

# Women in Politics: Community, family and political parties to blame for the low numbers

7<sup>th</sup> March 2022

#WomenInPoliticsKE  
#BreakTheBias



**The context – status of women in political leadership in Kenya**

**Future outlook - Possibility of women holding selected leadership positions in future**

**Kenya's deputy president: Do Kenyans feel that women stand a chance?**

**Personal intention to vie for county elective seats in the next ten years**

**What holds women back - barriers to women vying/winning elective seats**

**Voter registration and intention to vote**



# The context – status of women in political leadership in Kenya



# Introduction: the legislative framework



- ❑ Women's empowerment supports affirmative policies that would increase the number of women in political leadership positions. The 2010 Kenyan Constitution guarantees women representation in politics as Article 27 (8) of the Kenyan Constitution "requires that the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies are of the same gender."
- ❑ Although the Constitution has set out the requirement for the two-thirds gender rule, mechanisms to achieve this provision are not specified. Instead, the Constitution required that parliament to enact the necessary legislation, but numerous attempts to pass such legislation have failed.

Despite efforts to increase the involvement of women in political leadership. It is still dominated by men.

# Under representation of women in political leadership

## National and county assemblies

☐ Only 7% and 9% of women were elected as Senators and Members of the National Assembly (MNA).

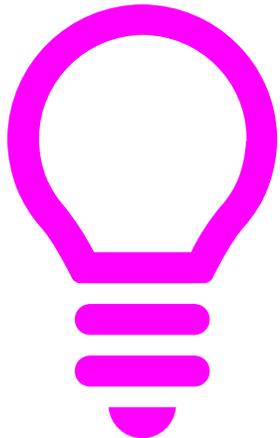
## Cabinet Secretaries

☐ In 2018, the government appointed 6 women to the 22 cabinet secretaries, less than one-third of the available positions.

	Elected		Total (elected)	Nominated		Total (elected + nominated)	% of women (elected + nominated)
	Men	Women		Men	Women		
President	1	0	0%	-	-	1	0%
Deputy President	1	0	0%	-	-	1	0%
Senator	44	3	7%	2	18	67	31%
MNA	267	23	9%	7	5	302	9%
WMNA	-	47	-	-	-	47	100%
Governor	44	3	7%	-	-	47	6%
Deputy Governor	40	7	18%	-	-	47	15%
MCA	1,334	96	7%	97	650	2,177	34%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,731</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>673</b>	<b>2,689</b>	<b>32%</b>

MNA= member of national assembly; WMNA=women member of national assembly  
 Source: A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya General Elections - by NDI & FIDA Kenya

The study sought to establish the following;



- Main barriers to women pursuing for elective county seats
- The perceived likelihood of women holding leadership positions in the ten years (Deputy president, speaker of the senate, speaker of the national assembly, head of the army and president)
- Whether women are seen to stand a chance to be Kenya's deputy president
- The ability/skills that women and men have to undertake particular roles in political leadership (representing the poor, budget managements, etc)
- Voter registration and intention to vote



# Summary Findings



# Summary findings



## In the past

- There few women who were elected in 2017.

## In future

- Fewer proportion of women (ac compared to males) have an ambition to run for an elective office in future.

## Barriers to women vying

- Community, family and lack of political party support to blame for few women in politics

### Elected Leaders - 2017

	Elected	
	Men	Women
President	1	0
Deputy President	1	0
Senator	44	3
MNA	267	23
WMNA	-	47
Governor	44	3
Deputy Governor	40	7
MCA	1,334	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,731</b>	<b>179</b>

### % intention to run for an elective seat - next 10 years

	Total	Male	Female
Governor	12%	13%	10%
Senator	12%	13%	11%
MP	16%	20%	13%
MCA	31%	36%	25%
Women Rep	-	-	25%

### Barriers to women vying for political seats

- 50% lack of support from their community\*
- 39% lack of finances
- 34% women lack confidence
- 34% home/family responsibilities\*
- 34% lack of political party support\*



Barriers by total sample mentions

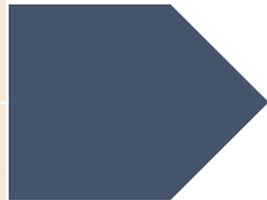
\* Barriers facing more women than men

# Summary findings



- ❑ Women are considered to be better at representing the poor and resisting corruption. Notably, men and women are considered to have equal abilities in financial management.
- ❑ Kenyans see a strong possibility of a woman becoming deputy president or speaker of the national assembly or senate.

Leadership abilities/traits of women & men	
Leadership trait	Which gender performs better in the national survey
Representing the poor	Women better than men 
Managing budgets & expenditure	Women & men are at par 
Resisting corruption	Women better than men 



**Positions women could hold in the next 10 years**

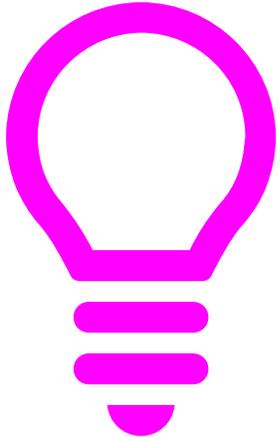
- ❑ **78%** Deputy president
- ❑ **77%** Speaker – parliament
- ❑ **76%** Speaker – senate
- ❑ **49%** Head of the army
- ❑ **48%** President

**Ideal running mate – William Ruto** 

- ❑ **27%** Musalia Mudavadi
- ❑ **15%** Anne Waiguru
- ❑ **11%** Rigathi Gachagua
- ❑ **8%** Kalonzo Musyoka

**Ideal running mate – Raila Odinga** 

- ❑ **41%** Peter Kenneth
- ❑ **18%** Kalonzo Musyoka
- ❑ **13%** Martha Karua
- ❑ **5%** Charity Ngilu



- ❑ The barriers to women running for elective seats are lack of community, family and lack of political party support.
- ❑ Kenyans recognize that the qualifications and attributes of leadership are not unique to men, but are common to both men and women.
- ❑ Kenyans are optimistic about the prospects of a woman holding the position of deputy president or speaker.



## Detailed findings

**The context – status of women in political leadership in Kenya**



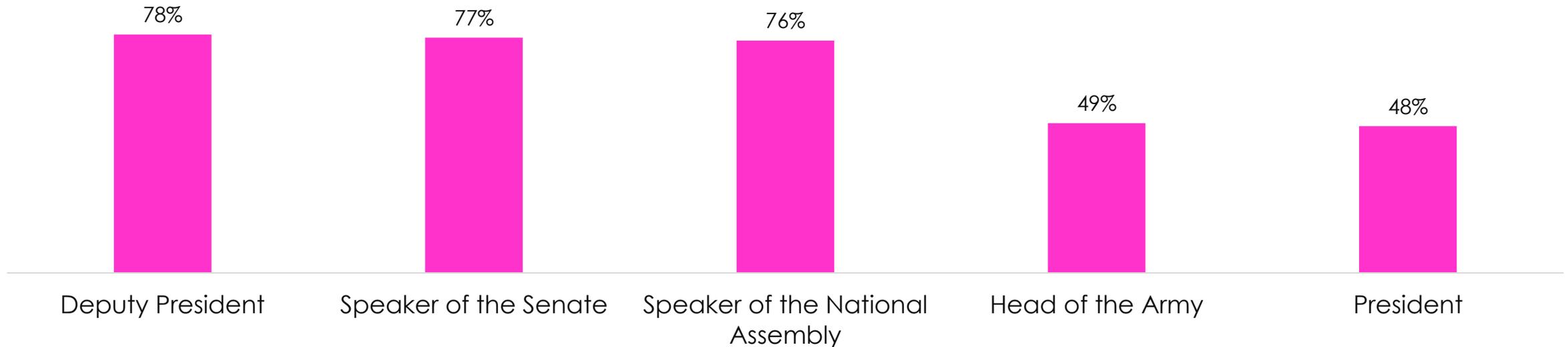
## Future outlook - Possibility of women holding selected leadership positions in future

# Possibility of women holding selected leadership positions in future

## by total

- ❑ To gauge Kenyans' perceptions regarding possible shifts in public attitudes to women's leadership in the future, respondents were given a list of leadership roles and asked how likely they thought it was that each would be held by a woman within the next 10 years.
- ❑ The top three leadership positions that are likely to be held by women within the next ten years are; Deputy President, Speaker of the Senate and Speaker of the National Assembly.
- ❑ Having a woman as Head of the Army and President was considered extremely unlikely by almost half the respondents.

**% of mentions of women likely to be in leadership positions in the next 10 years - by total sample**

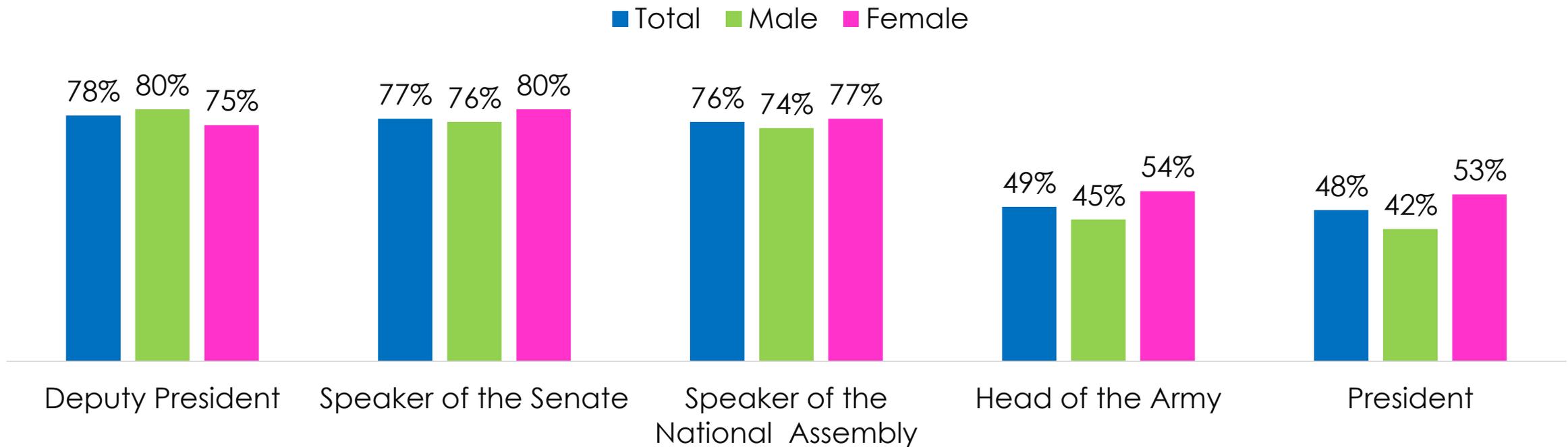


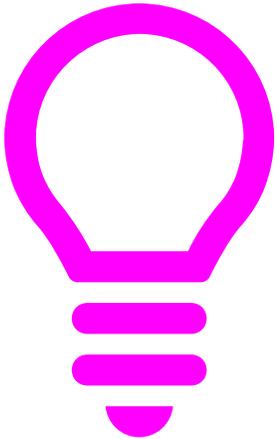
# Possibility of women holding selected leadership positions in future

## by total & gender

- There are higher mentions from male respondents on the possibility of a woman becoming the deputy president.
- Respondents' views about the prospects for a female President were lukewarm, with fewer males (42%) than females (53%) indicating that a woman can be in this role.
- Having a woman as Head of the Army was considered extremely unlikely by over half the respondents (49%).

**% of mentions of women likely to be in leadership positions in the next 10 years – by gender**





- ❑ The survey shows that there is consensus amongst Kenyans (both genders) of the possibility of a woman becoming the deputy president, the speaker of the senate and national assemblies.
- ❑ Although the highest agreement is in a female deputy president, it should be noted that since 2010, none of the prominent presidential candidates have had a female running mate.
- ❑ For the presidency, three prominent women have run for Presidency i.e. Wangari Mathai (1997) Charity Ngilu (1997), Martha Karua (2013) but were unsuccessful. This could be the reason why less than half of Kenyans consider a possibility of a woman leading the country.

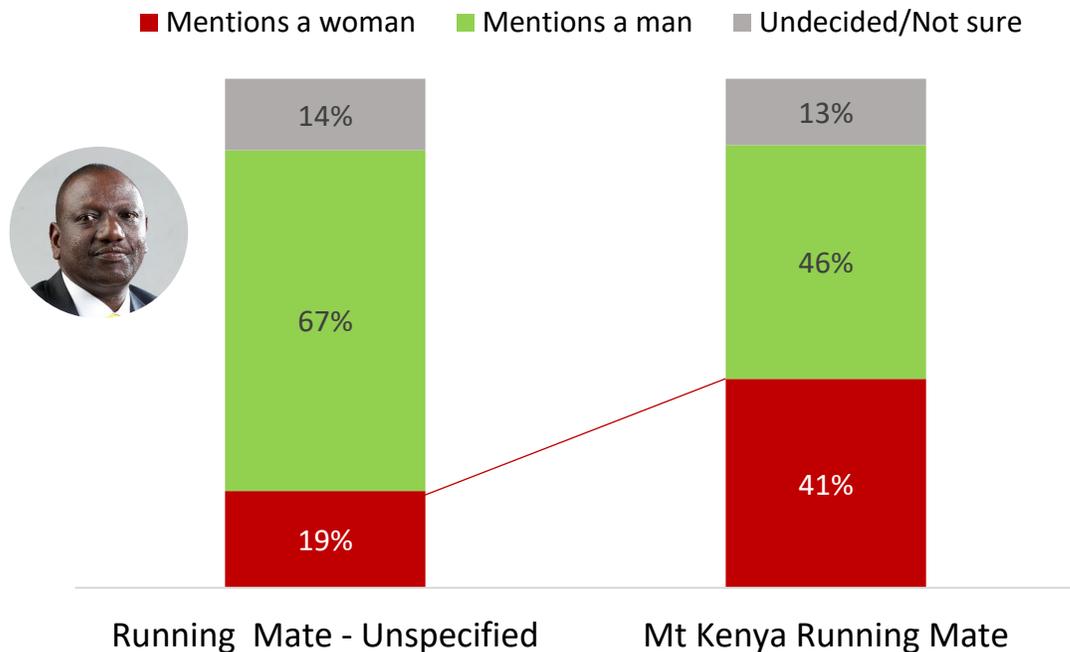


**Kenya's deputy president: Do Kenyans feel that women stand a chance?**

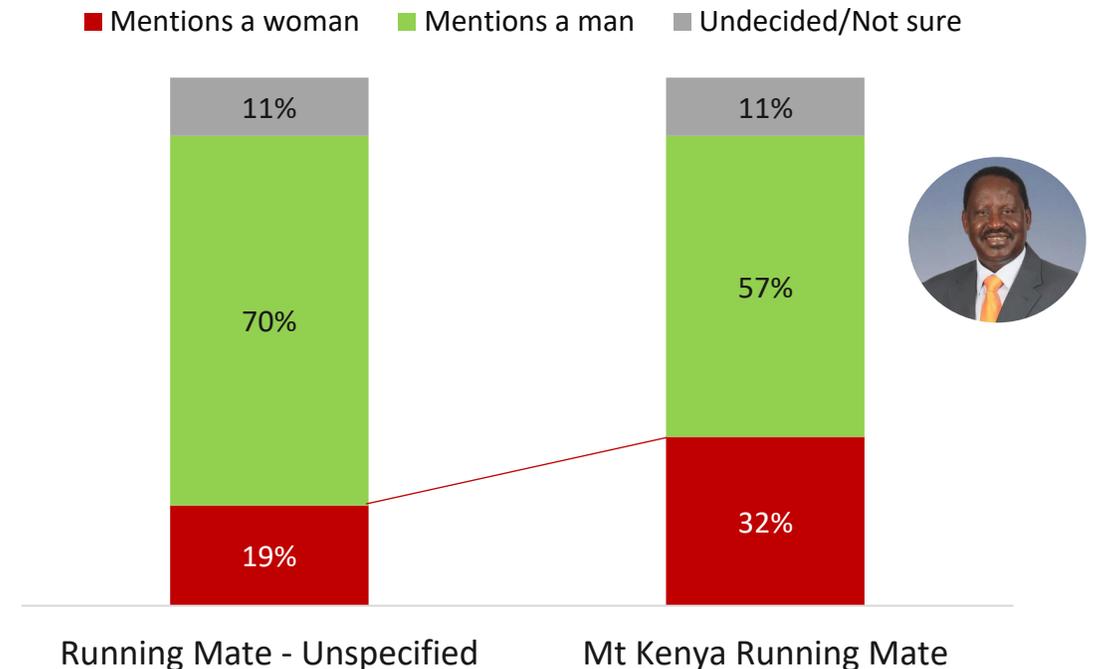
# Potential running mates: mentions of women *by total*

- ❑ An analysis has been done on the mentions potential running mates (no criteria) and a Mt Kenya running mate for William Ruto and Raila Odinga. When respondents are asked who is the running mate who can be the most votes (without specifying gender), 19% mention women for both presidential aspirants .
- ❑ Asked specifically about a running mate from Mt Kenya, the mentions of females increases for both i.e. Ruto (19% to 41%) and Raila (19% to 32%).

**William Ruto - Running Mates**



**Raila Odinga- Running Mates**

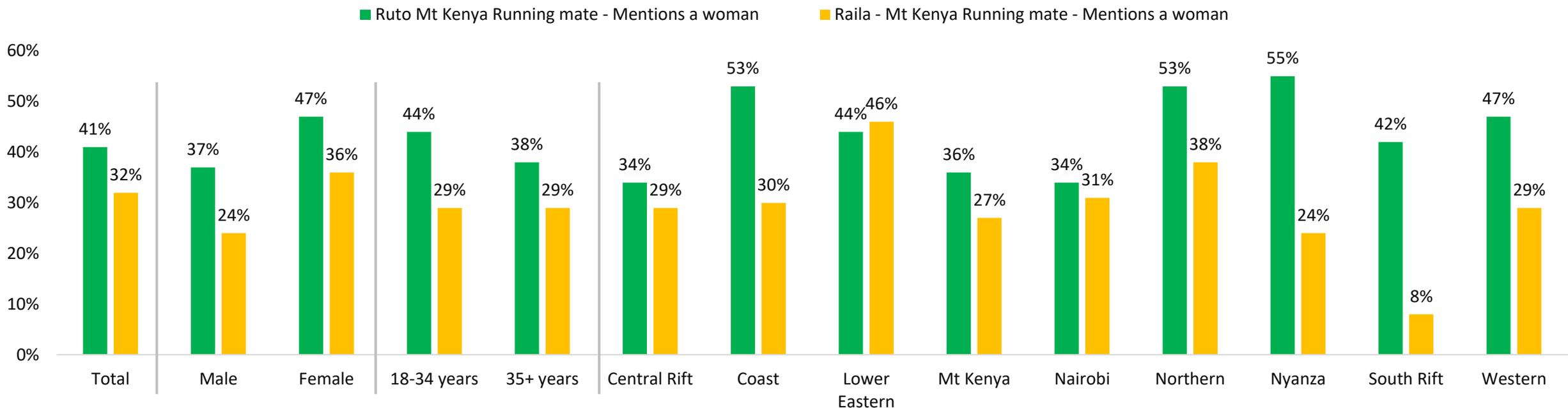


# Potential running mates: mentions of women

## by total, gender, age & zone

- ❑ **Gender:** For both Ruto and Raila, there are higher recommendations for female running mates from Mt Kenya (especially amongst women respondents)
- ❑ **Age:** For Ruto there is higher recommendation for a female running mate amongst the youth as compared to older generation. For Raila the same mentions are at par for both genders.
- ❑ **Zone:** over half the samples in the Coast, Northern and Nyanza mention recommend a female running mate from Mt Kenya. For Raila, highest mention a female running is in Lower Eastern followed by Northern.

**Mt Kenya Running Mates for William Ruto and Raila Odinga (mentions of females only)**

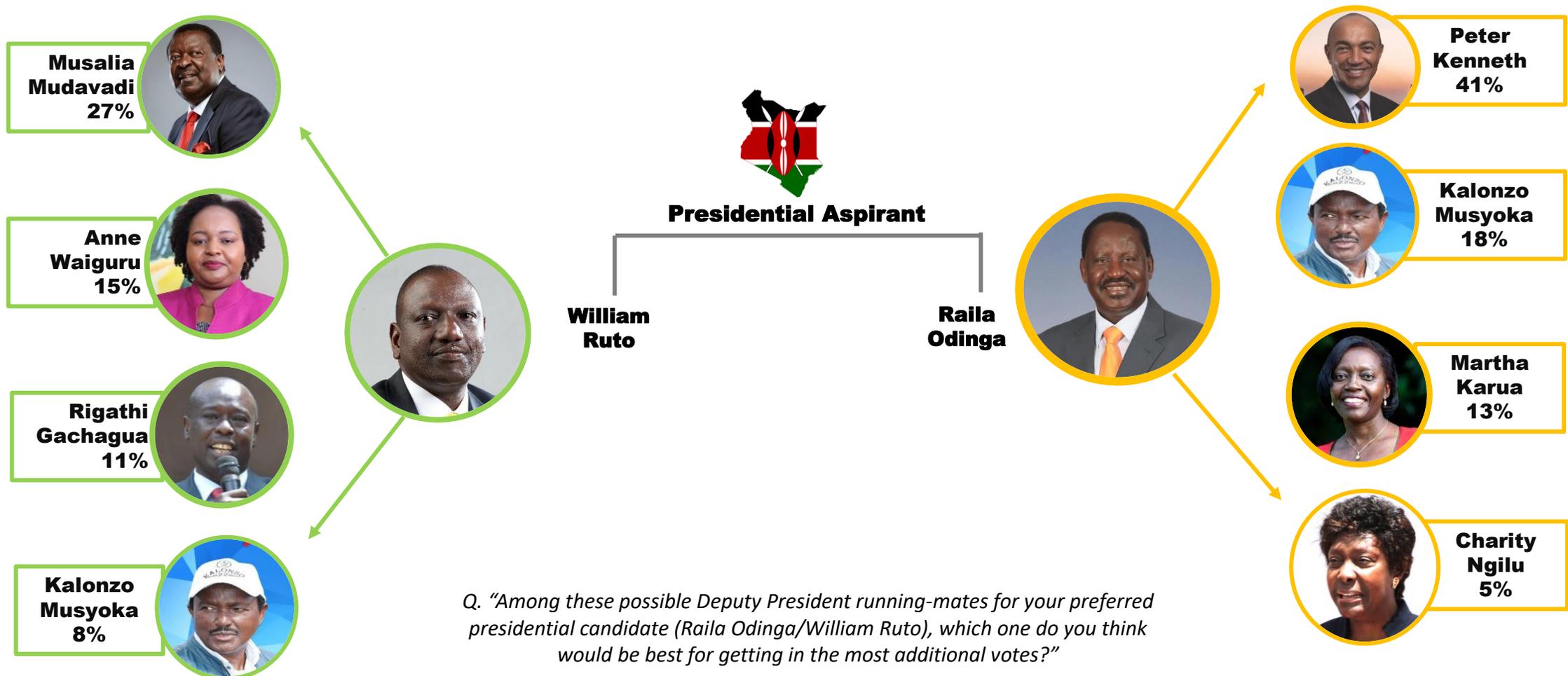


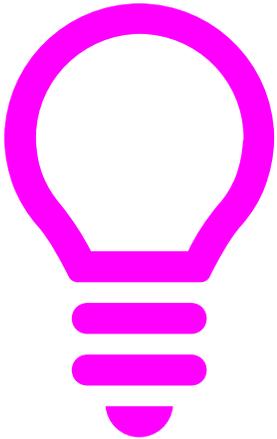
Q. If you were to select a running mate from Mt. Kenya Zone to be a possible deputy president running-mate for your presidential candidate [Ruto], which one do you think would be best for getting in the most additional votes?

# Perceived 'Best' DP/Running-mates for Ruto & Raila

## By total

When respondents are asked for specific names of those who are the most ideal running mates, there are three women who feature amongst the top four aspirants for William Ruto and Raila Odinga as is illustrated in the diagram below.





- ❑ There are three women who stand out as potential running mates for the two leading presidential aspirants (Anne Waiguru, Martha Karua and Charity Ngilu). All three women have previous experience as cabinet secretaries and have an intention to run for gubernatorial seats in the 2022 elections .
- ❑ Notably, Anne Waiguru and Martha Karua are from Mt Kenya region which has been touted as the possible source of the next running mate for both William Ruto and Raila Odinga. Both have invested time and resources in the vote rich Mt Kenya region.
- ❑ The question of whom both will to pick for the coveted position of deputy president is something that is most likely keeping the two politicians awake at night.

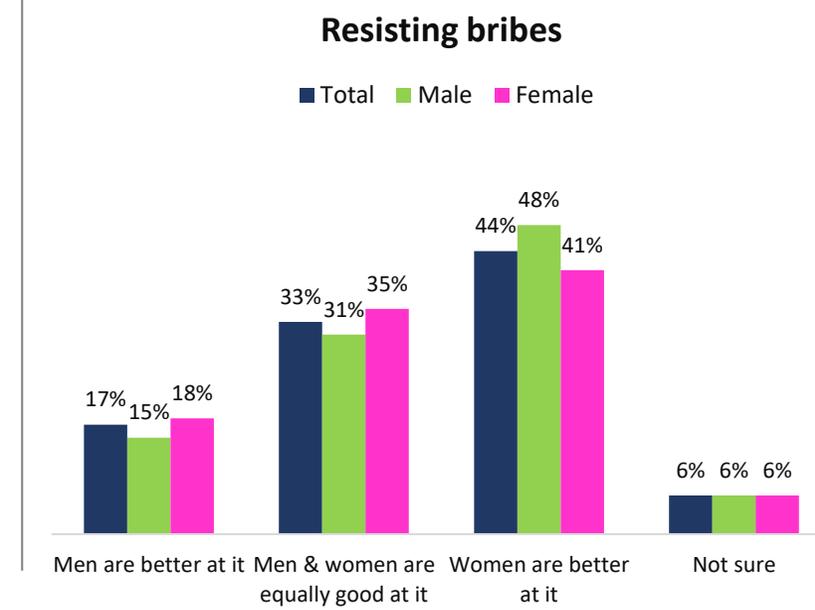
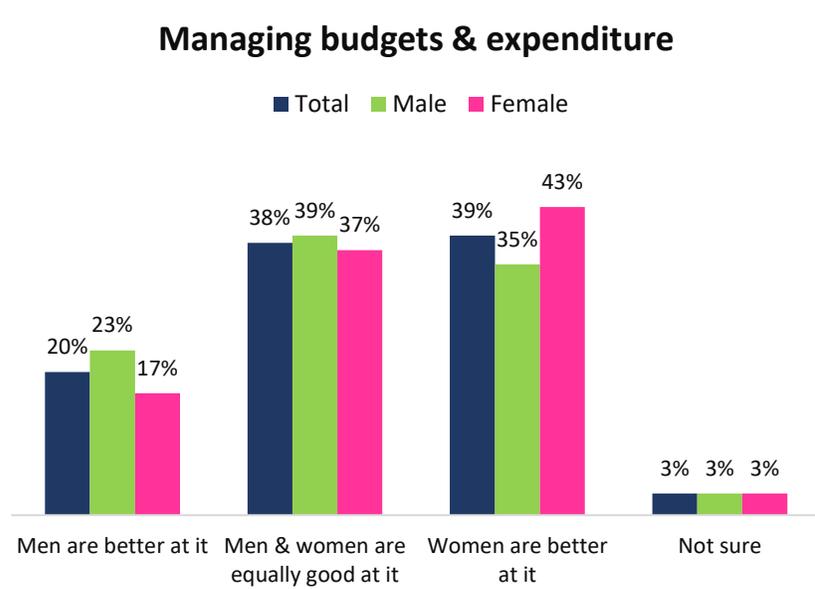
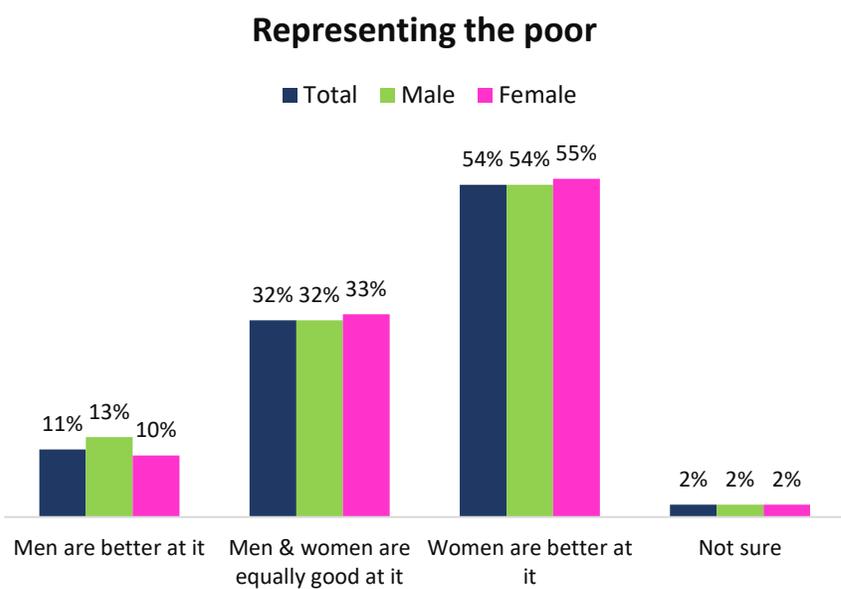


# Ability of women and men to undertake particular leaders roles

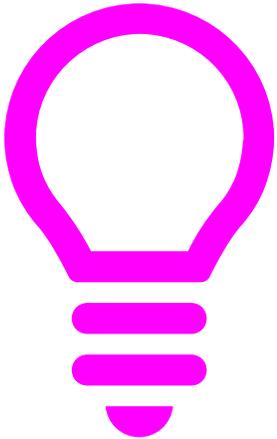
# Leadership ability for certain roles by total & gender



- ☐ Respondents were given a list of 3 roles or activities that are carried out by political leaders and asked to state in relation to each whether they considered it was better carried out by men or by women, or if both men and women were equally good at the role/activity.
- ☐ The three roles that Kenyans considered were best done by women were representing the poor and resisting bribes



Q. I am going to read to you a couple of leadership attributes, and would like you to tell me which gender is better at?



- ❑ Throughout both the developing and the developed world, women carry a disproportionately high burden of poverty. Interestingly, the study findings show that in Kenya, women are considered more effective in representing the needs of poor as compared to their male counterparts. Therefore voting women could lead to increased focus on poverty alleviation.
- ❑ Financial management and integrity are important political leadership values. Both genders are considered to be almost at par in managing budgets and expenditures. However women are considered to have more integrity to resist corruption in comparison to their male counterparts.



# Personal intention to vie for county elective seats in the next ten years

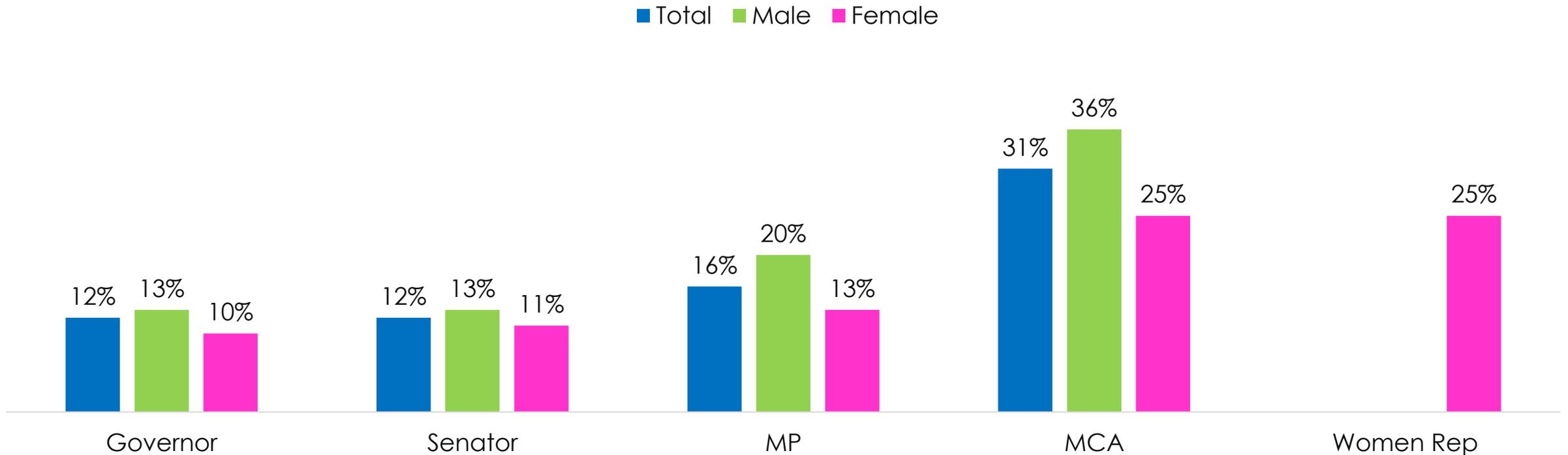
# Intention to Vie in the Next Ten Years

## by total & gender



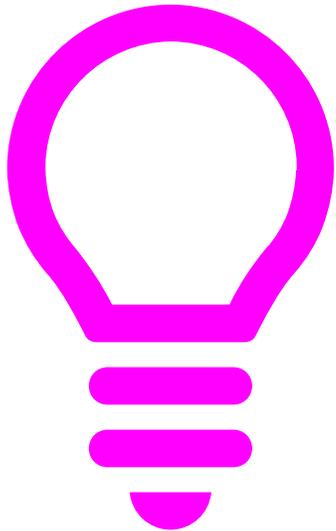
- ❑ There are significantly higher mentions from males than females who intend to run for governor, MP and MCA seats in future.
- ❑ Only one-quarter of women aspire to run for the seat of Women Representative.

**% who intend to vie for a political seat in the next 10 years – by gender**

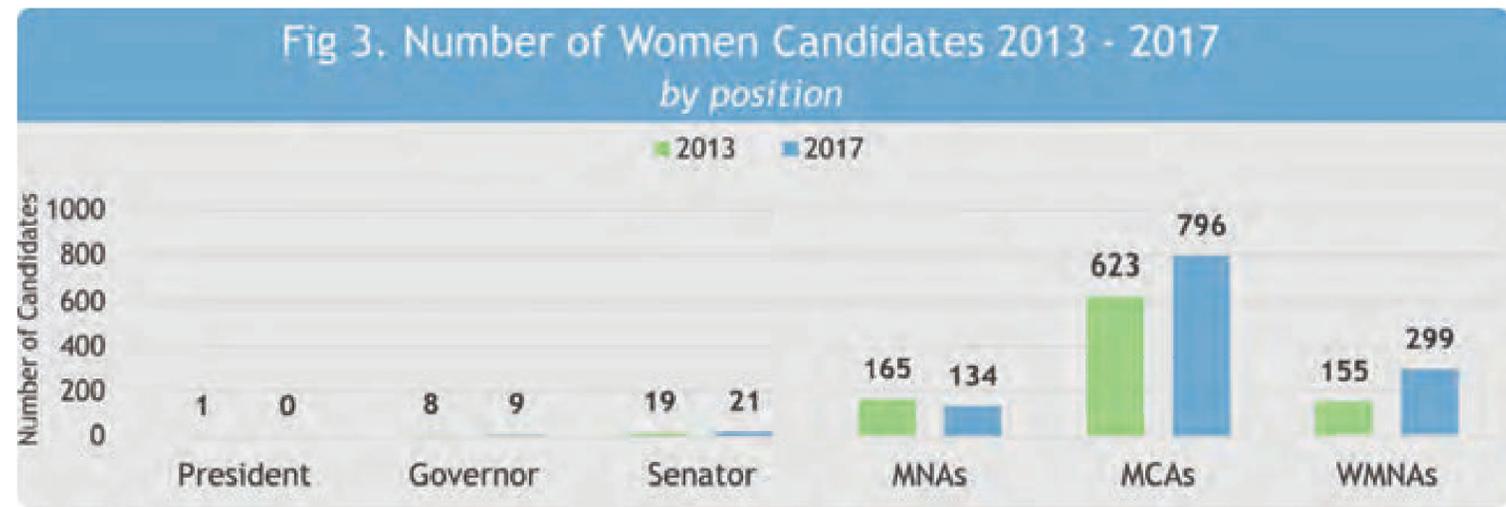


Q. Which of the following political seats would you consider vying for in the next 10 years?

Base:1541



- ❑ In spite of the perceived leadership abilities/skills, there are few women who would consider running for elective county seats. The low interest in elective seats represents a supply challenge in terms of fewer women being presented to Kenyan as choices in the ballot box.
- ❑ In the 2017 elections, only 1,333 women (11%) of the 12,188 contenders – not including WMNAs – in the party primaries were women (Source: *A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya General Elections*)



Source: *A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya General Elections* - by NDI & FIDA Kenya



# What holds women back - barriers to women winning elective seats

# What holds women back from winning elective seats

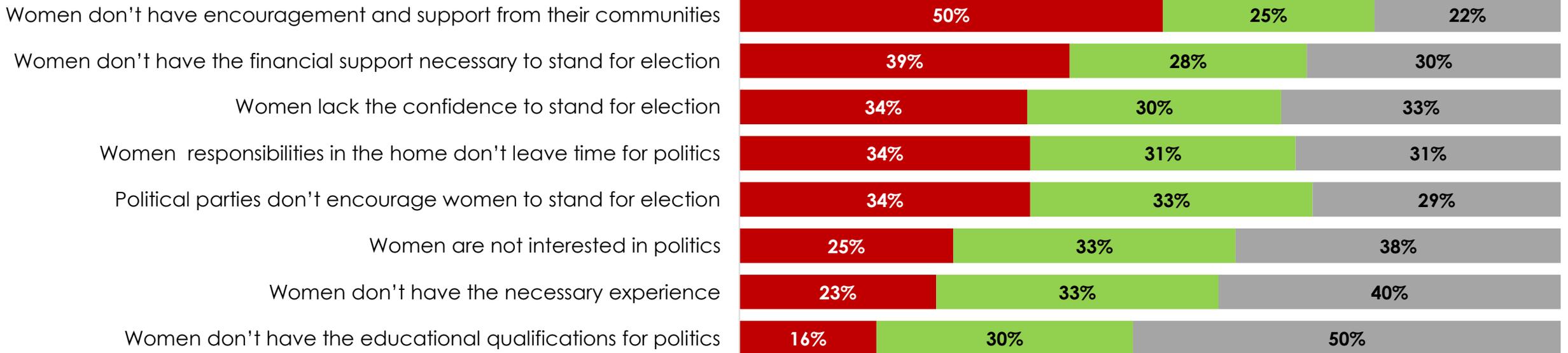
by total



- ☐ Respondents were given a prepared list of possible reasons why fewer women than men stand for election, and respondents were asked to classify them as a major reason, minor reason or not a reason for there being fewer women than men standing for election.
- ☐ Half of the respondents mentioned lack of encouragement and support from communities as the major reason why women are not elected. In addition, there lack of finances and confidence are considered key major barriers.
- ☐ The two lowest-ranked reasons were lack of experience and lack of education. Some 50% of respondents said that lack of educational qualifications was not a factor explaining women's lower participation as candidates in elections

## Barriers to women being elected – by total

■ Major Reason ■ Minor Reason ■ Not a reason



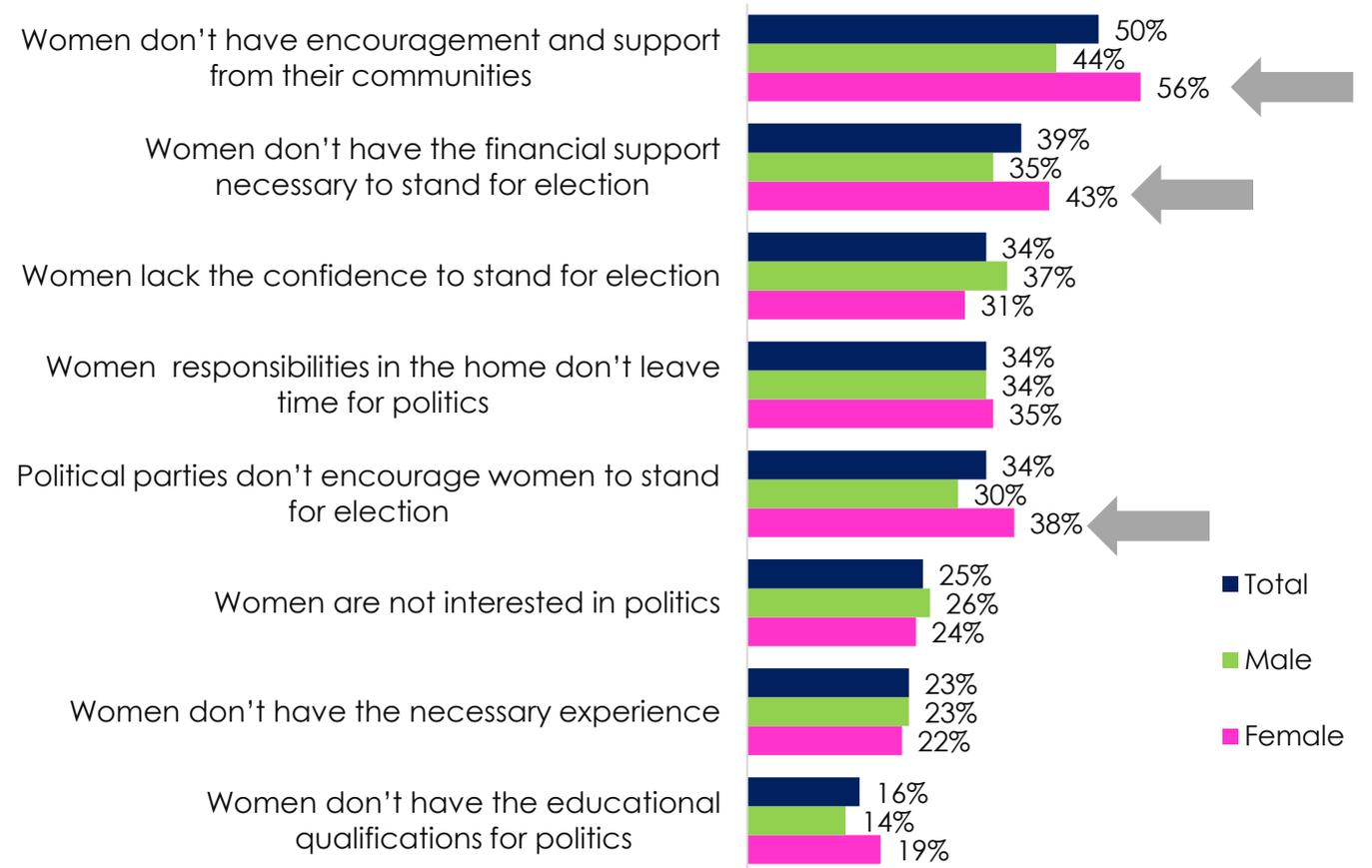
# What holds women back from winning elective seats

by major reason



## Barriers to electing women – major reason

- Overall men and women identified the same factors as being major reasons for why women were not putting themselves forward as candidates for political office to the same extent as men.
- Slightly more females (56%) than males (44%) respondents cited that women are not elected due to lack of support from their communities and finances.
- Notably lack of support from political parties is considered a key a barrier by 38% of women as compared to 30% of men.



Q. Tell me to what extent these are major reason, minor reason and not a reason at all for not electing women?

Base:1541



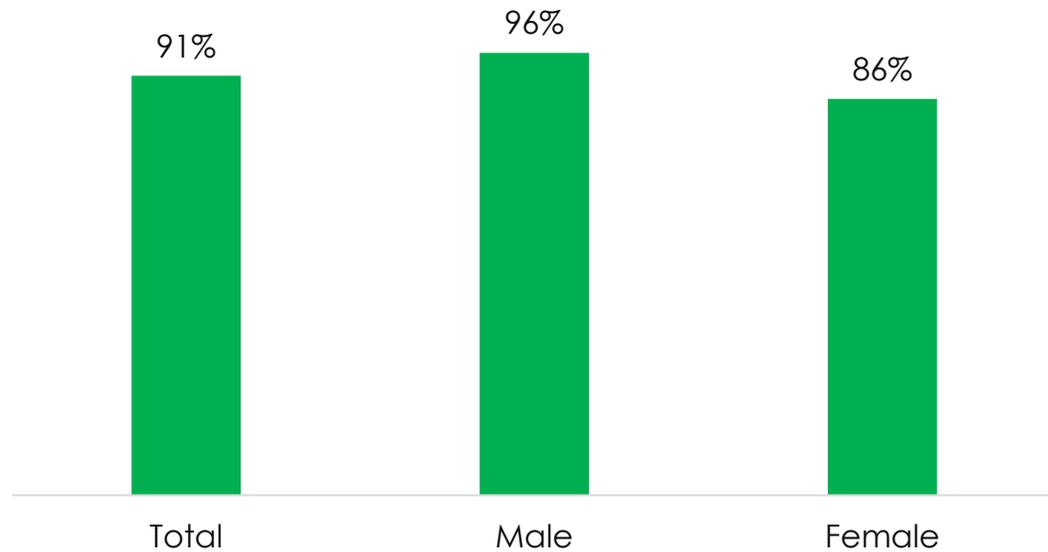
# Voter registration and intention to vote

# Registered Voters & Intention to vote

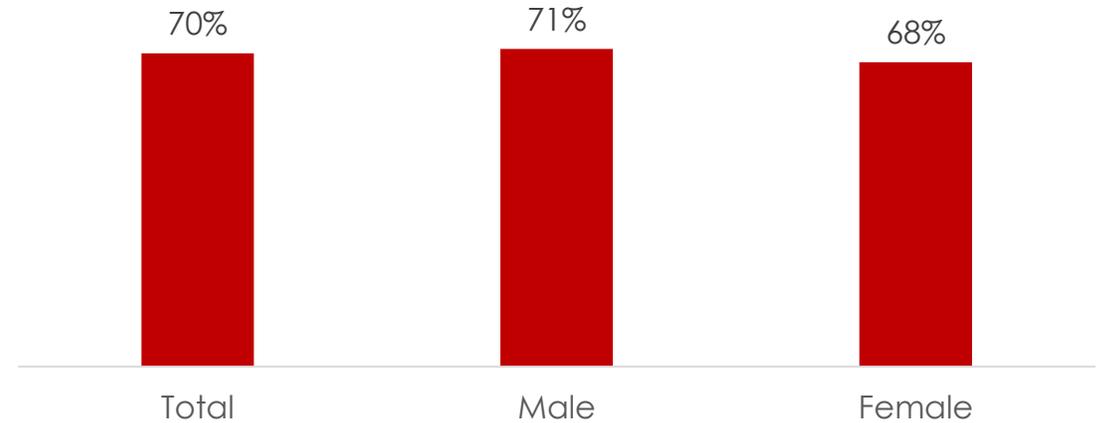
## by total & gender

- Majority of the respondents are registered voters. However, there were more males than females who were registered voters.
- There are no significant gender differences in those who indicate that they would definitely vote in the next general elections.

**% of registered voters**



**% who say they will definitely vote**





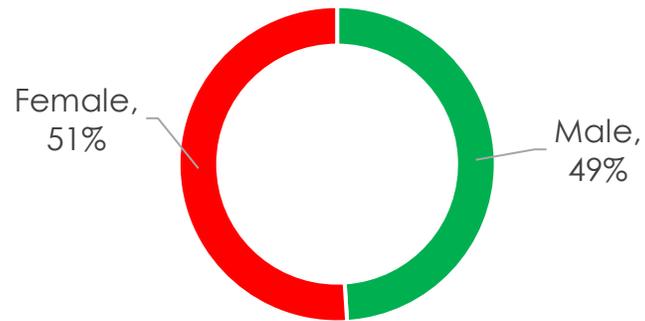
# Methodology

Fieldwork Dates	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 9 <sup>th</sup> February 2022
Geographical	Nationally Representative Sample (spread across 9 Zones ; <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Central Rift, Coast, Lower Eastern, Mt Kenya, Nairobi, Northern, Nyanza, South Rift, Western</li></ul>
Data collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Telephonic Interviews conducted (with respondents whose contacts were collected through face-to-face (i.e., household-based interviews)</li><li>• The interviews conducted in Kiswahili (mainly) and English</li></ul>
Sample	1,541 respondents
Margin of error	+/- 2.49 % (Note: Larger error-margins for sub-samples)
Funding	TIFA Research funded the survey

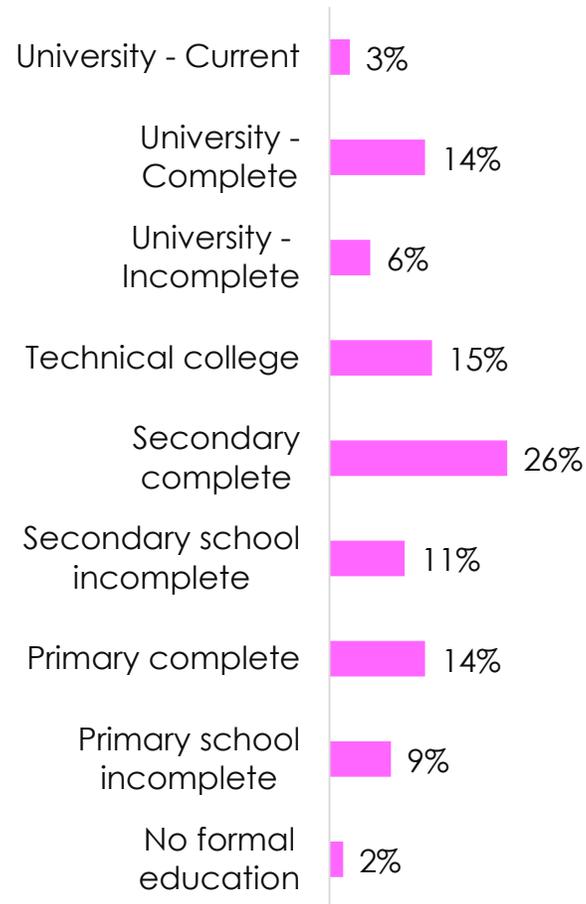
# Demographics: Gender, Education Level & Setting



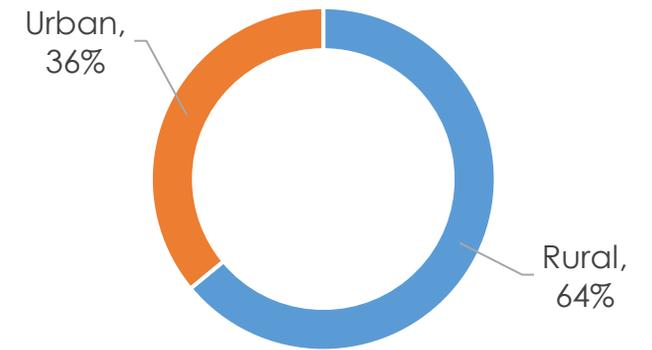
**Gender**



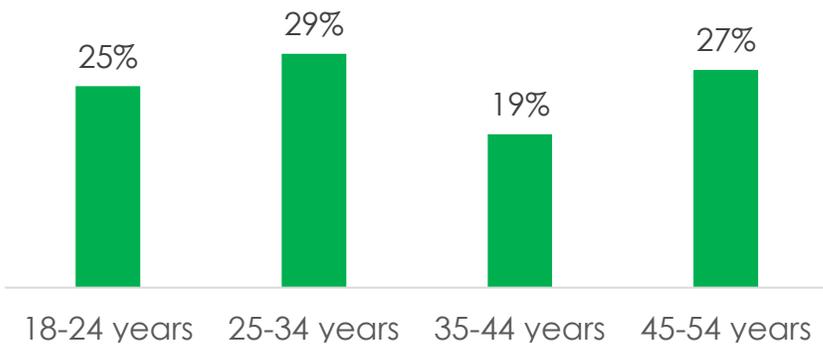
**Education**



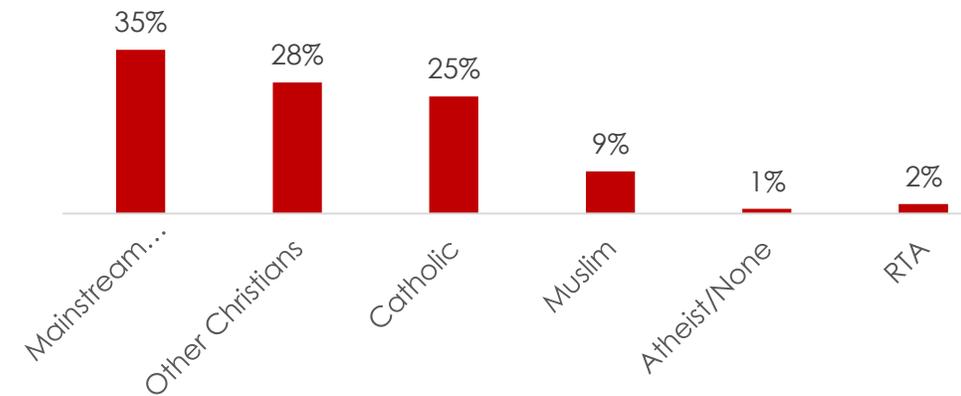
**Setting**



**Age**



**Religion**



# Sampling Zones Classification



Classification of sampling zones based on;

- Geopolitical location
- Ethnic group concentration-distribution

County	Region
Uasin Gishu	Central Rift
Elgeyo-Marakwet	Central Rift
Nandi	Central Rift
Baringo	Central Rift
Nakuru	Central Rift
Kericho	Central Rift
Bomet	Central Rift
Mombasa	Coast
Kwale	Coast
Kilifi	Coast
Tana River	Coast
Lamu	Coast
Taita-Taveta	Coast
Kitui	Lower Eastern
Machakos	Lower Eastern
Makueni	Lower Eastern

County	Region
Trans Nzoia	Western
Kakamega	Western
Vihiga	Western
Bungoma	Western
Busia	Western
Garissa	Northern
Wajir	Northern
Mandera	Northern
Marsabit	Northern
Isiolo	Northern
Turkana	Northern
West Pokot	Northern
Samburu	Northern
Nairobi	Nairobi

County	Region
Meru	Mt Kenya
Tharaka-Nithi	Mt Kenya
Embu	Mt Kenya
Nyandarua	Mt Kenya
Nyeri	Mt Kenya
Kirinyaga	Mt Kenya
Murang'a	Mt Kenya
Kiambu	Mt Kenya
Laikipia	Mt Kenya
Siaya	Nyanza
Kisumu	Nyanza
Homa Bay	Nyanza
Migori	Nyanza
Kisii	Nyanza
Nyamira	Nyanza
Narok	South Rift
Kajiado	South Rift



## Our Contacts

TIFA Research Limited | [www.tifaresearch.com](http://www.tifaresearch.com) | [@tifaresearch](https://twitter.com/tifaresearch)  
[maggie.ireri@tifaresearch.com](mailto:maggie.ireri@tifaresearch.com) or [ask@tifaresearch.com](mailto:ask@tifaresearch.com)



Photo credits - [Prince Akachi](#) , [Alice Muriithi](#) , [Christina @ wocintechchat.com](#) ; [olufemi Tolowoetan](#) and sourced from [Unsplash](#)