chairperson of The National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC), Kenya. The NGEC is a constitutional Commission with the functions



that include promoting gender equality and freedom from discrimination in accordance with Article 27 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Winfred is a lawyer of over 20 years standing. She holds an LLB from the University of Nairobi, an LLM from the University of Essex in the United Kingdom and a MA in Gender and Development from the University of Nairobi. Previously, she has served as a Commissioner at the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and has been a legal adviser to the National Aids Control Council (NACC). She also has worked as a practicing Advocate of the High Court of Kenya. She began her career as a Magistrate of the High Court of Kenya, a position she held for 10 years and served across the country, growing up the ranks to Senior Resident Magistrate.



Dr. Mzalendo N. Kibunjia

is the Chairperson of the NCIC

Dr. Mzalendo N. Kibunjia, EBS, is the Chairperson of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) in Kenya. He holds a Ph.D and MA in Anthropology from Rutgers, The State University, New Jersey USA and a BA in Archaeology & History from the University of Nairobi. He is a member of the Institute of Directors (IOD) Kenya, Board Member Tana and Athi River Development Authority (TARDA), Kenya Representative to UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Chairperson and member of International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Kenya. Dr. Kibunjia was the Director, Sites & Monuments at the National Museums of Kenya and Team Leader and Consultant of the New Nairobi Museum and Athletics Kenya Museums respectively. He has rich experience in heritage, anthropology, language and was an external examiner in Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi, University of Dar es Salaam and Institute of African Studies. He has carried out several researches and has made various contributions in media production, publications, and presentations on various historical and anthropology issues.



Ahmed Issack Hassan is  
the Chairperson of IEBC

Ahmed Issack Hassan is the Chairperson of Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and a Law Graduate of University of Nairobi. He has been practicing Law in Nairobi since 1995. Mr. Ahmed is also a Certified Public Secretary of Kenya (CPSK). Mr. Ahmed served as a Commissioner in the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) from 2000 to 2005. In May 2006, the United Nations political office appointed him for Somalia (UNPOS) as a legal consultant in the training of Somali Parliamentarians on Constitutionalism and Federalism in Baidoa, Somalia. In June 2006, he was appointed by the President to the Kiruki Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the activities of Artur Margaryan and Artur Sargasyan. He also served as a legal consultant for UNDP – Somalia for the Somalia Constitution Making Project between June and December 2008. He also served on the Board of Directors of Water Resources Management Authority (WRMA) between December 2007 and March 2009.



Lucy Ndungu is Registrar  
of Political Parties

Lucy Ndungu is Registrar of Political Parties, Kenya since 2008. She has worked in the State Law Office as Deputy Registrar General (2005-2008), Senior Principal State Counsel (2004-2005), Principal State Counsel (2001-2004), Senior State Counsel (1995-2001) and State Counsel (1989-1995). Lucy also served as a Litigation Counsel (1988-1989) at Njoroge Musyoka and Co. Advocates. Lucy Ndungu is Advocate of the High Court of Kenya.



Safia Abdi Dima

Safia Abdi Dima is a member of Transition Authority, a body charged with the responsibility of facilitating and coordinating transition to devolved governance in Kenya. She holds Master of Arts Rural Sociology and Community Development and a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Philosophy from the University of Nairobi. Safia has worked in development and relief sector with various international not-for-profit organizations for more than 10 years. She has worked in programmes mainly targeting the marginalized groups (mainly women and pastoralists) through provision of strategic financing and institutional strengthening. She has contributed to building civil society, especially local non-governmental organization, in the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya. In the past five years, Safia has been active in policy influencing arena at national and international levels mainly on issues of related to pastoralism and dryland communities.



Mrs. Zebib Kavuma is the Country  
Director of UN Women in Kenya

Mrs. Zebib Kavuma, a national of Ethiopia, is the Country Director of UN Women in Kenya. She brings to the United Nations over 15 years of development experience in the substantive areas of Gender, Reproductive Health, and HIV/AIDS. Her expertise extends to advocacy and policy work, programme planning and management; and civil society mobilization for action. She has also worked closely with the private sector and government. Previously with UNIFEM, she was responsible for providing programmatic support to the regional offices of West Africa as well as the East and Horn of Africa. Prior to that, she held the position of the Regional Programme Coordinator for the African Council of Religious Leaders- Religions for Peace based in Kenya, whereby she played a critical role mediating conflicts and developing alliances between the most conservative religious leaders and the progressive, including political leaders. Mrs.Kavuma is fluent in English, Amharic, German and basic French. She holds a Masters' degree in International Affairs from Columbia University in New York, and a Bachelors' degree in Economics and Industrial Psychology from the University of Western Ontario in London, Canada.



Mary O'Hagan is the Senior Resident  
Director for National Democratic  
Institute in Kenya

Mary O'Hagan is the Senior Resident Director for National Democratic Institute in Kenya (NDI). Mary first began working for NDI in 2001, when she was invited to contribute to the NDI Croatia program as a consultant. In early 2003 she joined NDI full time in Slovakia, moving later in the year to direct NDI's programs in Serbia. This included parliamentary, political party and civic programs, public opinion research and the creation of the first set of digital maps of election results in Serbia. In 2005, Ms. O'Hagan moved to Moscow where she served as NDI's country director in Russia. In 2006, she moved to Tbilisi and served as NDI's country director in Georgia, running parliamentary and domestic election monitoring programs. Her work for NDI in Georgia also included international election assessment and observation missions, public opinion research, digital mapping of election results and statistical analysis of the voter registry. Ms. O'Hagan moved to Nairobi in 2009, where she runs political party and other programs for NDI. She has represented NDI at a number of international events and produced a manual for the Institute on quantitative research methods. Prior to joining NDI, Ms. O'Hagan served as the head of research for the Liberal Democrats in the House of Commons in the United Kingdom. She was also responsible for their internal communication and led a team that developed the party's first on-line intranet. Her first political job was as a political advisor in the European Parliament on foreign affairs, institutional issues and Northern Ireland. She later represented the merged EDG/EPP political group in London. Ms. O'Hagan was born and educated in the U.K. She obtained a number of academic awards and a first class degree at Oxford University, specializing in political geography. While a graduate student, she taught various related subjects and co-authored a book on the first direct elections to the European Parliament.





Richard Atwood is the  
Director of Research at the International  
Crisis Group

Richard Atwood is the Director of Research at the International Crisis Group, a leading nongovernmental conflict prevention organization based in Brussels, where he specialises in elections, democratic transitions and post-war recovery. Prior to joining Crisis Group he worked for about a decade for the UN and other organisations on elections programmes across five continents, including as UN senior adviser and chief of operations in Afghanistan, IFES chief of party in Palestine, and as part of a team assessing electoral and political party legislation in Lebanon. He regularly delivers trainings on effective electoral assistance and managing conflict related to political competition. He holds a master in public policy from Princeton University and a first class honours degree in modern history from the University of London.



Grace Maingi-Kimani is  
the Executive Director  
of FIDA Kenya

Grace Maingi-Kimani is the Executive Director of FIDA Kenya. Grace is an Advocate of the High Court of Kenya with an LLB Degree from the University of Leicester, United Kingdom. She is currently pursuing a Masters in Law with a specialization in Human Rights from the University of London, United Kingdom. Grace has been working in the human rights sector for more than 11 years. She has previously worked at the Coalition on Violence Against Women (COVAW), the Law Society of Kenya and the Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ Kenya). She has also previously served on the taskforce on judicial reforms (2009) and the Steering Committee on Devolved Government. Grace currently serves as a board member of the National Co-ordinating Agency for Population and Development (NCPD) and is also a member of the Judicial Transformation Unit Steering Committee. In 2010, the Reproductive Health and Rights Alliance (RHRA) honoured her for exemplary commitment in championing the advancement of women's reproductive health and rights. Her main areas of interest are human rights and transitional justice.



Njeri Kabeberi is Executive  
Director of CMD-Kenya

Njeri Kabeberi is Executive Director of the Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD-Kenya). She is also the Country Coordinator for the Netherlands-Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (N-IMD). Prior to this assignment, which she has held since April 2004, Ms.Kabeberi worked for seven years for Amnesty International as the Development Coordinator for East & Southern Africa. She has served on the board of the Kenya Human Rights Commission, the Release Political Prisoners Pressure Group (RPP) and the International Centre for Policy and Conflict. Ms.Kabeberi is also an opinion shaper in the areas of equality, governance, democracy and human rights (evidenced through her writings). She has unequaled experience working impartially with both the Kenyan political and civil society leadership. Ms.Kabeberi has been a human rights defender for most of her adult life and has made major sacrifices towards that contribution. On 29th October 2009, The Chamber of Lawyers, Frankfurt am Main for 'Commitment to Law and Justice' awarded her inaugural 'Humanity Award'. She was also awarded the 'Democracy Ribbon' by the City of The Hague on the 3rd November 2009 for 'Commitment to Peace and Democracy'. In 2010, Njeri received the 'ILO Wedge Award 2010' given jointly by ILO and the Women's Entrepreneurship Development in recognition for her work to increase Women Rights in Kenya. Njeri continues to work for the protection of human rights defenders in Kenya and globally as she also works to institutionalize and strengthen the capacity of political parties in her country Kenya.



Mr. Kiprono Kittony is  
Chairman of the Media  
Owners Association in Kenya

Mr. Kiprono Kittony is Chairman of the Media Owners Association in Kenya. He is the Founder Chairman of Radio Africa Limited, which is now the fastest growing Media Company in Kenya with several radio stations including the market leading Kiss FM and Classic 105, and a national daily – The Star. Mr. Kiprono holds a Masters degree in Global Executive Masters in Business Administration,



a Bachelor of Commerce Business Administration and a law degree from the University of Nairobi. He is also the CEO of Capital Realtime Limited, which is a Safaricom Dealership, a Board member of Media Council of Kenya, Chairman of Mtech Limited, a Board member of KEPSA (Kenya Private Sector Association), Betting Control & Licensing Board and the National Chairman of the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce & Industry, and is also a Director of other SMEs. Mr. Kiprono Kittony has a lot of experience in public life as an implementer of various developmental projects countrywide and has a wide exposure in International relations. While not working, Mr. Kiprono enjoys golfing, jogging, and is also involved in philanthropic activities such as aiding orphans and supporting other worthy causes.



Ananilea Nkya is Executive

Director of TAMWA

Ananilea Nkya is a journalist and Executive Director of Tanzania Media Women Organization (TAMWA). Nkya has been a leading advocate for women's advancement through awareness-raising and judicial reform for over 20 years. In 1982 she started as a reporter at Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD). Towards the end of 2001, she had risen to the rank of News Sub Editor at RTD and producer of a famous women's rights programme, Mwangaza. In 1987, she teamed up with 11 other women journalists to form TAMWA as a tool to fight for women's and children's rights through the use of media. Two decades of TAMWA, the Association which she has been leading in the last Six years has been instrumental in influencing policy change including Enactment of the country's Sexual Offence Special Provision Act (SOSPA) 1998. The law for the first time criminalized FGM and increased the punishment of rapists to 30 years in jail and life sentence for gang rape and raping minors. She holds a Master of Arts in Journalism from Cardiff University, UK, a Bachelor of Arts in Development Studies from Kimmegge, Ireland, and a Diploma in Journalism, Tanzania School of Journalism. In 1986, she received the Prime Minister's award for Best Female Student and Best Dissertation for Diploma in Journalism, at Tanzania School of Journalism (TSJ).



Sheila Ngatia is the Team  
Leader, Democratic Governance  
Unit UNDP Kenya

Sheila Ngatia works with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Kenya and is the Team Leader, Democratic Governance Unit. She holds a Law degree from the University of Nairobi and a Masters Degree in Law from the University of London. She has several years of experience as an Advocate of the High Court of Kenya, and a governance practitioner with the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and with UNDP. Sheila leads UNDP's work in governance focusing on key areas including constitutionalism and the rule of law, human rights and access to justice, gender equality and women's empowerment, electoral support, public sector reforms and devolution. Sheila has a passion for empowerment of youth and women.



Jeneral Ulimwengu is  
Chairman of Habari  
Corporation, Tanzania.

Jeneral Ulimwengu is Chairman of Habari Corporation, Tanzania. Jeneral is a journalist and a Pan-African activist. He has been a prominent member of Tanzanian civil society, having served in various Governmental positions including being a member of parliament. Since graduating, he has been an active member of the ruling party TANU, and later CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi) of which he was a member of its National Executive Committee from 1992 to 1997. He was a founder of the first independent Kiswahili independent weekly Rai, one of the most popular radical magazines in the country. Immediately after graduating in 1972, he joined Tanganyika Standard Newspapers, publishers of the Daily News and Sunday News as a trainee reporter, rising to become a reporter, sub-editor, features editor and columnist before leaving in 1974. Jeneral was born and educated in Tanzania. He holds a law degree from the University of Dar es Salaam.



Winnie Guchu

Winnie Guchu is an Education Graduate of Kenyatta University. She is a former Commissioner of the Interim Independent Electoral Commission that was instrumental in introducing and implementing electoral reforms and was part of the team that conducted a successful referendum that rebuilt confidence in the electoral process among the Kenyan electorate. At the Commission, she chaired the Human Resource and Training Committee. WinnieGuchu is a renowned independent consultant and trainer on democracy, governance, electoral processes and gender. Before her appointment as Commissioner, she worked in the development field and civil society for seventeen years and obtained vast experience in results based strategy development, management of the project cycle including monitoring and evaluation and development of civic education material. She also specialised in training women candidates and their campaign teams to equip them with knowledge and skills on how to win elections. She is proud that a good number of those she trained were successful and were either elected to parliamentary or civic positions. She has worked with various Ministries, Local Government Authorities, prisons and police departments, as well as the United Nations bodies such as UNHCR, UNIFEM, UNFPA and UNDP. She has work in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan and South Africa. Winnie is currently working for WMG Management Consultants Limited as a Senior Training Consultant. Some of her key assignments include training of political parties and civil society on the coming general elections in Kenya and facilitating the devolution the Judicial Transformation Framework to all the Court Stations in Kenya for the Judiciary.



Ms. Maimouna N. Mills

Ms. Maimouna N. Mills is the Regional Communication Adviser at the UNDP's Africa Sub-Regional Office in Dakar, Sénégal, after having recently occupied the position of Spokesperson for the UN Mission in Liberia. She started her career



as a Research and Editorial Assistant at the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), and then served as International Broadcaster anchoring radio and television programs at the Voice of America in Washington DC for more than 15 years. In 2002, she joined the UN as Communication Officer for the Under Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict. That experience prompted her to move to post-conflict Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where she served as Public Information and Advocacy Manager for the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance, before working as a consultant/Public Information Advisor in the office of the Resident Coordinator and Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General. Maimouna then joined UNDP-DRC as Head of the Communication Unit. During her professional career spanning close to three decades, she was also appointed as Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Senegal, and worked in the U.S private sector. She belongs to various media organizations such as the 3000-member strong National Association of Black Journalists (USA), and served as a judge for the CNN/SABC African Journalism Awards. In 1995, Maimouna Mills spent a year as a fellow at Harvard University Kennedy School of Government's Shorenstein Centre for Press, Politics and Public Policy, where she wrote a thesis on the Image of Africa in the American Media, which was published by the African Institute for Democracy. Ms Mills is a member of the African Union's Women's Commission. She holds a "Diplomed'EtudesApprofondies" (D.E.A/ Post-Masters Degree) in Communication from the University of Paris X-Nanterre.



Gasinzigwa Oda

Gasinzigwa Oda from Rwanda was born in 1966. She is currently undertaking her Masters Degree in Gender and Development. Worked for 8 years with Tanzania National Bank of Commerce, from 1999 worked with Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion. From 2001 to 2006 worked with UNDP project supporting Government in refugees' resettlement activities. From 1999, she joined civil society women associations in Rwanda, participated in different mobilization and advocacy activities for many challenges that women were faced with as consequences of genocide. In 2004 was elected as a National Women council Chairperson. In 2008 she was nominated by the Government of Rwanda to head the new Constitutional institution called Gender Monitoring Office/observatory under Prime Minister's office in charge with monitoring the compliance of gender principles in public, private and civil society. She is member of different national and international women's forum.



Daisy Amdany

Daisy Amdany is the Chairperson of the Women Political Alliance-Kenya and the Executive Director of the Community Advocacy and Awareness (CRAWN) Trust. Daisy is a governance and women's rights specialist with several years of experience working in the field. She is an Alumnus of the Centre for Development and Population Activities-CEDPA, in Washington D.C's Global Women in Management program, that equips women in developing countries with skills to enable them fulfill their economic potential and serve as drivers of economic and social change in their communities. She is also a consultant and is frequently engaged as technical advisor with several women and human rights organizations both at the grassroots and national level and is a civic educator and trains women leaders, political aspirants and other leaders.



Ms. Deborah Anyango Okumu

Ms. Deborah Anyango Okumu holds a B.A degree from the University of Nairobi and a UN fellowship Masters Degree in Demography and Population Planning from the University of Ghana – Legon. Ms.Okumu has a wealth of experience in policy analysis, programme planning, management and evaluation. She has been in the forefront in advocating for gendered government policies and has played a key role in the development and use of Statistics in influencing government policy nationally and in many national documents emanating from major UN conferences. She has worked for Ministry of Planning and National Development, the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Ministry of Gender Sports Culture and Social Services. Prior to joining the Caucus, Ms Okumu served as a Senior Gender Consultant for various NGOs; FEMNET, ANCPAN and CLEAR. As a UNFPA national programme officer, her assignment covered the area of a technical advisor on use of gender statistics for planning and programming. At the Caucus, she continues to be an ardent researcher on gender and women's issues, a mentor to young upcoming women leaders. She has received an award for mentoring young women from Women Student Welfare Society, University of Nairobi.



Connie Ngondi

Connie Ngondi is a lecturer at Kenyatta University School of law lecturing International Human Rights and Alternative Dispute Resolution. She is a lawyer of 22 years work in governance with special focus on human rights, gender, and access to justice. Currently, also a PhD candidate at University of Pretoria writing on Ethnic Equality in Kenya. Consultant on governance, gender and human rights. Published on human rights and access to justice, and also on philanthropy and civil society financing in East Africa.



Zipporah Musau

Zipporah Musau is currently a Media Consultant based in Nairobi. She has handled media training for Kenya Women Parliamentarians, the Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians and also for journalists from all over Africa. In her previous role as Managing Editor of the magazines section of The Standard Group, Zipporah was responsible for all the magazines and pullouts in the newspaper as well as overseeing its online content. Zipporah joined The Standard Group in 2007 as Deputy Managing Editor of the daily editions before being promoted to Managing Editor. Before then she had worked for the Nation Media Group. Her career in journalism began in 1993 as a Hansard Reporter for the Kenya National Assembly. She left to pursue a Postgraduate Diploma in Mass Communications at the University of Nairobi and soon after completing this she joined the East African Standard as a Sub-Editor where she also ran a weekly column on science and environmental issues. She left to take up the position of Sub-Editor then Editor at Nation Media Group in 1999 where she stayed until August 2005. In September 2005 she attended City University in London where she completed an MA in International Journalism. Zipporah was awarded African Journalist of the Year (Merit) Award in 2000 and the Reuters/IUCN International Journalists Award in 1999. She was also awarded the prestigious British Chevening Scholarship in 2005.





Njoki Karuoya is Senior Associate Editor (Magazines) Standard Media Group

Njoki Karuoya is Senior Associate Editor (Magazines), Standard Media Group, Kenya. Njoki is an award-winning editor, columnist on gender and development issues, motivational speaker and journalist. She started her journalism career 15 years ago. She is a weekly columnist on gender issues (Gender Agenda) published each week on Wednesday and women issues published each week Sunday (Eve Sisters) leads the weekly. Njoki leads and moderates training sessions for various women groups on human and legal rights (Sista 2 Sista, Eve Sisters and Mothers & Daughters), which are all mentorship programmes for girls and women. She has published more than 4,000 articles focusing on gender, development, youth, human interest, culture, society and entertainment. Before joining the Standard Media Group, she worked as a feature writer for 10 years at Nation Media Group. Njoki has won numerous awards for reporting gender and development issues, among them, the Excellence in Journalism in Reporting Gender Issues (2010, 2011 and 2012) by The Standard Media Group, Best Sister of the Year 2011 by the University of Nairobi's Women Students Welfare Association (WOSWA) to celebrate their nominated role models, ILO 2009 Best Journalist in Gender & Development, KEMEP 2010, 2009, 2008 and 2007 Best Print Journalist in Gender & Development and CNN African Print Journalist of the Year 2000. She is currently writing a book on obstetric fistula sponsored by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).



Uduak Amimo hosts the current affairs discussion program, Cheche, on Citizen TV

Uduak Amimo hosts the current affairs discussion program, Cheche, on Citizen TV, Kenya's leading television station, which is also viewed across Eastern Africa. The program airs on Wednesday mornings. A resident panel comprised of a senior editor and a political analyst, with invited guests address issues in the news in the run-up to Kenya's forthcoming general elections, the first since the adoption of a new constitution. Prior to her relocation back to Kenya, Uduak was



the BBC Correspondent in Ethiopia and a BBC senior producer and presenter on the African Service flagship programme, Focus on Africa. Uduak has travelled widely across Eastern and Western Africa on various assignments including Sudan's referendum of 2010, elections in Ghana and Kenya, and climate change in Nigeria. Her first job was as an Assistant Producer with Reuters Television in Nairobi. She has also worked with VOA. She is a journalist with around 15 years of experience as a radio and television reporter, presenter, producer, editor and trainer in Kenya, the United States, the United Kingdom and Ethiopia with the BBC, Voice of America and Reuters.



Cllr. Muthoni Kihara

Cllr. Muthoni Kihara is currently the National Deputy Treasurer of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization elected in the year 2006. She has served the Nairobi City Council as an elected Councillor at the age of 22 years for a period of 10 years; chairing several committees e.g. the finance committee; housing & development committee; social services & housing committee etc. Cllr. Muthoni has vast experience in gender mainstreaming, advocating for affirmative action, gained from her work at the Nairobi City Council and management of political parties. She has participated extensively in mainstreaming persons with disability issues in political parties. Her role model party on disability issues is NARC Kenya Political Party; she was also engaged in the run-up to the development of the Kenya's current constitution at 4Cs, NCEC Bomas and its subsequent YES Campaign - Referendum. She also vied as a Member of Parliament for Kamukunji by – elections 2011 being the only woman among the 8 (eight) candidates. All her life Cllr. Muthoni has dedicated her efforts to challenge the status quo that hinder women from reaching positions of power in social, political, economic and cultural life in all areas of their lives, whether at the local community or at the national level.



Ms. Betty Murungi is a lawyer, gender and conflict expert

Ms. Betty Murungi is a lawyer, gender and conflict expert. She is former Vice-Chair of the Truth, Justice and



Reconciliation Commission of Kenya. Member of the Board of Directors of the Trust Fund for Victims of the International Criminal Court. Murungi is a member of the Board of Directors of the Trust Fund for Victims of the International Criminal Court. Betty has worked on gender justice issues within the African continent serving as chairperson of the Executive Committee of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice for an International Criminal Court (later, the Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice). In that capacity, she was instrumental in supporting women survivors in participating and testifying at the Sierra Leone Truth Reconciliation Commission. She co-founded and directed for eight years the Urgent Action Fund-Africa, an innovative feminist fund that supports bold human rights interventions particularly around sexual minorities and other sexual autonomy and reproductive health rights issues. In December 2003, Betty received the national honour of the Moran of the Order of the Burning Spear (MBS) for her work in human rights. In 2005-2006 she was a fellow at the Harvard Law School's Human Rights program and was named the 2005 International Advocate for Peace by the Cardozo School of Law.



Mr. Matthew Kirai Iteere is  
the Commissioner of Police Kenya

Mr. Matthew Kirai Iteere, CBS, EBS, OGW, is the Commissioner of Police of the Republic of Kenya since 2009.



Sarah Kimani is the East  
African Correspondent  
for SABC

Sarah Kimani is the East African Correspondent for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, SABC. Ms. Kimani has worked as a journalist for more than ten years now. She has previously worked at the Nation Media Group's Broadcast Division rising from an intern to an alternate news editor at the time of her departure. Her award winning work has been recognized in the prestigious CNN African Journalist of the year awards in 2004 and 2005 and is also a recipient of Peter Jenkins conservation awards. Her work has seen her travel thrice to war torn Somalia, DRC, and South Sudan among other hotspots in the region. She has



an interest in human-interest stories especially those touching on women and children. She is married with one daughter.