



2025 ANNUAL REPORT

Defending Civic Space & Human Rights



"CFF is founded on the conviction that civil liberties are best protected through collective action, ethical leadership, and shared humanity, bringing together civil society and communities to safeguard and advance civic freedoms for all."

— CFF Founding Principle, 2021

This Annual Report documents our journey in 2025, a year of resilience, growth, and deepened commitment to civic freedoms. From monitoring civic space to empowering communities and strengthening institutions, our work continues to nurture the foundations of a just and participatory society.

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Who We Are

Civic Freedoms Forum (CFF) was founded in October 2021 as a platform comprised of civil society organizations (CSOs) operating at the national level with a track record and commitment to the protection of human rights, civil liberties, and democracy.

Our Vision

A society where civil liberties are fully realized.

Our Mission

CFF is the platform for consolidation of civil society actions in the promotion and protection of civil liberties.

Our Values & Principles

Integrity

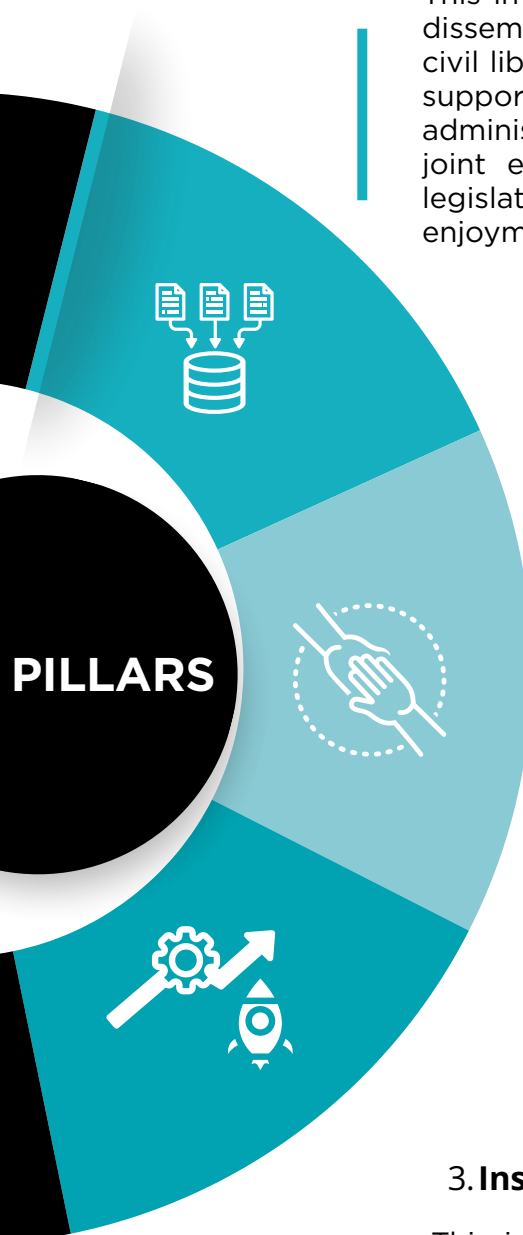
We uphold the highest standards of honesty, transparency, and accountability in all our work.

Solidarity

We stand together with communities, defenders, and partners in the pursuit of justice and civic freedoms.

Utu

We embrace the African philosophy of shared humanity, dignity, and compassion as the foundation of our engagement.



1. Civic Space Repository

This involves the coordination of joint data collection, analysis and dissemination of findings and recommendations for safeguarding civil liberties, human rights and democracy in Kenya. This pillar also supports continuous audit of repressive laws/policies and administrative actions on civic space. It also involves coordinating joint efforts by civic actors to advocate for repeal/removal of legislations, policies or administrative actions that limit the enjoyment of civil liberties.

Strategic Objective: To collectively advocate for the elimination of restrictive laws, policies and administrative actions that may hinder progressive environment for citizen action

2. Enabling Environment for Civic Actions

This pillar encompasses joint efforts for protection of human right defenders (HRDs), marginalized groups/communities and civil society organizations (CSOs) against state repression and other forms of social and political factors that may limit their ability to deliver on full realization of civil liberties, human rights and democracy in the country. This will address gaps related to joint learning and information sharing, joint/network funds for community level protections of civic space, solidarity efforts, narrative shaping and internal capacity of HRDs.

Strategic Objective: To build resilient and safe communities that defend/protect civil liberties through coordinated actions.

3. Institutional Excellence

This includes coordinated efforts for capacity strengthening of civil society actors on values, principles and systems of good governance. It will also support the establishment or adoption of reference corporate governance standards to strengthen members' accountability practices. In addition, CFF will also lead in carrying out annual reviews of compliance with the established standards for all members and make timely interventions. This pillar also supports CFF's internal institutional strengthening to enhance accountable governance and delivery on the vision and mission of CFF.

Strategic Objective: To strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations to build formidable institutions that deliver on their missions.



2025 IN NUMBERS

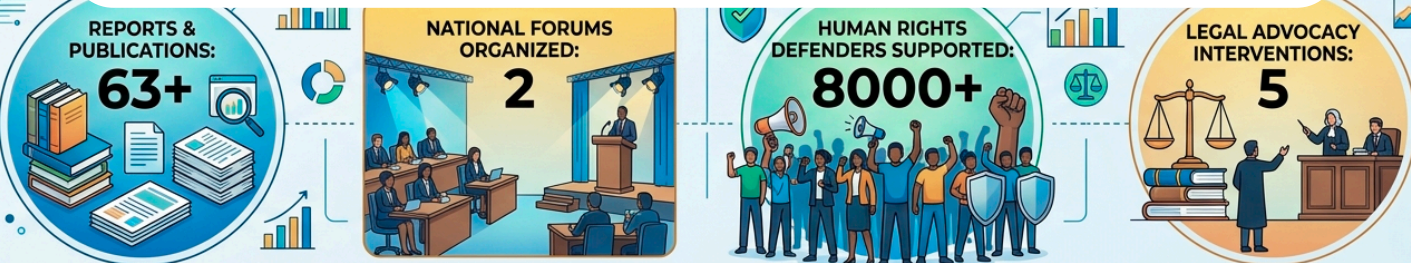
REPRESSED

Kenya's civic space was rated "Repressed" by the CIVICUS Monitor in 2025 following violent crackdowns on protests, restrictions on expression, and attacks on civil society.

2025 IN NUMBERS



The year 2025 marked a turbulent period for civic and democratic space globally and in Kenya. Democratic backsliding, securitization of civic action, and shrinking freedoms defined the landscape. While grassroots mobilization - especially youth-led movements - rose in prominence, governments increasingly weaponized laws, captured oversight institutions, and repressed dissent. Kenya's civic actors navigated a fragile environment where corruption, exclusion, and repression converged, but resilience persisted through digital activism, solidarity campaigns, and evidence-driven advocacy.



Global Democratic Backsliding

Globally, democratic backsliding continues to accelerate, with CIVICUS reporting that over 72% of the world's population now lives under repressed or closed civic space conditions. In 2025, Kenya mirrored this troubling global trend after being downgraded to "Repressed" by the CIVICUS Monitor, the second-worst civic space rating. The downgrade followed violent crackdowns on protests, restrictions on digital freedoms, intimidation of civil society, and increased attacks on journalists and human rights defenders. Kenya's declining civic freedoms now place it among countries experiencing some of the most severe democratic regressions globally.



Global democracy and civic space trends: Globally, 2025 saw intensified democratic backsliding, with far-right regimes in Europe and polarization in the US weakening multilateral human rights mechanisms. This erosion emboldened restrictive governments, reducing accountability and fragmenting international consensus. In Kenya, diplomatic missions played a critical role in countering these trends by amplifying grassroots voices, documenting violations, and leveraging diplomatic channels to uphold universal rights. Their engagement ensured that local struggles remained visible within global frameworks, sustaining pressure for civic freedoms despite declining international solidarity.

The EAC regional trends: Across East Africa, coordinated repression by regional leaders signaled an “axis of tyranny” undermining democratic space. Election-related crackdowns in Tanzania and Uganda marked by opposition restrictions, media censorship, and security violence offered cautionary lessons for Kenya. These trends highlighted the risks of authoritarian entrenchment as Kenya heads toward the 2027 General Elections. Regional solidarity among civil society actors became vital to resist shrinking freedoms, with cross-border learning and advocacy helping to anticipate and mitigate similar patterns of repression at home.



Legal Reforms and weaponization: Kenya's civic actors continued to face weaponized laws such as the Public Order Act, Cybercrimes Act, and Prevention of Terrorism Act, which curtailed freedoms of assembly, association, and expression. While frameworks like the Public Benefits Organizations Act were intended to enable civic action, their implementation increasingly reflected political and economic interests, diluting transformative intent. By 2025, legal reforms had become tools of control rather than empowerment, reinforcing restrictive practices and undermining the promise of a genuinely enabling environment.

State capture of independent oversight institutions: Independent oversight bodies including KNCHR, IPOA, and the Commission on Administrative Justice faced mounting political interference in appointments, budgets, and cooperation with state agencies. These pressures weakened their ability to deliver justice, leaving victims of violations without effective redress. By 2025, state capture had hollowed out institutional independence, eroding public trust and accountability. Civic actors increasingly turned to litigation and grassroots monitoring to fill the gap, but systemic interference continued to undermine oversight institutions' credibility and effectiveness.

State corruption, exclusion, and repression: Entrenched corruption continued to hollow out Kenya's institutions in 2025, siphoning resources from essential services and deepening inequality. Skewed economic policies privileged elites while marginalizing youth, women, and vulnerable communities. These dynamics converged into a political economy where corruption, exclusion, and repression reinforced each other, eroding trust in government and accelerating democratic backsliding. Civic actors faced mounting risks as they challenged entrenched interests, highlighting the urgent need for systemic reforms to restore accountability and inclusive governance.

Emergence of Gen-Z-led movements: Gen-Z-led mobilizations surged in 2025, characterized by decentralized, digitally coordinated protests demanding accountability. These movements demonstrated new forms of civic engagement but faced heavy-handed state responses, including excessive force, arrests, and digital repression. While they energized civic space, their sustainability was challenged by generational divides and limited institutional support. The year underscored the need for intergenerational collaboration to strengthen resilience, ensuring that youth-led activism translates into long-term civic impact rather than episodic bursts of resistance.

Repression against dissent: In 2025, Kenya's civic space was marred by repression, abductions, and violent crackdowns on dissent. Human rights defenders faced arrests on frivolous charges, while Albert Ojwang's custodial death symbolized state brutality. The #OccupyParliament protests of 2024 and their 2025 memorial left 79 dead, 531 injured, and numerous disappearances and sexual assaults. Despite public outcry, the government bypassed mandated institutions to form its own compensation committee, deepening mistrust and underscoring urgent need for reforms in public order management.



Corporate tyrants and Humans: Corporate accountability concerns intensified in 2025, particularly in mining, security, and telecommunications sectors. Communities in Kwale, Turkana, Siaya, and Western Kenya raised grievances over land dispossession, pollution, and exclusion linked to extractive projects. Telecommunications firms faced scrutiny over data privacy, surveillance, and censorship during protests and elections. These practices highlighted the role of corporations in perpetuating human rights violations, reinforcing calls for stronger regulation, community participation, and accountability mechanisms to curb exploitative labor, environmental harm, and digital repression.



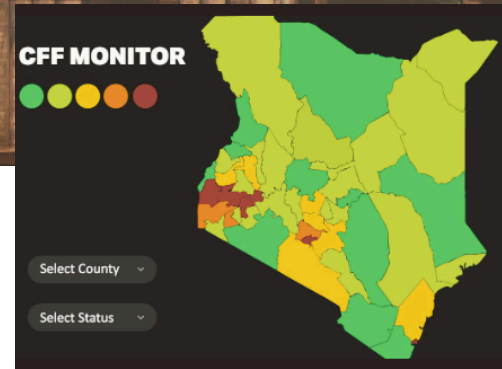
Shifting Funding landscape: By 2025, democracy and governance funding shifted toward pooled mechanisms, localization, and rapid response models. Traditional donor support declined, while scrutiny of intermediary and unregistered civic networks increased. Grassroots actors benefited from flexible partnerships but many informal networks remained excluded due to stringent due diligence and accountability requirements. This shift created opportunities for collaboration yet reinforced barriers for frontline defenders lacking formal registration. The funding landscape underscored the tension between efficiency, risk management, and inclusivity in civic support.





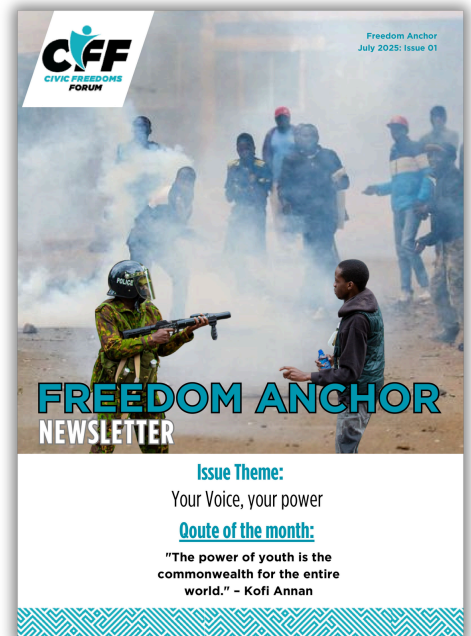
2025 HIGHLIGHTS & ACHIEVEMENTS

Civic Space Repository



CFF successfully completed Phase II of the Civic Freedoms Monitor – a digital, evidence-based platform designed to mirror, track, and analyze the state of civic space across all 47 counties - transforming it into a robust, digital evidence-generation platform that now tracks and analyzes the state of civic space across all 47 counties. By delivering credible, real-time data, the Monitor has become a cornerstone for strengthening state accountability, driving policy reform, and equipping human rights defenders and at-risk communities with actionable intelligence to safeguard their freedoms.

CFF launched the Freedom Anchor Newsletter, a dynamic civic space knowledge product that both documents thematic trends and celebrates the resilience of members and partners advancing an enabling environment. Its inaugural issue provided a powerful reflection on Kenya’s repressed civic space over the past year, centering youth voices as the most affected demographic under a contested regime. Through the segment **“Silenced but Not Forgotten”**, Freedom Anchor honored victims of civic repression, from those lost during the #OccupyBunge protests in 2024 to the ongoing demonstrations in 2025, ensuring their stories fuel collective memory and inspire continued resistance.



Enabling Environment for Civic Actions

Legislative Reforms

Throughout the reporting period, the Civic Freedoms Forum (CFF) remained at the forefront of efforts to shape laws and policies that protect civic space, constitutional freedoms, and democratic participation in Kenya. Working alongside strategic partners, CFF combined legal expertise, public engagement, coalition advocacy, and parliamentary submissions to ensure emerging legislation reflected constitutional values and the voices of citizens.

Public Participation Bill - In partnership with UNDP Kenya and the Office of the Attorney General and Department of Justice, CFF convened thematic consultations and coordinated public submissions on the proposed Public Participation Bill. Guided technically by ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa, the process brought together civil society actors, governance experts, grassroots organizations, and community representatives to contribute to the reform process. The engagement recorded a major milestone, with over 60% of the recommendations generated through the consultations reflected in the version of the Bill tabled before Parliament, significantly strengthening provisions for inclusive and meaningful public participation.

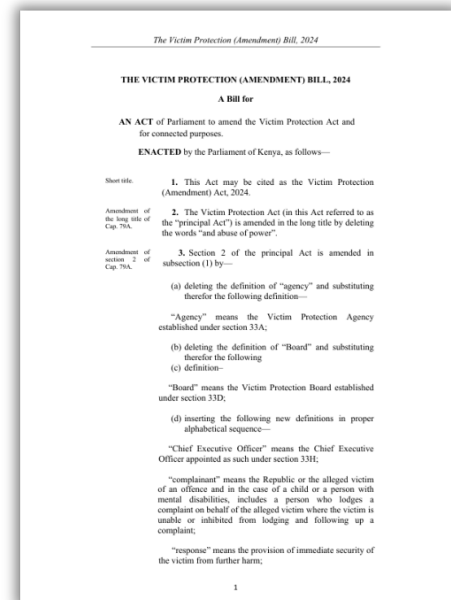
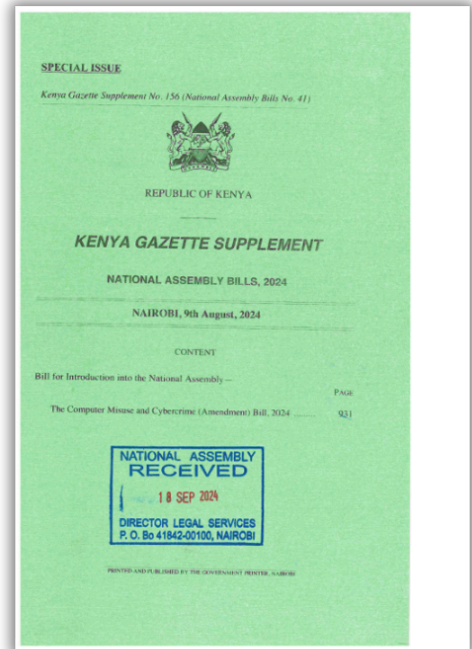
Public Order Act and Related Amendment Bills - CFF, together with the Police Reforms Working Group, mounted a coordinated response against the proposed Ruku and Passaris Assembly and Demonstration Amendment Bills, which threatened the constitutional right to peaceful assembly under Article 37. Through legal reviews, public statements, and parliamentary memoranda, the coalition highlighted the restrictive implications of the proposed laws. The sustained advocacy helped generate public scrutiny and contributed to the eventual withdrawal of the Bills, marking a significant victory for civic freedoms and democratic expression in Kenya.

Whistleblower Protection Bill - CFF continued advancing national conversations on whistleblower protection and institutional accountability by engaging the Witness Protection Agency, the Office of the Attorney General, and the African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC). These engagements secured commitments to fast-track reforms through amendments to the Witness Protection Act, reinforcing the importance of safeguarding individuals who expose corruption, abuse of office, and human rights violations.



Computer Misuse and Cybercrimes (Amendment) Bill –

In collaboration with the Kenya Alliance of Resident Associations (KARA), CFF analyzed proposed amendments to the Computer Misuse and Cybercrimes Act and submitted a joint memorandum to Parliament raising concerns around digital freedoms, online expression, privacy, and access to information. Although the recommendations were not adopted, the intervention amplified public debate on digital rights and strengthened civic oversight over attempts to expand State control within the digital space.



Victims Protection (Amendment) Bill and Victim


Protection Fund Regulations - Through its Legal Committee led by the Independent Medico-Legal Unit (IMLU), CFF reviewed the proposed Victims Protection (Amendment) Bill and related Public Finance Management Regulations governing the Victim Protection Fund. The review focused on improving access to justice, reparations, rehabilitation, and compensation for victims of human rights violations and abuse of power. Following the analysis, CFF coordinated petitions and recommendations to Parliament aimed at strengthening protections and support systems for victims.

THE 5TH ANNUAL CIVIC SPACE PROTECTION SUMMIT

Consolidation of Civic Actions


- In 2025, CFF collaborated with her partners in different forums to consolidate civic actions towards the protection of civic space and civil liberties. This was achieved by providing a platform through which CSOs exercise collective action, guided by well-defined frameworks for engagement. CFF hosted its 5th Annual Civic Space Protection Summit in Nakuru County. The Summit, themed, “Youth at the Frontline: Reclaiming Civic Space, Defending Democracy and Rights Amid Shrinking Freedoms in Kenya,” focused on taking stock of civic space in Kenya in the last twelve months while centering the youth as the main drivers of civic space in 2024/25.
- The 2025 Summit led to the following resolutions:**

RESOLUTIONS




Civic Space and governance

- Do a national check-up on civic freedoms and publish results yearly.
- Make county-level plans to fix local civic space problems.
- Run public education on rights and participation.
- Create regular dialogue tables between CSOs, oversight bodies, and police.




Human Rights Defenders (HRDs)

- Recognize HRD protection as a state duty.
- Build rapid-response help (legal, psychosocial, relocation).
- Stop “lawfare”: investigate first, arrest later; review politicized cases.
- Hold regular HRD–police–DPP problem-solving meetings.




Laws & Policy

- Fully reform or fix laws to enforce anti-torture, protect protests, speech, and assembly.
- Pass coroners’ laws; ratify OPCAT.
- Set up a standing law-reform team (state + CSOs).




Digital Rights & Technology

- Adopt a national digital rights code (surveillance, AI, data use).
- Make telecoms follow the law on data sharing; punish illegal surveillance.
- Train HRDs/journalists on digital security and misinformation.
- Govern AI to prevent bias and data abuse.
- Protect gig workers’ pay, mental health, and data.
- Oppose internet shutdowns and throttling.




Independent Institutions

- Fund oversight bodies properly and hire leaders transparently and on merit.
- Publish investigations and outcomes on time.
- Let communities rate performance (public scorecards).
- Protect their independence.




Advocacy & Oversight

- Use the UN UPR and African Commission: submit shadow reports, track progress.
- Hold companies accountable for rights abuses (surveillance, data leaks).



Cross-Border & Regional Action

- Create an East Africa rapid-response network for at-risk HRDs.
- Use AU/UN mechanisms and strategic litigation across borders when needed.
- Grow regional solidarity networks (lawyers, tech, activists).



Solidarity & Resilience

- Create a national HRD support hub and county networks.
- Build a culture of security (digital, physical, psychosocial).
- Back youth-led civic innovation.
- Invest in long-term civic education and leadership.



2025 HIGHLIGHTS & ACHIEVEMENTS

In **November of 2025**, CFF in collaboration with Kenya Correspondents' Association (KCA) successfully hosted the **3rd Annual Media-CSO Conference**. With the theme, "Media and Civil Society as Guardians of Kenya's Democratic Space" the conference was deliberate in emerging as a call to unity, reflection, and renewal. It was more than a conference - it was a celebration of courage, collaboration, and creativity in defending Kenya's democratic soul. By bringing together journalists, activists, regulators, donors, government actors, and technology experts, the conference aimed at strengthening alliances around safety, sustainability, and civic innovation. It served as a living laboratory for resilience, where ideas met action, and partnerships paved the way for stronger legal protection, sustainable funding, and psychosocial safety for all defenders of democracy. The two-day conference was a hit and resulted in the following resolutions and recommendations:

1. Development of strategic and sustainable collaborations between the Media and Civil Society.
2. Promoting independence of media and mobilizing community collective actions to ensure media impartiality.
3. Diversification of funding models and prioritization of local resource mobilization.
4. Re-institutionalization of the media space through creation of alliances and networks to enable collective voices.
5. Strengthening statutory institutional frameworks such as KBC to be able to serve the public.
6. Build strong institutions to ensure journalists work in reliable institutions.
7. Strengthening whistleblower protection through innovation, advocacy and legislation development.
8. Capacity building of media to conduct interpretative and analytical reporting.
9. Capacity building of media on election reporting to prepare journalists for accurate, ethical and conflict sensitive coverage.

A section of participants giving their remarks during the 3rd Annual media CSO Conference in Nairobi, Led by Oloo Janak (KCA), Salima (Wellness Expert) & Dr Kawive (Inuka Ni Sisi)

3rd MEDIA CSO CONFERENCE



Institutional Excellence

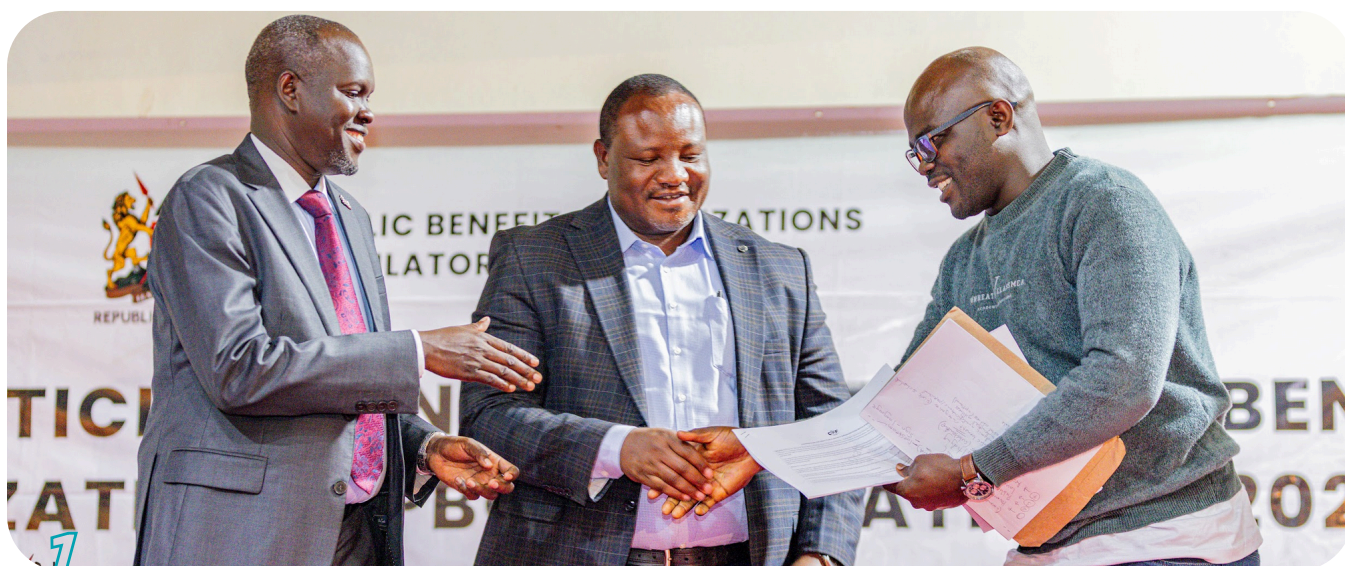


Supporting Civil Society partners

CFF was deliberate in strengthening the capacity of civil society actors on values, principles, and systems of good governance. Through its sensitization forums on PBO Act and Community Groups Registration Act and their regulations, CFF was able to build the capacity of 200 organizations spread across 10 counties. The target counties were Nairobi, Kisumu, Kwale, Makueni, Busia, Kakamega, Machakos, Turkana, Kilifi and Kitui. This led to active involvement in the public participation forums led by PBORA and the Department of Social Development. The different CSO Networks were able to submit written memoranda on the regulations.

Internal Excellence

- Outcome Harvesting training to equip the Secretariat with skills to track and document results and success stories arising from the platform's interventions.
- The Secretariat implemented several key technological upgrades to improve efficiency on financial management; visibility and branding - we procured QuickBooks online and Canva editing software respectively.



1. CFF Executive Director hands over the CFF's Memoranda on the Regulations during a public participation forum in Nairobi.

2. A session on GfC close out in Busia.

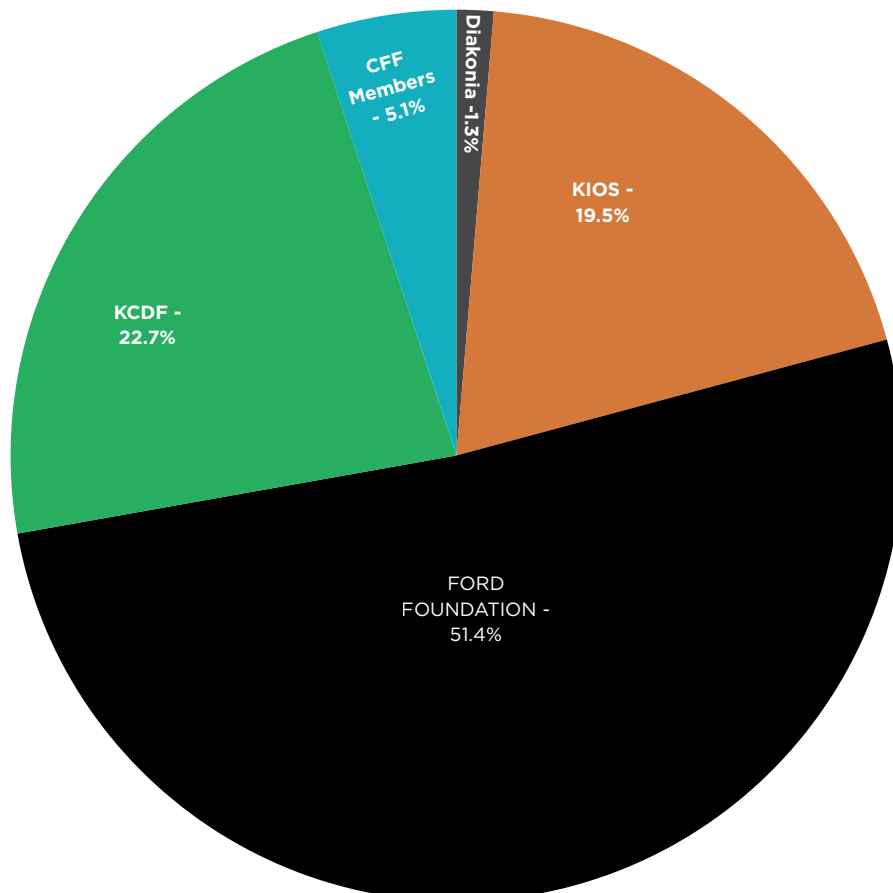
3. Participants pose for a group photo after a session on GfC close out in Nairobi.

4. CFF's engage in an assignment.

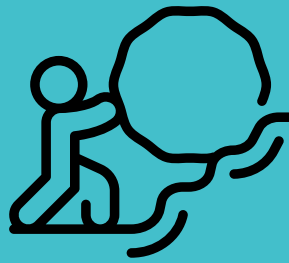
Financial Outlook in 2025

In 2025, CFF’s funding landscape reflected the broader global shifts affecting governance and democracy support in the Global South. Anticipated donor commitments, including significant backing from Diakonia, were substantially reduced, while previous grants from KCDF came to an end. More critically, the organization lost anticipated KCDF-linked USAID support following the stop-work directive issued in January 2026 by the U.S. administration, underscoring the vulnerability of civil society financing to geopolitical decisions. Despite these setbacks, CFF has sustained momentum through diversified resource mobilization: securing a smaller grant from KIOS Foundation to finalize the Civic Freedoms Monitor, receiving a top-up grant from Ford Foundation, and advancing a joint three-year proposal with InformAction (IFA) currently under review by the Swedish Embassy. These efforts highlight both the precariousness of traditional funding streams and the resilience of civil society actors in adapting to a rapidly shifting global financing environment.

Donors & Members Contributions 2025



Challenges



1. The shifting funding landscape has negatively impacted the CSO sector. With limited funding, CFF has experienced challenges in reaching the entirety of its beneficiaries. With increased demand for capacity building for County CSO Networks, CFF has been unable to meet all the demands of its mandate.
2. Data sharing and collection amongst CFF Members has been challenging, especially collecting the sensitive data from protests and cases of police brutality. Striking the balance between victim protection and knowledge and information sharing has been almost impossible. This has severely impacted on the growth of the CFF Monitor and Knowledge Hub.
3. Inadequate IT expertise and funding have affected the completion of the CFF Monitor. The journey towards an accurate and user-friendly civic space Monitor has proven to be a challenging venture due to the lack of adequate funding to access the required expertise.

Lessons Learnt



1. Building synergy with PBORA has eased the policy advocacy journey and has led to the launch of the draft regulations, a year after the commencement of the PBO Act.
2. Building synergies with CFF members has enabled co-funding of activities, hence more results with minimal funding.
3. CFF has learnt to leverage on its members' expertise in areas where it's lacking. For instance, CFF is yet to develop a fully functional communications docket. As a way of mitigating this gap, CFF has been engaging with InformAction in documenting our major events.
4. Navigating group and network dynamics. CFF is now fostering collaborations between CSO Networks and the Community of Practice (CoP) at County level to ensure that all the factions are working together to deliver on their mandate.



FUTURE OUTLOOK & 2026 PRIORITIES

As we step into 2026, CFF remains steadfast in its commitment to nurturing civic freedoms. Our strategic priorities reflect both the challenges ahead and the resilience of the communities we serve.

- 01 Expand the Civic Space Repository**
Illustration: Data storage, network, and cloud icons.
- 02 PBO Act Implementation**
Illustration: Gears, a document with a checkmark, and a gavel.
- 03 Civic & Democratic Space Scenarios (2027 and beyond Study)**
Illustration: A globe, a telescope, and upward-trending arrows.
The Scenario workshop will be held during the last week of June in Nairobi; the final report will be launched during the Summit
- 04 Public participation Festival as part of Katiba Day Celebration in August 2026**
Illustration: A festival stage with a crowd holding signs.
- 05 6th Annual Civic Space Protection Summit in Lower Easter in September 2026**
Illustration: A summit building in a landscape with a rising sun.
- 06 4th Annual Media-CSO Conference in November 2026**
Illustration: A handshake surrounded by media and communication icons like a microphone, camera, and computer monitor.

PICTORIALS



5. participants at the 5th Annual CSPPS stand in solidarity for the wimbo wa mapambano song.
6. A section of CFF Board Members and partner organizations during a press briefing in Nakuru.
7. An artist raises the Kenyan Flag, a symbol of patriotism.
8. Inform Action's Steve Biko (left) and the Executive Director Winnie Masai (Right) make an entrance at the summit grounds in Nakuru.
9. An ariel view of participants during the 5th ACSPS 2025.
10. Participants pose for a photo at the 5th ACSPS in Nakuru.
11. participants visit exhibition tents at the 5th ACSPS in Nakuru
12. PBORA's Director Dr Laxmana shares his views during a break-out session.
13. Busia Senator Okiya Omtatah gives his opening remarks at the 5th Summit in Nakuru.
14. Dancers perform the opening ceremony dance for the 5th ACSPS.
15. Protestors carry a dead comrade shot during the anti finance bill protests 2024 draped in the kenyan flag (Photo courtesy).
16. PEN Member executives take part in the Civicus Report launch 2025.
17. CFF Kenya's Project Officer Jared and CFF's Advocacy Officer Michelle pose for a picture during the summit opening festival in Nakuru.
18. A participant takes a spin on the 360 video camera at the summit.
19. An aerial view of the summit ground in Nakuru, the summit was designed with a festival theme in mind.



PICTORIALS



- 20. Article 19's Tracy Ishmael poses for a photo at the 5th ACSPS Nakuru
- 21. PEN Kenya staff help a participant register during the summit.
- 22. CFF's Michelle (left) and Article 19's Catherine (Right) pose singing the national anthem at the summit's opening ceremony.
- 23. An artist performs a piece at the opening ceremony for the 5th ACSPS 2025.
- 24. The summit's official MC, Stella Kitonga (Right) and Tribeless Youth's Faith (Left) engage in consultations during the summit.
- 25. A puppetry performance themed on corruption performed during the summit in Nakuru.
- 26. A participant gives her contribution during the breakout sessions.
- 27. All smiles at the summit photo booth as.
- 28. Participants write down names of protest victims in their honor during the, a section led by IMLU's ED Wangechi Grace.
- 29. CFF's Michelle poses for a photo at the photo booth.
- 30. UNDP's Gathoni Njenga makes an entrance at the summit's opening in Nakuru.
- 31. Rose Njeri actively takes part in a breakout session.
- 32. CFF's Board Chair, Davis Malombe and the Summit MC Stella Kitonga share a light moment.
- 33. Inuka's ED, Dr Kawive enjoys a light moment at the summit opening.
- 34. A section of performing artists pose for a photo during the summit.



In Partnership with





Civic Freedoms Forum

Defending Civic Space & Human Rights

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