



## 1 THE ACTION

### 1.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTION

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##### *Background to the Action:*

Kenya's political representation is administered through the National Assembly, the Senate and 47 newly created county assemblies. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya (CoK) at Article 81(b) expressly states that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective bodies shall be of the same gender.

According to Kenya's independent electoral and boundaries commission (IEBC), during the 2013 general elections, the first one held under the 2010 CoK, six (6) women out of the 237 aspirants (2.6%) ran for the governor position but none were elected<sup>1</sup>; of the 244 aspirants for the Senate positions only 17 were women (7%) and again none made it. The scenario was slightly different in the National Assembly and in the County Assemblies. While the number of women candidates was still lower than men candidates (National Assembly: 129/6% versus 1,969/94%; County Assemblies: 623/6% versus 9,263/94%), the success rates of men and women for those positions are similar (National Assembly 12% women and 14% men; County Assemblies 14% women and 15% men). However, in total only 16 women got directly elected at constituency level in the National Assembly (5.5% of the total 290 constituencies) and 85 women got elected at the county level (i.e. 6% out of the total of 1,450 MCAs seats available).

As a result of the affirmative action provisions entrenched in the 2010 CoK as well as the High Court ruling of December 2012 on the progressive application<sup>2</sup> of the 2/3 gender rule, 47 women representatives were directly elected and 6 nominated to the National Assembly, 18 women were nominated as Senators and additional 632 women were nominated in the 47 County Assemblies. Currently political representation of Kenyan women stands at 19% in the National Assembly, 27% in the Senate and 34% at the county level<sup>3</sup>.

Moreover, despite the fact that women are increasingly represented in the county and national assemblies, the numbers do not necessarily translate into more pro-gender policies, programs, laws and practices. One of the reasons is that the majority of the women currently sitting in these assemblies have been nominated and hence highly depend on the political parties and/or individual politicians who nominated them and who do not necessarily have the gender cause high on their political agenda. Furthermore, the division between nominated and elected women Members of Parliament (MPs) and/or Members of County Assemblies (MCAs) hinders them to unitedly front women issues.

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<sup>1</sup> There are 6 women elected out of 47 Deputy Governors.

<sup>2</sup> The Supreme Court determined that the two-thirds principle was to be realized progressively and the requisite implementing law passed by 27<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Inter Parliamentary Union <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

The experience of the 2013 general elections evidenced that despite favourable legal provisions, Kenyan women are struggling to participate actively in politics and get elected. The reasons for this phenomenon are deeply rooted in patriarchy, corrupt and unfavourable party nomination structures and the fact that political parties largely remain a male dominated arena. Women aspirants remain largely invisible or are portrayed in biased way by the media. Hence, women politicians lack that much needed mileage that is gained by media, including electronic/social media.

In the proposed project areas the gloomy picture of low women representation in the elective bodies replays itself with ‘only’ four (4) female MPs<sup>4</sup> and seven (7) female MCAs<sup>5</sup> directly elected in the March 2013 general elections.

It must be noted however that in the particular project areas, through previous interventions by the implementing partners, GROOTS Kenya and MEGEN, the number of elected MPs and MCAs is slightly higher than in other counties (see section 2.1.2 below detailing building on previous interventions). Moreover, the partners supported elected, nominated and appointed women to enable them to perform their duties in their respective positions and be able to influence both pro-gender and positive change within the development agenda.

Furthermore and as aforementioned, the Supreme Court in its ruling of December 2012 set the deadline for passing legislation to give full effect to the realization of the two-third gender rule at national level on 27th August 2015. Two bills have been tabled in April 2015, namely the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No.1) Bill 2015 and the Two Third Gender Laws (Amendment Bill) 2015. The Justice and Legal Affairs Committee conducted a public hearing at the Kenyatta International Convention Centre (KICC) on both bills on 3rd August 2015. Women present voiced their disagreement with provision on the Two-Third Gender Rule Laws, the so-called Chepkonga bill stipulating the progressive implementation of the two-thirds rule while expressing their support for a new Bill by Majority Leader Aden Duale. The latter seeks to ensure that affirmative action is realised in both the National Assembly and the Senate through a top-up mechanism of members elected. Among others, it proposes that those who will be nominated for special seats should serve for a maximum of two terms. The Bill proposes a 20-year framework within which the gender rule can be implemented. According to the Bill, the allocation of the seats will be done proportionally on the basis of the number of seats won by a political party.<sup>6</sup>

### ***The Proposed Action:***

The Regional Office of the Swedish NGO ‘**We Effect**’ in East Africa (the applicant) and the co-applicants, namely **GROOTS Kenya**, a network of women-led community-based organizations and **Men for Gender Equality Now** (MEGEN), joined forces in the proposed action. The applicants know each other from previous and ongoing governance and gender equality work supported by We Effect in Kenya. The action aims at promoting women’s political participation through transformation of institutions, social-cultural structures, systems, perceptions, beliefs and practices that prohibit women’s political participation and representation. Acknowledging that such changes do not happen in a linear process, the action seeks to adopt multi-pronged approaches in order to win political support for women in the 2017 general elections. Women’s

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<sup>4</sup> One in Taita Taveta, one in Homa Bay and two in Kiambu. In addition one woman MP was nominated from Laikipia.

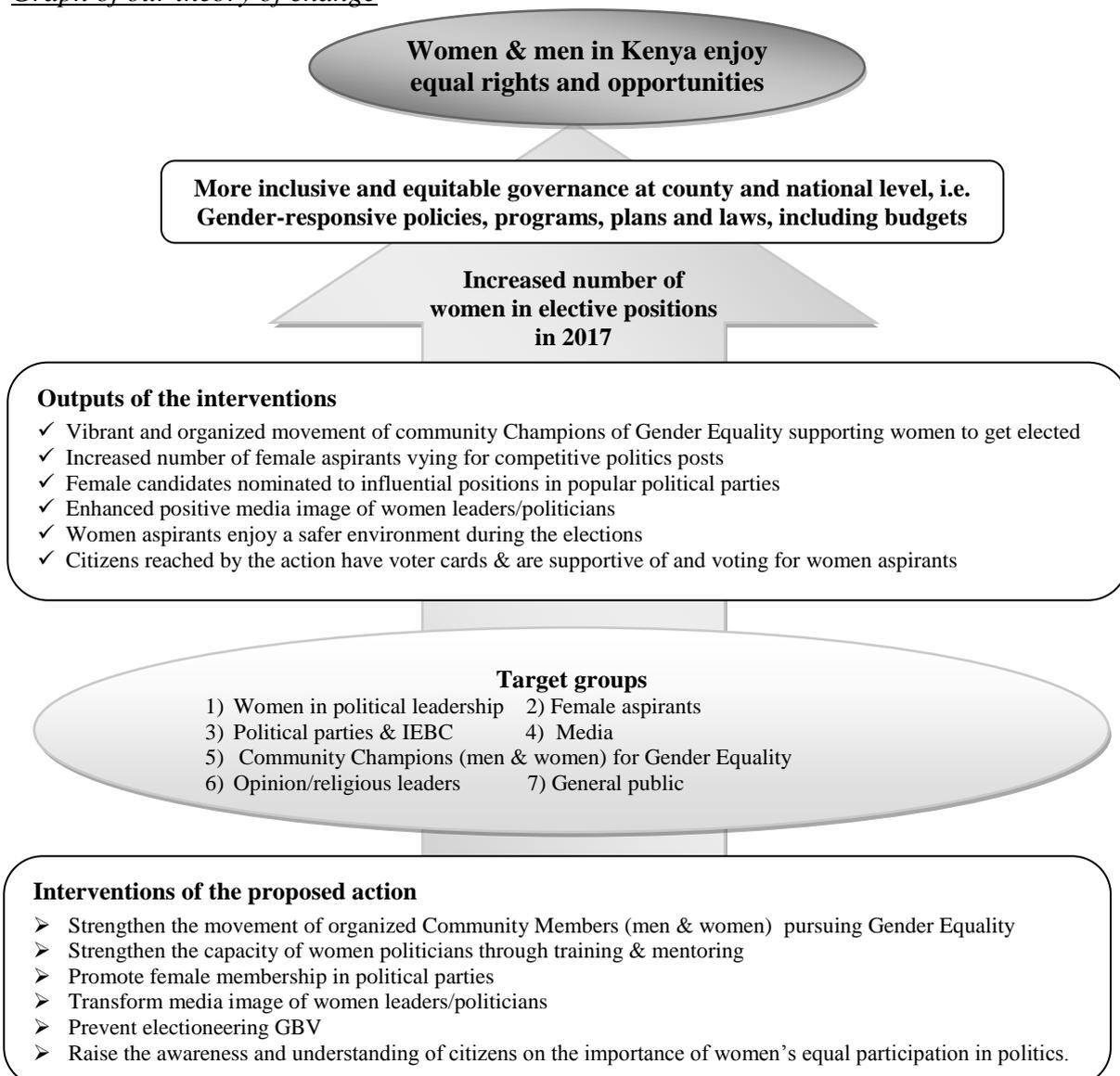
<sup>5</sup> As per table below, the remaining MCAs were dominated in order to comply to the 2/3 gender rule at County level.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Women-support-Duale-Bill/-/1064/2818440/-/view/printVersion/-/a055s1/-/index.html>

poor representation in political leadership intersects with other axes of inequality such as women’s low economic status, culture of gender-based marginalization from economic sectors and decision making spaces. This action will seek to enhance progressive gender sensitive, political and socio-cultural beliefs and practices through inter-linked networks of actors. Some of these actors are already in support of women’s political participation and are contesting the status quo or forming networks and alliances for social justice to enable change to enhance women’s participation in leadership positions. These allies alongside other champions for women political participation shall be organized into strong movements that will facilitate the change process.

Our **theory of change** is based on experience of facilitating change through interwoven approaches targeting various individuals, groups and institutions for either attitude, behaviour, practice or systemic change. The action aims at changing the political, cultural, and social norms and power relations which prevent women from taking up leadership positions. In order to realize equal human rights there will be need to identify, disrupt, adapt or dismantle policies, structures, practices and systems in communities, political parties, in campaign processes and other electoral institutions which reinforce patriarchal dominance in political leadership and negative stereotypes against women as leaders. In facilitating the power shifts this action will directly target the main political actors who have persistently guarded the status quo. The strategies to be applied by an organized movement of community members pursuing the cause of gender equality will be carefully structured to address the root causes and deliberate barriers erected to bar women from assuming leadership. Thus delivery of action will be through collective and multiple efforts, bridging alliances at the intersections of our priority themes to influence mind-sets, practices and policies as described schematically in the figure below.

*Graph of our theory of change*



The proposed action aims to contribute to two **overall objectives**. Firstly, it contributes to enhanced gender equality through an increased proportion of women in elective positions at the county and national levels by the end of the 2017 electioneering period in Kenya. Secondly, the project intends to contribute to more inclusive and equitable governance at county and national levels in Kenya through increased quantity and quality of women in political leadership positions.

At this level, the action will strive to create awareness among various stakeholders on the existing gap between men and women in assuming leadership positions. The significance of bridging these gaps in development context will be amplified for the action to receive support from most players in electioneering processes.

The **specific objective** of the action is to increase the number of women in elective positions in the County governments of Kiambu, Laikipia, Taita Taveta and Homa Bay as well as at the national level by empowering women and communities to support women during the 2017 general elections.

The action will implement focused interventions aimed at ensuring that at the county and national level in the targeted counties there is increased number of women who win elected position in the 2017 general elections. The action will focus on supporting the already elected women to retain their seats, prepare those who were nominated previously to use their acquired leadership skills to vie for elective posts while those who had previously vied or are vying currently will receive support for them to clinch an elected post in 2017.

***Location of the action::***

The geographical scope of the proposed action covers four (4) counties, 17 constituencies and 87 wards as per table below<sup>7</sup>. The total population of registered voters in these areas amount to 863,178.

Counties	Constituencies	Wards	Registered voters as per IEBC of 2013
Taita Taveta	Voi	Kasigau, Marungu, Sagalla, Kaloleni, Mbololo, Ngolia	36,943
	Mwatate	Rong'e, Wusi/Kishamba, Mwatate, Chawia, Bura	29,436
	Wundanyi	Mbale, Werugha, Wuumingu/Kishushe, Mgange	23,259
	Taveta	Mboleni, Mata, Mahoo, Mboghomi, Challa	24,224
Kiambu	Gatundu South	Kiamwangi, Kiganjo Ndaragu, Ng'enda	58,762
	Gatundu North	Gituamba, Githobokoni, Chania, Mang'u	52,962
	Lari	Kinale, Kijabe Central, Nyanduma, Kamburu, Kirenga	59,001
	Kabete	Gitaru, Muguga, Nyadhuna, Kabete, Uthiru	62,454
	Limuru	Bibirioni, Limuru Central, Ndeiya, Limuru East, Ngecha Tigoni	68,558
	Ruiru	Gitothua, Biashara, Gatongora, Kahawa Sukari, Kahawa Wendani, Kiuu, Mwiki, Mwihoko	112,390

<sup>7</sup> Source of information <http://softkenya.com/>

Laikipia	Laikipia East	Ngobit, Tigithi, Thingithu, Nanyuki, Umände	62,844
	Laikipia West	OI-Moran, Rumuruti Township, Githiga, Marmanet, Igwamiti, Salama	83,267
	Laikipia North	Sosian, Segera, Mugogodo West, Mugogodo East	27,794
Homa Bay	Mbita	Mfangano Island, Rusinga Island, Kasgunga, Gembe, Lambwe	36,916
	Ndhiwa	Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kanyikela, Kabuoch North, Kabuoch South/Pala, Kanyamwa Kologi Kanyamwa, Kosewe	57,575
	Suba	Gwasssi North, Gwasssi South, Kaksingiri West, Ruma-Kaksingiri East	32,437
	Homa Bay	Homa Bay Central, Homa Bay Arujo, Homa Bay West, Homa Bay East	34,356

The primary **target group** of the proposed action is comprised of (as per table below):

- (1) **Women** currently holding elected or nominated political leadership positions at the county and national levels (Total of 80);
- (2) **Female aspirants** who contested unsuccessfully in the 2013 general elections and new candidates committed to vie for elective positions in the 2017 general elections in the four counties and 17 constituencies (at least 200);
- (3) **Political parties** (target the five most popular);
- (4) **Media** (target at least 2 radio stations and 1 local newspaper per county, two national TV and newspapers as well as social media) and
- (5) **Supporters** of increased women's political participation (men, women and youth) in the 17 constituencies (total of 6,000).

The **final beneficiaries** include voter that will have been reached by trained community Champions (at least 200 per ward, total of 17,400) as well as through the 20 radio programs. Moreover, it is estimated that at least 30% of the voter's population will be reached through other media, including social media.

Primary Target Group					
Target groups	Taita Taveta	Kiambu	Laikipia	Homa Bay	Total
<b>Women currently holding elected or nominated political leadership positions at <u>county</u> and <u>national</u> levels</b>	12 women MCAs (all nominated)	29 women MCAs (4 elected & 25 nominated)	8 women MCAs (2 elected & 6 nominated)	21 women MCAs (1 elected & 20 nominated)	70
	Deputy governor (Mary Ndigha)	NONE			1
	1 woman MP (elected in	2 women MPs (elected in	1 woman MP (nominated) <sup>11</sup>	1 woman MP (elected in	5

	Taveta constituency <sup>8)</sup>	Ruiru <sup>9)</sup> and Thika Town <sup>10)</sup> constituencies)		Mbita constituency <sup>12)</sup>	
	Elected women representatives				4
	Joyce Wanjala Lay	Annah Gatheca	Jane Machira Appolos	Gladys Atieno Nyasuna	
	<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>80</b>
<b>Female aspirants who contested unsuccessfully in 2013 and new candidates</b>	4 + 40 (2x20)	15 + 62 (2x31)	7 + 30 (2x15)	43 + 42 (2x21)	243
	4 women for governor position				4
	8 aspirants for NA	12 aspirants for NA	6 aspirants for NA	8 aspirants for NA	34
	2 women for senator position				2
	<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>283</b>
<b>Top Political Parties</b>					<b>5</b>
<b>Media (2 local radio &amp; 1 newspaper per county, 2 national TV &amp; newspapers as well as social media)</b>					<b>12</b>
					<b>4</b>
<b>Supporters of increased women's political participation, women, men &amp; youth</b>					<b>6,000</b>

***Specific results expected and how the action will improve the situation and the technical and management capacities of target groups and final beneficiaries:***

At the end of the grant period, the project is expected to have achieved the following four specific results:

**Result 1:** All of the national and at least 60% of the county government current elected and/or nominated women are retained in elective leadership positions. **Target:** 9 MPs at national level and 42 MCAs at county level.

The above listed categories of women will be supported to retain or capture elective positions through trainings on communication skills, networking and campaigning skills. Further women will be linked with experienced and successful women politicians for mentorship initiatives. This will prepare them to better articulate their issues during campaign period and enhance chances of being elected. For already elected or nominated women, they will be taken through a session to review their manifestos and their promises to the people and establish to what extent they have delivered on their commitments. Few community representatives (mainly *Champions for Gender Equality*) will be invited to the review meeting to give a candid feedback on the communities' expectations and generally give the mood of the electorate. This will help in designing campaign strategies that resonate with the needs and mood of the electorate thus make them more responsive. By having community responsive campaign strategies, women will stand a high chance of being elected into leadership positions in the 2017 general elections.

<sup>11</sup> Korere Sara Paulata (URP)

<sup>8</sup> Naomi Shaaban (TNA)

<sup>9</sup> Esther Gathogo (TNA)

<sup>10</sup> Alice Wambui (TNA)

<sup>12</sup> Millie Odhiambo (ODM)

**Result 2:** The number of women vying for elective posts in the 2017 general elections increased by 50%. **Target:** At least 100<sup>13</sup> women candidates originating from the four counties.

Through mobilization of past non-successful women candidates and other potential women candidates, a wide pool of women aspirants will be created. These women will be supported with various trainings that will enhance their confidence to vie for various elective posts and enhance their competitiveness during nomination and elections period. A wide network of actors such as the gender equality champions, administrators, political parties, respected opinion leaders will be involved in encouraging women to vie for elected posts. By having more women vying in popular political parties, chances of one of them being nominated into a leadership positions will be heightened as well as their chances of capturing the position during elections.

**Result 3:** At least 50% increase in the number and enhanced capacity of existing networks (men, women and youth) championing women political leadership. **Target:** 87 organized and vibrant community Champions networks promoting actively gender Equality (ward based).

The already existing networks of gender equality champions working with GROOTS Kenya and MEGEN in the four counties are platforms that will be used to grow the network of supporters. More champions will be identified, mobilized, trained and mentored by one or several of the existing experienced champions in advocating for gender equality in communities and local institutions. Each champion network will be supported to grow its membership by 50% to ensure wider outreach and impact of the champions. The champions will contribute to awareness creation/ civic education and the need for communities to support women's political participation. Further, champions will support in dissemination of IEC materials to reach out to communities with messages supportive of women political participation. Community champions will be systematically associated to all activities proposed under this Action, be it the training of women leaders & aspirants or strategic dialogues with political parties, media and other stakeholders. This is to ensure that the Champions build strong working relationships with their future leaders for accountability.

**Result 4:** The general public and opinion leaders in the target areas are supportive of and voting for women political aspirants in the 2017 general elections. **Target:** 60% of the community members (above 18 years) directly reached through awareness raising sessions and are supportive of women's political participation.

The main barriers, negative stereotypes and perceptions on women participation in political leadership will be collected through the baseline survey and interactions with community members, opinion leaders, current elected women leaders, unsuccessful women candidates for the 2013 general elections among other stakeholders. Messaging through the gender equality champions, radio talk shows, posters and through respected opinion leaders will be focused on these barriers to change the mind-set of the electorate. Various local and administrative leaders will be key allies. Travelling caravans led by youth champions and artists will be used to traverse the four counties creating awareness on the need for women participation in political leadership. These interventions will have an impact of shaping the perspective of the electorate with regard to women being elected into leadership positions.

#### ***Technical and Management Capacities of Applicant and Co-applicants:***

The Applicant, **We Effect** (formerly Swedish Cooperative Centre), is a Swedish non-governmental organisation (NGO) that has been registered as a legal entity in Sweden in

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<sup>13</sup> As per table below, in 2013, a total of 72 women originating from the four counties vied for various positions.

1975 and has been in operation since 1958. It works through 4 regional offices and around 190 employees in collaboration with about 160 partner organisations in 24 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. All work of the organization derives from rights: Right to food; Right to economic justice; Right to land; Right to adequate housing; **Equal rights for women and men**, and Right to a safe, healthy environment in ecological balance. We Effect in has been working with CSOs (mainly cooperatives and NGOs), since 1958, to support poverty stricken and marginalized communities, **with special focus on women**, using a participatory approach. In East Africa, We Effect has been operating since 1968. We Effect acknowledges that majority of the people living in poverty today are women and girls hence the special attention to them. Presently, We Effect works in partnership with cooperatives and CSOs to promote inclusive and sustainable growth for poverty reduction and for a just society.

For this purpose, We Effect desires to work further to enhance CSO's contribution to governance and development processes through strengthening CSOs as stakeholders in promoting inclusive and sustainable growth. Justice and human rights stands out as espoused by our vision “*A just world free from poverty*”. Pursuit of economic and political empowerment of women at all levels of the society is therefore core in the work of We Effect. To ensure equal access to resources by men, women, boys and girls, We Effect has developed a Fair Resource Allocation System (FRAS) to ensure that resources are tracked for both men and women to benefit equally from development resources that We Effect and her partner organizations oversee.

We Effect has a **Global Gender Thematic Technical Group** charged with a responsibility of ensuring gender equality is observed globally within We Effect and in the development work undertaken. The team composes a global gender equality coordinator based at We Effect headquarters (Stockholm) and regional coordinators (Latin America, Eastern Africa, Southern Africa, and Asia). The coordinators in the region are charged with the responsibility of building capacities of We Effect staff and those of partner organizations to ensure gender sensitive programming in development work. Further, the coordinators together with the regional teams identify gender equality gaps in their specific regions and develop gender equality programmes responding to the identified gaps. Currently We Effect is supporting five NGOs in the East Africa region to implement varying gender equality promoting projects:

<b>Project Name</b>	<b>Implementing Partner Organization</b>	<b>Budget (Euros)</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Engaging Men, Boys and Institutions (EMBI) in responding to Sexual and Gender Based Violence	Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN)	205,760	01/01/2014 to 31/12/2016
Grassroots women organize communities to track gender equality during the implementation of devolution in Laikipia, Kakamega and Kiambu.	GROOTS KENYA	201,828	01/01/2014 to 31/12/2016
Increasing access to land rights for women in Dodoma region of Tanzania	Tanzania Women Lawyers Association	181,491	01/01/2014 to 31/12/2016
Strengthening institutions (formal & informal) to promote gender responsive social cultures in Apac and Dokolo districts - Uganda.(PRO –GERESOC)	Action for Development - Uganda	212,091	01/01/2014 to 31/12/2016
Capacities of Women Organization to	National Association	197,318	01/01/2014 to

Promote Gender Equality Increased in Hoima District, Uganda	of Women Organizations of Uganda (NAWOU)		31/12/2016
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In the proposed action, We Effects will work with two of its partner organizations in other ongoing projects on gender equality, namely GROOTS Kenya and MEGEN.

**GROOTS Kenya**, which stands for Grassroots Organizations Operating Together, is a non-profit making organization registered in Kenya under Section 10 of the Society's Act. GROOTS Kenya was founded in 1995 after the 4<sup>th</sup> UN Conference on Women in Beijing, China as a response to the inadequate visibility of grassroots women in development processes and decision-making forums that affect them and their communities. GROOTS Kenya's **theory of change** is to shift the perception of the role of grassroots women in rural and urban poor communities from vulnerable victimized recipients of goods and services to empowered and effective leaders mastering their own development. GROOTS Kenya works in four related thematic program areas namely: 1) **Women Leadership and Governance**, 2) Women and Property, 3) Community Responses to HIV and AIDS and lastly 4) Community Resilience to Disasters and Climate Change.

As a result, GROOTS Kenya prides with 20 years of building a solid national movement of organized grassroots women. Today, it is a force of over 2,000 community-based organizations and self-help groups with the shared mandate of ensuring that grassroots women are at the forefront of bringing about community transformation.

GROOTS Kenya's administrative office, comprised of 16 permanent staff, is located in Nairobi. The organization works in 11 out of 47 counties in Kenya, among them Laikipia, Kiambu and Homa Bay.

GROOTS Kenya's **Women Leadership and Governance program** is the cornerstone of its work. This program strives **to enhance capacities of grassroots women to engage in leadership and governance issues in order to influence social, economic and political transformation in their communities**. Our long-term investment is to support the establishment of community driven mechanisms and innovations that enable effective participation of grassroots women in decision-making and leadership structures in order to ensure that resource allocation, policy and programs' development are gender-sensitive and responsive to community and needs.

One of the strategies is the *Champions for Transformative Leadership* initiative that GROOTS Kenya developed to contribute to the increment of **grassroots women's direct participation in leadership and governance**. A number of grassroots women, men and stakeholders in this initiative went out of their way to champion democracy, good governance and gender equality in the political campaigns and the 2013 general elections. These individuals were very instrumental in supporting grassroots women in Kakamega, **Kiambu and Laikipia counties** to get elected, nominated or appointed into important leadership positions, including within the political arena.

The *Champions for Transformative Leadership* initiative does not stop with the completion of the elections, but further supports elected, nominated and appointed women to enable them to perform their duties in their respective positions and be able to influence both pro-gender and positive change within the development agenda. Members who ascribe to the *Champions for Transformative Leadership* understand themselves as *change agents* and a bridge between the grassroots communities, women in particular, and those in power to drive the change.

GROOTS Kenya therefore brings to the proposed action a wealth of experience in community organizing and capacity building from the grassroots to the national level. In

addition, GROOTS Kenya's experience in women and political leadership, movement building and media engagement is essential to this project.

Since its inception in 2001, **MEGEN**, which stands for '*Men for Gender Equality Now*', has conducted a range of educational, awareness and advocacy activities on the role of men in upholding human rights, gender justice, combating sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and the spread of HIV/AIDS in diverse communities in Kenya.

In Homa Bay, MEGEN is working with the fishing communities in order to address cultural practices called 'jaboya' which means 'fish for sex' involving the fish mongers/women fish traders to sleep with the fishermen in order to get fish to sell. This is one of the reasons of Homa Bay having the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates and highest number of child-headed households in the countries. In Taita Taveta, MEGEN's efforts focus on the empowerment of women especially in decision-making, through community fora, including traditional leaders/elders as well as through economic empowerment.

MEGEN draws on a membership of men and women of different ages, education, social, cultural and professional diversities. As an organisation, MEGEN has strength in information re/packaging, dissemination of lessons learnt and best practices, evidence-based planning, awareness creation, lobbying and advocacy on a number of intractable social issues.

MEGEN staff are widely experienced in design and delivery of capacity building processes with special interests and technical skills in gender and development, gender mainstreaming, human rights and empowerment, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), HIV/AIDS, SGBV prevention and response, conflict resolution; working with men & boys for gender justice, Curriculum Development, Training of Trainers (TOTs); design of M&E processes; strategic planning, programme development; and team building. The staff also has the ability to provide training and technical support in gender and development (assessment, design, monitoring and evaluation), with an emphasis on approaches that mobilize community involvement in such programming.

In 2013, MEGEN was a member of the Africa Unite Kenya Chapter, which is a coalition of non-state actors advocating against GBV. They brought together political parties and tasked them to include a code of conduct in their party manifestos addressing violence against female aspirants. MEGEN was also involved in civic education and one of the aspects that the organization covered in the community-outreach sessions, especially in Taita Taveta, was about gender equality and championing for women's participation. The organization also conducted research with IDS (Institute of Development Studies) and APHRC (African Population Health Research Centre) on involving men and boys in order to support women in politics. One of the recommendations was to partner with women organizations in order to popularize voting for female candidates.