

UNDP Kenya

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Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons
Final Report

CTD

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section	Page
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	ii
1 Background	1
2 Overview of TEP Implementation	5
2.1 Phase I - pre-voting	5
2.2 Phase II - the voting period	7
2.3 Phase III - the post-election period	7
3 Project Results	7
<i>Figure 1: Impacts of Successful Projects Targeting Social Change</i>	8
3.1 A Model of Social Change	8
<i>Figure 2: Kenya's Pre-election Parliament vs. Post-election National Assembly</i>	10
<i>Table 1: Kenya's Pre-election Parliament vs. Post-election National Assembly</i>	11
4 The TEP Retreat	12
4.1 Summary of Retreat Recommendations	12
5 The TEP Initiative - Challenges, Successes and Lessons Learned	14
ANNEX	16
1 The pre-election period	16
2 The election period	23
3 The post-election period	24
4 Recommendations Arising from the Peace Forums Initiative	27

Executive Summary

Kenya's 2010 Constitution includes a new provision that not less than one-third of the seats in the National Assembly can be held by persons of either gender (the one-third gender rule). This obligation was widely expected to be an important consideration in Kenya's March 2013 General Elections; however, on 11 December 2012, Kenya's Supreme Court handed down a controversial ruling that implementation of the gender rule would be unfeasible before March 2013. It ruled the change would need to be enacted "progressively" by 2015, but offered no clear methodology.

The High Court ruling was a profound disappointment for many Kenyans, especially women who had been aspiring to take advantage of the gender provisions to participate in the elections. In response, Kenya's National Women's Steering Committee (NWSC), UNDP and UN Women initiated a Team of Eminent Persons (TEP) initiative to serve as a vehicle for holding the government, political parties and other stakeholders accountable to deliver the spirit of the Constitution's one-third promise. The TEP model would bring "soft power", moral suasion and behind-the-scenes negotiations to the national dialogue on gender equality, affirmative action, and women's political participation.

TEP was formed with 10 members from the private sector, media, academia, ex-politicians and grass-roots women leaders; nationally and internationally renowned personalities with significant portfolios of contribution to the enhancement of democracy, peacebuilding, economic growth, inclusive participation, and other disciplines and who had great influence within and outside of Kenya.

TEP was coordinated by UNDP, UN Women and the Secretariat of the NWSC and funded, primarily, from the Government of Norway, along with contributions from Sweden, UNDP, and UN Women.

TEP's targeted outcomes were to: 1) encourage political party officials to nominate the necessary numbers of women candidates to realize the one-third gender rule, and 2) increase participation of women in the elective process and decision-making.

Later, in acknowledgement of Kenya's 2007/08 post-election violence, which saw more than 1300 people killed and over 600,000 displaced, and the disturbing security trends of late 2012 and early 2013, TEP's mandate was expanded to advocate for realization of a free, fair, transparent and violence free election process.

At its inaugural meeting, 9 January 2013, TEP hit the ground running. Based on their influence networks, TEP was able to arrange dialogues with high-level representatives of all major political parties and coalitions as well as electoral and security officials, including Chairpersons of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the Inspector-General of Police, the Minister of Internal Security, the Minister of Defense, and the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

The Dialogues would focus on (i) more democratic governance and an enhanced environment for human rights, including gender equality, (ii) more efficient, effective and gender-equitable public service delivery by institutions, and systems, including enhanced rule of law, and (iii) a broadened space for women in political participation, and iv) a free, fair and peaceful election process. TEP advocated for women's participation in county assemblies, the National Assembly and the Senate in competitive campaigns for the General Elections, and for nomination positions in the period immediately following, raised awareness and mobilized public opinion and support for women in leadership, and

engaged with the media to promote good leadership and to profile particularly qualified women aspirants.

Despite the constant pressure of critical timelines (TEP was convened 52 days before the election), the TEP initiative had significant successes; however, the full impacts on women's empowerment will only become apparent as the Government's programmes adapt, in response to women's increased participation and their impact on policy development. If TEP has been truly effective, its greatest results will continue to be realized long after the project has closed.

In directed social change processes, attributable results are difficult to quantify, and the TEP initiative is no different; however, to various degrees, the effort contributed to all of the following:

- immense pressure on various actors, including the media and political candidates and parties, to maintain peace and refrain from potentially violence-provoking behaviour, and the consequent high level of alert of security forces before, during and following the election and the peaceful conduct of the election process,
- timely response to the challenges experienced during the election, including the focus on public outreach and real-time response to and mitigation of violent flare-ups,
- successful advocacy materializing in UN Women's financial support for women aspirants, and training and support for female candidates, in all 47 counties, along with a reinforcing media programme in major newspapers, TV and radio stations, in local languages,
- strengthened relations between Kenya's women's movement and political parties and coalitions,
- raised awareness and positive public opinion in support of women in leadership, and enhanced capacities of local implementing partners (Kenya's Caucus for Women's Leadership, the National Women's Steering Committee, the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Women's Empowerment NGO, and the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation) to promote and advocate for women's issues.

In addition, the Women's Situation Room, a parallel but separate initiative provided women and youth organizations with a platform to report and respond rapidly to election-related incidents through a coordinated system. Over 1200 reports were made to the WSR in just three weeks, ranging from electoral complaints, reports of threats and damage to property, and personal violence incidents. TEP was on hand to take up and resolve the reports as they were raised.

After the most high-profile election in Kenyan history, 21% (86 of 416 seats) of the newly established National Assembly chambers are now held by women. Prior to the election, just 22 women sat in the old 222-seat Parliament (10%).

The new Cabinet boasts six women members out of 17 (35%) while the 2008 Cabinet had seven women Ministers out of 40 total (17.5%). The President has clearly delivered on his opportunity, to promote women in national leadership.

1. Background:

The 2010 Kenyan Constitution has been lauded as one of the most progressive in the world for its inclusive and comprehensive Bill of Rights, decentralization of power, and reserved legislative seats for youth and the disabled. It also includes important provisions related to gender equality. In addition to granting women equal inheritance rights the Constitution's gender provisions include a ban on all forms of violence against women and girls, women's right to own land, and equality in marriage. Finally, it includes the right to political representation, and a provision stating that not less than one-third of seats in the National Assembly can be held by persons of either gender. In 2010, Kenyans overwhelmingly endorsed the new Constitution, heralding a step forward for women, and a new era for the country.

Women's political participation in Kenya is the lowest among East African countries and, despite many years of lobbying and advocacy, attempts by women to access political offices have borne little fruit.

In 1997, former MP and current member of Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons (TEP), Hon. Phoebe Asiyo moved a landmark motion in Kenya's Parliament (still known as the Phoebe Asiyo Motion) calling for affirmative action by allocating 12% of the seats in Parliament to women. Although the Bill failed, due to lack of support from male parliamentarians, women subsequently organized themselves and the Women's Political Caucus, a cross-party women's organization was born. This was the beginning of Kenya's national women's movement for increased women's representation.

Through the Women's Political Caucus, five women were nominated to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission, a move that was met with opposition by some anti-reformists who sued the women on the grounds that they were not representative. The suit failed and the women remained on the Commission.

Attempts by Martha Karua, the former Minister for Justice, to introduce an affirmative action Bill, in 2003, for 50 parliamentary seats for women was unsuccessful, due to lack of support. The national women's movement collected thousands of signatures and organized the Women's March for 50 Seats and the One Million Signatures campaign, but to no avail.

The on-going lack of support for affirmative action among elected leadership led women to the Constitution as an alternative avenue to mainstream their cause. Since then, Kenya's women's movement has focused its energies on the Constitutional Review process. The 2010 Constitution finally entrenched women's right to participate.

Following promulgation of the Constitution in 2010, intermittent discussions continued for a way forward on implementation of the one-third gender provision, leading to a proposal, initiated by the Ministry of Justice (the Elections Bill 2011), that the IEBC identify 25% of the 290 parliamentary seat constituencies to be gender electoral constituencies in four successive elections. The National Assembly found this provision to be unconstitutional and removed it from the Elections Bill in August 2011.

On 14-16 August 2012, in Nairobi, in preparation for the 2013 General Elections, UNDP in collaboration with UN Women and National Gender and Equality Commission convened the "Delivering on the One-third Promise in Kenya - Championing Women in Political Leadership". Representatives from throughout Africa met to dialogue with Kenya's senior leadership in a bid to realize an implementation plan for the Constitution's gender provisions and to ensure affirmative action would become a reality. The Dialogue focused on lessons from other jurisdictions on implementing affirmative action and quotas. As noted by Eugene Wamalwa, Kenya's Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, despite

being a leader in the region, Kenya had performed poorly in matters of women's representation. In 2012 Kenya's women's political representation stood at 10%, against Rwanda's 56%, South Africa's 44%, and Tanzania and Uganda's 35%.

Dialogue representatives noted:

- In Rwanda women's political participation was greatly augmented after the Genocide. Hon. Oda Gasinzigwa, from Rwanda, related that following the Genocide, women formed close to 70% of Rwanda's population. Their political representation was enhanced by the entrenchment, in the Constitution, of a one-third gender quota - now women's parliamentary representation in Rwanda stands at 56%, the highest in the world.

- In South Africa women's experience is similar, although with a lower representation of 44%. Hon. Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge highlighted that women were instrumental within the ANC party in the fight against apartheid. In particular she pointed out women's participation in political parties as a major advantage when/if their parties eventually won national power.

- Tanzania's socialist ideology was particularly useful in deconstructing patriarchy and ensuring women's participation. Women's parliamentary representation stands at 35%. Hon. Margreth Abdalla, an eight term Member of Tanzania's Parliament, cited her party's manifesto wherein women who contest elections and are not elected are given first priority in party nominations. She noted that this has been instrumental in mentoring women to contest elective positions.

- In Uganda constitutional quotas have been useful to ensure women's 35% parliamentary representation. However, according to former Ethics and Integrity Minister, Miria Matembe, women's participation, despite representation, has not been particularly effective; a situation she referred to as "indicating power but without real power".

The Dialogue's agenda aimed to hold the government, political parties and other stakeholders accountable in delivering the Constitution's one-third promise in Kenya. But despite the supposed commitment, by the end of the Dialogue, there was no real progress towards defining a mechanism for implementing the one-third principle. And the 2013 elections were now just seven months away.

Another attempt at Consensus Building on Affirmative Action was convened at a Retreat for Members of Parliament and Political Party Leaders in Mombasa on 6-9 Sept 2012. The Mombasa Retreat saw a proposal by the Hon. Charles Kilongo on satisfying the one-third principle by facilitating the election of yet another 47 special county seats for women (this would only have increased women's share of the National Assembly to 29%). Another option along the same line was Hon. Naomi Shaaban's proposal that 47 more women be nominated from the counties (the woman who contested in a single member constituency and garnered the highest percentage of the votes).

One merit of both these proposals was to reduce the number of women nominated by political parties and ensure that as many women as possible were elected or at least participated in the election at the constituency/county level. Notwithstanding the energy and enthusiasm generated by the new ideas, at the end of the Retreat there was still no agreed upon mechanism for implementation.

On 11 December 2012, in response to a number of related petitions, Kenya's Supreme Court handed down a controversial ruling regarding the Constitution's one-third gender

rule. Instead of pushing lawmakers to immediately enact the provisions and provide a formula on how this could be achieved, the court deemed that implementation would be unfeasible before March 2013. It ruled the change would need to be enacted "progressively" by 2015, but offered no clear methodology. Following the High Court's ruling, Parliament initiated a motion to amend the Political Parties Act and the Police Act to remove the one-third gender requirement from those legislations as well. These developments were disappointing for many Kenyans, especially women who had been aspiring to take advantage of the gender provisions to participate in the upcoming elections.

The High Court ruling was the motivation for the TEP initiative. In response, the National Women's Steering Committee (NWSC¹), UNDP Kenya and UN Women initiated a Team of Eminent Persons (TEP) lobby - prominent Kenyan advocates for women's rights - to serve as a key vehicle for strengthening relations between the women's movement and national and regional political parties and coalitions. The TEP model was an effort to bring "soft power" skills, moral suasion and behind-the-scenes negotiations to the national dialogue on gender equality and women's political participation.

The initial mandate of TEP was to advocate for women's representation in the elections. Initially, TEP was tasked with:

- i) strengthening relations between the women's movement and political parties and coalitions and advocating for women's participation in county assemblies, the National Assembly and the Senate in competitive campaigns for the General Elections, and for nomination positions in the period immediately following,
 - ii) raising awareness and advocating on behalf of the women's movement in order to mobilize public opinion and support for women in leadership,
 - iii) providing technical and financial support to women aspirants in the areas of security, mobilization, and media engagement, and
 - iv) engaging with the media on a regular basis, through press statements, press conferences, etc., to advocate for good leadership and to profile particularly qualified women aspirants from different parties and constituencies.

The targeted outcomes were to: 1) ensure that political parties nominated the necessary numbers of women candidates to realize the one-third gender rule, and 2) increase participation of women in elective and appointive leadership and decision-making institutions, at all levels.

Later, and in acknowledgement of Kenya's 2007/08 post-election violence, which saw more than 1300 people killed and over 600,000 displaced in just over two months², and disturbing security trends in late 2012 and early 2013, TEP's mandate was expanded to advocate and lobby for realization of a free, fair, transparent and violence free election process.

¹ The National Women's Steering Committee includes FIDA-Kenya, COVAW, Center for Education and Rights Awareness, the Christian Partners in Development Agency, League of Muslim Women of Kenya, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, League of Pastoralist Women of Kenya, Social Reform Centre, Sauti ya Wanawake Pwani, League of Kenya Women Voters, African Women Studies Institute, Foundation of Women's Rights in Kenya, Womankind, GROOTS Kenya, National Council of Women of Kenya, Women's Empowerment Link, and Kimbilio Trust.

² UNHCR (20 Sept 2012) Countries at the Crossroads 2012 – Kenya; Freedom House; Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,,KEN,456d621e2,505c172f8,0.html>

The activities of the TEP would be coordinated by UNDP, UN Women and the joint coordinating secretariat of the NWSC; a coordinating structure that would eventually prove unwieldy. TEP's funding would come, primarily, from the Government of Norway, along with contributions from Sweden, UNDP, and UN Women.

The TEP was formed with 10 members; from the private sector, media, academia, former politicians and grass-roots women leaders. The individuals, both men and women, were nationally and internationally renowned personalities with significant portfolios of contribution to the enhancement of democracy, peacebuilding, economic growth, inclusive participation, and other disciplines and who had great influence within and outside of Kenya. Broadly, based on their joint influence and through individual engagement, it was envisioned that TEP would serve as an important vehicle to achieve: (i) more democratic governance and an enhanced environment for human rights, including gender equality, (ii) more efficient, effective and gender-equitable public service delivery by institutions, and systems, including enhanced rule of law, and (iii) a broadened space for women in political participation, and iv) a free, fair and peaceful election process.

Membership of the Team of Eminent Persons comprised:

Hon. Dr. Phoebe Asiyo	UNDP Goodwill Ambassador for Women & Chair of Kenya's Caucus for Women's Leadership
Professor Wanjiku Kabira	University of Nairobi
Hon. Dr. Zipporah Kitony	Former Chair of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO) Women's Empowerment NGO
Mr. Kiprono Kitony	Chairman of the Media Owners Association and the Radio Africa Group
Hon. Dr. Tegla Loroupe	World-record long-distance runner, UN Ambassador for Sport, Global spokesperson for women's rights, and founder of the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation
Dr. S. K. Macharia	Chairman of Royal Media Services
Ms. Betty Maina	CEO of Kenya Association of Manufacturers
Hon. Beth Mugo	Minister of Health and Public Sanitation
Ms. Rahab Muiu	Vice-Chair of the MYWO Women's Empowerment NGO
Ms. Jane Kiano	Commissioner with the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)

Borrowing an effective tool that was tested in Liberia (2011), Senegal (2012) and Sierra Leone (2012), a separate but parallel initiative, the "Women's Situation Room" (WSR), provided women and youth organizations with a platform for reporting and responding rapidly to election-related incidents through a coordinated system. The WSR was an integral and coordinated component of TEP's Phase II portfolio (during the voting period) and reinforced compliance with UN Security Resolutions 1325 and 1820 underscoring the role of women in peace building and conflict prevention.

Although the overall goal of the WSR was to promote peace and a peaceful electoral environment its specific objectives were to:

- provide a platform for women's groups to work collaboratively to prevent acts of violence throughout the electoral process in a coordinated manner, and
- strengthen the network of peace activists monitoring the elections by equipping them with tools to respond to violence,

The WSR particularly aimed at creating an early warning and response mechanism.

The shuttle diplomacy initiative and the community dialogue process deserve particular mention. The specific mission of the shuttle diplomacy was to implement discreet preventative diplomacy with key leaders in South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda

- intervene.
- prepared, if the security situation were to deteriorate, to implement mechanisms to the importance of a peaceful process and to ensure neighbouring leaders were commencement of a dialogue with Kenya's PM and Hon. Kenyatta to underscore shuttle diplomacy with influential regional leaders and institutions to encourage raising on peace and reconciliation, and
- 6) organization of regional and national Prayer Days to further support awareness-reconciliation during and after the primaries and targeting the upcoming elections,
 - 5) facilitation and support of media messaging to advocate for good leadership, to profile particularly qualified women aspirants, and to raise the profile of peace and and to promote women aspirants,
 - 4) advocacy and awareness-raising with community elders, youth and women in potential "hot spot" parts of the country, e.g., Tana River, Uasin Gishu-Ziwa, Kakamega, Kisumu and Siaya, for conflict prevention, to amplify peace messaging,
 - 3) real-time dispute resolution and response to irregularities during and immediately following the party primaries,
 - 2) monitoring and response to party primary nomination lists given the spirit of the postponed one-third gender rule,
 - 1) preparatory meetings, negotiation and outreach with the leading presidential candidates and their running mates, other party hierarchy, and representatives of key national electoral and security institutions, to enhance and support the participation of women in the election process, both as aspirants and voters, and to prioritize women's issues within party operations and in election preparedness efforts,

2.1 Phase I - pre-voting (including during the period of party primaries):

TEP's activities were divided into three distinct phases:

Throughout the next seven weeks TEP convened with all leaders of major national political parties and coalitions, as well as electoral and security officials, including Uhuru Kenyatta and running mate William Ruto, Raila Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Inspector-General of Police, the Minister of Internal Security, the Minister of Defense, the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, the Secretary of the Cabinet, the Secretary General of the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS), and many of the diplomatic missions in Nairobi.

At its inaugural meeting, 9 January 2013, TEP hit the ground running. Based on their influence networks, TEP had pre-arranged meetings with representatives of most political parties already confirmed, at their reserved meeting rooms in Nairobi's Serena Hotel. The meetings included CORD leaders PM Odinga, VP Musyoka, and Trade Minister Wetangula, also Peter Kenneth, Martha Karua, and delegations representing Amani and Jubilee Coalitions. Throughout the discussions all respondents noted personal support for promoting women's participation in the political process but had few strategies on how to achieve the goal. TEP's challenge lay in actualizing the supposed commitment in the midst of competing political interests and in balancing interests to secure a space for women.

2. Overview of TEP Implementation:

to encourage external pressure on Kenya's political leaders towards ensuring a peaceful and stable election process. These key countries were selected given their perceived ability to influence Kenyan leaders and the security situation, as well as based on their economic and humanitarian interest in any instability that might transpire. In the case of large-scale instability in Kenya, neighboring countries could be impacted considerably.

UNDP's response to the proposed diplomatic shuttle was interminably slow. The first mission to South Africa was to meet Ms. Graca Machel, Ms. Machel, chair of the Association of European Parliamentarians within Africa, the third wife of Nelson Mandela, and a renowned international advocate for women and children in her own right. She had agreed to meet TEP on February 6. Internally, UN delays and a reluctance to commit led to undue difficulties securing funding approvals and travel authorizations. In the end, the four TEP members travelling personally funded the mission. Despite the difficulties, the mission was a success with Ms. Machel agreeing to visit Nairobi to lead a National Prayer Day focused on peaceful elections at Nairobi's International Conference Centre, February 16. The event was attended by over 5000 supporters; individuals, representatives of local and regional CSOs, national media, politicians and other stakeholders. Unfortunately the other missions, to Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, although tentatively scheduled with the relevant dignitaries, were summarily cancelled.

The community dialogue process was also successful and served to illuminate a number of other issues aside from conflict prevention and the women's electoral agenda, including: the need to address issues of injustice and unequal distribution of resources targeted at certain communities (the focus has largely been on the treatment of symptoms rather than tackling root causes),

- the genuine grassroots support for peace and development initiatives among communities (it was also noted that peace and cohesion interventions would be more successful if partnered with developmental interventions such as security, roads, schools, water, health care, and alternative income generating activities),

- the need for a continuous and sustained peace dialogue process among historically belligerent communities that would be enhanced through the establishment of cross-community market-driven projects. For example, in Tana Delta, the lack of respect for diversity and failure to embrace the reality of differing livelihood choices (primarily pastoralism vs. cultivation) were identified as fundamental root causes hindering lasting peace. Community representatives appeared keen on reconciliation and TEP left with the impression there was a real chance for sustainable peace given dialogue with local leadership and other actors focused on addressing the long-term challenges,

- in Nairobi's Mathare slum, home to nearly 200,000 people, respondents were particularly concerned with housing and infrastructure issues. They also articulated a need for focused mentoring programmes for youth and young mothers to help improve their livelihoods. In Mathare, and other urban slums, the majority of people eke out a living in life threatening conditions, where the most basic needs are unaddressed, and where population growth rates are the highest in Africa. Poverty is compounded by many factors including domestic violence, crime, drugs and alcoholism.

TEP was first convened in late December 2012 and held its initial consultations with stakeholders on 9 January 2013, just 52 days before the March 4 elections. Despite the constant pressure of critical timelines, the initiative has had significant successes. Yet the broader and longer-term impacts on women's empowerment will only become apparent as

3. Project Results

- response.
- Reconciliation and healing interventions were identified as a critically necessary number of individuals, reporting to TEP, claimed they would never vote again. A Disappointment with the 2013 results, in many communities, was palpable. A 1992. Over the next 20 years there were four competitive elections.
- amendment to the Constitution. Multi-party elections did not recommence until one-party rule. Kenya's first elections were in 1964. However, in 1982, competitive elections were discontinued and a single-party system was affirmed in an It is important to be mindful that Kenya is a young democracy with a long history of reconciliation and Peace Forums throughout the country -
- 4) negotiating with the new Government for appointments of identified qualified women as Ambassadors, Directors of Public Bodies, and other nomination positions,
 - 3) following the announcement of the election's results by the Chairperson of the IEBC, on March 9, and during the subsequent Court challenges by various parties, TEP refocused efforts to more specifically address patience, appropriate channeling of dispute resolution, and national reconciliation,
 - 2) on-going engagement with the "Women's Situation Room" and real-time response (over 1200 reports were made to the WSR in just three weeks) and real-time response,
 - 1) reconciliation and healing interventions were identified as a critically necessary

2.3 Phase III - the post-election period:

- strategy involves forced evictions.
- 6) supporter merchants living in these areas (identified by ethnicity). Another, similar, intervention in response to reports of livelihood targeting (i.e., minority providers of goods and services) by Jubilee stronghold communities directed at CORD
 - 5) ensuring that the two leading political party coalitions did not release unconfirmed results or issue statements that could trigger tension and confrontations, and
 - 4) ensuring IEBC clearly communicated its challenges and minimized uncertainties, results,
 - 3) ensuring that Kenyans and political party leaders and their agents gave IEBC the requisite time and cooperation to complete the tallying and announcement of challenges,
 - 2) supportive brainstorming visits with IEBC officials to assure that TEP would continue to appeal for calm and public support for IEBC while it addressed the numerous challenges,
 - 1) stepped-up national messaging for calm and peace as the IEBC resolved its
- 2.2 Phase II - during the voting period (including response to the failure of the Results Transmission System and delays in ballot counting):**

Finally, successful social change requires **broad-based sets of agents, to ensure that reforms are viable, legitimate, relevant and supportable.** The change agents in the Women in Leadership component of Kenya's comprehensive gender equity process are all accorded to TEP throughout most of the exercise.

Effective experimentation and development processes must be embedded in **tight feedback loops facilitating rapid experiential learning** (as opposed to enduring the long lag times required in learning from evaluation). The quick-time feedback loops in the TEP model result from the free rein and autonomy from a structured steering committee

Facilitation of social change requires an **'authorizing environment' for decision-making** that encourages experimentation (as opposed to designing projects and programs and requiring agents to implement them). The authorizing environment in this sub-set of the broader Kenyan women's empowerment process has been the UNDP/UN Women-facilitated "enabling space" for TEP's negotiations and dialogue.

The focus of successful societal change must be on **solving locally nominated and defined problems** (as opposed to transplanting pre-conceived and packaged solutions). In this exercise, the local gendered context, buy-in and national ownership has been provided jointly, by the NWSC and TEP.

The one essential characteristic of any effective social change process, involves **sources of innovation and diversity.** In the Kenyan Promoting Women in Leadership context, the most significant innovative initiative has been the TEP. TEP's successes have cemented its profile, within UNDP and beyond, as a novel and cross-cutting best practice to address both affirmative action and the peace and security agenda.

3.1 A Model for Social Change

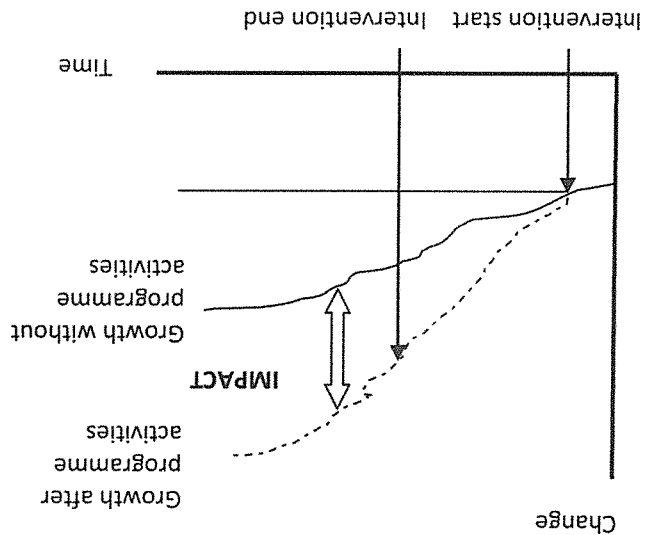


Figure 1 – Impacts of Successful Projects Targeting Social Change

the Government's programmes adapt, in response to women's increased participation and their impact on policy development, to more effectively incorporate gender considerations. If TEP has been truly effective, its greatest results will be realized, and escalate, long after the project has closed.

of the cooperating TEP interlocutors, including government, CSOs, international NGOs, the Inspector General of Police, and the diplomatic and donor community.

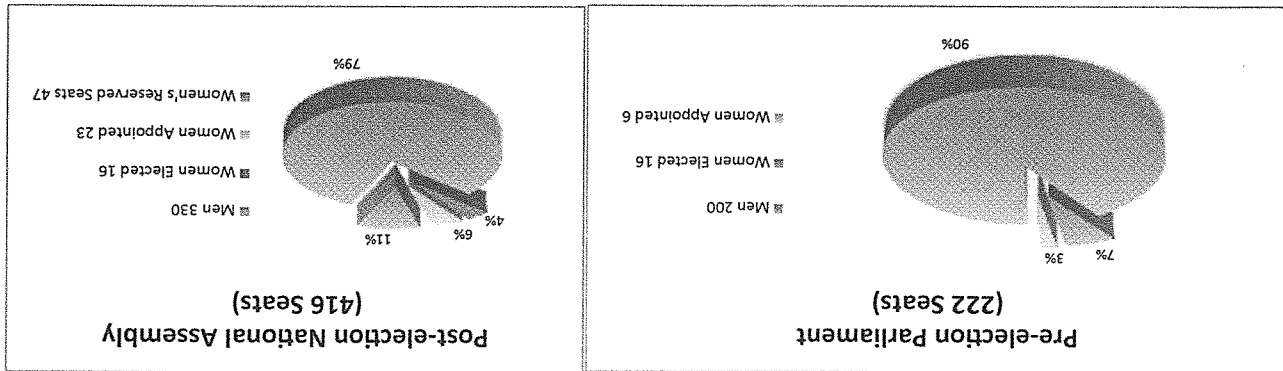
"Development" arises from the interactions of dynamic and unpredictable systems. The complexities of the development process challenge traditional mechanisms for evaluation, accountability and results. Directed social change, including affirmative action, works best by making small changes, observing results, and then making adjustments. This is the exact opposite of the traditional planning approach, widely used in international development, which involves designing complicated programmes and then tracking milestones as the programmes are implemented. In any directed social change process, attributable results will be difficult to quantify, and this project is no different; however, to various degrees, the TEP initiative has contributed to all of the following:

- the immense pressure on various actors, such as the media and the political candidates, to maintain peace and refrain from potentially violence-provoking behaviour, clearly contributed to a high level of alert of security forces before, during and following the elections and the peaceful conduct of the whole election process,
- timely responses to the challenges experienced during the elections, including the focus on public outreach and real-time response to and mitigation of violent flare-ups,
- successful advocacy materializing in UN Women's financial support for women aspirants, and training and support for female candidates, in all 47 counties, and along with a reinforcing media programme in major newspapers, TV and radio stations, in local languages,
- strengthened relations between Kenya's women's movement and political parties and coalitions,

- raised awareness and positive public opinion in support of women in leadership, and enhanced capacities of local implementing partners (Kenya's Caucus for Women's Leadership, the National Women's Steering Committee, the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Women's Empowerment NGO, and the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation) to promote and advocate for women's issues.
- The Women's Situation Room provided women and youth organizations with a platform to respond rapidly to election-related incidents through a coordinated system. With 500 trained observers in the field, over 1200 reports were made to the WSR in just three weeks, ranging from electoral complaints, reports of threats and damage to property, and personal violence incidents. TEP was on hand to take up and resolve the reports as they were raised.

- After the most high-profile election in Kenyan history, 21% (86 of 416 seats) of the newly established National Assembly chambers (Parliament and Senate) are now held by women (see Figure 2 and Table 1, below).

Figure 2 - Kenya's Pre-election Parliament vs. Post-election National Assembly



Prior to the election, just 22 women sat in the old 222-seat Parliament, which did not have a Senate. The new Parliament has 290 elected seats, 16 of which are held by women; 12 nominated seats, 5 held by women; and 47 special Women's Representative seats (one for each county). There are now 67 Senate seats; 47 elected, 16 reserved for women, two for youth (one for each gender) and two for the disabled (one for each gender).

The new Cabinet shows a more marked improvement in gender balance from the April 2008 lineup. While the 2008 Cabinet had seven women Ministers out of 40 total (17.5%), President Kenyatta's trimmed down Cabinet boasts six women members out of 17 (35%). The six women Cabinet appointees hold significant portfolios - Foreign Affairs, Devolution and Planning, Defense, East African Affairs, Environment and Natural Resources, and Lands, Housing and Urban Development. The President has clearly delivered on his promise, and opportunity, to promote women in national leadership.

On the downside, although 160 women vied for the 290 competitive parliamentary seats, only 16 were elected (261 women vied for the 47 Women's Representative positions). Out of the 1,450 county ward seats, only 85 were won by women (5.8%).

What mechanism the Government, Courts and/or civil society will devise to adhere to the Constitution's one-third gender rule by 2015 remains unclear. It could require that an additional 75 women be appointed to the National Assembly or that 150 men leave, or some combination of the two. Neither option seems particularly practical or likely. Regardless, for civil society, the priority is to ensure that the process is conducted swiftly, fairly and, to the extent possible, by merit.

Table 1 – Kenya's Pre-election Parliament vs. Post-election National Assembly

	Number	Percent
Pre-election Parliament		
Men	200	90%
Men-Elected	194	87%
Men-Appointed	6	3%
Women	22	10%
Women-Elected-Competitive	16	7%
Women-Appointed	6	3%
Total	222	100%
% of NA		
Post-election National Assembly (NA)	416	100%
Men	330	79%
Men-Elected	194	47%
Men-Appointed	6	1%
Women	86	21%
Women-Elected-Competitive	16	4%
Women-Appointed	23	6%
Women's Reserved Seats	47	11%
1) Parliament	349	100%
1.1) Parliament-Men	281	81%
1.1.1) Parliament-Men-Elected-Competitive	274	79%
1.1.2) Parliament-Men-Appointed	7	2%
1.2) Parliament-Women	68	19%
1.2.1) Parliament-Women-Elected-Competitive	16	5%
1.2.2) Parliament-Women-Appointed	5	1%
1.2.3) Parliament-Women's Reserved Seats-Elected	47	13%
2) Senate	67	100%
2.1) Senate-Men	49	73%
2.1.1) Senate-Men-Elected	47	70%
2.1.2) Senate-Men-Appointed	2	3%
2.2) Senate-Women	18	27%
2.2.1) Senate-Women-Elected	0	0%
2.2.2) Senate-Women-Appointed	18	27%

4. TEP Retreat

The joint (UNDP/UN Women) TEP project came to a close on 1 May 2013. On June 7-8 a one-and-a-half day end-of-project retreat was convened, in Nairobi. Objectives of the TEP-led retreat were to:

- consider a way forward for TEP as a CSO, ex-UNDP and ex-UN Women,
- secure a smooth transition and continuity of the advocacy effort,
- review the project approach, including achievements, and lessons learned,
- review the impact of the project on the women's movement.

The Retreat saw overview presentations by the three TEP implementing partners, NWSC, UNDP and UN Women, and a broad discussion of successes, challenges and the way forward for TEP as a voice for the women's agenda.

4.1 Summary of Retreat Recommendations:

- A need to prioritize engagement with women who have been elected and appointed during the 2013 process to maintain the dialogue on implementation of the one-third gender principle and identify strategies to push the parliamentary agenda for early enactment of legislation facilitating implementation of the gender principles by 2015.
 - A priority need was identified to continue the lobbying effort for the new national and county governments to appoint and deploy women in key county executive positions, especially considering the poor performance of women in the county executive positions (out of the 1,450 county ward seats, only 85 were won by women (5.8%).
 - NWSC expressed concern that the urgency of opportunities to advance women's rights were not compatible with the slow nature of UN processes and that this disconnect led to missed opportunities. It was recommended that the UN agencies explore more responsive ways and mechanisms for timely response (especially quick funding options) to engage with the women's movement.
 - There is need for TEP to continue with its peace initiative processes. Half of Kenyans celebrated Kenya's win while the other half were profoundly disappointed.
 - The government should ensure safety and security for citizens. Conflict and insecurity adversely affects development; promotion of entrepreneurship, investment and trade depends, significantly, on peace and security.
 - There is need for widespread civic education on the Constitution and devolved governance.
 - NWSC needs an intergenerational approach, to facilitate the engagement of young women.
- The Retreat also identified key challenges to the TEP process, primarily with regard to structure, i.e., being shared among three stakeholders (UNDP, UN Women and NWSC). The structure presented difficulties with regard to timely response. For example, although the honorariums paid to TEP were a reimbursement of expenses they had incurred (transport, communication, lodging), UN sign-off on payments was overly complicated, delayed, and contentious.
- In addition:

- Local stakeholders and political leadership must be involved at every stage; the approach must support communities to share information and own strategies without fear of victimization or intimidation.
- Peace building and conflict resolution efforts must continue within established national, regional and international frameworks. The root causes of conflict in Kenya are as diverse as its communities. While some areas require interventions geared towards more effective management of natural resources, others require political and economic interventions - long-term strategies with a range of diverse actors.
- Building trust among communities is critical, to enable development of mechanisms for conflict prevention, and addressing women's and youth empowerment. TEP should have an ongoing role to facilitate dialogue.
- Voter and civic education needs to be a continuous process including engagement in an ongoing post-election national healing process.
- Timely interventions and responses were the greatest examples of TEP's success.
- Intimate engagement with the media is necessary to ensure effective coverage of gender initiatives.
- The women's movement must strengthen its relationships with key stakeholders, including the IEBC, the Security Sector, and the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management.

5. The TEP Initiative - Challenges and Successes and Lessons Learned

The strong relationships TEP had established with key stakeholders, from its inception, provided a context of overwhelming support for the initiative. All actors, including IEBC, the Police and other security institutions' officials, and the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management were exceedingly responsive and provided full cooperation and access for TEP's responses/interventions to election-related issues. The trilateral management structure administering TEP evidenced an inability to provide timely financing. Operating "outside of the box" is not one of UNDP's competitive advantages. A quick response, pre-authorized funding mechanism (to acceptable limits), should be examined as a tool for timing-critical interventions.

The voter education campaign, critical given the newly devolved system and the complexity of the voting, was initiated too late in the process. Male politicians and community elders were able to confuse the electorate by arguing that women were not eligible to vie for competitive positions, apart from the women's representative positions. In the most patriarchal communities this propaganda was accepted without question. Voter education is key.

Delays in the Government's procurement of materials for Biometric Voter Registration and the consequent abridged period of voter registration undermined the process. Despite a commitment, the UN's provision of technical and financial support to women aspirants was inadequate and negatively affected the targeted outcomes. There is a genuine grassroots support for peace and reconciliation initiatives among communities and a readiness for cross-community dialogue but are there county or national-level mechanisms and finances to facilitate peacebuilding?

A well resourced, automated, integrated and functional Conflict Early Warning and Response System is indispensable in peacebuilding and conflict management and effective implementation should be a priority. There is a need for a continuous and sustained peace dialogue process among historically belligerent communities that would be enhanced through the establishment of cross-community market-driven projects.

Historical issues of injustice and unequal distribution of resources targeted at certain communities need to be addressed (the focus has largely been on the treatment of symptoms rather than tackling root causes).

Devolving decision-making and control to county response structures has a real potential for a more equitable society but civic education is necessary so that residents understand national/local governance to hold Governors and other officials accountable.

Culture, financing and lack of political party will have all been blamed for the poor performance of women in the General Election, despite efforts to boost their numbers. No woman was elected as a Governor or Senator and the 47 Governor's seats attracted only seven women aspirants. Many parties did not field women candidates especially in patriarchal communities such as Wajir, Marsabit, Isiolo, Samburu and West-Pokot. During the election process, political incitement and intimidation, including physical violence, effectively dissuaded women aspirants and their supporters.

In Tana Delta, killings, property destruction, targeted forced displacement and other techniques aimed at marginalization were effective strategies to exclude affected communities from registering, and voting, in the elections.

Women candidates faced discrimination even from within their own political parties. All female candidates indicated campaign financing was a significant issue and that they received little or no support from their political parties, although men often did.

Now that the election process is completed, there is a need to prioritize engagement with women who have been elected and appointed during the 2013 process to maintain the dialogue on implementation of the one-third gender principle and to identify strategies to push the parliamentary agenda for early enactment of legislation facilitating a mechanism for implementation by 2015.

Strong partnerships and cross-cutting linkages are critical, e.g., with like-minded humanitarian service providers, and the private sector.

Cross-cutting approaches, e.g., combining women's participation initiatives with programmes for peaceful elections yielded significant results. When TEP began their consultations many stakeholders were hesitant to engage in perceived women-only issues but, once the agenda was expanded to include peaceful elections, there was considerably more buy-in. As development agencies look for innovative ways of promoting gender equality there is a need to connect with the broader process of democratization and peacebuilding.

ANNEX. Detailed Chronology of TEP Activities

1. Pre-election Period

Date	Participants	Discussion	Action Items / Takeaway
11 Dec 2102			Kenya's Supreme Court rules that the Constitution's one-third Gender Rule would not be applicable to the 2013 elections, but implemented progressively to 2015. The Court offers no mechanism for how this will be achieved.
18 Dec		Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons (TEP) is initiated	<p>The initial mandate of the TEP was to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen relations between the women's movement, represented by the National Women's Steering Committee (NSWC), and political parties/coalitions for the purpose of promoting qualified women for elective and appointive positions in county assemblies, the Senate and the National Assembly, in the 2013 General Elections, and for the period immediately following. • Negotiate for nominations, within political parties and coalitions, of identified qualified women aspirants. • Raise awareness and advocate on behalf of the women's movement in order to mobilize positive public opinion and solidarity in support of women in leadership. • Engage with the media on a regular basis through press statements/conferences, etc. to advocate for good leadership with integrity, profile nominated women from different parties and constituencies, and raise awareness of the importance of women's participation in leadership processes.
9 Jan 2013	First meeting of the TEP. Based on their influence networks, TEP had pre-arranged meetings with leadership of most political parties, including CORD leaders PM Odinga, VP Musyoka, and Trade Minister Wetangula, also Hon. Peter Kenneth, Musalia Mudavadi and delegations representing Amani and Jubilee Coalitions.	To enhance and support the participation of women in the electoral process, both as aspirants and knowledgeable voters.	<p>All respondents noted their support for promoting women's participation in the process but had few specific strategies on how to achieve the goal.</p> <p>TEP secured verbal commitments for observance of gender equality quotas in appointments.</p> <p>The challenge lies in actualizing supposed commitment.</p>

10 Jan	<p>Meetings with Marta Karua, leader of NARC, Amani Coalition's leader Hon. Mudavadi, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Hon. Wamalwa, and NVP Party leader, Nicholas Biwott</p>	<p>To further raise the issue of participation of women in the electoral process and urge political parties to adhere to the one-third principle in their primaries processes. Also highlighted, if the TEP initiative is to be successful there must be a committed and readily available basket of UN-managed funding (The UN financing approvals process would eventually become a significant bottleneck for TEP).</p>	<p>Hon. Wamalwa's Press Release urges political parties to adhere to the one-third principle (Appendix II). Hon. Karua and others noted the necessity of technical and financial assistance to women aspirants. The parties lack the resources to support nominees' campaigns. Women aspirants, especially in rural areas and with minimal personal resources, are particularly disadvantaged. Hon. Karua outlined the direct financial support and procurement assistance, that women aspirants require for affirmative action to be successful. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procurement funding for campaign materials for women aspirants - posters, T-shirts, radio time - and access to media. • Support for mobilizers at the community level for women candidates - to carry out door-to-door campaigns. • Enhanced security for aspirants and campaign workers - the election campaign is a security challenge, particularly for women and in hotspot areas. Women have been attacked - including GBV - to deter their participation. • Access to technology - to share information easily and efficiently, make well-informed decisions, and expand a support base. • Technical assistance, including for developing political agendas - surveys have found that women address the needs of fellow women by focusing on water infrastructure, children's education, and gender and matrimonial issues. Candidates' agendas must be quickly developed and likely best be differentiated from men's. <p>Oloo pledges TNA's support for women but laments the large numbers of women crowding for the reserved women's seats and few vying for mainstream seats. (approx. 50 women vied for the 210 competitive seats; only 16 were elected. 261 women vied for the 47 Women Representative positions). Mr. Oloo inappropriately placed the onus on women's groups to quickly identify qualified women for the party primaries, abrogating parties' responsibilities.</p> </p>
11 Jan	<p>TEP met with Mr. Onyango Oloo, Secretary General of the National Alliance Party (TNA), part of the Jubilee Coalition</p> <p>TEP met with Minister of Internal Security, Ole Meitio.</p>	<p>Broad discussion of security incidents nation-wide including 9 & 10 Jan killings in Tana Delta region.</p>	<p>TEP members propose to initiate field activities in many of the hotspot regions of the country. Growing fear that the overall security situation could continue to deteriorate as the election approaches.</p>

Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons – Final Report

14 Jan	TEP meets with Minister of Defense, Mohamed Haji and Inspector General of Police, David Kimaiyo.	Discussion of Tana Delta incidents and reports indicating massive acquisition of machetes in some parts of the country. TEP mandate expanded to address the need to engage political leaders on peace and security agenda.	<p>Potential activities for TEP's peace and security initiative include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talks with regional District Peace Committees to identify underlying root causes of conflict. • Dialogue with women, youth, religious groups and traditional leaders to foster networking, engender peace processes, and minimize conflict. • Targeted dialogue with security agencies and leaders. • Counselling and other support for victims of conflict.
15 Jan	TEP meets with IEBC officials	Status of Voter Registration	<p>Voter verification commenced on 14 Jan. and is expected to end on 27 Jan. To verify details, IEBC has set up registration centers, online and on SMS platforms. So far 3 million voters' data have been verified out of 14.3 million Kenyans registered as voters (representing 80% of the 18 million voters IEBC had targeted).</p>
20 Jan	Media Outreach - Press Statement by TEP on the Political Party Primaries Process (Appendix III).	<p>Response to party primaries: 200 complaints were raised with IEBC. TEP calls on the Inspector-General of Police and Director of Public Prosecutions to investigate and prosecute acts of violence, intimidation, harassment, fraud, and destruction to property. TEP calls for heightened voter education given awareness issues raised in the primaries.</p>	<p>TEP notes that the just-concluded political party nominations fell short of Kenyan's expectations and details specific issues, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • major security lapses on the side of both political parties and the State, • intimidation by competing male aspirants and their supporters targeted at women, • poor voter education regarding who was eligible to vote in the primaries, • some aspirants' names omitted from party ballots after paying registration and nomination fees, • delayed delivery of voting materials to polling stations, • lack of sufficient voting materials in polling stations, • delays in voting/long waits particularly discouraged women's participation, especially given security concerns, • compromised Returning Officers and other election officials, some of whom were agents of aspirants, • delays/failure to communicate results exacerbated tension leading to some violence, • instances in which winners of parties' primaries were denied their rightful place on parties' lists of candidates, replaced by insider-preferred nominees. <p>TEP underscores the disproportionate disenfranchisement of women in the primaries. Only 50-odd women are estimated to be vying for 210 competitive national-level seats. These 50, or so, women are in a field of upwards of 1500 total candidates.</p>

Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons – Final Report

21 - 24 Jan	Political party leaders	<p>Women's Political Participation:</p>	<p>TEP initiated interventions in cases where women won political party primaries but were subsequently denied a place on lists of candidates forwarded to the IEBC. TEP worked through the IEBC and individual parties' leadership, to confirm, highlight and address the wronged candidates.</p> <p>TEP continued to meet with political party leaders to ensure the message of a peaceful election is forefront. In a number of face-to-face dialogues parties were encouraged to emphasize that security of the most vulnerable candidates (women) should be a priority. Political parties were encouraged to utilize affirmative action in the allocation of campaign funds (one of the noted barriers for women to run successful campaigns). Verbal commitments for observance of gender equality quotas in appointments.</p>
	IEBC leadership	<p>Women's political participation and free, fair and transparent elections</p> <p>The instability resulting from the primaries process heightens concerns regarding the potential for further violence come the General Election.</p>	<p>TEP was assured that IEBC would ensure that provisions for special seats reserved for women would be observed.</p> <p>Commitment from TEP to i) help raise public confidence in IEBC, including among political parties, ii) assist a wide understanding of IEBC's role in the election process, and promote the image and reputation of IEBC so that its credibility not be compromised [i.e., minimize the mistrust that was one of the contributors to the 2007/08 post-election violence], and iii) reiterate peace messaging during and after the election.</p> <p>Commitment from IEBC to: i) be well prepared to execute the elections, including on issues of peace and security; ii) be easily accessible by TEP during the process; iii) ensure that the 7 day (maximum) period between the election and the announcement of results be conducted appropriately; iv) maintain open communication and conduct regular and timely press briefings; v) remain non-partisan; vi) put mechanisms in place to minimize logistical risks, including contingency plans; vii) partner with TEP in interventions targeted at fair, credible, transparent and peaceful elections.</p>
25 Jan	<p>Discussions with IEBC delegation including Chairman Issack Hassan, and Secretary of the Cabinet, Mr. Francis Kimmemia</p>	<p>Peaceful elections:</p> <p>Throughout the week, TEP received compelling reports from throughout the country of a deteriorating security situation and of how parties' primaries had increased tribal animosity.</p>	<p>TEP invited by Cabinet Secretary to sit in on the weekly security briefings provided to the Office of the President.</p> <p>Discussion of coordinating responses to the distribution of threatening leaflets aimed at displacing minority communities from homes and businesses in some regions. Leaflets in southwestern Nyanza province advised Luhyas to leave the area and warned their land would be repossessed if Odinga won. In Kisumu, Kenya's third largest city, residents reported leaflets warning minority Kisi and Kalenjin people to leave.</p> <p>Disturbingly, even the two institutions mandated to ensure peace are reportedly partisan; through ethnicity, the army stands with Kenyatta while the Police stand with Odinga.</p>

Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons – Final Report

25 Jan	Hon. Kenyatta and PM Odinga	<p>Peaceful elections: TEP met with Jubilee's Kenyatta, and CORD's Odinga to propose a joint declaration there would be no loser-initiated violence.</p> <p>Peaceful elections:</p>	<p>Both leaders agreed to the joint declaration.</p> <p>Verbal commitments for observance of gender equality quotas in appointments. Kenyatta intimates that, however the election unfolds, he has no intention of appearing at the ICC. Kenyatta highlighted his bitterness with regard to his perception of "western" vested interests in the results. He suggested that ICC and western nations were causing significant damage with their statements and activities.</p> <p>TEP raised a potential initiative to reach out to key neighbouring stakeholder countries (Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and, the continental power South Africa) to inform of the deteriorating security situation and discuss options - these countries have a direct economic and humanitarian interest in what may transpire.</p> <p>Next week, TEP will submit a formal proposal requesting UNDP facilitation and financing (\$US 17,000) for a regional "diplomatic shuttle". The proposal will suggest two avenues: 1) to propose neighbouring leaders commence a dialogue with the PM and Hon. Kenyatta, and 2) to ensure they are prepared, if the situation deteriorates, to implement mechanisms to intervene quickly to save lives.</p>
28 Jan	TEP General Meeting (5 weeks remaining to the election)	TEP proposes to focus on quick win interventions, given the increasingly critical timeline for substantive action and results.	TEP finalizes the proposal for the "diplomatic shuttle" and conveys it to UNDP. TEP had already secured an appointment with Ms. Graça Machel in Johannesburg on Feb 6. Presidents of Rwanda and Tanzania have also been contacted, informally.
29 & 30 Jan	Meetings with the private sector including heads of Standard Chartered Bank and Safaricom.	<p>Women's Political Participation: Attempt to raise funding/resources to materially support particularly strong women candidates.</p>	
31 Jan	Meetings with Mr. Abbas Gullet, Secretary General of the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS)		KRSC provides a presentation on the security and peace environment as well as KRCS scenarios for the periods prior to, during and after the elections. Also discussed was KRCS's state of preparedness to respond. Emphasis on "hoping for the best but preparing for the worst". KRCS lauds UNDP for its facilitation of TEP.

Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons – Final Report

1 Feb	TEP meetings with UNDP Executive	Review activities to date and examine the focus going forward; especially with regard to how best UNDP can support the initiative. TEP assured of UNDPs on-going commitment.	UNDP requested to quickly facilitate the discreet preventative diplomatic shuttle mission, including visa arrangements. TEP requests UNDP to assist organization of a breakfast meeting with key diplomatic missions including Canada, USA, UK, Norway, Sweden, and Germany. UNDP also requested to consider material support for those few (45-55) women competing for the elections' competitive MP positions. TEP highlights the need to act quickly; the election is one month away, election campaigning is beginning now and resources are needed immediately. TEP requests a response, by Friday Feb. 8, re. what immediate technical and financial support they could realistically expect, from UNDP and UN Women, to assist women vying in the elections. TEP has also initiated an engagement with the African Union (AU). The AU's role in mediating Kenya's 2008 post electoral crisis is well recognized and may well have brought Kenya back from the brink.
4 Feb.	TEP meets with diplomatic missions in Nairobi and representatives of Kenya's private sector	Update on the initiative and appeal for support.	Ambassadors of UK, US, Canada, Switzerland, Germany, France, Norway, the EU and AU, along with heads of Kenya's business community, were updated on the initiative. All expressed support
6 Feb.	Some of the TEP travel to South Africa for a meeting with Ms. Graca Machel (wife of Nelson Mandela)	Appeal for support.	TEP members (at their own expense, following UNDP/JUN Women's delays to commit) met in Johannesburg, with Ms. Graca Machel, a renowned international advocate for women and children. The meeting, to apply additional pressure on Kenya's two main Presidential contenders to facilitate a peaceful election process, resulted in Ms. Machel's commitment to come to Nairobi to give the Keynote Address at the TEP convened National Women's Prayer Day, Feb. 16, at Nairobi's International Conference Centre.

11 Feb.	TEP met, in Addis Ababa, with Dr. Nkosazana Clarise Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the African Union Commission, and other AU officials.	1) Brief the AU Chairperson on Kenya's situation ahead of the Elections, specifically with respect to security and gender equality, and seek AU support for ensuring free, fair and violence-free elections. TEP also requests AU support in efforts to lobby GOK and other relevant stakeholders to adhere to the Constitution's gender equity provisions. 2) TEP received an update on efforts already deployed by the AU to support a peaceful and credible election process.	Dr. Zuma informed of the AU Short-Term Observation (STO) Mission to Kenya for the elections, beginning Feb. 22, to complement existing Long-Term Observers/Experts, deployed 10 Jan. STO to be led by H.E. Joaquin Chissano, ex-President of Mozambique. Team comprised of 60 observers from African Electoral Management Bodies, CSOs, the Pan-African Parliament, the Regional Economic Community, and the Permanent Representatives' Committee of the AU. Mission tasked with facilitating measures to ensure political stability thru consultations with stakeholders, including President, PM, IEBC, Chief Justice, political parties, CSOs and Security Agencies. Using the same "soft diplomacy" as TEP, consultations to be behind the scenes; however, AU notes contingencies to manage violence would be employed if needed. Dr. Zuma agreed to contact Kenya's Presidential candidates re. appropriate channels to voice grievances, i.e., through the courts - not by intimidation or violence. Amb. Zuma also noted concerns with statements from the EU, USA, etc. regarding the ICC issue , and their divisiveness. H.E. Dr. Monica Juma, Kenya's Amb. to the AU, conveyed a mostly optimistic projection that Kenya would remain stable. Discussions with Ms. Etta Tadesse, Country Director/UNFPA in Ethiopia and UNFPA's Rep to the AU, regarding her role as gender advisor on the STO Mission. TEP emphasized the need for early deployment and results and requested the STO monitor compliance with Constitutional requirements by all relevant bodies.
16 Feb	TEP convened National Women's Prayer Day	The Strength of the Country - Reaching Out to the Youth and Women of Kenya for a Peaceful Election	Graca Machel gives keynote address Approx. 5000 participants.
22 Feb	TEP meets with IEBC officials	Status of Voter Registration	IEBC announces it has delisted 20,000 voters registered more than once.
26 Feb.	TEP meets H.E. Chissano and delegation in Nairobi - Head of the AU's STO Mission in Kenya,		Discussions focused on: i) security and gender equality, ii) partnership opportunities and modalities, especially as Election Observers and providing real-time response, mediation and other conflict resolution to potential elections malpractices, and iii) maintaining pressure on national actors in order to ensure the elections proceed according to plan. H.E. Chissano noted; j) the AU Mission wanted to work closely with TEP whenever possible, and ii) the AU is committed to support Kenya and this is the first time it has deployed more than 65 electoral observers and a high level delegation with capacity to intervene.

<p>27 Feb to 02 Mar</p>	<p>Some TEP members begin a field tour of potentially “hotspot” communities that experienced significant post-election violence in 2007/08 - Tana Delta, Uasin Gishu, Kitale-Tranzoia, Kakamega, Siaya, Kibera, Mathare, Kisumu, Mombasa, East and West Pokot, Baringo, Garissa, Machakos and Alego Usonga.</p>	<p>Convened conflict prevention dialogues with over 1000 individuals, including Peace Committee Coordinators, County Commissioners, women leaders, elders, political and religious leaders, aspirants and representatives of belligerent communities, including discussions of post-election peace building and conflict prevention as a pre-requisite to sustainable development.</p>	<p>TEP asks Inspector General (IG) of Police and Secretary of the Cabinet to review situation in the Rift Valley where Gok has deployed General Service Unit (GSU) security forces. In response, some local people have started moving away (in 2007/08 security forces contributed to some of the violence and Human Rights issues). Some of the conflict prevention forums were with persons displaced from their homes as a result of the 2007/08 conflict. In some communities security issues had resulted in schools being closed at the time of the visit. Through the IG, Gok was apprised of the issues and requested to intervene.</p>
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4.2 The Election Period

Participants	Discussion	Action Items / Takeaway
<p>General Election - 04 Mar</p>	<p>On polling day, a large number of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) kits failed, forcing polling stations to manually confirm voters against the voter register, consequently delaying the voting process and resulting in long queues. Once voting finished, the newly acquired Electronic Transmission System, designed to communicate results in real time, from polling stations around the country to the national tallying centre in Nairobi, also failed, necessitating a manual vote count (the infrastructure cost Kenya upwards of \$US40 million). Election offences included late campaigning, beyond the lawful period, voter bribery in several constituencies and cases where politicians and supporters had arrived at polling stations on Election Day in fully branded campaign materials, such as party T-shirts and caps (contrary to the campaigning law). Obstruction of Observers: WSR received reports of observers obstructed from accessing polling stations. Sporadic Violence - Grenade attacks were reported in Nairobi, Mandera and Wajir. There were 11 deaths related to the elections.</p>	<p>Despite the queues, the official turnout was established at 86%. Coordinated appeal for calm as the IEBC devises alternative measures to receive the results from polling stations. TEP leads the response to irregularities and other problems reported to the WSR hotline. Election offences including Obstruction - TEP liaises with relevant IEBC officials (regional IEBC coordinators and Returning Officers) for immediate intervention. TEP also monitors responses to ensure action. Sporadic Violence - TEP liaises with security officials to diffuse tensions and requests increased security presence in specific areas.</p>

	<p>Interventions in response to reports of discriminatory livelihood targeting (aimed at goods and services providers) by Jubilee stronghold communities directed at supposed CORO supporters living in these areas (identified by ethnicity). Another reported and similar strategy involved forced evictions.</p>	<p>TEP meets with Secretary of the Cabinet, Mr. Kimemia, who raises the issue with Pres. Kibaki requesting the President issue a statement condemning targeted marginalization. Hon. Kibaki issues a televised statement. TEP also engages religious leaders on the issue and requests they mediate.</p>
<p>TEP at the National Tallying Centre - 05 Mar to 09 Mar</p>	<p>From promising to deliver the results within 48 hours, the IEBC notes that it is only legally required to deliver results within a week. National and international media and election observers, including TEP, descend on the National Tallying Centre to monitor the election's manual vote count. The manual count was interminably slow. Official results were announced by the IEBC on 09 Mar, five days after the election. Kenyatta wins with 50.2% of the votes (6,173,433 votes), versus Odinga's 43.3% (5,340,546 votes). CORO alliance submits a petition to the Supreme Court, challenging the credibility of the presidential results.</p>	<p>The strong relationships TEP had established with key stakeholders, from its inception, provided a context of overwhelming support. All actors, including IEBC, the Police, and the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management were exceedingly responsive and provided full cooperation and access. TEP urges IEBC to maintain regular media engagement to apprise the public of developments and calls on all political agents to not release unconfirmed results. TEP uses their networks to ensure sustained access and public information/media briefs.</p>

4.3 Post-election Period

It is important to be mindful that Kenya is a young democracy with a long history of one-party rule. Kenya's first elections saw Jomo Kenyatta become the first president of Kenya in 1964. However, under his leadership, competitive elections were discontinued as competing political parties either joined his coalition or were suppressed. The consolidated single-party system was reaffirmed in an amendment to the Constitution in 1982. Major political demonstrations, in 1990, led to a review of the electoral system and in 1992 the amendment that had maintained the single party system was revoked, returning Kenya to multi-party elections. Between 1992 and 2012 there were four competitive elections.

Disappointment with the 2013 results, in many communities, was palpable. A number of individuals claimed they would never vote again. A reconciliation and healing intervention was identified as a critically necessary response.

Participants	Discussion	Action Items / Takeaway
<p>23 Mar</p>	<p>Kenya's High Court rejects the challenges to the official IEBC results and upholds Kenyatta's victory.</p>	
<p>26 Mar</p>	<p>TEP plans a countrywide tour of interventions to ensure quality engagement of citizens in post-election peace building, conflict management, healing and reconciliation.</p>	<p>TEP schedules consultative peace forums with local leadership throughout the country, including youth, women and elders, and the recruitment of local (youth) peace champions. TEP begins a preparatory media/messaging campaign.</p>

Kenya's Team of Eminent Persons – Final Report

05 Apr – Kisumu (CORD stronghold)	TEP's first consultative post-election dialogue. Violent demonstrations had broken out in Kisumu following the High Court upholding the election of Kenyatta. At least 12 people were killed. 7 The Forum's focus was on community healing and reconciliation and overcoming individuals' disappointment with election results.	The broad ranging discussions included alternative livelihoods, opportunities for persons with disabilities, women's participation, the importance of voting, and tribalism.
07 Apr - Nyakach and Homa Bay (CORD strongholds)	This area has a history of engagement with the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation. Tribalism: Pastor of the Nyakach Church noted, "We see TEP has a Kamba, a Luo, a Pokot and a Pokomo. We are happy you have joined hands in such a unique composition to try to bring together we Luos and the other tribes of our country."	Discussion re. education (esp for girls), women's livelihoods, employment and devolved governance. TEP encouraged attendees to know their county-level leaders and hold them accountable, and challenged women to help unite different tribes in the region.
08 Apr - Kibera slum in Nairobi (CORD stronghold)	Kibera has a history of engagement with the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation. Following the 23 March ruling upholding Kenyatta's election youth in Kibera engaged in running battles with police. "No Raila, no peace" was the rallying cry. There were concerns that youth groups from Kibera were planning to disrupt Kenyatta's swearing in ceremony the following day.	Forum was attended by local leaders from Kibera's villages, political party reps, youth reps and CSO donor agencies operating in Kibera. TEP raised the issue of disruptions to next day's swearing in but all speakers denied the rumors and noted a desire to "move on", despite disappointment. All respondents praised TEP's visit and TEP's call for peace.
12 Apr - Kitale / Trans-Nzoia County (Jubilee stronghold)	Two of Kenyatta's nominated women senators are from Trans-Nzoia. This area has a history of engagement with the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation. The Forum included the District Commissioner.	Discussions included alternative livelihoods for women and small business start-up loans, women's participation, and the importance of voting. Respondents felt strongly that their ethnicity, in the past, had excluded them from Gok (Kikuyu-targeted) initiatives.
16 Apr - Lomut / Central Pokot County (Jubilee stronghold)	Pokot, Turkana and Marakwet peoples with a history of livestock rustling and retaliation. Travel issues delayed TEP's arrival but participants waited, for 8 hours in large part to meet with their local heroine, Tegla Loroupe.	Residents discussed the need for schools and hospitals and a conflict early warning system and resolution mechanism. There is a readiness for cross-community dialogue but are there county or national-level mechanisms to facilitate it?
20 Apr - East Pokot (Jubilee stronghold)	The forum included community members from throughout East Pokot together with the District Commissioner (DC), Traditional Leaders and members of the County Assembly. This area experiences clan-related livestock rustling and ongoing skirmishes. Personal insecurity is high; outlying schools lack teachers; the large Nginyang livestock market has been closed, affecting livelihoods (buyers and sellers feared being attacked en route). Proliferation of weapons in hinterland areas because they are cut off from the rest of the country. People living there have little sense of membership in the state. 50 years after independence, Pokots are still calling on the government to build primary schools and upgrade the area's road transport infrastructure.	DC noted politicians had incited communities against each other. Dialogue on youth employment and youth taking up crime for lack of alternate sources of livelihoods. Discussion of cross-community joint ventures. Recognized need for a conflict early warning system and resolution mechanism and for belligerent communities' elders/leaders to engage in regular dialogue. TEP calls on residents to abandon illegal firearms. TEP calls on Gok to use equalization funds to create more equity between the Pokot region and other parts of Kenya.

<p>19 Apr - Arabal / Baringo County (Jubilee stronghold)</p>	<p>This area has a history of engagement with the Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation. Baringo County is home to the Tugen (pastoralist) people. A history of livestock rustling by bands of Pokot raiders has left more than 700 households displaced, many to IDP camps, with several schools closed due to security concerns.</p>	<p>Respondents emphasized need for access to education. Discussion of the March 2013 raids - destruction and vandalism, hundreds of homes destroyed, killings, rapes, gutted schools and development projects destroyed. Respondents underscored the plight of the displaced, living now in deplorable conditions and in need of humanitarian and medical assistance, including trauma healing and recovery for women and girls who had been raped. GOK need to upscale security and ensure schools are reopened, and need to encourage cross-community learning and activities to ensure dialogue.</p>
<p>26 Apr - Mombasa (CORD stronghold)</p>	<p>Forum included many prominent women from coastal communities.</p>	<p>Discussion of the poor security environment before, during and immediately after the elections, with root causes in unemployment and widespread extreme poverty. TEP notes that historical injustices re. land and development should now be addressed by devolved governments, and calls on the regional leadership to act.</p>
<p>29 Apr - Tana Delta</p>	<p>On 22 August 2012, in the worst violent incident in Kenya since 2007, at least 52 people were killed in ethnic violence in Tana Delta. A series of subsequent retaliatory strikes raised the death toll to over 200, with up to 13,000 displaced. Women and children made up a disproportionate number of the casualties. This area has a history of engagement with the Tegla Lorupe Peace Foundation. Chairpersons of the newly formed Orma and Pokomo (belligerent communities) Peace Committees participated. The approx. 300 attendees included community elders, youth, women and religious leaders, both Muslim and Christian. The conflict was discussed in the context of a strategy of ethnic cleansing, and marginalization to exclude affected communities from participating in the election.</p>	<p>Discussion of the total inadequacy of security forces' response and the possibility that events had been orchestrated. Description of a consequent youth-led response; a dialogue of youth from all communities to address reconciliation (hampered by mobility challenges and their inadequate capacities in conflict management). Discussion of the linkages between economic development and peace and human security. TEP called on women to take a leadership role in peacebuilding and called on GOK for investments in education (Tana is the least literate county in Kenya), appropriate support to the youth-led initiative, facilitation of cross-community water and pasture management committees, and implementation of an effective Conflict Early Warning/Response Mechanism.</p>
<p>30 Apr - Machakos (CORD stronghold)</p>	<p>The people of Machakos were widely disappointed with the election results.</p>	<p>TEP encouraged participants to work with the new government. TEP also called on residents to understand devolved government and hold the Governors and other officials accountable.</p>

01 May - Mathare	Mathare, a collection of slums in Nairobi with a population of approximately 500,000, has a history of engagement with the Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation.	Community reps asked TEP to intercede with respect to basic needs while TEP noted that one of Kenyatta's women Cabinet appointees, Hon. Charity Ngilu, had been appointed Minister of Lands and Housing. TEP called for Gok interventions to improve people's lives and prospects, in Mathare, and noted the need for youth mentoring programmes and livelihoods support for young mothers.
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4.4 Recommendations Arising from the Peace Forums Initiative:

- There is a genuine readiness for cross-community dialogue but there must be county/national-level mechanisms to facilitate,
- Historical root causes of conflict, including inequities in the distribution of resources targeted at certain communities, needs to be addressed and effective Conflict Early Warning Systems and resolution mechanisms implemented,
- There is a need for an ongoing peace dialogue in many communities, particularly Tana Delta, Baringo, Turkana, Pokot, and Mombasa; although the local administration and national leadership must be involved, strategically, the dialogue approach needs to support communities without fear of victimization,
- Communities' elders and traditional leaders need to engage in regular and systematic dialogue,
- Cross-community livelihoods projects and common markets would facilitate interaction,
- Youth Peace Camps could engage young people from belligerent communities in dialogue and conflict transformation,
- Youth livelihoods opportunities need to be enhanced and youth unemployment addressed,
- Governments must ensure the safety and security of citizens, and promote entrepreneurship; investment and trade is rooted in peace and security,
- Devolved county governments need to scale up development efforts, including education, transportation and health infrastructure,
- There is a need for ongoing civic education regarding the Constitution and devolved governance; citizenry must understand devolved governance to hold Governors and other local officials accountable,
- Additional support from government and donors is required to support ongoing TEP initiatives, such as a dedicated Youth Fund, and a Women's Enterprise Fund to establish: i) better livelihood options for youth and women, ii) education support, iii) capacity building, and iv) civic education,
- A new Women's Dialogue for Action Forum could be designed to bring together African women from all walks of life - grassroots women, women in leadership and First Ladies to discuss dimensions of conflict in Africa, the role of women leaders in conflict mitigation, transformation and a continental plan for action.