I WANT TO RUN FOR PRESIDENCY AS AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE.

YOU CANNOT BE FOR ANY PARTY IF YOU ARE NOT NOMINATED BY A POLITICAL PARTY.

WE HAVE THE POWER, WE ARE THE MAJORITY.

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY.

CAMPAIGN TRAIL.

CANDIDATE

GENDER ACTIVIST

MEDIA

E.C.

HOTLINE

PARLIAMENT

MEDIA HOUSE.

PRESS RELEASE

COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW)

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

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work closely with other human rights organisations in lobbying for constitutional reforms necessary for free, fair and peaceful general elections. Previous elections indicate that when elections are unfree, unfair and violent, the impact of this situation is experienced by women candidates and voters much more than men, due to the dominance of patriarchy in our society.

A strong women's political Caucus could lobby all political parties and the government to put in place a 30% political quota system for women in political parties and other public decision-making positions. Once this quota system is established, then women candidates will be sure of getting party nominations and filling the quota.

5) **National women's Fund**

If women NGOs form a strong network then they may be able to facilitate a National Women's Fund to assist women candidates in meeting some of their financial campaign needs.

6) **Gender specific election monitoring**

Another way women NGOs can give moral and political support to women candidates is through election monitoring with a focus on women candidates. This helps to identify gender specific electoral malpractices and to ensure immediate intervention by electoral officials for the benefit of target women candidates.
Women in politics is a widely discussed issue on the eve of the forthcoming elections in Kenya. Never before have women's groups and organisations been so active with the aim of increasing women's participation at all political levels in the country. The most visible sign for this development is the fact that for the first time in Kenyan history, there is a woman inspiring for the presidency of the republic. Until recently most Kenyans couldn’t even envisage the possibility of having a female president. This is a remarkable development within a very short time. Women, through their organisations, are raising their voices and demanding that gender interests be included in the ongoing political and legal reform process.

In every political party in Kenya there is an ongoing discussion about the kind of participatory role women should have. Women are starting to question the traditional hierarchies and the dominance of men within the party structures. They are pressing for more gender sensitivity in party policies and decision making structures. Women's groups are demanding that a certain percentage of all nominated political candidates should be women as they are convinced that more women in Kenyan politics will make a real impact.

Indeed, the number of female candidates aspiring for seats in the National Assembly and in local councils has rapidly increased, as women seek to bring about gender balance in the Kenyan political representation of 1998 and beyond. In spite of this, women have still quite a lot of disadvantages to overcome. Most of them have little experience with running political activities needed for a campaign, such as raising campaign funds, packaging and delivering campaign messages, getting the necessary data about their constituencies and mobilising voters. They may also lack training in public-speaking skills and may not know how to counteract negative propaganda.

*Women Candidates in Kenyan Electoral Politics* tries to assist women in the political arena to improve the skills necessary for a political campaign, be it in the preliminary phase during which they are trying to win the nomination of their political party or in the official campaign where they have to compete with candidates of other parties. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) is proud to have collaborated with the *National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)* in developing this manual and hopes that it will be helpful for the many women now trying to be representatives of Kenyan people. FES and NCSW would like to see many more women actively involved in Kenyan politics and hope that the number of elected women Councillors and Members of Parliament will increase considerably after this upcoming election.

*Dr Thomas Hamer*
*Resident Director*
*Friedrich Ebert Foundation*

*Nairobi, September 1997*
Acknowledgement

The NCSW, in collaboration with FES wish to acknowledge the contributions of various women NGOs, media personnel, gender and human rights activists and all individuals who participated in the preparation and actualization of this training manual for women candidates. We wish in particular to express our gratitude to women MPs and all prospective candidates who participated and gave us their insights on relevant training and material support necessary for building political capacity of women candidates. We also wish to thank the various resource people who contributed some of the background papers from which this manual was developed. These include: Ms Mary Kimonye, Dr. Jackqueline Oduol, Mr. Maina Wachira and Dr. Ruth N. Kibiti. We wish also to thank the NCSW officials and staff and especially Ms Julie N. Ongudi, for her assistance in the co-ordination of this project.

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It is our hope that the graphically illustrated information contained in this manual will form an important foundation for building capacity of women politicians to win political office and for the rest of us, to provide them with the necessary support services. It is our hope that together, we can effectively participate in the development of a gender responsive and democratic Kenya.

Prof. Maria Nzomo
Chairperson, NCSW.

Nairobi, September 1997
1.1 Broad methodological suggestions

Training for capacity building of women candidates can take several forms, depending on the issues and locality of the training. It could initially take the form of workshops located at the constituencies where the candidates are seeking political office. Participants should include all the candidates for that constituency, the campaign management teams and a sample of the target voters. The training should be highly participatory, allowing people to exchange views and ask questions. The role of trainers should be to raise pertinent issues and suggest a broad framework for guiding group discussions among participants. Final recommendations and Plan of Action should therefore emanate from the results of these group discussions.

A second stage in the process of training for capacity building of women candidates should take the form of stimulation exercises to test the readiness of candidates, campaign team and target voters, for the actual campaign and voting process. To ensure maximum effectiveness, no more than two topics should be discussed within an eight-hour day. Hence, if the training has four major aspects to be addressed, then the training should be allocated two and a half days, to allow half a day for formalities and warming up that normally occur on the first day.

1.2 Logistics of a training workshop

First you need to decide how to prepare for the workshop. This checklist will help you organise your tasks:

- **Finance**: List all your expenses eg. venue transport food, resources, stationery, etc. Do you have enough money to cover these expenses?
- **Venue**: Where will the workshop be held? What facilities are there eg. electricity? Are there tables, chairs, etc?
- **Food**: Will you provide tea, biscuits, etc?
- **Transport**: Do you need to arrange transport for participants? Does everyone know about the transport arrangements?
- **Participants**: How will you select them? How will you invite them to the workshop? How will they be informed?
- **Resources**: What do you need to photocopy for participants e.g a workshop programme, flash cards for working with illiterate adults. Do you have a kit for each person? What other teaching aids will you use?
- **Equipment and stationery**: Do you need for example, a video recorder, public address system? You may need an overhead projector, newsprint, etc.
1.3 Planning and conducting training workshop sessions

**Step 1:** Determine what you **want to achieve** in the workshop. **What are your main aims?** What will people know, think, feel, be able to do, by the end of your workshop?

**Step 2:** Find out everything you can about the workshop participants: What do they know about such **civic education** issues as **human rights, elections and voting**? Have they ever participated in workshops before? **What is their educational background?** What language do they prefer to use? Do they live in urban or rural areas? Do they belong to civic or other organisations? This helps you to prepare your workshop programme so that it meets the **needs of your participants**, as well as your aims.

**Step 3:** Decide how you will present each issue. What techniques will you use? A short talk? A group discussion? A game? A role-play? A debate etc.?

**Step 4:** Structure the training in an easily consummable methodology. Don't try to cover too much in one session. It is better to teach a small amount carefully and thoroughly, rather than confuse people with too many new ideas and thoughts.

**Step 5:** Structure each session: Decide in what order you will present information. All sessions should have an **introduction, a body, and a conclusion**.

**Plan for session 1**

Starting the first session is very important. Here are some ideas on how to make people feel at ease at the start of the workshop, sometimes termed as **Breaking the ice**.

- Each person says their name and an adjective that describes them and that starts with the same letter as their name, for example, "Talkative" for "Tom". Participants can also briefly say what they know about elections, voting and the project at hand.

  **OR**

- Go around the room and have the participants introduce themselves; their names, where they live, what they do (job), something about their family, what they already know about training and other needs for women candidates running for political office.
- Vary your activities so as not to bore people.
- Present each theme or view clearly.

Don't's

- Don't leave all planning to the last minute.
- Don't bore participants by giving long lectures. Remember adults learn best by doing.
- Don't use unfamiliar jargon no one understands.
- Don't allow any one person to dominate the discussion or to intimidate others.
- Don't be dogmatic about your own point of view. Listen to others.
WOMEN CANDIDATES IN ELECTORAL POLITICS:

STRATEGIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Given the various obstacles that women encounter in politics, there is need for improved planning and strategy laying to overcome these obstacles. This section discusses the strategic planning and management of a campaign. It identifies the issues that make it necessary to build the capacity of women candidates and voters and also suggests ways of building that capacity, with relevant highlights being provided by participants in subsequent dialogue.

Why build capacity of women candidates or voters?

"If men find it difficult to come to parliament, the women's situation can be explained by paraphrasing a biblical saying, "It is easier for an elephant to go through the eye of a needle than for a woman to come to parliament."

Male resistance stands in the way of women candidates seeking political office

The above statement underscores the special obstacles that women encounter in political participation. These include:

• the dominance of the male culture in the political structures and discourse:
• male resistance to political power sharing with women.
• the socio-cultural conditioning and gender stereo-type of the roles of women (as being in the private sphere) and of men (as being in the public sphere).
lack of economic independence and multiple roles and burdens of women.

**TALKING POINT**

*In what ways does the male resistance to power sharing show?*
*How does women participation benefit the whole society?*

![Cartoon image showing a gender dynamic.]

Men are still unwilling to share power with women. This means more work is required to develop a democratic culture and erase patriarchal values.

Despite the numerous obstacles to women's political participation, women in Kenya now recognise that their participation in political decision making capacities is essential both for their own empowerment as well as for the advancement of society as a whole.

Consider the following discussion between a chairperson of a local women's group, a teacher in a local primary school, a farmer and the vendor at whose stall they have met. The vendor asks the chairperson about a rumour concerning her political intentions:

**Vendor:** Is it true you want to run for counsellor? Why do you want to run? Have you thought of the difficulties you will face?

**Chairperson:** Yes. I know many people think politics and decision making are for men. Women candidates are even rigged out during party nominations even when they are more popular. This denies them a chance to participate in decision making.

**Farmer:** I think also that many women consider themselves as dependants of men and so they cannot make decisions that concern money and society.

**Vendor:** But in the village and in some urban areas, many women are as productive as men.

**Teacher:** That is true. Consider women groups such as yours for instance. How many economic activities do you undertake?
Chairperson: We run flour mills, operate handicraft industries and even own a fleet of vehicles.

Farmer: That is not all. We also have a hand in digging bore-holes and tilling the land.

Chairperson: Society benefits from our activities as women. Imagine how our contribution would improve if we had power to vote for our development visions.

Teacher: An increase in number of women elected to parliament can result in improved social legislation. This is legislation to do with such issues as unemployment, education, healthcare etc. Such legislation would empower women by for instance making sure that girls are well educated and that women are not discriminated against in work places.

Vendor: Social legislation should also make it possible for us to inherit our parents property or get loans from banks. Yes, we should send more women to parliament.

Chairperson: And to Local Authorities too. That is why you should support me.

Women have a right and responsibility as citizens to participate actively in politics and all other forms of public life. But there are many obstacles to women’s political participation. To eliminate these obstacles, one of the key areas that need to be addressed in training programmes is strategic planning and management of political campaigns.
Political campaign management and strategic planning: an overview

"Money alone does not win elections, it does not guarantee success in an election contest; nor can a good name, charisma, heroic deeds, support by prominent personalities, good works, social status or rank. In fact, no single factor or quality in a candidate can guarantee success in an election. Being rich and a generous spender, being strong, energetic and dynamic, being intelligent and educated, having a good reputation and public image, having an amiable personality and character, being a good public speaker or orator or having any other such attribute.”

TALKING POINT
What kind of leader is likely to command votes or trust?
Is there a way to go about revealing the suitable qualities that a leader may have?

An effective election campaign must have a master strategy or plan. Often, a combination of campaign strategies have to be adopted to maximize the chances of winning an election. There are some key factors to consider before a woman goes for elective office. These are:

- Development of a clear vision and mission for seeking political office.
- Choice of an appropriate political platform or political vehicle that fits in with the candidate’s vision and mission.
- Choice of level and nature of political leadership being sought e.g. Presidency, MP, Councillor etc.
- Constituency building: What strategic planning is needed to attain stated objectives?
- Appropriate and adequate information about the target constituency and constituents.
- Appropriate choice and recruitment of campaign team.
- Civic education for target constituency.
- Resource allocation and decision making.
- Identification and packaging of relevant campaign issues.
- Strategic timing for various levels and forms of campaigning.
- Campaign process and methods of message delivery.
- Conducting a political campaign. There are various ways of conducting a campaign. They include:-
  - Platform campaign
  - Joint campaign
  - Door to door campaign
  - Poster campaign
Candidate's vision and mission

Vision means understanding the problems that people have and also coming up with possible solutions. Mission on the other hand means working towards solving those problems, which starts with convincing people to work with you by electing you. In developing a clear vision and mission for seeking elective political office, the candidate should answer the following questions:

- What objectives do you wish to advance through political leadership?
- Why do you think you have what it takes to attain these objectives?
- What kind of political platform or vehicle do you intend to use and why?
- What is the level and nature of political leadership that you are seeking to provide and why?

If a candidate is clear about her vision and mission, and is convinced that the vision is shared broadly by the target electorate, then she can proceed with the rest of the campaign planning and management. Good management and strategic timing will help.

Strategic timing and time management

TALKING POINT

From your experiences, is it really necessary to plan ahead and lay a foundation?

In political activities, what would be considered as preparing and laying a foundation for political office?

How does resource management come in when laying down the foundation?

After their chance meeting at the market the women decided to call a meeting to discuss the important issues in campaign management. They invited the scholar (from an NGO) and a renowned Campaign Manager to talk to them about campaign management. The group chairperson opened the discussion:

Chairperson: Let us talk about strategic timing and management. What is meant by that?
Campaign manager: You know you cannot wake up one day and decide to run for office the next day. Can you? People rarely vote for candidates they do not know. One must plan in advance.

Scholar: The candidate must decide in good time to run for political office, preferably at least 2-3 years before the next election. The prospective candidate must also decide on when to embark on the informal election campaign.

Farmer: Informal election campaign?

Campaign manager: Yes, think of the birthday parties, harambees for school fees, weddings, burials and women group meetings. An informal campaign means attending such functions and contributing appropriately.

Chairperson: Do women need more time than men in this informal campaign?

Scholar: It is easier for people to assume a man intends to run for political office when he is very actively involved in community activities. This is not the case with women. What I’m saying is that a woman candidate needs more time and effort to convince the public of her intention to seek office. She might actually have to state that severally.

Social functions offer excellent opportunity for informal campaign

Wise prospective candidates start campaigning a few years before the election while
others start a few months before the elections. In this regard, it helps to remember that it is politically unwise and risky to embark on a political campaign before adequate planning has been carried out. The importance of planning is discussed below.

Campaign manager: Few strategically planned activities produce better results than numerous unplanned tasks. It is better for a candidate to spend a day trying to persuade a strategically placed group leader to support her than spending the same time convincing several individuals who represent nobody.

Scholar: It is wiser to talk to a delegation of women group leaders in one meeting instead of spending a day moving from one group to another. The same case applies to other groups like trade union leaders.

Campaign manager: Candidates should avoid spending too much time in functions that do not help the campaign like dinner receptions that are neither fund-raisers nor campaign meetings.

Much time is also often wasted because of indecisiveness. Many people will delay making important decisions waiting for all the information. While it is important to have as much information as possible before making a decision, if one waits to get 100% information before making a decision, then no decision will ever be made. It is also time wasting to attempt to solve all problems. Some problems left alone tend to resolve themselves. To solve problems you need enough of the right information. But what is the right information?
Appropriate and adequate information

Campaign manager: The geography of a constituency, like knowing where a bridge might be needed across a river or a road and socio-economic situation of a constituency, and the profile of other contesting candidates helps.

Scholar: But the most important information is about daily life; how it is affected by poor sanitation or infrastructure or legal structure. And remember women are the most concerned with primary health care than anybody else. Are there sufficient facilities to improve primary health-care provision?

Campaign manager: Also, many people who suffer financial losses because of poor roads or power blackouts. A good campaigner will find out about such people, and target them for the campaign. Finally a candidate needs to keep contact with the electorate.

Candidates should maintain contact with their electorate for important information exchange and mutual understanding.

A woman candidate in an election campaign must therefore spare time and other resources and invest them first in gathering information about the constituency. But a good campaign team is essential in the area of gathering information and other tasks. The importance of recruiting a good campaign team can not be overemphasized.
The recruitment of a campaign team

Some issues to consider when recruiting a good campaign team are mentioned in the following discussion.

Chairperson: What does recruitment of a good campaign team require?

Campaign manager: Well, we know some people are good speakers while others are good listeners. A good campaign team needs both of these types.

Vendor: But campaigning is about convincing people. How does a good listener come in?

Scholar: Think of a journalist as a good listener and a good speaker. He or she listens carefully and then uses what he/she has heard to influence others.

Campaign manager: So a good listener can be deployed to gather information and a good speaker can use that information to convince the electorate at a campaign rally.

A successful election campaign depends highly on the competence of the campaign manager and the rest of the team. The challenge is to ensure that the right people are doing the right jobs. Once the right people have been selected for various tasks, the next challenge is to motivate them to work as a team and to co-operate in getting the objectives achieved.

Campaign manager: Some people should be gathering information while others will be out trying to win support. Others will be gathering funds for the campaign and yet others will be out distributing campaign posters and leaflets. And finally do not forget others will coordinate all these activities.

Scholar: The image the campaign team portrays will be the image of their candidate. The team should be polite and kind to show the 'mother figure' image of their candidate. There should therefore be a public relations person to link the whole team and the candidate with the public.

In this regard, communication is a strategic tool. As long as the candidate keeps talking to the campaign team, the latter will keep talking to the voters. Co-ordinating such a campaign team is basically carrying out resource management.

Consider the statements made below regarding resource management.
Resource management

Scholar: We have already talked about human resource management, that is deploying the right people to the right jobs. But there are other resources like time and money.

Farmer: How do you manage time?
Scholar: Managing time means giving different time durations to different tasks that a candidate must perform. Like one hour visiting a school and 3 hours at a political rally.

Chairperson: Time management also means giving priority to certain tasks, doesn't it? Like attending a neighbourhood watch meeting instead of going to a party.

Campaign manager: Information gathering needs time too. So does developing campaign message and slogans and finally meeting people to deliver the message. This means a time budget is vital.

Scholar: But these activities also need money. That is where a money budget comes in. Periodical review of expenditure against pending financial campaign needs is a must. Continuous review of expenses incurred against the tasks accomplished and those pending gives signals on the financial states of the campaign. This may help to modify the campaign strategy in good time.

Campaign manager: After all these, another task you need to perform is to identify and package campaign issues. This helps to give you an idea of the priorities.

Identifying and packaging of relevant campaign issues

TALKING POINT
What are these relevant campaign issues?
Are there differences in how to approach economic, social groups and individuals? What issues appeal to each?

Scholar: There are issues that are important to a particular constituency.
Campaign manager: People in different places have different needs due to different circumstances. Good research will reveal which issues are relevant to certain areas.

Scholar: For example in some areas of the country, like the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL), what people need most is water.
Chairperson: You talked about a non-geographical constituency. What could be relevant issues to such constituencies?
Scholar: Well, a business constituency could be interested in infrastructure, a women’s constituency could be interested in social reforms etc.

Campaign manager: Some people may want tap water, others may cry for security to be improved where they live.

Scholar: Yes, like people who live in bandit areas cry for security. Other people may only want a better market for their crops and better roads.

In another constituency, the major problem or issue may be poor infrastructure, or shortage of schools and health clinics. It is the duty of each candidate and her campaign team to determine what are the most pressing needs and problems of the local community. (At this point people can think of different places and their campaign issues)

Having determined what the relevant campaign issues are for the individual campaign, the next step is to package those issues.

What is packaging?

Packaging refers both to the way issues in the campaign hang together in a cohesive, systematic and logical manner, as well as the ordering of the same issues in terms of their priority. The most important issues should be on top of the list in terms of both arrangement and the resources invested in them. For instance when addressing the issue of primary health care, availability of clean water and good sanitation cannot be left behind.

Remember the importance of issues will depend on the specific circumstances of a given constituency. After determining the important issues the next step is to deliver the message to the electorate. Below, the levels of message delivery are discussed, and particular concerns at each level are noted.

The campaign process: levels of message delivery

Scholar: There are three levels of message delivery. These are the material or economic level, the social level and the personal and gender level of campaign.

Campaign manager: At the economic level, issues of livelihood are addressed like how physical facilities can be improved to better people’s chances of making a better living.

Scholar: For instance we know that sugar farmers suffer from sugar importation. Show them that their source of livelihood can improve if there is a change in government policies or parliamentary intervention.
The task of the candidate at this material level is to convince the target voters that their economic welfare will improve if she is elected. The candidate should have a convincing programme to tackle all manner of past material deprivations and suffering: poverty, hunger disease, illiteracy, and exploitation. She must have a record of contributing “generously” to local harambee projects etc.

Chairperson: What about the social level?

Campaign manager: Everybody has a social position. That is, people belong to this or that religion or professional group not to mention tribe. The social level addresses the importance of that group within the whole society. Think of all the women groups that are there.

The candidate should arrange the individuals and groups in her constituency in order of importance and give the highest priority to the most important. The more important the groups is in terms of the objectives of the campaign, the more the resources that should be invested in it. The importance of social institutions should be based on at least the following considerations:

• The number of people it affects or concerns
• The seriousness with which it affects them
• The frequency with which it affects them and the value of any special contribution in a given institution can make to the campaign.

The importance of the social campaign was highlighted in the course of the discussion.

Scholar: The aim of the social campaign is to demonstrate to the voters, preferably through the leaders and peers in the key social institutions, that she has the approval and support of the entire community.

Chairperson: So the aim is to win votes by showing solidarity with them?

Campaign manager: Yes. The more important the institution, the more important any issue connected with it should be regarded. The challenge is to choose groups or organizations that will maximize her chances of winning the election campaign.

Scholar: For a woman candidate, women’s groups and organizations in her constituency are good support bases, as the majority of voters are women. She can benefit a lot from the networking between women’s groups.
Women group leaders could serve as a good voter mobilisation resource for women candidates' campaign.

The religious institution is also an important one in any part of Kenya, and hence no candidate should ignore it. Do not say anything to antagonize any denomination or religion.

The personal and gender level of the campaign

(a) Image building

Voters see a candidate as an honest or dishonest person, selfish or generous. It is very important for a candidate to know what traits of her body, character and personality to present to the voters during campaigning.

The objective should be to create a person-to-person relationship between herself and each voter and to win the voter's trust and acceptance as someone one can rely upon to represent him/her in decision-making.

(b) Gender level of campaign

As already noted, women face special obstacles as they attempt to enter into politics and to compete alongside men for elective positions.

Women office seekers are always expected to prove their competence, strength and experience. yet they have to be careful not to be seen as dictatorial or arrogant. Note
also factors such as personal appearance tend to influence voter's view of female candidates far more than male candidates. Hair styles, height, weight, dress and general grooming of the female candidate may be given more attention than the message she is delivering. Women also experience more than men an assault on their personal integrity. A woman candidate must be strong and confident enough to withstand these and other challenges. Her message must bear a different twist and tone from that of her male counterparts.

In the course of discussion, the chairperson sought to know whether there are areas in which women can capitalize on to enhance their chances of winning elections.

Chairperson: Are there issues that will give women an advantage, like areas where women are better qualified?

Campaign manager: Yes. Major issue where women all over the world have been proven to make a more distinct contribution than men include: health, economy, violence environment, and population, even without the benefit of political power on their side.

Scholar: Another distinct advantage is her existing networks in the women's organizations and groups. We have already mentioned this.

Campaign manager: In these groups, the way women operate shows they understand democratic participation in community issues. That is what a country needs - democratic participation of all. Let the people know that, so as to facilitate women's participation.

Because of the roles women already play in society in areas of environment, health, education, population etc. greater participation of women in decision making capacities is a way of lifting people out of poverty, reducing population growth and protecting the environment. In summary, it is a way to get on a path of equitable and sustainable development.

Another argument that a woman candidate can use is that women's leadership style brings into politics a positively different but enriching perspective. Women's creativity, problem solving, management and decision making skills and abilities would definitely improve on the character of politics. To build the skills of women in political campaign management, training is of great importance. There are different training approaches as mentioned below.

Conclusion

The workshop concluded with consensus that for a woman to succeed in electoral politics, she needs an adequate campaign master strategy or plan of action. Such a strategy should address all aspects of the campaign, including:
• information gathering.
• packaging relevant issues.
• management and distribution of resources.
• the recruitment of a dedicated and competent campaign team.

The candidate's overall campaign task can therefore be summarized as follows:

i) To get her campaign message received and understood by as many voters as possible.

ii) Through her message, to persuade more people to vote for her than any of her rivals.

Finally it also needs to be underscored that Politics is the struggle for power. Women must be prepared to face the challenges of political struggle and ultimately political leadership. No doubt women are endowed with very special leadership qualities; but they have the confidence and courage to exploit those potential qualities to score a political victory.

Before closing, it was agreed that another workshop would be held to look into the issue of gender responsiveness electoral laws.
INTRODUCTION

While the constitution extends citizenship to all adults, men and women, in fact the power of both men and women to exercise the rights of citizenship is not equal. Women are constrained in the exercise of their franchise by institutional, administrative, legal and cultural barriers. This section highlights some of these barriers and suggests some of the ways of getting rid of them if the women's franchise is to be made as powerful as that of men. Dialogue between two officials of a women's group, some members and others highlights various issues.

The constitutional background

It has been pointed out that the constitution does not outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex. That is true but it is taken for granted that even if the constitution outlawed sex discrimination, that would not of itself remove sexist attitudes and institutions. Therefore it seems that there is need to go beyond the law to the social and political practices. Consider the areas of voter qualifications and nomination of candidates. Rules relating to voter registration and candidate nomination are not fair to women. The discussions that follow highlight these points.

Voters

TALKING POINT

What are some of the legal and cultural barriers to women's enjoyment of the right to vote?

The law says no person is qualified to be registered as a voter unless he or she is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of 18 years. Such a citizen must in addition have been resident in Kenya for a period of not less than one year before the date of voter registration or for an aggregate of 4 years of the 8 years preceding the registration. To be registered as a voter in a particular constituency, you must have lived there for some five months of the last 12 months before registration or own property there. These rules relating to residence are called durational residency requirements and are intended to create sufficient connection with the electoral areas. But there are other rules that are unfair to women.
If a man does not satisfy durational residency requirements, he may still be registered as a voter if he shows that in a period he has carried on business in such a constituency or owns land or residential building there.

Consider the following discussion at a registration station between two members (the Secretary and the Chairperson) of a women's group called Mipango Women Group, an election officer, political party agent and an election monitor that they found there.

Most women voters and candidates do not own or control any valuable property and are therefore disadvantaged than men in participating in electoral politics.

Secretary: I have heard that rules relating to registration of voters are unfair to women. How are these rules unfair to women if all those qualified are registered?

Election monitor: These rules regarding employment and property are called property qualifications. Although our constitution theoretically extends full voting power to all, the property qualifications given in section 43 give land and property owners, a majority of whom are men, more choice than women.

Secretary: My husband owns land in a neighbouring constituency. Does that mean he has a choice of two places when it comes to voting while I can only vote in one place?

Party agent: Yes. One way of rectifying this is to scrap the qualification relating to
ownership of land and property, and women will have equal choices with men during registration and voting.

The discussion went on to cover the issue of nomination of presidential candidates by political parties.

**Presidential elections**

**Chairperson:** Someone also said the laws relating to qualifications as a candidate are unfair to women. How?

**Election monitor:** Take the example of a presidential candidate. On top of being a Kenyan citizen of above 35 years of age and registered as a voter, one must also be nominated by a political party.

**Party agent:** This condition of nomination by a political party does not take into account the bias of political parties against women. Some women have been rigged out during party nominations because they are neither heads of political parties nor senior in the political party hierarchy.

**Election monitor:** Yes, this condition reduces a woman's chance to run for political office. Electoral laws should include a provision that will allow independent candidates to run for all political office, including the presidency.

Discrimination against women candidates during the nomination process by men in political parties limits women's political participation. Therefore independent candidates should be allowed to run for political office.
The discussion then proceeded to cover the issue of conduct, management and supervision of elections.

**Conduct, Management and Supervision of elections**

**TALKING POINT**

*How does the conduct, management and supervision of elections keep women from participating?*

*In what way can this barrier be removed to create a better environment for women participation?*

**Parliamentary elections**

**Election monitor:** The conduct, management and supervision of elections is dominated by men. The electoral commission should increase women's participation in the administration of elections. This can help improve the electoral atmosphere by being more women friendly than it is now.

**Secretary:** Will that help women's participation in electoral politics?

**Election official:** Yes. First of all women understand better what needs to change to allow women more political participation. Second, the presence of women in election administration will draw other women into participating once they understand that politics is not just for men.

There should be more women election officials.
NB: There are regulations that provide for recounts. The general position is that the candidate or his counting agent who has been present during counting has the right to demand a recount. This will be easier for women candidates if more women officials are involved in supervision of elections. She can demand recounting without antagonising many people.

**Presidential elections**

At the registration centre, a lawyer and a scholar both from an independent election observer group (an NGO) later joined in the discussion. They talked about how some election regulations limit a prospective woman presidential candidate.

**Chairperson:** What are these other constraints facing presidential women candidates?

**Election official:** Although presidential elections must generally satisfy the same rules and regulations that are referred to earlier there are additional rules that are special to the presidential election. First the presidential candidate must be nominated by not less than 1,000 persons registered as voters in the elections.

**Scholar:** All political parties are chaired by men, who are generally nominated as presidential candidates of their party. This means that a woman wishing to run for the presidency is unlikely to be nominated by any of the major political parties.

**Lawyer:** In addition to winning the parliamentary seat the presidential candidate must win 25% of all the votes cast in five of the eight provinces. Cultural and political practices make it more difficult for a woman candidate to meet this condition. Do not forget some areas are closed to some political parties by being declared zones of a dominant party.

**Scholar:** To increase women's political participation in parliament, there are avenues that can be exploited. Like presidential nomination of women MPs after the elections.
Presidential nomination of women MPs can enhance women's numerical strength in electoral politics.

The president has power to nominate 12 MPs. These MPs do not necessarily have to come from the president's party. Nomination of more women to parliament would give women a chance to participate in policy formulation and national decision-making. However, another way of improving women's participation is improving the monitoring of the election process.

**Policing the electoral process**

The Chairperson of the group raised the issue of *Political and moral policing* of the electoral process:

**Chairperson:** Someone mentioned policing of the electoral process. Tell us more about that.

**Scholar:** Political and moral policing, refers to the work of election monitors. Election monitors and their activities are regulated by the rules formulated by the Electoral Commission.

**Election officer:** Any group that wants to monitor election officially should seek accreditation from the Electoral Commission, otherwise they will not get access to the polling station. Accreditation is special permission to monitor without any barriers.

**Farmer:** Is monitoring unfair also? If men and women can be monitors of the process, where is the unfairness?

**Election monitor:** There are areas of the process that are not checked, like fraud by parties.
As we have already seen, party structures are not fair to women. Monitors should address this too.

The requirement of party nomination, the structure of existing political parties traps women in current structures of patriarchal power. Attempts to get out by for example forming alliances with other women in different parties fall foul of our system which rules out coalition formation.

Then there is judicial monitoring.

**Judicial monitoring**

**Lawyer:** The judiciary also has power to monitor elections. Questions relating to whether a voter has been validly registered, the content of the register, whether a person has been validly nominated for elections or validly elected are all judicial questions. Petitions are also judicial issues.

**Chairperson:** By the way, why is it that women rarely file petitions in court?

**Lawyer:** First, there is the expense of the whole business. Election petitions are very expensive and the expense may place petitions out of reach for many women candidates.

**Party agent:** Also, most political parties are reluctant to file petitions on behalf of women candidates who lose elections.

**Lawyer:** Such unfairness should be redressed by making petitioning less expensive and also encouraging parties to be fairer to women candidates. The constitution should also remove the barriers that women face in political participation.

Election petitions are too expensive for women candidates who are often cash-strapped
Gender dimension of the Kenyan Constitution

**TALKING POINT**
Which laws do you think affect the voting power of women or men?
In what way is the voting power affected?
Does unequal representation of some constituencies affect women?

Constitutional provisions are gender neutral. So is there need to change them? To answer this question, the discussion centered on how laws affect the voting power of citizens. The lawyer introduced other rights that affect voting.

**Women and the right to vote**

**Lawyer:** The right to vote is affected by many other rights. These include, the freedom of association, of expression and of assembly.

**Chairperson:** How do these rights affect the voting power?

**Scholar:** When you cannot associate with people or express your ideas freely, you cannot convince other people of your point of view. Other people cannot communicate their ideas to you and you cannot even tell your MP or government where they go wrong.

**Party agent:** Candidates too cannot share their vision of development. So you might end up voting for the wrong people after they cheat you.

**Chairperson:** I see. Are laws relating to preparation of elections also unfair?

**Laws regulating the preparatory stages of the election**

**Scholar:** In considering the law relating to the general election, there is a temptation to consider only the laws regulating the actual balloting. Nevertheless, it is crucial to begin with a look at the Electoral Commission since manipulations at this level do affect the integrity of the entire electoral system.

**Lawyer:** The constitution says that the Electoral Commission shall be made up of a chairperson and not less than 4 other members appointed by the president.

**Secretary:** So it is possible to have more than five members in the commission?

**Election official:** Yes. The President can determine the number of these commissioners.

**Scholar:** It has been suggested that the constitution should spell out some requirements for one to be a commissioner and also give all parties
a chance to appoint commissioners. Perhaps the constitution should set aside some seats for women on the Electoral Commission.

There is no requirement that the composition of the commission reflect our nation, including reflecting that we are a nation of both men and women. Since independence, the Electoral Commission has always been hugely dominated by men, sometimes exclusively so.

The commission's powers to create electoral districts

TALKING POINT
Are the constituencies divided fairly?
What special groups would need special representation in parliament?

Section 42 (1) of the constitution says that Kenya shall be divided into “such number of constituencies as the Electoral Commission may prescribe.” This is to be read in the context of subsection (2) of the constitution which says that parliament “may prescribe the minimum number of constituencies into which Kenya shall be divided” and clearly says that “the minimum number of constituencies shall be 188 and the maximum shall be 210.” This means that once parliament has set a ceiling and a floor the Electoral Commission is required to follow such limits.

Treasurer: What criteria does the Electoral Commission use to create new constituencies?

Election Official: The constitution provides that “all constituencies shall contain as nearly equal number of inhabitants” as appear to be reasonably practicable to the commission.

Scholar: The commission puts too much emphasis on geographical constituency. To remove unfairness to minority groups, it should consider having non-geographical constituencies.

Secretary: What does that mean?

Scholar: Non-geographical constituencies include groups with special interests like the disabled, women or business communities etc. These groups would then have an elected representative.

Lawyer: It is also important that constituency population reflect the principle of equal citizenship. Some people should not be over-represented while others are under-represented.

Scholar: When you consider the ratio of men to women, you will find that it is
women who are under-represented because they are the majority of these populations. A more equal representation means better representation for women.

Less populated districts should not have more representatives than the more populated districts as this amounts to unequal representation.

It is now generally recognised that the constituency profiles are badly skewed and likely to encourage election rigging. Consider that in 1992, the districts of Turkana, Samburu and West Pokot had a total of 170,000 registered voters. Out of this they got a total of eight parliamentary seats. In Nairobi, one constituency had about 160,000 registered voters. To be fair, the Nairobi constituency should have more than one constituency. Indeed, give that the national average of registered voters per constituency was 42,000. If the urban and rural seats were distributed equally, Nairobi should have had 16 parliamentary seats instead of 8 that it had by 1997.

Registration of voters

Besides creating constituencies, the Electoral Commission is also mandated with the duty of registering voters and maintaining the voters register. This general power is exercised subject to the restrictions that are detailed in the national assembly and presidential elections act. In the act it is clear that:

a) No person should be registered as an elector in more than one constituency.

b) No person may be registered more than once in the same register of voters.
If one violates any of the above provisions one commits an offence and may be jailed for a period not exceeding 6 months and or be fined five thousand shillings.

To conclude their discussion, the women highlighted some possible shortcomings in the area of registration.

**Secretary:** The problem with the registration exercise is that if it is timed badly, like during the planting or harvesting seasons, many people fail to register. This case applies to the rural areas.

**Chairperson:** Most of these are women because they are the ones who are usually more involved in such activities. The commission should take account of this factor when deciding when to register voters.

Poor timing of registration exercise denies some people, especially women, the right to vote.
INTRODUCTION

This section of the manual discusses the importance of communication skills and the art of public speaking to women candidates. It also attempts to demonstrate how successful handling of this issue can affect the nature of elections. Finally, it suggests some practical ways of tackling major problems in communication which can form part of a capacity building program for women in public speaking for electoral politics.

When Kenya held its last elections in December 1992, six women were elected into parliament. But other women who had declared their candidature and campaigned for civic and parliamentary seats lost the elections to male candidates. Since then, there has been a lot of discussion about why things turned out this way. Some people believe that the six women candidates won because:

- they were rich and spent a lot of money on the campaign.
- they were supported by big people.
they had brought a lot of development to the areas in which they stood.
• their campaign was well organized.
• they had impressive personalities and were good public speakers.

The above outlined factors may have some merit. But some are more important than others. Good public speaking skills are certainly an important factor for a successful campaign. It is possible to acquire such skills that enable one to manage the election process and to make people elect him or her.

**TALKING POINT**

*Which of the above factors do you think contributed to the women being elected?*

*Does having good public speaking ability help to convince people?*

A workshop to build the communication skills of various candidates was addressed by the convenor, a Civic educator and a lawyer invited as a guest speaker. They talked about various issues of communication and public speaking in political campaigns.

*Civic Educator:* Female candidates need to understand the pattern and see how good organisation and public speaking skills help one to win. Remember that when you are talking to people, you are communicating much more than what comes out in your verbalized message. Communication is a process of exchanging ideas as well as feelings, gestures etc.

*Lawyer:* Yes, the way you stand in front of people will tell them whether you believe in what you are saying or not, or whether you are confident. This is called body language.
Communication skills and the art of public speaking

To help them develop their communication skills, the women group members then requested the scholar and campaign manager to talk to them further on the issue of communications skills and the art of public speaking. Below is an extract of the discussion.

**TALKING POINT**

*What does communication involve?*

*Can you demonstrate what you mean by non-verbal communication?*

**Civic Candidate:** What does communication involve?

**Lawyer:** Communication involves sending information from one person to another and then receiving feedback. Feedback tells the sender whether or not the message has been understood. A simulation exercise is a good example of feedback for a teacher. It tells him/her how much the students have understood.

**Civic Educator:** Yes. Heckling is also a form of feedback in a political rally though it may only be a few people doing it. It shows they are not happy with what they are hearing. Good communication means that a candidate does not respond by shouting back. This communicates the candidate's maturity.

NB: Important communication skills that one needs to master are writing, reading, speaking and listening.

**Civic Educator:** The best way to communicate is to speak face to face. One learns immediately whether the message has gone across and if not it is corrected.

**Lawyer:** When talking face to face, the speaker can see the response of the listener and determine whether message is well received or not. In public speaking, a female candidate needs to cultivate a high command of listening and speaking skills.

**Civic Educator:** And don't forget that actions speak louder than words. A candidate therefore needs to show people that she cares.

In this way, she will be able to identify the needs of her constituents, what she can
do for them and why she wants them to elect her. With good communication skills and public speaking techniques, a female candidate would be able to transform the apparent chaos and confusion that appears to characterise election campaigns into a series of unfolding events that will most definitely determine whether she will win or lose. A candidate should note the barriers to communication for they hinder message delivery. Some are listed below.

**Major barriers to effective communication**

*TALKING POINT*

*What factors can affect message delivery?*

Examples of some of the major barriers to effective communication include:

- defensiveness.
- gender.
- age.
- religion.
- world view.
- values and beliefs.
- prejudices.
- different ways of using and interpreting the non-verbal code
- different ways of constructing messages.
- failure to analyse needs of the audience.
- poor listening and lack of attention to feedback.
- assuming that the receivers know more than they do.
- different cultural backgrounds, too many people to pass the message from sender to receiver.
- poor feedback.
- insensitive or poor choice of language by sender or receiver.
- poor encoding or decoding of a message.
- use of wrong channel of communication.
- wrong emphasis of information so receiver does not know what the most important parts of a message are.
- messages that are too packed to interpret and process.
- messages that are too thin so that listeners become bored.
- different perceptions of situations.
- meanings of messages. (*Fielding 1993:16*)

Analysing the needs of the audience taking time to construct message and using the right channel of communication helps a candidate to take control of the audience. But first a candidate must learn to control her material. Consider the dialogue below about taking control of one's material during a public address.
Taking control of one's material

Civic Educator: Candidates fail to get support, because of their failure to let their audience know what they are talking about and much more importantly, how they will implement what they are proposing.

Lawyer: Many promises are made by politicians about development. Candidates either adopt a positive approach where they promise to deliver all sorts of projects in areas such as education, health, and agriculture, or they adopt a negative approach where they concentrate on destroying their opponents.

Civic Educator: Other candidates identify the wrongs in society and blame all of them on opponents without telling people how these wrongs can be corrected.

Scholar: For instance we all know that the unavailability of funds is responsible for poor roads, but we want to know how funds can be raised. Such information is the material that a candidate uses to convince voters. That material can and should be used positively.

Civic Educator: Yes, after criticising other candidates' plans, a candidate must use her information to provide alternative plans.

The candidate must decide whether she wants to inform, to educate or challenge her audience. She must also decide what the most important examples to give are as well as what she would want to emphasize.

When she takes up the platform, she must ensure that the audience knows during the opening, what she stands for and what they would gain by electing her. This objective can be achieved by arousing the interest of the audience through for instance, a story that they can relate to, preparing them to listen objectively. But before that, there is need to take control of the self.

Taking control of oneself

Civic Candidate: It is difficult to address people. Many questions cross your mind when you stand in front of many people.

Parliamentary Candidate: Yes, questions like will they like me or laugh at me; will they think I
am foolish or a troublemaker? All these will make you nervous.

Civic Candidate: True, you stand in front of people and shake or stammer. You might even forget what you wanted to say! Lawyers address lots of people in a courtroom. Tell us how one can avoid that nervousness?

Lawyer: First of all, know what you want to say. Then plan your speech so that you will move comfortably from one point to the next.

Civic Educator: Another important tip is to rehearse your speech. Rehearsing can be done in the presence of a small company of people who can suggest ways of improving your presentation.

Nervousness and unplanned speeches can ruin public presentation.

Any woman candidate who intends to win support through public speaking should visit neighbours, college students, community activists, schools, religious groups and other listening groups not only for the purpose of discovering the issues that concern them but also to test her lines on them.

Taking control of the audience

TALKING POINT
What are the possible reasons that would make people unwilling to listen to a person?
Why does politics have a bad name?
This is definitely the most challenging task to be faced by a female presenter who is involved in platform politics. We are all familiar with events where female speakers have been subjected to all manner of humiliations, ranging from abusive language to physical harassment, heckling to aggressive and difficult questions. People have also walked out of meetings because they had too little information or too much for them to interpret or process, when in fact they were just indifferent to a female speaker.

The reasons for poor audience control were discussed. Some factors that cause poor audience control were identified.

**Lawyer:** People are so tired of political rallies that do not address issues and instead leaders use them to trade insults eg. so and so is illiterate or has a mistress. People become sceptical about such campaigns.

**Civic Educator:** As a result, people attend political rallies without much hope of gaining anything. Where the candidate is a woman, there is usually a low turn-out due to the negative attitude towards women and political leadership. The absence of other women campaigners tends to make the situation more difficult.

**Lawyer:** An indispensable technique to a female political candidate is to analyse her audience and use the knowledge about their composition and expectations to get them ‘hooked’ to her agenda. An audience is just like a jury in a courtroom.

**Civic Educator:** Considering that a campaign rally may be attended by more youths than old people, what you tell them must be of interest to them. Talking about their future and livelihood and education will keep them listening.

**Civic Candidate:** What if most listeners are women from the village?

**Civic Educator:** Well, an issue like improving primary health care will keep them alert, talking of their empowerment etc. You can think of appropriate issues that will be of interest to your audience.
NB: Never get on the platform to campaign without knowing who is in the audience in terms of age, religion, gender, political affiliation, cultural background and values. It is also important to determine what the audience already knows, what they want to know, what they need to know and what interests them.

The candidate must also know the 'language' of her audience. Not just Kiswahili, English or the first language of the community but also the issues that are of primary concern in a given constituency. A candidate would need to understand what and who frames the debate for her audience. Do they talk about education, health, water or women’s development? Are they for or against women politicians? In order to arouse and keep their interest, the speaker would need to meet them by not only speaking their language but by giving their example and analogies.

The Civic educator elaborated...

**Civic Educator:** The speaker should be aware of personal stories about victims and beneficiaries of her issues and should use these stories to illustrate her point.

**Parliamentary Candidate:** Like the shooting of a local student by police or cases of robbery etc. Some people might say this is politicizing issues but these issues affect people.
Lawyer: A female candidate engaged in platform politics must also use her voice to control her audience. The voice should not be dull and flat. It should vary in volume, pitch and speed so as to keep the audience alive.

Civic Educator: A final technique that the female public presenter in a political campaign must master is how to handle questions.

The process of communication is never really complete until the audience provides feedback. This feedback can be in the form of questions. One must never forget that when people raise questions, they are usually trying to sort themselves out and in a way give the speaker a second chance to make a point or clarify issues. Take advantage of questions to clarify issues and do not get into personal arguments with the audience. Stick to issues of broad concern and most people will back you. Lastly, the audience's attention is kept by using some visual aids like banners and posters on the stage with slogans of the campaign message. To reach a wide audience you have to use the media.

The role of the media

TALKING POINT
What is the power of the media that make it an important tool? What are the limitations of the mass media?

The media is one of the powerful agenda setting institutions. When a female candidate takes to the platform to sell her political agenda through public presentation, she must remember that the media is a means of reaching a larger target audience in the country. She must also remember that the public could easily be swayed by information from the media.

Print and electronic media are important tools of message delivery in a political campaign.
Lawyer: The media plays a big part in forming the opinion of the public. Media coverage is therefore vital in a campaign.

Civic Candidate: How does media influence public opinion?

Lawyer: First of all by covering your campaign or not. When the media does not recognize you, the public will assume you are not important.

Civic Educator: The media can also choose to highlight just the negative things about a candidate ignoring any positive aspects. As a result the public sees only the bad side.

Lawyer: To avoid this, the candidate should establish a good relationship with the media to "sell" her agenda. This makes it relatively easy for a candidate to break news, frame the discourse or debate on her campaign issues and give interviews.

Women candidates should recognise the limitations of the press in the country. Because of government control, television and radio networks are not free to sell the political agendas of some candidates. This limits considerably the extent to which female candidates can reach the masses in this multi-party era. With this factor in mind, it is accurate to state that the print media currently represent a viable alternative for reaching out to the literate voters. However this media has limitations.

The candidates aired their concern about the limitations of the print media.

Parliamentary Candidate: But the print media does not reach many people. What can be done to reach the people that are not reached by the print media?

Civic Educator: One way to reach rural population is to keep close ties with radio broadcasters. Otherwise, use posters or brochures. These have to be in simple, understandable language. There are also many vernacular publications which can be used to reach the rural people.

Lawyer: The negative attitude towards women is another limitation of the print media. Women candidates should network with other women to change the status quo and challenge and educate the press to abandon its negative attitudes towards women politicians which make them slant issues, cite the wrong examples and place wrong emphasis by selecting inappropriate headlines.

Civic Educator: Female candidates should also use third parties to establish contact
and sell their stories through journalists in the rural areas. A good number of journalists have ties with government controlled news agencies and might not want to deal directly with some candidates.

**Lawyer:** Women should use press releases and conferences to get message across on top of organising events which attract the media.

Women candidates should cultivate good relations with the media to enhance positive and adequate coverage.

Journalists should adhere to the principles of a professional approach, which can be summed up in the acronym: **IFIFDAR**. These letters stand for:

- Independence
- Freedom of the Press
- Impartiality
- Fair play
- Decency
- Accuracy
- Responsibility

Journalist should also remember that these principles are especially called for when
they cover the political campaigns of female candidates. But women politicians on the other hand need to understand how things work in the present circumstances in order to utilise the media in their political campaigns. They can then operate within the existing laws without changing the status quo as an immediate strategy, and network with other women and influential personalities to change the status quo in the long term. There are other ways too.

Promoting women in the media to a significant number at the senior levels to make decisions about the stories that are published can make media fairer to women. It is also necessary for women politicians to consider starting their own publications to focus on their issues, present a holistic coverage and make them visible.

Conclusion

In conclusion, some practical ways of building public speaking capacity and skills were suggested. It was suggested that a female candidate can build her public speaking skills in the following ways:

- Utilising social occasions such as funerals, fund-raising meetings, religious meetings and community functions to sell her agenda, establish network, and polish her public speaking skills.

- Attending as many public presentations as possible and reviewing the communication process along the following parameters:
  (a) Choice of issue or subject and how it was presented.
  (b) The examples given and how accurately they reflected the issue.
  (c) The reaction of the audience.
  (d) The structure and manner or presentation.

- Organising and planning private meetings as a basis for knowing the possible composition of the audience and the issues that concern it.

- Listening to others talk during private and public meetings and using the opportunities to sharpen one’s issues and state one’s suitability as a candidate.

- Developing a media campaign strategy in order to win public opinion and reach a larger audience. This strategy which should never be to wait passively for the media to call should include the following:
  (a) Having a clear media goal, do you want to change public opinion or to mobilise people who already support you?
  (b) Reviewing past media coverage of election campaigns by
women candidates and suggesting stories when you approach reporters and editors with ideas.

(c) Identifying the job titles of television news decision makers as well as newspaper and magazine editors.

(d) Targeting reporters on a story by story basis.

(e) Holding news conferences now and then.

(f) Mailing press releases.

(g) Examining polling data and other records to determine how best to construct issues for the public.

(h) Arranging newspaper editorial board meetings focused on your issue.

(i) Meeting with reporters, appearing on talk shows and giving press interviews.

(j) Establishing specific personal contacts and a strong track record with reporters.

(k) Analysing reviews from past media coverage and determining what the headlines and bodies of the articles say and how they can be improved.

(l) Noting quotes from supporters and what is being quoted.

(m) Noting quotes from the opposition and what their strongest arguments are.

(n) Establishing an "ideas think tank" to assist with analysis and interaction with the media.

(o) Knowing what you want the headlines to say.

(p) Including personal stories in deliveries for press coverage.
INTRODUCTION

It is becoming increasingly accepted both nationally and internationally that there is strong linkage between gender relations and sustainable development. Inevitably gender issues are a critical factor in national decision making, policy making and policy reformulation. Women must become more actively involved in national decision making through seeking elective posts into law making bodies because women are the principal casualties of inadequate and irrelevant laws and policies.

The socio-economic conditions in our country, however, do not enable women to seek political office. Election campaigns are too expensive for women, most of whom have no independent finances that can support a political campaign. Neither can they wait, like men, to amass enough wealth to go into politics. They have to find ways to raise funds for their campaign processes. But the fund raising methods identified must be sustainable in the long run. It is time for women to translate their numerical power into real economic and political power.

Fund Raising

Although our society is used to fund-raising, the public must be given good reason to contribute to candidates financially. Women candidates must identify which individuals, organisations and institutions in the society are supportive of the whole process of women empowerment. A person or persons wishing to raise funds must ask these key questions:-

Why? What is the principle objective for which the funds are being raised? One must have a well articulated purpose for the funds drive.

What? What activities and tasks need to be performed to realise my objective. The objective must be broken down and translated into easily identifiable and measurable activities like:

• meetings.
• rallies.
• meet the people tours.
• entertainment.
• media space.
- campaign materials e.g. posters.
- support to campaign team.
- support to society affairs.

Cost? Each of the activities has a financial implication. Determine clearly how much each of these activities may cost. This ensures that your spending is result oriented i.e. you only spend money on those activities that are contributing to your objective.

Candidates must strategically plan fundraising and proper management of funds.

One can only raise funds after assessing oneself and determining how much one needs to raise from other sources. Then, these other sources must be identified, as well as the means. The following are possible sources and techniques of raising funds:

**Individual/Family**

The individual herself and/or her family are the easiest and simplest source of funds. But which individual is likely to have all the necessary funds? One, if not careful, may exhaust all family resources during a campaign.
Donor agencies

This can be disadvantageous in that you cannot control the quantity or timing of the funds so planning becomes very difficult. This method although possible should be discouraged it encourages a dependency syndrome. You cannot become truly free unless you are economically free.

Private companies

Here the candidate must be in a position to demonstrate to these organisations that they stand to benefit from her election to parliament. This requires well articulated policies on investment, employment. A candidate who hopes to raise money using this method must market the party policies! Is the candidate's party, if elected, likely to improve the business environment?

Harambees/funds drives

The open harambee is yet another method of raising funds and especially if done jointly. However problems of management and sharing the realised funds may arise and these may result into conflicts.

NB: All the above methods are short term in nature and they are not tenable in the long run. Friends, colleagues, organisations, donors etc. also have limited funds and
are likely to grow tired and bored with giving. Women need to explore more sustainable methods of raising funds. Going alone won't help eventually. Joint fund raising could prove to be the most tenable of fund raising technique. But how can this be done?

**Joint social events**

(a) **Dinners/Luncheons**: Guests could be invited at a fee and the money raised could be used for campaigns. This is possible as a joint event.

(b) **Sales**: Jointly women could donate items and organise a sale.

(c) **Raffles/Rotaries**: Gift items could be solicited from willing donors and companies and used as raffle items with the raffle ticket being sold for a few shillings.

(d) **Walks**: Walks have been used successfully by many organisations e.g. the freedom from hunger walk. Women could explore further this method.

(e) **National women's day**: Women could select a day on which they could give services to organisations for a fee, e.g. cleaning up service.

(f) **Talks/Seminars**: Experts in various fields can be asked to give talks and participants charged some fee.

Other methods of raising funds were suggested when the treasurer and a committee member of Mipango women group invited a scholar and campaign manager to suggest to them ways of raising funds. The reason why women groups present a woman candidate with a better opportunity to raise funds was noted. Below is an extract of the discussion:

**Scholar**: There is a strong power base for women candidates in the large numbers of women voters and organisations. With all the women's groups that operate in the country, a woman has better chances of raising funds.

**Committee Member**: How does this favour women candidates?

**Scholar**: We have already talked about networking between women's groups. With coordination, it is easier to organise raffles, sales and walks. And besides women are the majority.

**Treasurer**: That is true. Already our group has raised lots of money through raffles and "merry go round" contributions.

**Creation of a National Fund for women candidates**

**TALKING POINT**

*What possible fundraising activities can you think of?*

*What issues should be considered before forming the fund?*
As a long term plan of building financial base for women candidates, the creation of a national fund for women candidates has been mooted. This fund would be independently managed by a Board of Trustees with full mandate to oversee the soliciting, receiving and distributing of any funds raised.

A clear role for partners to be involved in this fund should be well defined i.e.

- The role of Trustees.
- The role of the candidates.
- The role of the electorate.
- Role of organisations committed to women's empowerment.

Each of these organisations would have a particular role to play. There would be a need for innovators or prime movers, organisers, contributors, custodians etc.

**Suggested approaches to forming the fund**

**Initiative**

Women leaders should take initiative in developing this fund. Women group leaders could form a steering committee to establish the fund. The Fund must be national and non-partisan and open to all the women of Kenya regardless of their race, colour, tribe or party affiliation. This fund then would be the kitty where any willing supporter would put their money. Few organisations are willing to give money to individuals. Major issues concerning the running of the fund are mentioned below.

**Management**

A board of trustees would manage this fund. This board would represent various interest groups like donors, grassroots organisations, government, churches, women organisations, professionals etc. They will decide:

1. Who is to benefit from the fund.
2. How the funds would be distributed.
3. The rights and obligations of the various interest groups.
4. Conflict resolution.
5. Funds soliciting.

The Board of Trustee could then constitute various committees to oversee the management activities that would ensure the survival of the fund. These are:

- Fund raising committee.
Publicity committee.
Civic education committee etc.

Initial contributions

Assuming that of the stated Kenyan population, 50% is women and that out of this 50% only 10% contributed, we would have 1.2 million Kenyan women. If each gives only one shilling to the fund, that would make it 1.2 million shillings.

Other possible sources are mentioned in an extract of the discussion.

Scholar:  This initial contribution could be followed by country wide funds drive involving all willing supporters - companies, donors, individuals, organisations etc.

Treasurer: Women groups from every part of the country could send their contributions, raised from selling handicraft, pottery and even farm produce.

Committee Member: Professional womens' clubs could also contribute some money and send it with suggestions on how to manage it as a trust fund. Besides money they could pledge their management skills to the fund.

Campaign manager: A committee could be formed comprising of different parties to oversee the running of the fund.

The relevant committee could then over time explore other ways of continuously raising funds to build the national fund. Suggested examples could be, jambo sales, walks, diners etc.

National involvement

The involvement of women must be the key to organisation through organisations and elected leaders. The movement would continue through the administrative hierarchy up to the national level. In other words the fund would have branches from the locational level up to the national level.

Principles to guide the fund

- National representation.
- Transparency/accountability
- Full disclosure
Important issues as regards fund raising

**TALKING POINT**

What are the activities that need funding most?

How can the need for funds be minimized?

The need to raise fund is to some extent determined by the attitudes of the various groups interested in the electoral process.

- The electorate, who may feel that by electing a candidate, they are giving her a ticket to prosperity and therefore may place a financial or other premium on their vote. They may want to be “bought”
- Those wealthy and well connected candidates who are willing and able to "buy" the electorate and who may have nothing else better to offer.
- The political parties who make the posts so competitive by sponsoring and allowing the participation by too many candidates. When this happens a premium is again placed on the vote and candidates may do all the manner of engaging in expensive trade-offs!

Don't the electorate have a responsibility to willingly and enthusiastically support their candidate without taking them through an expensive electioneering campaign? The candidates need to inform the electorate that they wish to be elected, they need to convince them that they are the best candidate but this need not be exploited for financial gain by some.

The question was asked as to how the need for funds could be reduced. The campaign manager suggested a way of reducing the need for funds:

**Campaign manager:** Candidates could reduce the need for funds by carrying out informal campaigns, meeting people and keeping in touch with the electorate at functions. This makes sure that the electorate know their candidate.

**Committee Member:** Civic education carried over long periods of time can help reduce the need for campaign funds. Bodies concerned with women's empowerment can help here to make people understand that if they support their candidates without demanding bribes, then they can expect better representation and less corruption in government affairs.
These bodies could intensify civic education with programmes that encourage and motivate society, especially women, to translate their numerical strength into real political power by electing their fellow women into decision making positions. They must be educated to understand the power in a VOTE.

This will help to reduce last minute campaigns that require a lot of funds. People will not wait until the last minute to participate in politics or sensitize the public.

Also by encouraging participation in daily community tasks, like management of water, forestry and earth resources and educational seminars etc., they therefore need to influence decisions on a daily basis.

We also need to challenge the society to value the role of women in development. Women education helps their power to make decision. So does giving them cultural rights to own property. This will build the capacity of our women.

Women should translate their numerical power to political power.

Women need access to qualifications that will enable them to get well paying jobs. Otherwise, the need to fund raise will remain much higher than for their male colleagues unless these imbalances are corrected. Women's education should be emphasized, by taking more girls to school and encouraging them to stay.

Our natural roles and responsibilities need re-thinking to make them more consistent.
with modern global thinking. Gender Equity in all Spheres of Life. Being at the grassroot of management, more knowledge for women means improved resource management abilities. Resource management is discussed below.

**Resource management**

**TALKING POINT**

What resources do you manage regularly?

What do you think good resource management involves?

**Campaign manager**: A resource is anything that can be exploited to one’s advantage. Resources could be both tangible and intangible.

**Chairperson**: At the village level we have many resources. Soil is a resource, water is another. And those of us who make handicraft know that skill is also a resource.

**Scholar**: That is true. Skill is a resource. But even unskilled labour is a resource just like time and money. Resource management means using resources to accomplish goals.

Every human activity has a purpose or objective. To achieve these objectives resources must be managed *efficiently* and *effectively*. Effective management means that resources must be managed with minimum waste.

People, time and funds are the most important resources in campaign management.

Effectiveness means resources must be used for the purpose they were sought
Management simply means getting work done using human and non-human resource. It involves planning, organising, directing and controlling resources. The guiding principle in resources management is to have well defined objectives. What is it you have set out to achieve?

The discussion centered on planning and organising.

Campaign manager: The activity of planning entails mapping out a course of action in advance i.e. choosing the direction you want to take even before you make the first step. Saying clearly what you want to achieve within what period.

Scholar: Organising means arranging resources in a logical and appropriate fashion. Ask questions like

- What activities are to be undertaken?
- Who is to undertake them?
- When are they to be undertaken?

Campaign manager: Finally, directing is motivating and influencing the human resource so that they can willingly and enthusiastically support your course. Controlling means establishing performance standards that will tell you how well or badly you are doing. In money issues, a budget is vital.

NB:A budget is by far the most reliable measurable performance standard. Other not quantifiable standards like popularity can also be judged from people's behaviour.

Scholar: A campaign team has different people playing different roles. These need coordination for maximum benefit. Members of the team also need to be trained for better management of resources at their disposal.

Campaign manager: First of all the resources to manage in a campaign are people, money and time. Questions like how much money you want to use for a task, who is to perform the task and how much time there is to perform the task will be asked.

The first strategy therefore in resource management is the selection of a good campaign team. A team of men and women who are good at interpersonal relationships. The issue of women as resource managers was discussed.
Women as resource managers

We have already seen that the position of women as mothers and wives makes them natural resource managers by carrying out these tasks:

- Manage soil and land as they engage in food production for their families.
- Manage Water resources as they try to maintain the health of their families.
- Manage money - usually women have a limited kitchen budget.
- Manage time - as they try to balance the demands of their jobs and those of their families.
- Manage human resources - as the wives and mothers of men and children.

In managing campaign resources, women candidates and supporters must rely on their experience as natural resource managers. Women are after all experts at achieving a lot with very little resources. So in management of campaign resources, women candidates need only apply principles which they know very well and use everyday i.e.

- Limited resources chasing unlimited needs and wants.
- Making choices - balancing demands and meeting the most critical of the demands at the time.
- Sacrifice - without pain there may be no gain!
- Maximum productivity - ensuring that each unit of resources is stretched to the limit with minimum waste.
- Sharing - scratch my back, I scratch yours - meaning that in resources management you will need others' co-operation.
- Delegation

Co-operation solves problems faster than individual efforts.
After listing the principles that women need to apply in managing, some resources are identified below.

**Identifying the resources**

_TALKING POINT_

*Can the resources already mentioned be classified? If so, into what types?*

We have established that money is not the only resource that needs to be managed. Below are other resources, human and non-human, that can help:

i) **Family**

Your family, spouse, children and relatives are a very resourceful team. They need to accept your ideas and to support you. How does one balance the demands of the family and those of a campaign process? The principle of delegation comes in handy. Some family responsibilities must be delegated either to a relative or to a house-help. The family also forms the most reliable support/security team. Involving family members in meetings, tours, rallies etc. is a strategic move.

![](image)

*The family is also an important campaign resource.*

ii) **Social structures**

The society has several institutions like the church, social organisations like football clubs, women organisations etc. that can be exploited.
Member: How can you use these organisations to advance your objectives?
Campaign manager: Involvement in their affairs is one way. Because of individual limitations you may find that you need to delegate liaising with those groups to a reliable member of your campaign team.

iii) Opinion leaders

Opinion leaders in your constituency are a human resource. These are influential people who can easily sway the opinion of others. Targeting opinion leaders and convincing them may bring more votes than if you embarked on a meet-the-people process. Once you have won the leader you automatically win the leaders group. So identification of the critical few is very important. More time and effort must be allocated to the critical few.

iv) The trouble shooters

In any situation there will always be those few who are always critical, planting seeds of doubt in everybody and always pointing out the negatives. This group must be identified and silenced or tactfully left out of the campaign. These are a critical few who must also be dealt with.

v) Provincial administration

The goodwill of the Government through its administrative arm is another resource or critical success factor for campaigning. The administration gives the necessary licences and provides the much needed freedom of expression, of movement and of
association. One won't get very far without this goodwill. Cultivating a good working relationship with the administration is really important. The candidate must know how to carry themselves in order to reduce and/or eliminate occurrences of conflict.

vi) Information Resource

Information is power. A candidate needs as much information as possible. Information on activities of competitors, the reactions of the electorate and administration must all be brought home and included in your planning. The candidate will need:

- environmental monitors
- information processors
- information disseminators

The candidate must have her ears to the ground but individual limitations cannot allow her to be everything all the time. Careful planning and delegation of duties based on people's areas of strength is extremely important.

vii) Human resources

No candidate can succeed on her own. To gather information and disseminate it, a candidate needs other people. A team of people who are fully committed to the candidate's cause.

The candidate must be people-oriented, appreciate and recognise that others have all the human feelings and weaknesses. The candidate must be able to bring the best out of people by ensuring that the right people are doing the right jobs, maintaining constant contact with people throughout the campaign process and practising participatory management. A candidate should concentrate individual efforts on her areas of competence and let others handle some tasks that they are able to. This short exchange notes the reason for this.

Campaign manager: A candidate may have lots of money, very good support equipment like transport, public address, etc. but without a committed team of men and women, all these will remain unproductive.

Chairperson: Some people say that all you need is to pay people well to achieve good results. Is that true?

Scholar: No. There are other factors that are more critical than money in motivating people, like: Respect, Recognition, Appreciation, Gratitude, Empathy and Independence.

viii) Financial resources

Money is an important resource. All activities can be seen in monetary terms. The
Money is an important resource. Most of the activities in a campaign have monetary implications. Therefore, sound financial management is crucial.

Of importance in financial management is identification of the critical activities. Allocation of funds must be on some principle - contribution to the objective. Those activities that contribute more to your objective must be given priority. This will ensure that funds are not wasted on trivia. The second principle in financial management is that of timing when to spend. You must identify which period of the campaign is most critical to your success;

- Is it at the beginning, information or awareness stage.
- Is it in the middle - understanding or persuasion stage.
- Is it at the end or conviction stage?

When do you need to intensify your campaign? Once this has been determined, then the issue of how much to spend must be dealt with. This is determined by how much you have. Careful planning must then be employed in apportioning the fund to various activities. Lastly, some checks and balances must be put in place.

ix) Time Resource

Even if you have lots of time you still have to manage it. You have to determine what to do at what time.

- Do you have a clear understanding of how you currently spend your time?
- Do you assess and set priorities for yourselves?
- Do you know how to say no to others and their demands in order to give yourself "free time"?

That is why schools have timetables and campaign functions have schedules. These
help people to be at the right place at the right time. When people waste your time by making you wait, you should complain. Don't be a time abuser. So much time is lost while waiting.

Other time offenders include:

a) The procrastinator (one who delays tasks without good reason.)

'Until tomorrow' is their catchword. Putting off the doing of something intentionally and habitually. Activities are shelved until a more convenient time but they only pile and become unmanageable. If you suspect that you are prone to procrastination, always ask yourself, “Why am I putting this off”? If you cannot see any good reasons and do not confuse reasons with excuses then be ready to take action there.
and then. Never leave until tomorrow that which you can accomplish today.

b) **The indecisive person**
- This type of time abuser lacks confidence.
- One is afraid to make decisions and is always waiting for others to explain, clarify or initiate.

c) **Poor delegation (giving people tasks they cannot perform.)**

One person cannot be all-knowing. Duties that others can do more effectively should be passed on to them.

Delegating work enables one to be an overseer and detect when things are not going well. The campaign manager and the scholar emphasized the need for good delegation and time management.

**Campaign manager:** Remember that good delegation involves efficient use of human and time resources. When you give a task to the right people, they do it quickly and move on to other tasks.

**Scholar:** To improve on time management, each action must be planned carefully. The following points will help you plan.

- **Set targets (goals):** Let each activity be directed at the accomplishment of clearly stated objectives - be result oriented.
- **Set priorities:** According to importance and not urgency. The urgent things are not necessarily the most important.
- **Equitable distribution:** The amount of the time and effort to be spent on a given activity must be a reflection of its importance to the accomplishment of your objectives.
- **Time log:** Never depend on memory. Keep a time log, divide your day into intervals and state clearly how you will spend each interval. Record each activity you undertake as the day progresses including interruptions and distractions and their sources and reason. If you are in a rally and you find you cannot give your speech because people keep coming to greet you, then perhaps greeting people is an important activity that needs to be allocated time.
- **Delegation:** Identify those activities others can do for you and let them do it.
Saying No: Learn to say no to others without hurting them. Give reasons for your no and sometimes just ignore some problems. You cannot solve all problems by yourself.

Set deadline: Never give yourself unlimited time - but give yourself and others a deadline for each activity.

Ask for reports/feedback: Practise the art of making reports and asking others to give you feedback on activities delegated to them.

Practise the art of active listening: Listening with understanding reduces time wasted on explanations, corrections and clarifications. When talking either to your team or your electorate, listen for the total meaning of their messages.

Communication: Keep communication lines between yourself and others open. Lack of communication will isolate you from the people and consequently from your objectives and much more time will be needed for refocusing.

Create time:

a) Identify your prime time and spend it on creative thinking.
b) Remove mental blocks to creative thinking; • Lack of facts, • Lack of conviction, • Lack of perspective, • Lack of motivation.

Bonus time: Although we cannot borrow time to add to the 24 hours we can use idle time more constructively i.e. during:

• holidays
• business trips
• Sunday mornings
• waiting in places
• lunch times
• breakfast meetings
• walking/exercise

NB: Time management is basically self-management.
SPECIAL NEEDS FOR A PRESIDENTIAL WOMAN CANDIDATE

TALKING POINT
Why do you think a woman presidential candidate needs special assistance?
What special hurdles does a woman presidential candidate face differently from those of other candidates?
What are the differences between a presidential and parliamentary campaign?

Given the size, centrality, competitiveness and complexity of the presidency, as well as the magnitude of the tasks and the level of preparedness required, any aspirant for this political office must have greater and broader human and material capacity and support base, than all other candidates. In addition, for a woman presidential candidate, there is also need to build her skills capacity on certain areas that are likely to have gender specific implications.

Some of the special needs of a presidential candidate emerged from the discussion at a meeting organised by the Mipango women group members where a gender expert (a scholar) and the campaign manager of a presidential candidate were invited. The scholar opened the discussion:

Scholar: A woman presidential candidate has special needs. For instance when packaging campaign issues, she must remember that her constituency is the whole country.

Beyond the local constituency, a presidential candidate has the whole country as her constituency.
Campaign manager: She needs information from all parts of the country on different issues. Therefore she needs a competent research team to get this information and then prioritize issues.

Scholar: She must also remember that there are issues that affect everybody like health, Education, security and livelihood.

Chairperson: Aren't there areas where people need one issue addressed more than other issues?

Campaign manager: Yes, there are. That is where the experience of the local people comes in. Improving their life might mean improving their security rather than their health.

Secretary: Are there other factors that need special attention for the woman presidential candidate?

Scholar: Yes. Given the diversity of her constituency both geographically and culturally, she has to communicate her concerns to all the electorate.

Campaign manager: First there is the image she must portray. Not many women are seen as nationalists—this has been a reserve for men, yet to win the presidency, a woman needs that image, even more than a man.

Socio-cultural attitudes in Kenya do not help to promote a woman's image if she is running for a high-profile political office. There is dire need for the woman presidential candidate to work towards creating a positive public image. Therefore she must communicate her agenda to all and she has to be known by as many people as possible. This implies that she has to tour the country and meet as many people as possible. This responsibility carries a heavy financial burden.
Finance
Given the poor state of roads in our country, meeting people in all parts of the country is an uphill task for one without a stable financial base. Therefore, a presidential candidate, for example, needs several four-wheel drive vehicles to enable her to visit all parts of the country and a very strong and competent campaign team.

A woman presidential candidate needs a strong team of advisors on various issues.

Other issues that require special attention for a presidential candidate include: Physical grooming for a good public image. Ways of developing and maintaining this image are seen as developing a good public relations department.

The campaign manager elaborated:

Campaign manager: A good public image is vital. To elevate a woman presidential candidate to the level of male candidates needs a well planned and executed media campaign.

Scholar: A presidential candidate will need a press centre to convey accurate information to the public through the press. This can be managed by a press secretary, a spokesperson who will also issue press releases, give press conferences and organize interviews for the candidate.

Campaign manager: The culture of violence prevailing in the country's politics gives necessity to a reliable security team for the presidential candidate.

Chairperson: I agree, some people in conservative areas cannot accept the idea of a woman leader and they are not ready to debate reasonably and instead resort to violence and rejection of her candidature.
The multi-ethnic nature of our country compounds the problems of a woman presidential candidate. She may therefore be seen as only representing her tribeswomen. Not knowing her, people might not give her a chance to introduce herself and her national vision and agenda.

Already mentioned is the fact that insecurity and violence in politics have more profound effect on women candidates and voters. Militant supporters of some parties disrupt rallies of opponents and even beat up candidates and their supporters. A reliable security team will help alleviate this. This also requires funds.

Another area of special interest to a woman presidential candidate emerged as the counselling of the candidate's family.

**Special counselling**

There is need for special counselling for the woman presidential candidate's family members to accept and internalize the idea of being relatives of a woman seeking the highest political office in the land. The spouse and other members of the candidate's family must be made supportive of the candidate and enabled to cope with the negative impacts of a highly contested and genderised political campaign.

It needs to be emphasized that the support of the woman candidate must start at home from her family. The nature of the commitment that a campaign for the presidency requires and later the job, if she is successful, makes it necessary to counsel her family to cope with the loss, pain, humiliation and harassment that may be involved.

The discussion then moved towards emphasis on the need for counselling of the presidential candidate's family, with the campaign manager pointing out the high demands of a presidential campaign.

**Campaign manager:** Think of how demanding a campaign is. The children of a woman candidate are likely to miss their mother a lot while she is busy meeting the people in the country.

**Scholar:** And remember also that politics brings a lot of unpleasant events and upheavals. Like threats from political opponents and their supporters.

**Committee Member:** And kidnaps too. I remember that some candidates or their agents were kidnapped before they could return their nomination papers in
THE ROLE OF WOMEN NGOs

"As women lead, they are changing leadership, as they organise, they are changing organisations and they will work together to create a networking system in society that excels. Women have fresh and imaginative skills of dialogue and are setting a more open flexible and compassionate style of leadership."

Although skills training for women candidates is the most crucial form of support that NGOs can give to women candidates, it is clearly not enough; nor is it the only form of support possible. Other forms of support however are to a large extent hinged upon the ability of women NGOs to engage in co-ordinated and united action. The failure to form a united front has been the weakest link in the Kenya women’s movement in the search for political empowerment of women. In the absence of the ideal united women’s movement, those individuals and like-minded organisations or groups who have the necessary will and capacity, can engage in projects and activities that can further assist in building the capacity of women candidates.

Some of the possible capacity building projects, beyond skills training emerged from the discussion at a seminar between civic and parliamentary candidates of various parties, a civic educator and heads of women empowerment NGOs. The meeting was chaired by a scholar (from an NGO). The scholar asked the candidates what NGOs could do to help them seek political offices more effectively. Below is an extract of some of their discussions:

**Scholar:** Much has been said and done by NGOs. But what do you as candidates need beyond what has already been done?

**Parliamentary candidate:** I think women candidates need many forums to exchange ideas. Formation of a political Caucus would facilitate this and hence be very helpful to us candidates.

**Civic Educator:** I agree with you. A political Caucus is a good idea. Such a Caucus should be composed of all like-minded non-governmental organisations interested in empowering women. The facilitation can be done by one organisation.

**Civic Candidate:** Organisations can send representatives to the Caucus. But can the Caucus really be used to popularise women candidates or strengthen
all women groups and their activities?

**Scholar:** Yes, the Caucus can help popularize women candidates. But it will mainly serve to strengthen networking among women organisations, so that they can better support women candidates.

**Parliamentary candidate:** It would seem then, that networking among the many women NGOs that have come up is essential for our success in winning electoral political office.

At the end of this session, the scholar summarised the discussion that had taken place as follows:

1) A political Caucus - Can be formed by like-minded women's organisations interested in candidates' capacity building and civic education, with a view to using it as a lobbying instrument and for popularizing women candidates.

2) Networking and Co-ordination

Networking is necessitated by the fact that many women NGOs have come up since 1992. Materials which are used by different NGOs have not been shared openly. The lack of co-ordination has led to a wastage of limited financial resources and duplication of effort. It is important to establish strong solidarity and communication linkage among these organisations to share and consolidate all materials used in civic education programmes, share methodologies used by different organisations, share curriculum for training women candidates and identify crucial issues which need urgent attention.

*Networking among women empowerment NGOs is essential in strengthening capacity for women candidates.*
Having summarised the preceding discussion, the scholar asked participants for more proposals:

Scholar: Regarding improving of networking and forming a political Caucus, what specifically can be done?

Civic Educator: I would like to suggest that a Newsletter be started by women empowerment NGOs.

Scholar: That is a good idea. The NGOs can then share news and information. That will strengthen networking.

Civic Candidate: It would also be important to establish a Hotline for women candidates.

Parliamentary Candidate: Yes, a hotline will help us to link with the media, the Electoral Commission, Women groups and NGOs especially during the electoral period.

Scholar: In fact women may want to consider setting up a Political Information Centre (PIC). The Newsletter and Hotline could be located at the Political Information Centre.

Civic Candidate: And since we also need information when campaigning, the Political Information Centre could serve as a Data Bank on electoral politics.

Scholar: NGOs should help candidates by undertaking research on their behalf and such research findings be made available at the PIC.

Civic Candidate: Yes, it is important to know what issues are relevant in constituencies where we are seeking election.

A newsletter will help in the networking between women empowerment NGOs.
A hotline will link women candidates, gender activists, media and the Electoral Commission.

The discussion continued. The scholar listened attentively and at the end of the session she had added to her list more suggestions by the candidates, with some notes about each suggestion. They are as follows:

3) Research

It is crucial that a situation analysis be carried out in all constituencies where women candidates will vie for elective positions in 1997 with a view to establishing real campaign issues and targets, and advise women candidates accordingly. Survey research also needs to be undertaken to determine how many women candidates, where, for what political seats and in what political parties they will stand, for the elections. Such basic information is useful in setting up a data bank for women candidates and also assist candidates in developing a campaign strategy, as well as resource mobilization and management.

4) Lobbying

Women should lobby for positive changes in Laws, policies and social structures that hinder their participation in politics. For example, women's groups need to
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