



BADILI AFRICA
Parkview Suites, YWCA
Mamlaka Road, Nairobi
P. O BOX 86197-00200
Nairobi Kenya.
Tel: +254 0112791067
www.badiliafrica.org

TERMS OF REFERENCE / EXPRESSION OF INTEREST

Consultancy Opportunity: From Margins to Power Baseline Study

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

Title of Consultancy: Baseline Evaluation for the Project *“From Margins to Power: Investing in Leadership Ecosystems and Solidarity Structures to Elevate Women and Youth’s Representation in Governance and Decision-Making Processes”*

Contract: Short-term Consultancy (Individual Consultant or Consulting Firm)

Supervisor: Programs Coordinator – Badili Africa

Duty Station: Kenya (with fieldwork in Nairobi, Kajiado, and Kisumu Counties)

Application Closing Date: 23rd February 2026

II. ABOUT BADILI AFRICA

Badili Africa is a Pan-African feminist organization redefining leadership and civic participation by centering grassroots women and young people. Since 2018, it has worked with young women (16–30 years) in tertiary institutions and informal settlements, as well as *chama* women anchoring community networks. The organization also engages male allies to promote inclusive leadership and challenge harmful gender norms.

Badili Africa has built a strong presence in over 10 universities across Kenya, directly reaching over 1000 young women and indirectly impacting more than 8,000. Equally, we have reached over 10,000 *chama* women in informal settlements who have improved public service delivery in their communities by leveraging their networks and advocating for inclusive political spaces. These interventions have notably increased women’s representation in campus leadership, contributing to broader goals around governance, economic resilience, and the prevention of gender-based violence. Our work intentionally targets grassroots actors whose influence is widely relied upon yet structurally unprotected. We work with *chama* women (*stokvels*/informal cooperatives) whose networks are also heavily relied upon by political candidates during elections to mobilize votes, but who remain excluded from formal civic power and accountability systems. “Chama” is a mobilizing, organizing, social safety net and platform for sustaining socio-economic livelihoods in often informal and rural settlements. We also engage low-income workers, such as salons in our “Transformative Gossip” series and barbershop owners, to transform their spaces into civic classrooms. Additionally, we work with young people, especially young women, in learning institutions and in informal and rural



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settlements who are digitally connected and civically alert, but often have limited access to governance literacy, and are excluded from decision-making platforms and often have to navigate mis- and disinformation. For our work to reach a wider geographical coverage, we have led digital campaigns that have directly reached over 500,000 young people and generated more than 5 million online impressions. Through our curated network of trained digital influencers, campus organizers and grassroots leaders, we mobilize women and youth to participate meaningfully in leadership and governance processes

III. THE PROJECT CONTEXT

Across Kenya and the wider African region, women and young people remain significantly underrepresented in leadership and governance spaces despite forming the majority of the population. In Kenya today, only 2.6% of parliamentarians globally are under 30, and less than 1% are young women. Kenya reflects this gap; women hold just 24% of parliamentary seats, below the regional average of 35%, and young women comprise less than 1% of elected leaders nationally. Additionally, in Kenya's 2022 general elections, data from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) shows that 4,350 young people contested for office, yet only 335 were elected, mostly as Members of County Assembly (MCAs). Of those, only 20 were young women aged 18–35. Nairobi, the country's leadership nerve center, elected just 4 female Members of County Assembly (MCAs) out of 85 wards. Counties like Kajiado and Nyamira did not elect any women in competitive positions beyond the affirmative action seats. Therefore, Structural barriers such as patriarchy, economic exclusion, weak civic infrastructure, digital exclusion, and elite-driven political processes continue to marginalize grassroots women, youth, and informal community leaders.

While formal legal and policy frameworks such as constitutional provisions on equality and affirmative action exist, these mechanisms remain insufficient without deliberate investments in leadership ecosystems that enable marginalized groups to access, interpret, and claim civic and political space. As Badili Africa, we believe that Informal organizing spaces, such as chamas, salons, religious guilds, and digital platforms, are powerful yet underutilized arenas for civic learning, leadership formation, and collective action.

As a result, this project responds to this gap by strengthening leadership pipelines rooted in grassroots and digital ecosystems to promote inclusive, feminist, and community-driven governance.

IV. ABOUT THE PROJECT



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The project *“From Margins to Power”* is a two-year initiative implemented by Badili Africa in Nairobi, Kajiado, and Kisumu Counties. The project aims to activate and equip women-led grassroots structures and the entire leadership ecosystem with the necessary skills to increase their participation, visibility, and influence in local and national governance and decision-making spaces.

The project adopts a leadership ecosystem-based approach that moves beyond individual capacity building to strengthen the broader infrastructure that sustains women and youth leadership. The project’s main objective is to increase the number of women and youth representation in various elective positions in the three targeted areas.

V. PURPOSE FOR THE STUDY

Badili Africa is embarking on a comprehensive study that will act as the foundation over which the project’s trajectory will be defined. While there are common factors discouraging women and youth participation in leadership and decision-making processes in the three targeted areas, Badili Africa, through this study, is keen on establishing region-specific factors that have continuously led to the underrepresentation of these groups. Therefore, through this baseline study, Badili Africa aims to establish basic to complex evidence-based strategies that the emerging leaders, together with the leadership ecosystems, can adopt to realize optimal results in the coming general elections. Additionally, adaptable and feasible scalability and sustainability measures need to come out clearly from the study for future applications.

V. THE GOAL OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the baseline study is to collect credible, evidence-based indicators against which project progress, outcomes, and impact will be measured over the implementation period.

Specific Objectives:

1. Assess the current status of women's and youth civic participation, leadership representation, and influence in formal and informal governance spaces across Nairobi, Kajiado, and Kisumu Counties.
2. Map and assess the strength, coordination, and functionality of existing leadership and solidarity structures, including chamas, youth groups, community mobilizers, digital networks, and other informal civic spaces in general elections.



3. Identify structural, social, economic, and digital barriers and enabling factors that affect women's and youth ability to transition from informal influence into formal leadership roles.
4. Establish baseline values for key project indicators and generate actionable, evidence-based recommendations to guide implementation, sustainability, and scalability.

VI. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The baseline study will establish a foundation for measuring change in women's and youth civic participation and leadership across three target counties: Nairobi, Kajiado, and Kisumu. It will focus on three primary groups: emerging female leaders, youth, and grassroots and digital mobilizers.

The study will map existing leadership structures within informal organizing spaces, including chama groups, beauty salons, religious guilds, and digital platforms. It will document current levels of civic knowledge, political engagement, and access to decision-making forums among target participants. Particular attention will be given to understanding barriers that prevent women and youth from translating informal influence into formal leadership roles. More importantly, the study should provide, at the end, SMART strategies and recommendations to place young women candidates and the youth at an advantage within their constituencies.

Data collection will combine household surveys, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews with community and digital mobilizers/ influencers, local political party representatives, and community leaders, e.g., the chiefs and Nyumba kumi. Given the nature of this study, the researcher will be required to give it a dynamic approach to ensure quality qualitative data is effectively captured for strategy development. The study will also assess the existing civic education initiatives within these counties for purposes of collaboration.

Geographic scope will prioritize informal settlements and peri-urban areas where chama networks are strongest. Digital engagement patterns will be mapped to understand how young women and youth access and share civic information online. Findings will provide indicators for measuring project outcomes related to increased political participation, leadership pipeline development, and building a functional and effective community of purpose.

VII. REFERENCE MATERIALS



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Badili Africa will provide the consultant with the following materials:

- Approved Project Proposal
- Project Results Framework and Indicators
- Organizational Strategic Plan
- Relevant Monitoring and Reporting Tools
- Existing research and learning products

The evaluation exercise is expected to take approximately **30 working days** upon contract signing.

VIII. EXPECTED NUMBER OF DAYS INPUT BY EVALUATOR

Phase	Activity	Number of Days
Phase 0	Inception meeting and planning	2
Phase I	Desk review and inception report	6
Phase II	Tool development and piloting	4
Phase III	Field data collection	10
Phase IV	Data analysis and validation	5
Phase V	Drafting and finalization of baseline report	3
Total		30 Days

IX. DELIVERABLES

The consultant will deliver:

1. Inception Report (including methodology, tools, sample size, and workplan)
2. Data Collection Tools (quantitative and qualitative)
3. Cleaned datasets and transcripts
4. Draft Baseline Evaluation Report
5. Validation workshop presentation
6. Final Baseline Evaluation Report incorporating feedback

All deliverables must be submitted in English and in editable formats.

X. CONSULTANT'S QUALIFICATIONS



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- Master's degree in Statistics, gender and development studies, political science, proven track record of having conducted high level studies (baseline, midline and endline) and publications will be an added advantage
- At least 7 years' experience conducting baseline studies or evaluations in governance, gender, or civic engagement programs.
- Strong expertise in mixed-methods and participatory research and feminist evaluation approaches.
- Demonstrated experience working with grassroots women, youth, and digital communities.
- Excellent analytical and report-writing skills.

XI. SUBMISSION OF APPLICATION

Interested applicants should submit:

- Cover letter
- Technical proposal (methodology, workplan, team composition)
- CV(s) of key personnel
- Financial proposal (separate)
- Two references and at least one sample baseline/evaluation report
- Report (soft and 2 printable copies)

Applications should be sent to **badili@badiliafrica.org** by **23rd February 2026**, with the subject line: *Baseline Evaluation Consultancy – From Margins to Power Project*

Equal Opportunity Statement:

Badili Africa is an equal opportunity organization. Women, young professionals, and feminist consulting firms are strongly encouraged to apply.

Submission Guidelines

Interested applicants should submit a detailed CV, cover letter, and a technical proposal to **badili@badiliafrica.org** by the end of the day, **23rd February 2026**, with the subject: *"Baseline Evaluation Consultant"*



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XII. TERMS OF SERVICE

This consultancy is offered under a non-staff contract. The consultant shall not be considered an employee of Badili Africa and will not be entitled to staff benefits. Payment will be milestone-based upon acceptance of agreed deliverables.