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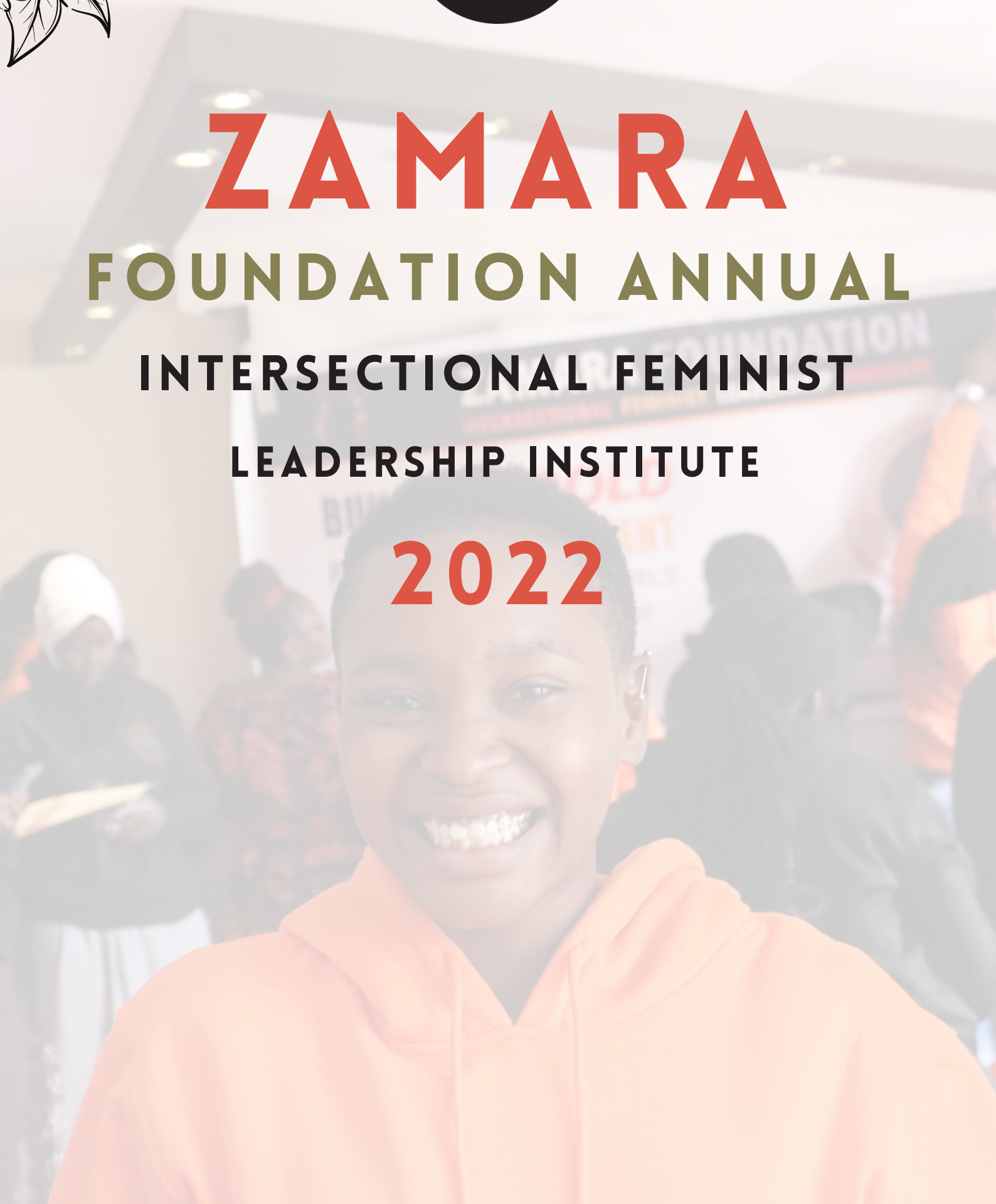
ZAMARA

FOUNDATION ANNUAL

INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST

LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

2022

COHORT 1

FOREWARD

Feminist transformational leadership has been hailed as a strategy for imparting skills and knowledge to individuals and organisations to bring forth feminist analysis on issues such as leadership. Zamara Foundation's Intersectional Feminist Leadership Institute (ZaFLI) hopes to develop constituents of young women feminist leaders with practical skills to challenge oppression, inequalities and discrimination in public and private. At the same time, ZaFLI seeks to build the political consciousness of young women feminists to empower their communities and have confidence, agency, and voice to challenge the status quo.

Zamara Foundation values inclusivity, and we have ensured that it is a core value in our work and how we select ZaFLI participants. Inclusivity is at the core of our approach, where we recognise individuals face intersecting discrimination, ensuring we leave no one behind. By embracing this perspective, we aim to enable young women and girls to navigate the complexities of power dynamics, oppression, and inequality. Our objective is to provide them with the tools to establish connections, think critically about their circumstances, and harness their collective strength to effect positive change.

ZaFLI, was established to serve as a space for collective and personal introspection, growth, and contemplation. Its purpose is to equip young women aged 18 to 29 with knowledge and skills related to intersectionality, feminism, and sexual and reproductive justice. Through this program, participants will develop a comprehensive understanding of how different power structures intersect and perpetuate societal inequalities. At ZaFLI, we also strive to unveil the interconnected patterns between various power systems, illustrating how women's social identities intersect and contribute to experiences of discrimination based on gender, class, sexuality, and ethnicity. By imparting this knowledge, we aim to cultivate a group of young feminist women who integrate intersectionality into their work. We envision nurturing courageous and ambitious advocates for sexual and reproductive justice in Kenya. Our interactions and engagements will cultivate a sense of sisterhood and solidarity among participants throughout the program. We believe that by fostering these strong connections, we can form a collective force for change, amplifying the voices of young feminists throughout Kenya.

We are so grateful to our anonymous donors who have continuously supported our work of building a movement of sexual and reproductive health rights and justice advocates of young feminists in Kenya who consciously use intersectional feminist approaches in their work and analysis of structural inequalities. Thank you to the staff who made this possible and the feminist trainers who made time to facilitate ZaFLI—our profound gratitude to trainees for sharing their own experiences and narratives during this training.

Esther Kimani
Executive Director
Zamara Foundation

INTRODUCTION

Zamara Foundation is a feminist homegrown organisation founded in 2016 and registered in Kenya in 2019. Zamara is anchored on bold and radical perspectives on bodily autonomy, integrity, intersectional feminist transformational leadership and a strong voice that speaks to the sexual and reproductive health and rights of young women, girls and those that are differently challenged. Young women are problem-solvers, innovators, and change makers in the various aspects of their lives and for them to achieve their full potential, there is a need to grow their potential through empowering trainings, mentorship and coaching. Zamara Foundation is committed to growing the feminist movement by building a constituency of young women and adolescents leaders who are passionate about challenging inequalities and advocating for gender justice and reproductive rights. The feminist leadership programme is the first crucial step in movement building where feminist consciousness raising and collective action is nurtured through the annual intersectional feminist leadership institute.

Zamara Annual Intersectional Feminist Leadership Institute (ZaFLI) is for young women leaders aged 18-35 from East Africa. ZaFLI aspires to build constituents of young women feminists who understand how different power systems and structures interact to oppress women in their diverse identities. ZaFLI creates a platform for intergenerational dialogue where aspiring young women are nurtured and mentored by seasoned feminists to develop their leadership potential. The programme equips adolescents girls and young women with knowledge and skill in feminist transformational leadership, choice and bodily integrity, comprehensive sexuality education, sexual and gender-based violence and ending child marriage. The ZaFLI program takes special interest in girl and young mothers aged 10-18 years in and out of school.

Our Manifestos

- Zamara is where we can dare to dream.
- Where we feel seen. And heard. And loved. And cared for.
- Zamara is a place where we leave enriched. But also a place we enrich.
- A space of mutual respect – one that acknowledges what we come with.
- A place that gathers us all, that builds solidarity.
- A place that reminds us of our power, our strength, especially when we come together.
- Zamara is where those at the margins are centered.
- Zamara is where we become, and unbecome.
- Zamara is where we can be.

Participants were welcomed to the training camp with opening remarks by the founder, Esther Kimani who gave a brief history of Zamara foundation highlighting how it is a grassroot organisation anchored on bold feminist perspectives and sexual reproductive health and rights of all women, guided by the African feminist charter and its principles. She impressed on participants how it is a place where young women dare to dream, have a voice, and feel loved, safe and cared for with its foundations of mutual respect and enrichment. She encouraged participants to freely engage and to have fun during this learning experience because Zamara is a safe space.

The training was attended by more than 23 young women drawn from Nairobi, Kiambu, Kilifi, Kwale and Mombasa counties who were gathered for five days to discuss issues pertaining to sexual reproductive health rights from a feminist perspective, understanding the historical, theoretical and legal frameworks for the feminist movement. The participants were young female leaders, aged between 22 to 45 years, engaged in advocating for different rights of the young women and adolescent girls in their respective communities.

The agenda was run through highlighting the key areas of focus. Participants also shared their expectations that included: Exploring feminism ideologies to help their SRHR advocacy work, how to engage in uncomfortable conversations safely, sharing knowledge, networking, learning and having fun.

THE AFRICAN FEMINIST CHARTER

Participants engaged with the African feminist charter whose objective is to strengthen and provide a framework for accountability for the feminist movement in Africa. From the charter, it was understood that publicly naming oneself a feminist is political because it is contentious and challenges the existing patriarchal system. The charter provides an understanding of what entrenched patriarchy is and how to dismantle it and all other forms of oppressive and exploitative structures. The charter holds the feminist movement accountable through setting guiding principles, and ethics at both individual and institutional levels with the outcomes being used to amplify the movement. Participants were taken through the principle of duty to defend the rights of women without qualification, treating them all as equal.

Key recommendation: Accountability mechanisms for feminist organising should always be employed and this entails using the charter to develop monitoring frameworks for institutions, being women-led, mobilising and organising according to feminist principles and the inclusion of all women in their diversities.

Our understanding of politics and patriarchy: Patriarchy is a system of male authority that legitimises the oppression of women and it is interrelated with and informs relationships of class, race, ethnic, religious, and global-imperialism. Thus to challenge patriarchy effectively also requires challenging other systems of oppression and exploitation, which frequently mutually support each other. The focus is fighting against patriarchy as a system rather than fighting individual men. This requires investing individual and institutional energies in the struggle against all forms of patriarchal oppression and exploitation and this has birthed the feminist movement.

Our identity as African feminists: We acknowledge our African roots even as we are part of the global feminist movement where we share spaces and draw inspiration from. As African feminists, we claim the right to theorise, strategize and speak for ourselves. The African colonial feminists lobbied, networked, marched, went on strike, fought, challenged systems of oppression. The women that fought in the Mau-Mau movement challenged the imperial hegemonic systems that oppressed them. Understanding our identity and recognizing that even if we do not have similar challenges, we are stronger as a collective drawing inspiration from our African ancestors who blazed the trail for African women.

FEMINIST ETHICS AND PRINCIPLES

- The indivisibility, inalienability and universality of women's human rights
- The effective participation in building and strengthening progressive African feminist organising and networking to bring about transformatory change.
- A spirit of feminist solidarity and mutual respect based on frank, honest and open discussion of difference with each other.
- The support, nurture, and care of other African feminists, along with the care for our own well-being.
- The practice of non-violence and the achievement of non-violent societies.
- The right of all women to live free of patriarchal oppression, discrimination and violence.
- Freedom of choice and autonomy regarding bodily integrity issues, including reproductive rights, abortion, sexual identity and sexual orientation.

- A critical engagement with discourses of religion, culture, tradition and domesticity with a focus on the centrality of women's rights.
- The recognition and presentation of African women as the subjects not the objects of our work, and as agents in their lives and societies.
- The right to healthy, mutually respectful and fulfilling personal relationships.
- The right to express our spirituality within or outside of organised religions.
- The acknowledgment of the feminist agency of African women which has a rich Herstory that has been largely undocumented and ignored.
- The right of all women to have access to sustainable and just livelihoods as well as welfare provision, including quality health care, education, water and sanitation.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE DISCUSSION (THE AHA MOMENTS)

- Learning from other fora convened namely the African feminist Forum and the Uganda feminist Forum, Kenya should plan to convene its chapter in 2024 for 50 young feminists (50 participants).
- As radical feminists, we believe men cannot speak for women because they have no lived experiences and when given the chance, they dominate space meant for women and perpetuate male dominance.
- Feminism is not new, it started a long time ago on the continent and in Kenya as well.
- To challenge patriarchy effectively, other forms of oppression must also be challenged.
- Participants identified as African feminists with an understanding of the principles.

Sexuality was defined by participants as feelings and emotions to what you are attracted to, expression of who we are (sexual orientation/identity), holistic feelings of attraction and the interaction between a penis and a vagina resulting in intercourse.

The facilitator emphasised that the feminist lens steps away from the binary view of sexuality to recognize the different forms that exist today. They include Heterosexuality, Pansexuality, Homosexuality, sapiosexuality, asexuality, demisexuality. The patriarchal system has lined up sexuality on a hierarchy and given unfair advantage to the cis heterosexual whites who sit at the top of the hierarchy while the gay and transgender persons of African descent who are at the bottom of the hierarchy are disenfranchised.

The term cisgender refers to those people whose biological assignment matches the way they chose to identify. Transgender on the other hand represents a person whose biological assignment is different from the way they identify themselves.

GENDER AND OPPRESSION

Gender was defined as assigned identities of feminine and masculine with socially constructed characteristics of a man and a woman and socially assigned roles. Patriarchy is defined in gender through the characteristics of a man and a woman. Male characteristics such as muscular and strong denote power, intimidation, access, decision-making and control while softer female attributes such as nurturing, emotional are deliberately viewed in the negative sense and are used to limit or deny opportunities resulting in the receiving more subtle roles of caregiving and support roles at the workplace. While the men enjoy access, the women are denied access to resources, health care, housing, and political representation. Feminist analysis employs the gender roles framework to assess the inequalities faced by women in access to and control over resources, and the material and non-material benefits of society and their gender-specific needs, priorities and responsibilities. Women experience multiple levels of oppression in the form of social, economic, political and cultural oppression. Gender roles force women to live according to community or societal expectations of production, resources, access, control, beneficiaries, reproduction and unpaid care work.

REFLECTIONS OF THE DAY

The participants reported to have had engaging conversations with the moderators of the day and registered these learnings for the day:

- Learned the differences between sex, gender, and sexuality.
- Feminism is a lonely journey that takes boldness, wit, and solid facts to push through the barriers to social justice.
- Feminism or rather African feminism is not a western concept.
- Women must occupy spaces and advocate for self. We cannot let men speak for us.
- Understanding the relationship between power and how it works to privilege or oppress someone.
- There is a need for a bigger conversation around unpaid care work and labour if we are to economically empower women.
- Unpacking sex, sexuality, gender as avenue for oppression of women

- Feminism is about tools of analysis, tools of envisioning, tools of creating alternative parallel education on leadership to empower women. When women are empowered, it gives them voice, power, security, travel, experience, audacity and leadership.
- Feminism is a journey and involves asking questions that promote learning.
- Patriarchy is not just about men in authority but systems that conspire to promote male dominance.
- Feminism is about all women in all their diversities.
- The African feminist Charter, if understood well, can work to the advantage of women's organisations.
- There is no feminism without intersectionality.
- To challenge patriarchy effectively also requires challenging other systems of oppression.

PERSONAL COMMITMENTS BY PARTICIPANTS FROM THE SESSION

- I am going to be bold in my feminism.
- Everywhere I go I will always say I am a feminist FULLSTOP! No Buts.
- I have not been actively taking spaces, moving forward I will take up more spaces
- I have learnt that it's okay to curse, it is a form of taking back power.
- I need self-meditation on how to cascade feminist leadership in the community.
- I can now acknowledge and call out oppressive power
- I am aware of the struggles of the people on the queer spectrum
- With the knowledge from today's activity, I will educate people from my organisation because there are still gaps and assumptions on sex, sexuality, and gender.
- The character on feminist principles, I will share with my fellow folks at my organisation as we are missing out on some focal points.
- I have already shared the documents and seen how we can improve on our advocacy/feminism.

FEMINISM, FEMINIST THEORIES AND INTERSECTIONALITY BY DR STELLA BOSIRE

Objective: To understand feminism 101, feminist theories and intersectionality framework and how to apply its principles in everyday women's rights struggles.

The session employed a mixed method approach using podcasts, video clips, group exercises along with interactive plenary discussions to promote a uniform understanding and acceptance of feminism among the participants.

FRAMING DIFFERENT FORMS OF OPPRESSION IN AFRICA: A VIDEO CLIP BY MONAH ELTAHAWY

Dr. Bosire took the team through the construction of feminist theory from the pre-colonial era through to the post-colonial era and where the movement is today highlighting feminists such as Mikatilili, Muthoni, Wambui Otieno, Wangari Mathai, Nawale and Winnie Madikizela who fought for the liberation movements but are not documented. Colonialism birthed two feminist schools of thought; Essentialist and Marxists who found the link between gender and culture that Africa cannot not completely detach from. Before the advent of colonialist ideology of looking at gender with a binary lens due to the economic perspectives and giving gender roles, African culture had same sex marriages and Effeminate men. Colonialism eroded the African egalitarian system that existed introducing classism, elitism, extortion and extractionism.
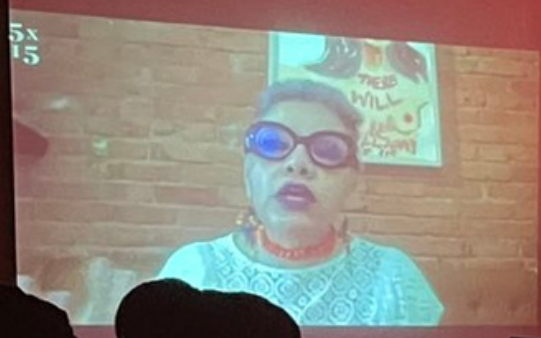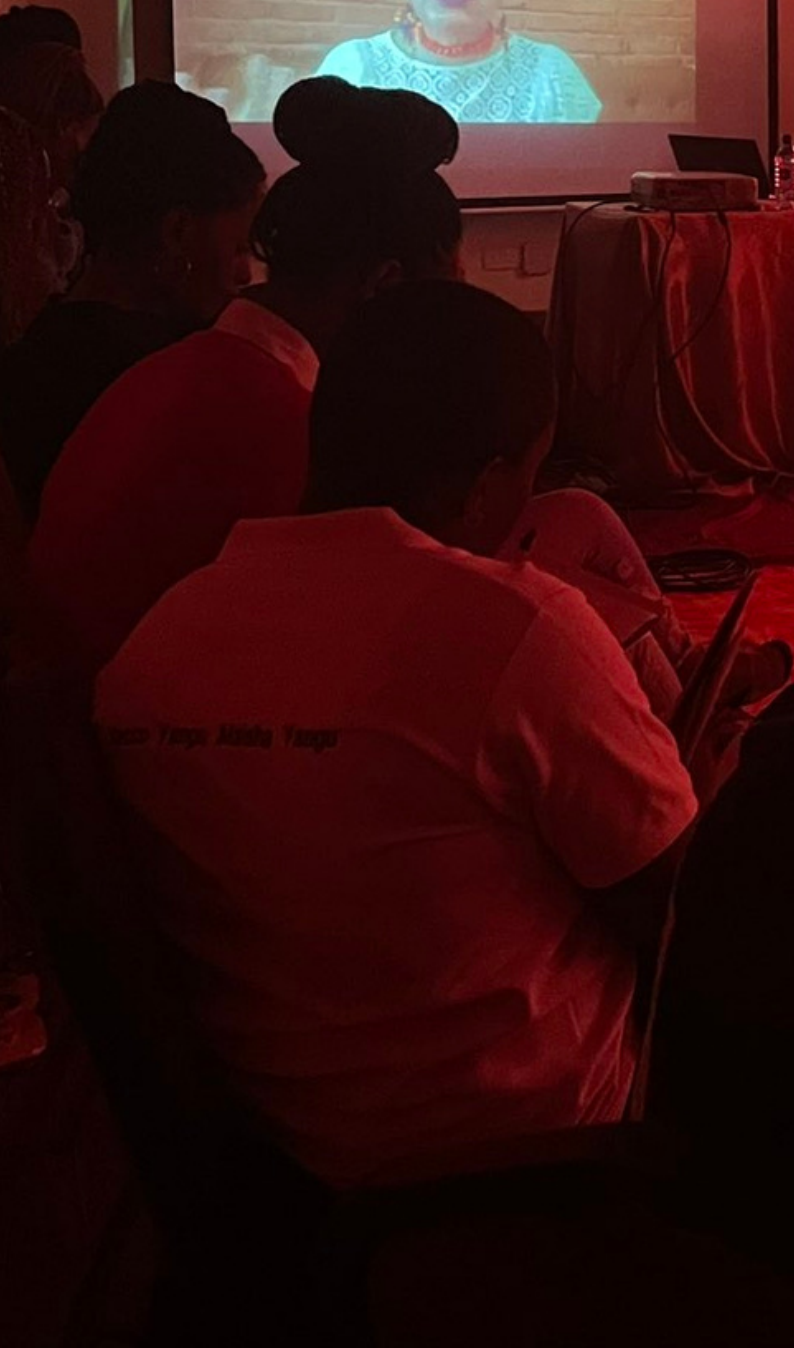
- Feminism is about women rights, boldness, sexual pleasure, equity, equality, rebellion, freedom, power, controversy and oppression.
- The ideology around feminism is to be able to fight back against systemic forms of oppression of people who are vulnerable to poverty, climate change, war and conflicts.
- Feminism narrative in the African continent was misrepresented to be about hating childbearing, hating marriage, hating men, love for sex, love for independence and these were the tools used against African feminists.
- All legislations concerning women have been focused on controlling their reproductive systems. Yet pleasure is more than sexual penetration, but the five senses of pleasure have been regulated. Women have been extensively controlled so that knowledge on bodily autonomy, pleasure, safety and control are not widespread.
- African women who pushed back against colonialism: Wangari Mathai (Eco-feminism) Muthoni, Mboi Othieno, Mau-Mau women-who took food to the men in the forests and acted as spies.
- Essentialist feminism argues that gender is decided at birth because of physical differences, while constructivist feminism argues that gender is socially constructed through conditioning orchestrated by patriarchy. It is important is to be able to see intersectionality, gender and culture-within the African continent where there were effeminate men and same sex marriages (in the Kisii community)
- Historically, polygamy was not about the men, but the women who could not give birth to children and thus brought in other younger women to bear children and these children took the women's names. When the colonialists came, they created gender binaries, created job divisions (male domination as patriarchs). The men took control of the land and women remained at home to till it with no control during the harvest. Education was for men to work in blue collar jobs.
- African systems were more egalitarian systems; people shared equal rights but the coming of colonialism ushered in an era of economic divides and created classism.

AFRICAN FEMINISM: A PODCAST BY JESSICA HORN

Africa feminism works to dismantle patriarchal power and its intersections as propagated by colonialism. Jessica highlighted the contribution of African feminist who have been erased from the history for example, Rwandan and Bosnian women collectively saying that they were raped during conflicts led to rape being considered as a war crime. The African feminist forum therefore came into place to bring together like-minded people looking to grow the movement and work together to harness regional input conveniently. African feminists are working towards propagating feminist principles and the rights of women on the continent. Participants appreciated the importance of questioning the norms and the fact that feminism is not just an academic concept but rather a living praxis that seeks to end the oppression of women.

KEY HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE VIDEO.

- Some people are born to be drivers of change. To question conformist and restrictive norms like binary gender norms.
- African feminism is many things and promotes understanding of the world and how the injustice in the world is brought about by patriarchal power.
- How Africa as a continent's place on the global economic map has led to neocolonialism and increased violation of human's rights due to rampant poverty with women and girls being the most marginalised.
- Political Consciousness of most African male leaders was shaped by the women in their lives.
- Most stories of change by African women, took collective and individual bravery birthed by the fatigue of oppression.
- The legislations limiting people's freedom of expression is patriarchal power mostly borne by religious and cultural fundamentalism,
- The need to deeply popularise pan-African feminist principles, in order for Africans to own their own means of production through collective action.

After a comprehensive conversation on feminist theory from an African perspective, Dr. Bosire highlighted the architectural designs which compound the second fiddle position the woman has been dealt, right from the family set up. These inequalities take different forms ranging from social, health, economic and political issues. Some of these forms of oppression to women include pay gap and deliberate masculinization of jobs, sexism at the workplace, lack of body autonomy, lack of access to factors of production and capital. Selective regulation of sex work with laws only targeting the sex workers and exonerating the buyers. Criminalizing sex work takes away resources from the woman.

The participants understood the architecture of domination and control to appreciate the gains made by the feminist movement. They also explored the different ways in which patriarchy shows up as violence against women. A good example is the media reporting and frenzy that happens when women surpass expectations. Women are also given the unfair choice between work and children. The lack of recognition that childbirth can be a thin line between life and death hence the need to discuss the traumas that come with bearing children and be given the choice to have alternatives to childbearing. The session adequately covered other inequalities around education, political participation, employment, and gendered poverty that has disenfranchised women in such a way that ownership was always given to the man right from the household level to the global level. Locally we saw that during elections a good number of women did not vote due to social responsibilities, or we saw some come with children and the extreme case was that of a man who dictated the candidate the wife voted for. This is a clear show of how the patriarchal system does not work for women.

GROUP 1: WHAT DOES MEANINGFUL ADVOCACY LOOK LIKE?

Sexuality: Women are finding and creating more space to speak out and amplify their voices demanding for social and gender justice. Though advocacy work takes time to show benefits, there is progress being made and this is propellant for our feminist fire.

Resources access and control: Though Kenya's history is deeply patriarchal, the tide is changing and the women's movement is making strides in the fight for an equitable society for all women and girls. The matrimonial properties Act is a great achievement for the feminist movement where it gives women the right to a share of the matrimonial property and further provides security in the form of cultural marriage for women that have been living with their partner for 6 months. The opposition is strongly touting arguments about the boy-child being left behind in order to guilt trip women because they are natural carers. Women are treated badly at home-they keep all important documents, but they don't have a say, the extended family wants to be more dominant in everything.

Religion: The bible calls men sons of God and women daughters of Men and instructs women to be submissive to men this creates a power imbalance between men and women and propagates inequality.

Relationships with males: Though women are working in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, all the advertising and branding put out represents men. This shows a lack of appreciation for the contribution women have made in this field and further discourages adolescent and young girls from pursuing this career path since it is marketed as a male field with little to no room for women.

GROUP 2: EFFECTS OF PATRIARCHAL SYSTEMS ON WOMEN

Social sexism in workplaces: There are professions set aside just for women and there are normally support roles deemed to be feminine and are normally non managerial roles that are low paying. Also, some companies will not hire young women or pregnant women, have dress codes and frown upon certain hairstyles (dreadlocks) and tattoos.

Control over the women's bodies: Men dictate the use of contraceptives for women and how many children to have.

Land ownership: women and girls are not culturally entitled to inherit land leading to generational economic inequality against women compared to their male siblings. Also men purchase land and are the sole owners while women are frequently coerced to co-own their property with their husbands.

Leadership: Women are still given ceremonial roles in positions of leadership to satisfy corporate and policies without ceding any power to the same effect.

Sex work: Women engaging in sex work are vilified and treated as social outcasts yet their male counterparts who also engage in the trade are not viewed the same by society. Sex work should be decriminalized to reduce the stigma and violence that sex workers are subjected to and this also provides a new income stream for the government.

Religious policing: Religion has set principles in the areas of sexuality, parenting, gender roles, marriage, and divorce all of which promote patriarchal power.

History: Women have been undocumented in the history of independence.

Sexual pleasure: Only 12% of women globally have ever experienced an orgasm. Women are raised to believe that having desire for sex and expressing it is "un lady" like and women who openly spoke about sex and sexuality were vilified and ostracised from society.

Pay gap and Unpaid labour: Institutions and corporations ensure that there is a pay gap between women and men even those in leadership positions. Stereotyping women as soft, weak and incapable of making hard decisions are mechanisms being used to maintain the status quo. Women are also forced to choose between work and children, most of the time forgoing their own goals, aspirations in favour of childbirth and rearing where they receive no pay for their labour. Women silently suffer from postpartum depression where society dictates how she should feel and that she should enjoy the new phase of her life even if her reality is otherwise. Women should not be made to choose between career and parenting. Parenting should not limit women's abilities to progress in education and career.

Parenting has regressed women's political, social, economic progressions, Education inequalities: Society values the education of a boy-child over that of a girl-child irrespective of academic excellence. Letting a girl progress far in her education journey is viewed as a challenge due to the belief that education produces poor quality wives because they believe they are made for more than just child rearing and being homemakers.

Gender mainstreaming: Gender mainstreaming which is supposed to bring about equality among the sexes still fosters a form of oppression where it does not consider intersectionality in policy formulation and will thus not achieve equality for all.

Neocolonialism and capitalism: Both these forms of oppression capitalise on women being "weaker" than men to exploit them for economic gain. Women are intentionally left out of decision-making spaces and decisions are dictated to them giving them little or no choice leading to exploitation, poor pay and unfair policies.

THE BIRTH OF AFRO-FEMINISM IN KENYA: TRACING SYSTEMIC AND STRUCTURAL FACTORS FOREIGN CORPORATE BEHAVIOUR

Kenyan women and children were continually exploited during the production process, bearing the heaviest burden in the production chain, receiving little pay, without protective gear. Policies did not protect them from sexual and physical violence in companies owned by former colonialists who did not value their safety or them as people.

Lack of access: to clean energy, water, education, health care and violence against women is in the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya. The 10% allocations to the local revenue of the Turkana region by industrial projects did not benefit the community or generate the desired outcome in the community.

Extractives: The lead poisoning that occurred in Mombasa had adverse effects especially on children born to mothers who were exposed to the toxins. The burden of the injustice towards the community especially to women and children gave rise to a movement of persons tired of the injustice perpetrated by foreign companies. A case was brought before the high court and payment of reparations will be made to all those afflicted.

Risk of environmental exploitation of minerals and resources: Kenyans especially women are overworked, exposed to harmful environments and underpaid by the foreign companies carrying out exploitation. The aftereffects of these endeavours, leave the land degraded and barren thus unusable by the local people with women and children facing the largest brunt of the change in climate. Having to walk longer distances to access clean water and the loss of income force them to resort to unimaginable means for survival.

Human rights violations: The illegal evictions of native Kenyans off their land by white ranchers in order to set up big farms left the people disenfranchised due to the loss of their ancestral lands and source of income. Women and children were the most affected by the displacement.

Wild-life biodiversity conservation: Gazetting of areas that are inhabited by local communities for wildlife conservation like what happened to the Masai renders communities homeless which leads to food insecurity and despondence with perpetrators being protected by the government. The implementation of wildlife policies ignores the natives, eroding their culture also leading to death of indigenous knowledge and practices around conservation in favour of imported policies. The biggest losers are women and children who become internally displaced, losing their sense of belonging and identity leaving them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

White privilege: This is evident in the criteria employed in the access to jobs and resources employed for Caucasians compared to native Kenyans. White people have more privileges and access to resources as compared to Kenyans in their own country. Language exclusion-The use of English as the main official language excludes many people from the conversation. Yet Kiswahili, a more popular native language, is spoken by a vast majority of Kenyans.

International AID: AID is not a gift but a continued form of colonial oppression propagating economic inequalities using international organisations claiming to give back agency to the people. AID/NGO funding have political agendas and not out of good will. NGOs force their agendas on organisations. e.g., religious organisations will not fund a certain agenda. Africa is used as a testing ground for any new product, African efforts towards change are not recognized and intellectual property is also stolen. Focus is not on finding long term solutions but brief cosmetic solutions.

While examining neocolonialism and how it affects African development and feminists, the session highlighted the following social propagated by neocolonialism to date.

- Limited or discriminated access to certain social areas
- White privilege – Laws are applied selectively
- Resource drain, recycling and imported back
- Brain drain in the form of extortionist and rigorous scrutiny while applying for scholarships while the white person comes on an exchange program and the process is less stringent on them.
- The SGDs are not homegrown and tied to international treaties signed by countries
- IMF and the loan burden that results in higher taxation and leads to collapsed businesses loss of income and property.

REFLECTIONS AND TAKE-HOME IDEAS

- Participants learnt to analyse issues from a deeper perspective
- They learnt that as a feminist, always wear an inquiry lens and have the patience to find the cause and root cause.
- It was brought to light that there are women who applaud patriarchy hence need to find fellow feminists to collaborate with and support one another.
- It is important to speak from a point of information where you have read widely and understand what feminism is.
- You cannot understand feminism without understanding heteronormativity – places a priority on cis men.
- Feminism is a tool that allows you to freely choose how to speak, behave and do it with audacity.
- No trophy for being a feminist, Important to start questioning everything

SEXUAL REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE
BY ISABELLA MWANGI – LAWYER, FEMINIST

Objective: Understanding feminist principles and values on SRHR.

Isabella Mwangi, a seasoned feminist steered the conversation aimed at unearthing and challenging participant's biases on matters of choice specifically on access to safe abortion and sexuality.

HIGHLIGHTING THE DIFFERENT RIGHTS IN SRH

- Right to access information
- Right to access safe abortion
- Right to access contraceptives
- Right to Privacy
- Right to choose healthcare provider
- Right to choose sex, time, and partner
- Right to have family or not
- Right to decline medical assistance

PRINCIPLES OF FEMINISM IN SRHR

History of feminism: The first wave of feminism happened in the United States of America because white autocrats' wives were fed up with just being homemakers and wanted to take up a more active role in society, so they pushed the right to vote. They realised the need to bring on board all women including those of colour. The second wave was birthed by a deep desire for equality and the fight against other inequalities. The third wave unpacked and realised the intersectionality of the inequalities. And the fourth wave, the 'me-too' movement is popular in the western world but has not caught up in Africa. This wave is based on believability and that if you say you were raped, all the women believe you have been raped hence the #timeisup! Kenya does not have a law against marital rape, it is however hidden in the sexual protection offenses act.

Intersectionality: This is understanding power and privilege, who has it and who doesn't from a Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights perspective.
Consent from a feminist perspective-Consent is described as agreeing freely with good will without any form of coercion and between people with the right to withdraw it at whatever point.

Choice in SRH: Choice is defined as the ability to make an informed decision free from all forms of coercion. In SRH choice is the ability to make an informed decision on contraceptives, whether to continue with a pregnancy or not, choice of healthcare provider, whether to have sex or not and with whom.

Affordability: SRH services should be affordable for all Kenyans with a high standard of quality maintained.

Accessibility: This is explained as the ability of all women and adolescent girls to receive the required SRH services they need in the required time without prejudice or bias

THE STATUS OF SRHR IN KENYA (KILIFI, KWALE AND NAIROBI)

This session contextualised the prevailing issues of SRHR in Kenya, centering Zamara Foundation's geographical focus areas of Kwale, Kilifi and Nairobi. The session centred its discussion on understanding the SRHR status of women, girls and gender minorities in Kenya focusing on the structural issues and ideology underpinning the challenges to universal access to SRHR for women and girls. The aim was to unearth the experiences of people, especially young women and girls, with intersecting forms of discrimination and stigma (People with Disability, sexual minorities, sex workers). The session was intended to guide participants in analysing SRHR issues in their contexts in order to mould cogent advocacy goals.

SRHR LEGAL FRAMEWORKS AND POLICY ENVIRONMENT IN AFRICA

The aim of this session was to enable participants to understand the different SRHR policies at the National and County level (Kwale, Kilifi and Nairobi) and to avail participants with the knowledge of how and why it is imperative that SRHR advocacy is framed from a human rights-based approach. This gave participants a deeper appreciation for how policies and laws are used to advance demands for equal access to SRH services for all women and girls in their diversities. Participants were enlightened on the legal framework in SRHR, where it was highlighted that all laws are derived from the constitution of 2010. Where the key principles of Non-discrimination, privacy and human rights are aligned to the regional and global instruments like the Maputo protocol, Beijing declaration and the global declaration of human rights. These are localised or domesticated through the Reproductive Health policy, Menstrual hygiene policy and mental health policy.

These legal instruments place due diligence on the government giving it responsibility to ensure the implementation of these rights. Article 2 of the constitution provides that any treaty ratified is incorporated in the Kenyan law. The law has provided for many rights in the constitution, but the trouble lies in unpacking the language used by the crafters of the law.

Sexual offences act (SOA) criminalizes rape and defilement and is the only law that comes with mandatory sentences. It was discriminatory in the way it prosecuted under age sex and was amended to protect both boys and girls below the age of 14 years. It further defines defilement, child tourism and child prostitution.

Penal code: This is used to prosecute all criminal offences and this is where procured miscarriages and abortions are prosecuted.

Anti FGM act: has not been efficient because it only concentrates on the element of coercion and has no mention of voluntary participation in FGM.

According to the National reproductive health policy, access to SRHR is determined by the age of maturity which is set at 21 years which is discriminatory.

CHILDREN ARE ENGAGING IN SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR WITH THE MEDIAN AGE FOR SLUM DWELLERS BEING 15 YEARS AND FOR NON-SLUM DWELLERS BEING 17 YEARS.

The language in the act is also discriminative and needs to be reviewed. Research for SRHR requires exquisite permission from a board to review your concept and give approval for the research to be done. This policy tames the nature, quality and type of research.

African charter on welfare of children aligns with the Maputo practice in what SRHR information children should have access to.

The East Africa HIV act states that no one should be discriminated against from running for public office.

East Africa CHRSPO isn't being ratified in some countries on the regional block due to some of the contentious issues in the policy around safe abortion and surrogacy due to religious and cultural beliefs that are deeply rooted in African societies. Some legislators argue that surrogacy is a western concept, and the girls will be selling their wombs to the highest bidders. In truth, surrogacy is happening in Kenya but is a reserve for the wealthy. The lack of laws to govern the terms of agreement between all parties involved creates room for misunderstanding, abuse and harm especially towards the child.

The EAC SRHR bill provides for comprehensive sexuality education for school going children but there is a lot of push back from the community about the essence of giving children sexual education for fear that it will promote underage sex and teenage pregnancy even if the reverse is true. AU continental policy of SRHR, Agenda 2063 (Africa agenda), Africa youth charter enshrines the ICPD commitments, GEF commitments and calls for governments to invest further to end GBV in Africa which was made even more rampant by the Covid-19 pandemic.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE LAWS REGARDING SRHR

- County governments are still slow on SRHR, they don't have clear policies or bills to guide implementation.
- The realisation that increased female representation in Kenya does not guarantee meaningful representation.
- Different states have learnt the art of shielding themselves from implementation of some of the provisions in these laws and policies.
- Kenya has reservations to article 10 of the Maputo protocol which states that states should cut down their military expenditure and redirect it to development. Though international commissions are influential in persuading states to implement the protocols but cannot be directly involved.

DAY FOUR

UNDERSTANDING SRHR ADVOCACY

Objective: To understand the fundamentals of advocacy and the different approaches to apply. This session seeks to nourish participants by breaking down the fundamentals of advocacy, the different approaches available and to give an understanding of its life cycle (problem analysis, advocacy goals, advocacy plans, stakeholder mapping and power analysis, media, and communications plan)

Advocacy is an activity by an individual or group that aims to influence decisions of duty bearers. Advocacy is about challenging systemic oppression that continues to perpetuate violations to create a just society. It mirrors the need to change power relations, changing beliefs, changing formulation and implementation of official policies.

Types of power:
Power within – individual power
Power with – Collective power
Power to – power to take the action
Power over – understanding information

Relationship between power and advocacy
In order for advocacy to be impactful, the influential duty bearers need to be mapped and a power analysis done showing the power the different duty bearers hold and how it can be used or abused. *Power within* is the individual authority, *power with* is the collective power with others. *Power to* is directed at the action needed to change systems while p*ower over* is about understanding information, the cause, in order to do analysis and identify the issues to design impactful actionable plans. Understanding power relations while engaging the duty bearer to act is critical in advocacy work.

ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS ARE ORGANISED MOVEMENTS FOCUSED ON INFLUENCING POLITICAL CHANGE AND DRIVING AWARENESS AROUND ISSUES AT THE LOCAL, STATE, OR NATIONAL LEVEL.

ADVOCACY LIFE CYCLE

1. Identify an advocacy issue: an issue is the problem statement while an agenda is planning an actionable approach that is achievable. For example, Kenya criminalises non-medically indicated abortions yet unsafe abortion is the fourth largest cause of maternal death in Kenya. Lives will be saved if there is access to safe and legal abortions.
2. Conduct research: Gather data and evidence to back your advocacy issue. Look at policies and laws on the issue and their cause-effect relationship on the advocacy issue while providing and evidencing viable alternatives.
3. Identify stakeholders: power analysis should be done to understand power dynamics.
4. Develop advocacy messages: These are targeted at duty bears. Advocacy messages should start with a strong lead-in that instantly captures the attention of its target audience, should be fact based and if statistics are available, they should be availed in a compelling manner. The message should convey to the target audience why it is relevant and deserving of attention and should end with a call to action.
5. Target audience/group: This is the person (or group of people) with the power to respond to your demand and move the political process in relation to your issue.
6. Resources and timelines: Advocacy work is resource intensive and thus requires proper planning for resource and time allocation with a focus on the efficient use of what is available and carrying out resource mobilisation initiatives to cover gaps. Resources also include human resources and the number of persons that are available and committed to the cause affect the implementation plan.
7. Implementation: An implementation plan should be in place with a step-by-step guide of how the initiative is going to be rolled out. There should be consistency with wellbeing being prioritised because advocacy work takes a toll on the physical and mental wellbeing of people.
8. Monitoring and evaluation: Developing a theory of change and indicators to track and measure the change that happens to inform future programming, risk management, learning and adaptation.

COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT BY CHRISTINE SAYO-A FEMINIST/ENVIRONMENTALIST

Objectives: To understand how to deploy new media tools for advocacy.
This session was aimed at guiding participants on how to identify the right advocacy platforms to reach their intended audience and on how to effectively use media to enhance advocacy messages.

A video clip was played to show participants effective team work, multi-tasking and action. The purpose for this was to show participants the amount of work that goes into content creation for advocacy work and how it requires effort and collaboration from the team. The facilitator explained how for a good product to be attained, it has to speak the advocacy objective and be relatable to the target audience.

COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

- Identify a goal: This should be based on the strategic plan. It is usually one and gives direction to the advocacy agenda.
- Identify objectives: These are a breakdown of the identified goal into smaller achievable parts and gives direction on how to position the foundation through communications work.
- Identify the target audiences: This is a person or group persons the message is intended for. It is critical to identify the influential people you want to reach and specificity is key in order to create targeted messages.
- Identify communication channels: Identify the most effective forms of communication to reach the target audience. This process should be dynamic and adaptations should be made where necessary to accommodate for the ever changing technologies available.
- Designing messaging: Identify what message would resonate with the different target audiences. Research must be done on the target audiences and the information gathered should be utilised to craft targeted messages for them to be impactful.

- Monitoring, evaluation, and learning: This is necessary to assess the outcome the communications are having on the targeted audience in terms of reach and impact whether positive or negative and should inform the learning and adaptation process of the advocacy agenda.
- Opposition monitoring and security: Advocacy work always comes with push back from those benefiting from the status quo and this should be accounted for during the planning phase with mitigation procedures in place. A risk register should be frequently updated to reflect the current context.
- Leverage on international commemoration days: These tend to attract public attention because they are celebrated on a global scale and attract a lot of attention to the issue at hand.
- Synergies: Creative ways to work in collectives with like minded individuals and organisations working on SRHR related issues and feminism should be explored. There is more amplification when advocacy is done in a collective.
- Changing the narrative: Recognizing that we have inherited colonial systems including language, we are becoming aware, including correcting it, it will take time to change how we describe Africa. Look for "Black women in development". Be graceful when pointing out and be graceful when receiving feedback.

IDENTIFYING AN ADVOCACY ISSUE AND THE BEST ADVOCACY APPROACHES BY MAGEDA ELSOYO

This session was to enable participants to understand an advocacy life cycle. The session employed practical and plenary sessions in order for participants to gain experience in crafting an advocacy plan and strategy. (Problem analysis, advocacy goals, advocacy plans, stakeholder mapping and power analysis, media, and communications plan,).

STEP 1 **IDENTIFYING AN ADVOCACY ISSUE**	• Identify one main problem • Find the root causes • What are the consequences of the issue • Can a change in policy or implementing existing policy help improve the root cause • Evidence that the root cause is an issue • Can the issue be addressed in the next 2-5 years • Identify the existing policy around the issue.
STEP 2 **IDENTIFYING AN ADVOCACY GOAL**	• Identify the duty bearers or the key influential people to target • Identify how they can be influential • Identify what is currently being done around the issue by duty bearers • Identify the barriers to implementation of policies
STEP 3 **IDENTIFYING AN ADVOCACY GOAL**	• Identify key audiences • Find out their current knowledge on the advocacy issue • Create targeted messages and campaigns

	MESSAGE	FEEDBACK
GROUP 1	The local administration will re-enforce the Anti-FGM Act by arresting the perpetrators and creating awareness to reduce the prevalence of FGM at community level from 90% to 80% by 2027.	It is wise to always use statistics because they create a better picture and setting a timeframe is realistic. However, there is a need to specify who the target actors are, the role they will play, the role of girls and young women.
GROUP 2	To engage with the ministry of health to ensure full implementation of the Kenya mental health policy by 2030.	Attach statistics to the advocacy goal to indicate improvement. Indicate any potential stakeholders to work with.
GROUP 3	Lobbying with relevant stakeholders and allies to bring presentation of a petition in parliament to help reduce teenage pregnancies in the next 10 years.	Lack of access to information on reproductive health information.

STAKEHOLDER MAPPING AND POWER ANALYSIS BY MAGEDA ELSOYO

Objective: Identify key stakeholders who can promote, hinder and/or decide on SRHR and develop strategies for engagement at the county level.

The aim of this session was to nourish participants with skills in power analysis to identify key stakeholders, to understand the context of allies and opposition in Kenya and finally to understand how to engage with opposition and why opposition monitoring is important. Tips were also given on mapping out the audience and designing an effective and timely advocacy strategy.

IDENTIFICATION OF TARGET AUDIENCE

Group 1

Target audience

Survivors of trauma

What do you know about your audience

- They know that there are increasing cases of suicides but only record death cases but have not focused on recording the numbers suffering before death
- They do not know details about mental health policy
- They use social media (Instagram, Facebook, TikTok)

What is the desired change

They are still in a healing process and if empowered they will reach out and support others

How will this change happen

We want our audience to join the movement-to participate in conversations, to be involved in the engagements to reach the campaign targets. The people who are affected will be empowered; they will be eager to help other people. They will be sharing their experiences. They will be supported to reach a level of self-awareness-and they will want to spread the importance of living for themselves.

Design a clear message to the audience
Prioritised mental health wellness as a way of achieving the highest standards of living for every citizen. #implement.
Priorities of the target audience
They are interested in mental health

FEEDBACK TO GROUP 1

- Social media campaigns are great in creating awareness, but sometimes the challenge is whether the target audience has online accounts.
- Beware that the campaign may trigger more trauma therefore safer options should be explored while engaging them.
- Consider sustainability of the campaign since people who have been through trauma shy away from experiences that make them relive their past.
- Consider the mental health burden on those taking part in the campaign and the trauma they are also being exposed to.
- The hashtag is popular with social media advocates. Make sure that the target audience understands it.

Group 2
Target audience
Message 1- high teenage pregnancies
Message 2- Parents
1. Chiefs, and SRHR dept at the gender desk
2. Parents, because they bear the brunt of rearing the children (expand the definition of parent so that we are inclusive of a child-headed house).

What do you know about your audience
1. They are aware of the practice/ are aware of the high rates of FGM.
2. They want the best for their children, cannot speak about sex to their children, they want their girls to finish school.

What is the desired change
1. Create awareness during the barazas.
2. To engage parents in signing a petition for change in the reproductive health policy.

How will this change happen
1. Encourage the public, look out for the practitioners.
2. Encourage the practitioners to act

Design a clear message to the audience
1. Address the issue of defilement and the culture of silence on sexuality.
2. Alarming rate of teenage pregnancies and there's a need to engage stakeholders to change the policy.

Feedback to group 2
- Though parents want the best for their children, the culture and taboos prevent them from offering information. They are interested in their children staying in school but leave the teachers to inform the children.
- Teenage pregnancies are on the rise, and children are vulnerable. Without proper information, they will look to peers and social media platforms.

- Parents use radio, TV and Phones for communication. To create awareness on the existing policy and calling for signing of the petition. Door-to-door outreaches will be used to reach parents to sign the petition. They will respond because they are the ones to bear the burden.
- This petition can demonstrate public opinion so that the cabinet secretary (CS) for health and education will ensure the CS is included in the syllabus and the policy is implemented.
- There's the need to mitigate if the initial plan does not work out. Think about potential risks and how to mitigate them.

ADVOCACY ISSUES: EARLY TEENAGE PREGNANCIES,

Root cause: lack of access to information on contraceptives

Group 3
Target audience
Young teenagers
What do you know about your audience
They want information about maternal health and reproductive health.
What is the desired change
How will this change happen
Design a clear message to the audience
Rise of teenage pregnancies causes school dropout and death.

Feedback to group 3
- Young teenage girls are interested in knowing information about SRH. They need information on the prevention of pregnancies.
- Young teenage mothers need information on how they can access maternal health services.
- Communication channels to use radio, TV and Facebook. They will respond because they want knowledge about SRH. Most girls give birth at home because they do not know where to access services and information.
- The desired change is to end teenage pregnancies.

- Key message to audience to act: The rise of teenage pregnancies age of (13-19) has increased school dropouts, maternal deaths. We urge for a change of policy which is a barrier to access of services. Amend the policy and implement the provision of SRHR services for teenagers between 13-19 years.
- Avoid using complex terms and acronyms when communicating with your target audience, opt for simpler language

Way forward

strategies.

Each participant will receive a booklet to use in developing the advocacy
- Teams to work together in Kilifi, Kwale and Nairobi to develop collective

Actions points

(Identify advocacy issue, the main problem, root cause, potential advocacy issue, advocacy goal, channels of communication, messages, activities, timelines, resources, risks.)

- Individual advocacy plans to be developed in the next 1 week. These should have well thought out agendas.
- The plans will be uploaded on the google docs shared folder
- Align to the thematic areas within the SRHR action area.
- Plans should be achievable with a set timeline.
- Indicate areas that require support from Zamara foundation, also drawing on existing expertise in the team trained.

ADVOCACY ACTION PLANS BY CHRISTINE SAYO

Objective: Utilising the knowledge and skills gained to develop a draft county advocacy plan.

This session will enable participants to create advocacy plans and to identify approaches to use during the implementation process.

Communications and media strategy development

Objective:For participants to understand how to deploy new media tools for advocacy.

This session will equip participants with the necessary skills to identify the right platforms to reach their intended audience through effective media engagement.

Mapping the audience

This can be executed at two levels by identifying the primary and secondary actors. For instance if the advocacy issue is passing the EAC SRHR Bill, this will be implemented at two levels.

Primary audience: The EALA members of Parliament who are nominated to represent the countries. Channels to use would be workshops which are very costly. Therefore, assessment of activities to pass the message should be informed by the knowledge of when they convene and what it takes to have them in the room to pass the message. The message should bring out clearly the benefit / issue in the bill, for instance this new bill provides for the mental wellbeing of women and girls.

Secondary audience: These are people who can influence or put pressure on the primary audience. They have some level of influence over the primary audience, e.g., CSOs who have been hosting the MPs for meetings.

Determine activities

Determine the available channels that fit within the planned resources and how to reach them. Low cost media channels include whatsApp groups, zoom and in-person meetings.

Timing

Timing of the advocacy campaign is very critical. Research the context you want to target and time your message for when it will have maximum impact. For example in Kenya, during the 2022 elections the Climate activists had assembled a party (GS) and they fielded candidates who would champion their agenda. Understanding that the EAlA Parliament procedure is held at 10.00am so that you share your messages by 9.00am so that the MPs can raise your issue during plenary.

Timelines: Agree on certain timeframes for implementing the activities and allocate resources. Assign duties and responsibilities to various team members for example who will take leadership for drafting the press release?, Who will oversee making sure the press release or the announcement gets to the Radio station?.

Champions

Identify influential persons that are supportive of your cause. Engage them to build support for your cause and provide visibility. Understand what the requirements are for them to champion our issues. Tie in the advocacy work with what is happening in society and come from a point of information.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Vigilantly monitor the progress of the campaign or advocacy agenda and set clear milestones (monthly, quarterly, Bi-annually, annual) on which to assess performance.

Risk Assessment

Determine the likely challenges that might be faced during the implementation and planning process and identify mitigation procedures of activities to safe guard the advocacy agenda, financial and human resources.

Backlash

Most religious leaders are in opposition towards SRHR from a feminist perspective and will be the biggest opposition. Develop messages in advance to counter any misinformation that is put out. Engage those that have been transformed to act as champions for your cause among their peers. Engaging religious leaders in dialogue is critical to bridge the misinformation gap. Interfaith councils bring together all religious leaders for dialogues.

Culture

In African culture, especially in rural areas, girls are raised to aspire to marriage as the highest achievement they can attain. This mindset propagates vices like early marriage where the girls themselves drop-out of school in favour of marriage. To break this, advocacy work has to be done in a way that does not attack or discredit their cultural and religious beliefs and practices but rather should pivot on the advantages of delaying marriage and staying in school with stories of role models who achieved greatly by staying the course. Engage cultural leaders who are gatekeepers in the community because they are very influential in society.

POST TRAINING ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPANTS' KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES

AGE

PRONOUNS

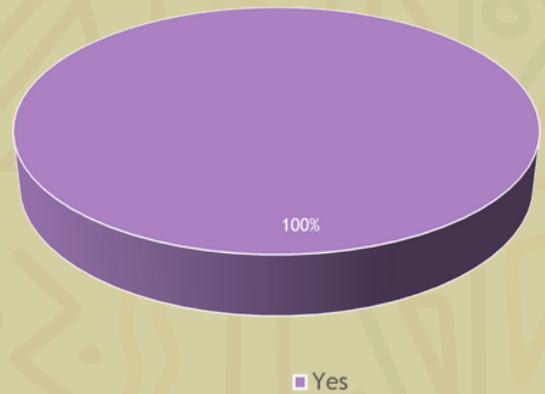■ She/them   ■ She/her/hers   ■ They/them
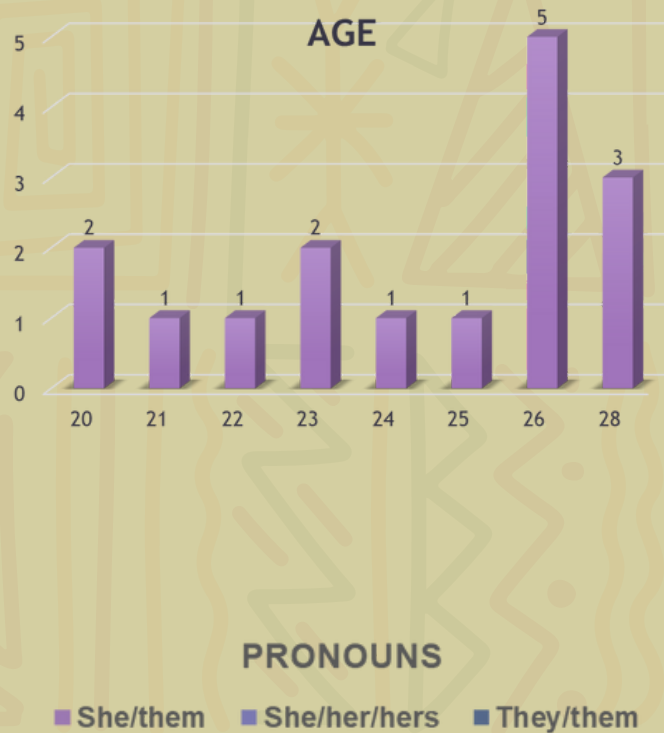
The participants were all young gender-diverse women from different backgrounds. They are affiliated to organisations working in SRHR advocacy in the counties of Kilifi, Kwale and Nairobi.

## Attended any Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights training

3

13

■ No ■ Yes
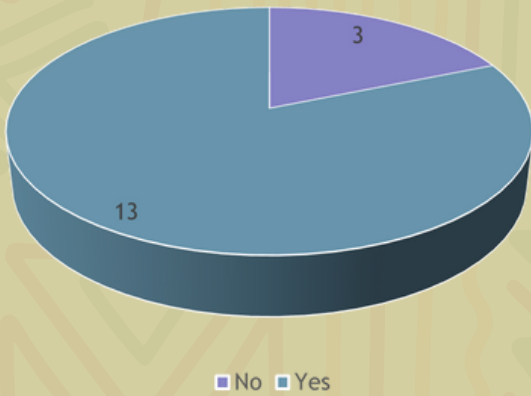
Do you consider yourself a feminist

100%

■ Yes

A majority of the participants have attended a sexual and reproductive health and rights training before. With only three persons in the group reporting that they have never attended a training before.

Heard about feminist intersectionality

100%

■ Yes
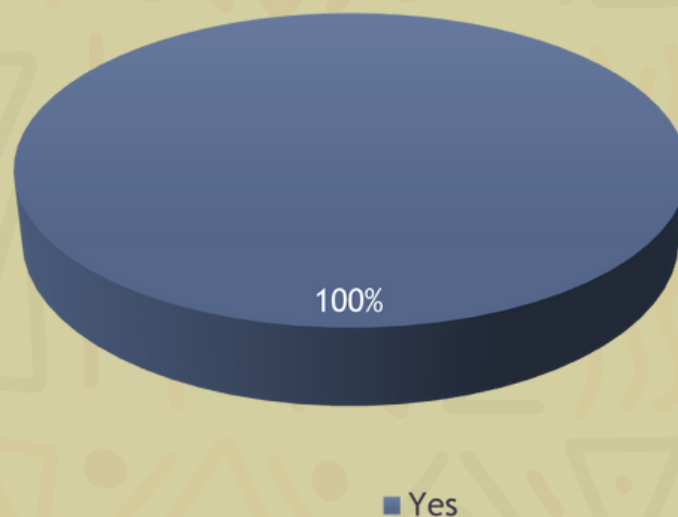
All the participants have heard about feminist intersectionality and all identified as feminist after the training. They gave the definitions below as to what they believe feminism is:

If Yes what is your definition or understanding of feminism?
The belief in and advocacy of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes expressed especially through organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests
The support nature and the liberation of women Rights in all spheres
It's the advocacy of women rights, empowerment, leadership equality and health care
The belief in full social, economic, and political equality for women
Feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexual exploitation and oppression.
Activities on behalf of women's rights and interests;
This is the inclusive advocacy for women's rights by trying to fight oppression that are furled by patriarchal society
Promotion of women empowerment and ending of patriarchy
Feminism is a political movement that advocates for womxn's economic, political and social rights to achieve gender equality.
Advocacy for Women's rights/fighting against Oppression of women. Basically advocating for Equality.
Breaking the systems that oppress women
Feminism is the politicization of the fight for women's rights. It's acknowledging that women, African women in this context, have different experiences in their unique diversities. As an African Feminist, I've come to understand that the major problem that impedes the great women that came before, is the lack of documentation of their herstories.
Feminism is a movement that aims to dismantle patriarchy and all the systems that oppresses women.
It's the movements on gender equality for all people to share same spaces and opportunities
Feminism is about all genders having equal rights and opportunities. It's about respecting diverse person's experiences, identities, knowledge and strengths, and striving to empower all women to realise their full rights.
Is a movement that challenges structures and systems of oppression

Listed below are the areas that the participants feel are persisting SRHR issues in their contexts. Their advocacy initiatives will be based on the issues highlighted.

- Limited access to Comprehensive Sex Education especially for teenagers
- Limited access to contraceptive information and services
- Limited access to safe abortion information and services.
- Early teenage pregnancies
- Sexual and gender based violence
- Limited maternal healthcare.
- Lack of enough information on SRHR
- Lack of access to SRHR services (discrimination)
- Limited access to Health facilities

CERTIFICATION AND CLOSING SESSION

To crown the session, the participants were awarded certificates for their commitment to the training and to growing on their leadership journey. They were awarded by Esther Kimani , Zamara Foundation's founder who commended the participants for their dedication to attending all the sessions and being present. She reminded them that this is a journey and the feminist movement needs young, bold, fierce and determined women if we are to break down the entrenched systems of male dominance that oppress women and girls in all their diversities. She called upon the participants to work in solidarity with other like-minded feminists because we are stronger together.

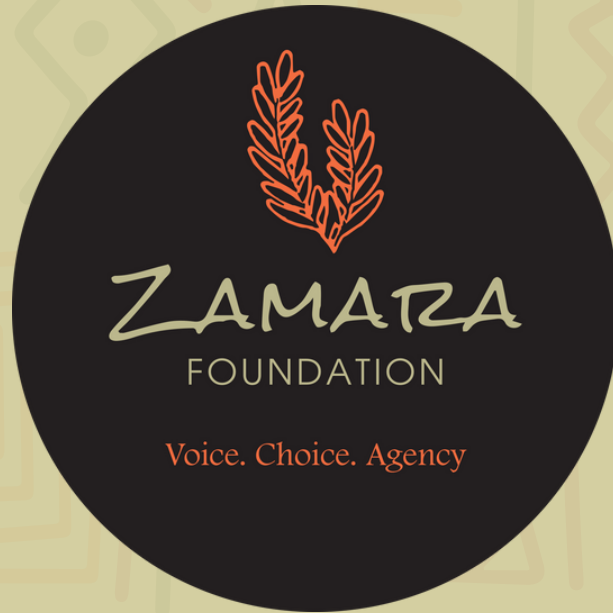The participants were awarded certificates of participation and the session was closed with a group photo.

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COHORT 1