

Search For Common Ground
1601 Conn Ave NW, Suite 200
Washington D.C. 20009 USA
Tel: +1 202 265 4300
www.sfcg.org

NPI-Africa
P.O. Box 14894-00800
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 (20) 4441444
www.npi-africa.org

Bridges in Organizations
7831 Woodmont Ave #393
Bethesda, MD 20814
Tel: +1 301 299 0744
www.bridges-in-orgs.com

Women of Africa Leadership Development Program

2. Research Report: Kenya

Research Period September 2007 – April 2008

Report researched and compiled by:
Sheila Daunt Escandon and Prisca Mbura Kamungi
For Nairobi Peace Initiative – Africa, Bridges in Organizations, and the Leadership Wisdom Initiative at
Search for Common Ground.

With appreciation for project funding from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC),
Eastern and Southern Africa, and Western and Central Africa offices.

Please note that the views expressed in these reports are those of the research participants and not those of the organizations conducting this study. Where possible, we have used wording as close as possible to the language used by the participants.

1.0 Background

The Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and its partners – Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa), Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS), the Academy for Educational Development (AED), and Bridges in Organizations – came together to conduct the research in this report as an expression of a shared vision to support African women leaders in acquiring the skills, resources and self-confidence they need for their leadership development. Specifically, these organizations were interested in finding out how best to support women in taking the next step in their leadership journey, whether running for political office and being prepared to be effective once elected, or expanding their ability to influence change from within a current position. These partners recognized that the vision of providing leadership and conflict management development programs needs a strong foundation built on solid research. Therefore, they brought their complementary experiences and wisdom to the delivery of the research phase of creating a Women of Africa Leadership Development Program.

2.0 Research Design

The Women of Africa Leadership Development Program Research Phase was comprised of three main research elements: 1) desktop research, 2) qualitative interviews, and 3) consultative workshops.

The desktop research and some of the qualitative interviews were to have been conducted by the local and LWI researcher prior to the consultative workshops. Due to unforeseen circumstances, the consultative workshops were conducted first, followed by the desktop research, qualitative interviews, and a survey of funded women leadership development programs.

In late October, two half-day consultative meetings were convened, bringing together 24 political, academic and civil society leaders from all parts of Kenya. The research objectives of conducting these workshops were:

- a) To identify current regional barriers to and opportunities for the inclusion, advancement and continuance of women's participation in democratic decision-making; and
- b) To hear from participants what they need to support their leadership development. In addition, the workshop offered all invited participants on-the-spot coaching.

During this same week, the LWI researcher and coach began conducting follow-up qualitative interviews with workshop participants. The qualitative interviews sought to identify:

- Barriers and opportunities for women political and civil society leaders in Kenya;
- Differences between men and women leaders in Kenya, focusing on the strengths of feminine leadership;
- Leadership development needs, specifically, the current gaps in leadership training; and

- Personal stories of wise leadership in action, bringing to life regional wisdom, models and customs.

The NPI-Africa researcher conducted the balance of the follow-up workshop participant interviews, where possible, from November to February and a number of additional interviews with leaders that were unable to attend the workshops. During this same period of time, the NPI-Africa researcher conducted desktop research, investigating the following points:

- Obstacles and opportunities for women political and civil society leaders in Kenya,
- Data on current positions held by women, their scope of influence, relationship to decision-making communities, and range of democratic activities, and
- Regional leadership wisdom, models and customs.

Secondary sources included relevant government offices, donors and NGOs supporting funded women leadership programs.

Due to violence that broke out in Kenya in January 2008 following the disputed presidential election results, the entire research project was delayed. Once the political situation stabilized in mid-February, the NPI-Africa researcher conducted the outstanding interviews. The NPI-Africa researcher observed significant differences in the responses to the interview questions post-election compared to pre-elections interviews. Therefore, the NPI-Africa and LWI researchers decided to return to individuals interviewed prior to the elections and ask the same set of questions with special emphasis on how the post-election violence impacted their definition of good leadership and what they saw as core leadership development needs for women. These results have been included in Appendix B.

3.0 Summary of Findings

This summary of findings brings together the research conducted across the project, including the two consultative workshops, desktop research and over fifteen qualitative interviews. Detailed research data can be found in the following appendices:

- Appendix A – Kenyan consultative workshop reports
- Appendix B – Kenyan desktop research and post election interviews
- Appendix C – Project participants
- Appendix D – Project partners

Research findings are grouped by primary research questions and list the main findings. The workshops included some men participants.

3.1 Barriers

What are the barriers for the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women's participation in democratic decision-making?

Women's Roles

Women are expected, first and foremost, to be responsible for the family and managing the home. They are challenged by the need to balance triple roles: home, community and work. Leadership is seen as a man's role and viewed as inconsistent with the values of a 'good woman.' Spouses are generally unsupportive and may even sabotage their wife's leadership pursuits. Obligations to children and family roles hold sway thereby limiting opportunities for women. There is also a distinctly masculine model of leadership in which women have to work extra hard to gain respect or recognition given that feminine traits are associated with weakness.

Education

Access to education is limited and women's educational pursuits are often not encouraged. Instead, as mentioned above, early in life women are expected to take on the responsibilities of caring and supporting their family (for example, taking care of their parents or assisting in earning money to pay for a brother's school fees). These responsibilities can be quite heavy and often deny women important experience and access to strategic information.

Young Parenthood

Women often do not complete higher levels of education because they have children at a young age and need to earn an income to support their child(ren). Picking up studies at a later time is challenging as evening childcare options either do not exist or are prohibitively expensive. With child security being precarious in many neighborhoods, mothers require committed and trustworthy family members to provide childcare.

Self-Confidence

Many women don't have the self-confidence or ambition to pursue leadership positions. As one interviewee stated, "There needs to be a willingness within one's self to be someone." A strong sense of self is required for success in all leadership positions, especially the field of politics.

Personal Finances

Current laws in Kenya make inheritance and accumulation of wealth more difficult for women. These laws severely limit the ability of women to invest or save as they please. Women's financial resources are a derivative of their lack of control or ownership of property.

Financial Support

Men have more money to invest into competing for leadership positions. Men tend to control more of the family financial resources and to receive more financial support from the community.

Competition Instead of Cooperation

In Kenya, jealousy towards powerful women is widespread— as is manipulation by junior staff or male counterparts. Violence, competitive politics, sexual harassment and exploitation at work are also rampant.

Decision Making

Men are considered to be decision makers and these patriarchal societies are still uncomfortable seeing women in political decision-making positions. Even though women rise to executive level positions, decisions may still be made by men.

Connections

Cronyism and patronage networks rule and only 'well connected' women are pushed to senior leadership positions; vacant positions are inherited rather than filled through meritocracy.

Media Attention

You need finances to advance yourself in the media and this creates more obstacles for large populations of unemployed wives and mothers. In addition, the failures and negative images of older women leaders overshadow young leaders and have created a poor precedent in Kenya.

Employment

Gender-insensitive institutions and policies add impediments to employment which are only further aggravated by a lack of female role models in the male-dominated senior positions.

Corruption

Election rigging and corrupt institutions have obstructed pathways to leadership as unscrupulous people cheat their way through 'democratic' processes.

3.2 Opportunities

What are the opportunities for the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women's participation in democratic decision making?

Role Models & Mentors

More women are taking up leadership positions and presenting themselves for elective positions.

Head of the Household

As women are natural leaders in the home, this potential can be replicated outside the home as well. Women have the opportunity to capitalize on these skills and expand the roles that have already begun to change.

Support of Colleagues, Family & Friends

Support networks and alumni associations encourage women to ascend to leadership positions.

Political Will

Women-friendly quota systems and policies such as affirmative action and girl-child education would be beneficial to Kenya and demonstrate an increase in political will.

Gender Awareness

There is a greater awareness of women's rights and the influence of traditional norms is diminishing. Equal access to information through the media and information technology presents opportunities for increased gender awareness.

Peace & Security

Greater media scrutiny of electoral processes is an opportunity to promote peace and security.

Invitation to Lead

Women need to be asked into leadership and generally won't step forward until invited. As a result, training programs for aspiring leaders are needed—especially those targeting women and youth.

Literacy

Women have the vision to expand literacy programs into rural areas so that women can learn to write their names, speak for themselves and gain confidence. Increased literacy levels and better access to well-paid jobs would also result in greater control of personal financial and material resources.

3.3 Leadership Developmental Needs

What women need to support their leadership development, to take them to the next level of leadership?

Visualize New Options

Women don't see pathways to leadership, instead they see pathways towards traditional roles. Women need to be able to visualize how they can make a difference or how they can become role models for change. They need someone to show them new options through role modeling and mentorship. Social networking can be a means of doing so by helping women involve themselves in the daily activities of their community.

Mentorship & Guidance

Current women leaders are not accessible and some are not supportive. This situation has created a need for strong female role models in the country. Leadership forums enabling women leaders in senior positions to exchange experiences and wisdom with one another are also needed, as are mentoring and coaching programs tailored to specific leadership needs.

Self Confidence

Women need to gain experience in speaking out and mobilizing others, whether through training or otherwise. They must learn to be brave – a skill many already have gained through their responsibilities of supporting their family. Women also need to learn to trust their experience rather than rely on what they are told is right or correct or true. They need to gain confidence in their inner knowledge.

Advanced Leadership Training

Women need to learn specific, high level skills such as organizational management, leadership fundamentals, transferring skills to other people, and accountability. Leadership coaching on how to be an effective leader and how to market oneself for promotion is needed to compensate for weaknesses in current training modules that focus almost exclusively on 'how to get elected' but not on how to become effective once elected. Greater emphasis on self-improvement through access to educational opportunities such as e-learning and evening/weekend classes would encourage continued skill acquisition. Training in lobbying and negotiation skills would empower women with the skills needed to rally support around an issue or manage conflicts. Lastly, educating women in time management, personality, and presentation skills (i.e. how to dress, how to choose a language of communication) would also be a great asset to future women leaders.

Communication Skills

Proposal writing, speech writing, delivering speeches, and self-expression are all key leadership skills. Women need to be able to communicate their vision – to their families, communities and to the country as a whole -- in order to bring them to life.

Financial Resources

Women need to learn how to create their own financial resources and garner financial support from their community. Greater access to funding would also help women expand their program work and ability to get elected.

Support

Families need to support women and girls in pursuing education and leadership opportunities. By freeing up the time needed to go to work and/or further their education, providing childcare is one way that families can do so.

Entrepreneurship

Self-sufficiency can start with self-employment. Women need to go beyond working for other people and start working for themselves. Not only will this help progress our women leaders, it will also create new jobs and empower other women to do the same. .

Creating a Bigger Vision

Women need to go beyond other people's visions and dream big dreams for themselves. One way of doing so is through studying advocacy at the highest levels of leadership.

Engaging Men

Men who are not used to working alongside women may be uncomfortable or try to keep themselves separate. These men need to be kept engaged as women move into higher leadership positions. The challenge is to avoid isolating men while at the same time enabling women to move into male-dominated positions.

Personal Security:

Women need the space to operate freely as women. They need to know their children are safe when they go out to work – that their children are in school and not on the streets selling goods or in a situation where they are vulnerable to sexual abuse. They also need to be able to campaign without the threat of verbal and physical abuse.

On the Job Training

Learning at work or through field training enables women to apply what they have been taught and to advance into higher positions of influence.

Credentials

Training needs to be accredited as certification is the key to acquiring a position and getting promoted.

3.4 *Masculine & Feminine Leadership*

What are the differences between masculine and feminine leadership? What are the advantages to feminine leadership?

In general terms, participants saw masculine leadership as more ambitious, aggressive, confident, forceful, hierarchical, and even corrupt. This approach to leadership was seen as beneficial for getting things done. The downside noted was that masculine leadership tended to put the individual (usually the leader himself and close friends) first and the needs of the community second. Men were also perceived as being more vulnerable to false promises due to their unwillingness to admit any lack of capacity or influence. Women, on the other hand, were believed to be more honest about their capability to make a difference or solve their constituents' problems.

Feminine leadership was described as presenting a softer approach. Women were described as more trustworthy, participatory, consultative, and complementary in leadership positions. They put family first, listen before acting, and are sensitive to the impact of decisions on the whole society. In addition, feminine leadership was perceived as being more concerned with the long-term legacy of their work whereas

masculine leadership was more concerned with ‘becoming a legend.’ In Kenya, for example, participants cited male focus on infrastructure as an example of self-serving leadership aiming to acquire fame and recognition. Women, on the other hand, tend to focus on basic needs that serve the whole community such as access to food, water, healthcare, and education.

Whereas leadership was naturally expected from men, women were perceived to be more cautious in taking on leadership positions yet were also more determined to do so. Male leadership was seen as more susceptible to violence compared to the dialogue-centered approach of women. The hierarchical nature of male decision-making was contrasted with the consultative and complementary female equivalent. In general, masculine leadership was described as being more active and out-going while feminine leadership was seen as more reflective.

3.5 Data from Desktop Research

Desktop research was conducted to:

- Identify obstacles and opportunities for women political and civil society leaders in Kenya;
- Collect data on current positions held by women, their scope of influence, relationship to decision-making communities, and range of democratic activities, with a specific focus on locating regional leadership wisdom, models and customs; and
- Conduct a survey of funded women leadership development programs.

Obstacles and Opportunities

A literature review on women’s leadership in Kenya revealed a disproportionate focus on the challenges faced by women in their quest to run for political office and higher or expanded levels of leadership. These challenges, summarized above and elaborated in Appendices B, relate to dynamics around unequal power relations, gender roles and socio-cultural stereotypes as well as institutional biases against women. The literature also revealed opportunities in both theory and practice in overcoming these challenges, particularly the ‘empowerment’ school that seeks to diminish dependency of women by increasing their capabilities.

Current Data Women’s Leadership

The desktop research showed that the increase of women in leadership positions has been on the rise since Kenya’s independence in 1963. The period leading to multi-party politics in 1992, however, saw a marked reduction in elected women due to the increased electoral violence that accompanied the transition. The last ten years have seen a more independent-minded women’s leadership model. Challenges to women leadership remain, particularly with regard to their lack of conflict management skills, persistent stereotypes, lack of self esteem and role models.

Several biographical works and surveys reveal personal experience of 'exemplary' women leaders and ways in which these 'good' or 'successful' leaders grapple with identified challenges. These biographies are laden with personal advice to fellow women aspiring to leadership or seeking to rise to higher levels of leadership. A number of research and commissioned reports evaluate the performance of women in three past elections (1992, 1997, 2002) and highlight the successes and failures, and determinants that were personal failures or indicative of persistent gender stereotypes, weak institutions or the electoral system. Research reports also examined the difference between men and women leadership, with most showing women to be 'more sensitive', attentive to 'details' and focused on human security aspects such as access to food, water, education and healthcare.

4.0 Post 2007 Remarks, Concerns and Questions

During and after the violence triggered by the disputed presidential election results, many Kenyans seemed to have changed their opinion of leadership, its meaning and purpose.

- Political leadership has failed: "The people did their part; they voted peacefully. The leaders failed them."
- People who seek political office are not interested in common good; they are selfish.
- Leaders who would have wished to stop the violence were compromised by allegiance to their leader and faction: "How could I contradict the president? I just knew what I knew but kept quiet."
- Many women leaders were of the view that had they known the elections would lead to such bloodshed, they wouldn't have voted

Most people previously interviewed raised the following questions:

- Why was the violence not predicted? Was the monitoring effective, or did it seek to minimize obvious warning signs?
- Why did the civic education and non-violence campaigns fail to prevent violence?
- What is the content of leadership training?
- Of what use is leadership and conflict resolution training if beneficiaries cannot provide leadership at a critical time?
- Does leadership training target the right people? Are people at high level positions of leadership exposed to any form of training? – many people argued they are not.
- Are leaders trained on conflict management and transformative leadership? Many leaders felt trapped and assumed a 'wait and see' attitude as the crisis claimed more lives. Were they conscious of security concerns or they were unable to provide leadership?
- The anonymous men and women who took feeble actions to plead with people to stop the violence were the genuine leaders.
- Real role models are people who achieve great things without claiming recognition, visibility or reward. Many leaders said their role model is their mother – there is no

greater feat than bringing up children. “The current crop of leaders have shown us what leadership is not.”¹

- Are the media trained on peace-building and ‘responsible’ journalism?
- Why were the women leaders quiet? Is it that they had no opinion or that they were compromised because their spouses were the ones causing the stalemate? What strategies can women leaders employ to escape becoming drawn into violent politics?
- Why did women leaders become so helpless even in their own constituencies? How much control and influence do they really hold?

4.1 Post Election Interviews -- Comparison

After the January 2008 post-election violence, women leaders interviewed shared a markedly different perception of leadership and of women leaders in Kenya. As such, we circled back to people that we had interviewed prior to the elections so that we would be able to compare their pre- and post-elections responses. In comparing the pre and post elections interviews, the following differences in post-election responses stand out:

- **Role models – Ordinary Becomes Extraordinary:** Most leaders shifted to identifying ‘my mother’ as their role model and to saying that leadership is not about being in a position of leadership, but rather is about accomplishing difficult tasks like raising upright children. The real ‘good’ leaders do not hold official ‘leadership’ positions but are ordinary people who make a difference in society.
- **Out of Left Field:** They said that the people in leadership positions have failed them. The individuals who they would have looked to for guidance through this crisis have not stepped up to the challenge and the people who are emerging as ‘wise’ or ‘good’ leaders were often complete unknowns before the crisis.
- **Opportunity to Expand Women’s Leadership:** We need the role of women to expand and for women to take advantage of opportunities to demonstrate their leadership qualities. Being there for the country when it really mattered was extremely important. Most of the women who were involved in the process of addressing the post-election crisis have been incorporated into the government. Women should use such platforms to expand and be seen.
- **‘Real’ Leadership:** Leaders need to be trained on how to become ‘real leaders’ who are inspired by moral values and their inner conscience. Their objective must be to look after the common good of the country and they must resist the temptation to align with strong personalities who promote faction and identity politics.

¹ Interview with unsuccessful woman aspirant during the January crisis, informal conversation with neighbours, church groups

- **Need for Stronger Feminine Voice:** Seeing newly elected women during the December election generated excitement and many expected to hear these newly elected women responding uniquely during the crisis. However, some of these women reacted in a masculine manner (by being involved with the violence) when what was truly wanted and hoped for was a different approach grounded in a more 'feminine' voice and presence.
- **Masculinized Women:** Women leaders who had previously been admired for retaining their seats several times and standing by legal standards in decision-making were now seen as having become masculinized and 'hard liners.' These women were perceived to have become more arrogant, violent and oppressive than men and this change was viewed as detrimental to women leadership as a whole. Such women set an example of ineffective and perverse leadership and prove that "women can't lead; they just want to replace men."
- **Role of Training:** The political leaders involved in the violence and in inciting the violence have often taken leadership, conflict prevention, or peace trainings. Why did the trainings fail to stop the violence? It appears that the training programs are either ineffective in influencing action choices or non-responsive to political realities and dynamics in a competitive context. Questions arose as to whether the content was missing out on important elements, and discussion was initiated on targeting individuals for leadership training. There is need to stop and look bravely at the real root causes of the violence (land, lack of equity, and class) and then decide what training can best support addressing these issues.

5.0 Conclusions & Next Steps

The findings of this research clearly point to the need for leadership development programs specifically designed to enable women to advance to their next level of leadership. In our survey of existing women's leadership development programs, we found that very little exists in the way of formalized support or training for women already in leadership positions. The key leadership development needs identified in our research can be grouped under the following four categories:

1. **Leadership Forums & Social Networking:** Regular facilitated gatherings offering opportunities for women to exchange experience and wisdom with other women in equivalent positions.
2. **Coaching:** One-on-one sessions uniquely tailored to improve an individual's effectiveness and skill sets. This piece would include the training of coaches to strengthen and expand the network of professional support.
3. **Skills Training:** Modules designed to fit leadership development needs as identified by a group. For example, women running for political office indicated training was needed not just to enable them to get elected but also to be effective once elected. Specifically some of the modules they envisioned included lobbying, negotiation, and leadership presence.
4. **Mentorship:** Women reaching down to give those behind them a hand up, sharing what they've learnt and offering advice from their experience.

Given the above gaps we found in the existing support of women's leadership development in Kenya, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, we recommend the following next steps:

1. Convene the women in regular, facilitated forums for mutual support, leadership development, and solidarity;
2. Provide coaching and mentoring training to interested women so that they themselves can become coaches and mentors; and
3. Offer extended leadership and conflict management training and training of trainers.

Appendix A

Kenyan Consultative Workshop Report

Nairobi, 22 and 23 October 2007

Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa Bridges in Organizations Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground

The Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa) in collaboration with the Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and Bridges in Organizations hosted two workshops over a two-day period involving two sets of participants comprised predominantly of Kenyan women in various leadership positions. The purpose of these workshops was to explore how more Kenyan women could be elevated into leadership positions at all levels of government and throughout society as a whole, and to hear about the opportunities and barriers they met along the way.

DAY 1:

Introduction to the Workshop

Leadership is an activity that can be learned, and the model being presented focuses on leadership 'from the inside out', leadership for the whole, and leadership that heals divisions. This wise leadership calls on leaders to be authentic, compassionate, and to heal societal divisions. This model has been developed by LWI², and can be accessed in more detail on the SFCG website - www.sfcg.org. The three partner organizations have come together to consult with Kenyan women (and some men) and to hear their experience of being in leadership, or aspiring to it, directly from them.

Leadership Opportunities: Challenges through Stories and Dialogue

Participants were asked to draw upon their own personal experiences as leaders and each tell a story in a small group about a time when they had exercised good, effective leadership in their lives. The goal was to help participants connect to the wise leader already within them, and to concretely identify what wise leadership skills and qualities they already held, as well as the existing leadership challenges and the inner tools being used to address these challenges.

² The Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) provides transformational leadership and conflict management development for political and civil society leaders worldwide.

Questions/Clarification

During this exercise, participants were asked to identify which one story of all the stories that they had heard resonated with them the most and had some kind of personal meaning for them and their leadership. Participants then identified the following qualities of wise leadership in the selected story:

- Confidence: Confidence from within to know that what she was doing was right.
- Competence: Use of factual data, as well as going to the highest authority in the matter.
- Courage and fearlessness: This enabled her to continue to persevere towards her goal, and to speak out when so many other women who held the same belief did not come forward but instead came to her to champion to their common cause.
- Principles: Acted against an injustice according to her principles.
- Patience: She believed that her request would be favorably met although it might take time. Therefore, she waited without losing hope. It was also important for her to consider the possible outcomes of her actions and use this knowledge in her future decision-making.
- Strategy: She approached people strategically in order to advance.
- Struggle: It was noted that struggle was practically inevitable if one was fundamentally interested in issues of justice and fair social arrangements. In noting this, she was organized and had a clear vision of the desired outcome as well as a strategy to deal with the challenges that arose.
- Recognition of opportunities: She seized the opportune moment to present her case. Leaders, it was explained, are in the 'future business' not in the 'now business.' A rhetorical question was then posed: What makes one seize the moment when others decide not to?
- Setting aside ego: Looking at the contribution to the collective and the progress made rather than how a particular action will benefit oneself.
- Strategic objectives: Focus on achieving gradual gains that contribute towards attainment of the final objective.

Personal Leadership Vision

This was undertaken in two parts. Participants were first asked to reflect upon and define their personal leadership vision. They were then asked to consider their vision within a broader context.

Exercise 1:

The first part of the exercise involved inner reflection. Participants were given the following questions:

- a. Who are you as a leader?
- b. What is your personal leadership vision?
- c. If you were to enhance who you already are and what you already have as a leader, what resources would support you?
- d. Building from the question, draw two columns. Write the resources you already have in the first column, and in the second, the resources needed (both inner and outer resources).
- e. Look at the two columns, and reflect upon what resources not yet called upon.

Participants were then asked to continue to think about these questions as they completed the second exercise.

Exercise II:

The purpose of the second exercise was to identify a shared vision of leadership within the group. The responses to the first exercise were used as starting points upon which to build. The following question was posed to the participants: What is your vision for the development of women's leadership in Kenya?

Their responses were as follows:

- To lead women to better their positions in life through training and economic empowerment.
- To encourage more women to bring out their potential leadership abilities through appropriate training.
- To have courage to rise above the patriarchal norm.
- To create a fair playing ground and environment for women's participation in politics and all spheres of leadership.
- To ensure more women take up political leadership.
- To build structures that support women through political laws.
- To have women who have fully realized their leadership potential in all spheres of life (political, social, economic, and cultural).
- To have effective women leadership devoid of extraneous prejudices in cultural perceptions and stereotyping.
- To have women leaders who are charismatic, competent, confident, inclusive, democratic, and all-round transformational leaders.
- To have institutional and social structures that support women's competitiveness.
- Role modeling.
- To be true to oneself and focused on issues.
- To be strategic.
- Inclusive leadership.
- More women representatives in Parliament to be able to better articulate women's agenda.
- Women establishing networks with other women for support and nurturing.
- Women keeping in touch with women on related issues.
- Women with the voice, courage, confidence, compassion, strength and faith in themselves to transform the world into a place of dignity for all.
- Women who have support, both inner and outer, to bring deep feminine power to balance the world leadership.
- Validation of women's leadership styles as diverse, multiple and situational
- Spaces created for reflection and support for women's leadership.
- Sustained resources to support women leaders.
- Society has accepted and supported women as leaders in their own right as a result of legislative, cultural, attitudinal, and institutional changes.
- Legislation that stipulates women's representation in different areas of leadership.

- Potential women leaders are identified, nurtured, and provided with the necessary support.
- A society that views women as leaders in their own right.

Following a review of the brainstorming exercise, gratitude was extended to the participants. Leaders were challenged to explore available opportunities to join in similar spaces with other women leaders as a means of creating support systems. In addition, participants from various institutions were asked to consider which policies might favor the more feminine aspects of leadership and how these policies could be implemented.

A brief overview of ongoing research analyzing the value proposition of women's leadership was provided by one of the participants. This research consisted of two phases in which the general perception of women's leadership in both the cultural and societal spheres was assessed. First, interviews on leadership styles were conducted with women in political leadership positions and compared to responses obtained from their male counterparts. Second, research investigating such things as the reasons for electing a woman and women's leadership styles were posed to individuals at the constituency level.

Finally, participants were asked to say one word that expressed what they had gained through their involvement in the workshop. They responded with the following words: involvement, support, reflection, assistance, courage, purpose, respect, commitment, and public opinion research.

DAY 2:

Presentation of Research³

The research undertaken sought to emphasize the contribution of women's leadership on the African continent. However, as a basis for discussion an overview of the challenges facing women in Africa was presented using six broad themes:

Theoretical Aspects

Theory often underlies societal conventions and opinions. It is employed as justification for the subjection of women, promotion of bias against them, and even as a means of confusing the women themselves. Some of these views come from literary circles that lament Africa's entrapment in a 'history genealogy' that represents the continent according to Western templates. The presenter explained that African intellectuals have been trying to conceptualize African feminism and women's rights from the African perspective. Taking a linguistic perspective, the presenter pointed out that the pronoun is rarely used to indicate gender. Moving to a spiritual perspective she explained that reincarnation is argued by some to be indifferent to gender. However, these

³ Research presented by Phoebe Nyawalo, and independent Kenyan researcher.

observations clearly do not help the African woman who experiences injustices and inhuman circumstances.

Human Rights Perspective

In her research, the presenter found that the way that human rights have been formulated and adapted within the continent is an approach that does not address the unique struggles of African women. She explained that while cultural laws were very fluid, once encoded into laws they became rigid. Examples were provided regarding land and wife inheritance. Therefore, it appeared that it was the legal structure that constrained the African woman and reduced her capacity for leadership. Although women have the right to vote in all African countries, their right to participate needs additional supporting structures which have not yet been put in place.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has been applied to the process of parliamentary nomination. Unfortunately, however, the identity and political strength of the supporters for these nominated women remains in question. Furthermore, nominated members of parliament often have to dance to the tune of the party who nominated them which causes divisions among women leaders. Instead of rallying around women's issues or development concerns, women divide themselves into ethnic divisions and waste opportunities.

In considering issues of equal treatment the example of maternity leave was also highlighted by participants. Although taking maternity leave is a progressive practice, women are often discriminated against for doing so. Upon their return women are not offered the same opportunities as men in the same position and are given less opportunities for growth.

Social Status

In examining social status, elite women (defined as those holding high-ranking positions in leadership or business) were compared with women at the grassroots level. It was noted that having such a small cohort of elite women necessitates dependence on male elites for survival and advancement. As a result, the link or 'connection' with women at the grassroots level is weakened or altogether lost. Given the severe competition for the top positions, women leaders are increasingly acquiring traits, strengthening personalities, and adopting political positions that are believed to advance their objectives. As they do so their allegiance inevitably shifts towards men. Indeed, there was a perception in the group that women leaders do not represent women's views, opinions or wants.

Leadership Models

The research revealed a lack of women leadership models that address their unique challenges. Being held to unreasonably high standards of success and managing the expectation that they will emulate the male leadership model are two examples of difficulties specifically associated with women leadership. The presenter then asked the participants: How can women cut out a niche for themselves? What support do women

need to maximize their leadership qualities so that they can effectively complement men's leadership?

Human Capacity Framework

The presenter explained that she had decided to examine the issue of women's leadership in Africa according to the human capacity framework. This approach does not deal with rights per se, but rather with human capability. The capacities identified in the framework include: life, in dignity and to the end; bodily health and integrity; thought; emotions; practical reasoning and critical thinking; affiliation; play; and control over one's environment. It specifies that these capabilities should be pursued to prevent oneself from becoming a tool of another person. The presenter explained that she had chosen the human capacity framework because African culture is based on human capital rather than on material capital. She referred to the example set by Liberian women who used their peacemaking capabilities to negotiate with the rebels and initiate the peace process.

Finally, based on this approach the presenter identified her key research question as it pertains to Kenya: What capabilities do Kenyan women bring to leadership, and what support do they need to maximize these capabilities?

Storytelling exercise

Following this brief of the ongoing research, participants were asked to identify current barriers and opportunities that they face both inside and outside of democratic decision-making. To do so, participants were given the following questions and asked to remember a time when they were aware of a personal leadership challenge:

- Think about your story or choose your story. Think about the events that took place. What stood out for you?
- What were the challenges, what did it feel like physically and what did you learn?
- Sit with your partner and take 3 minutes each to share your story of a challenging experience that resonated with the research findings.

Debrief

Each group was requested to highlight the challenges and opportunities that emerged from their shared stories.

The following responses were put forth by the participants:

Challenges:

- An organizational culture that has unwritten rules. In organizations it is common to experience racial, gender and age discrimination. A challenge also arises

when dealing with different cultures, particularly African versus non-African (and— more specifically— African versus Western European).

- Women are given too much responsibility which prevents them from honing their skills in a particular field. They are also then perceived to have failed if they do not fulfill all their roles. For example, instead of society dealing holistically with the problem of robbery accompanied by rape, it is perceived to be only a woman's problem.
- The perception that there exists open space into which women leadership in Kenya can emerge is misleading. Instead, the space is narrow with many women scrambling to fit into it. This has brought truth to the old adage that 'women are their own worst enemies.' In addition, there seems to be a lack of mentorship for Kenyan women, particularly in the field of politics. This poses the challenge of creating continuum in leadership. It was suggested that this also calls for the provision of support to women and an investigation into the meaning of leadership in Kenya. Finally it was agreed that efforts must be made to ask women— particularly those at the grassroots level— what they need instead of importing standard training programs and manuals.
- Patriarchy in the workplace manifests itself through manipulation, exercise of power, undermining of power, double standards, sexual harassment and stereotyping. The group also emphasized issues of accountability and abuse of trust. They accused their male colleagues of manipulating situations in order to make gains for themselves. For example, in Kenya today donors are very generous with their money when it is applied to women's issues. On paper the money is well accounted for, but in reality not much is achieved as these resources are not used to empower women or to fill in the gaps.
- A negative attitude towards women coming from both men and women. This has been illustrated by the trivialization of women's ideas, efforts, capabilities and activities in their communities. An example was provided of a political aspirant who was laughed at when she sought support, was viewed as a waste of time, and found the media houses she approached unwilling to help her. At no point was she ever given the benefit of the doubt and instead was continually asked who she was representing. Other challenges mentioned by the group included difficulty in accessing finances, lack of support networks and mentorship, and the laxity of powerful women towards helping other women. All of these challenges impede women from realizing their goals.
- Discrimination through perceptions of ineptitude. The challenge is to convince the people that one can be capable without necessarily having significant support. However, this is easier said than done as a lack of support hurts the delivery of this message and makes it a much harder sell.
- Although there are women role models in Kenya, those seeking mentors are unaware of the existing role models. An example was provided of a woman who was engaged in civic politics in rural Kenya in the 1980s and who is an outstanding role model yet still relatively unknown. A challenge associated with this disconnect was overcoming the strong African oral tradition that has heretofore limited the stories written about these accomplished women.

- Perceived lack of role models and support. Mentors exist and include women like Muthoni Likimani and Phoebe Asiyo but women do not know how to access them. The group also noted that leaders are not only those individuals currently in positions of power. The perceived lack of support from fellow women discouraged more inexperienced women from seeking help due to the popular belief that women do not support one another in their professional endeavors. In addition, the group complained that women do not invest in themselves and instead often engage in energy-sapping complaining. They concluded by adding that the constant reminder that one is a woman is not productive and often hinders effectiveness in one's position.
- Women's leadership dreams have been interpreted as ambitious and ambition for a woman is perceived as wrong. It connotes a 'non-feminine' trait and society disapproves of it.
- The negative perception that society has of young women breaking new ground in the entertainment industry. It is assumed that these women engaged in immoral behavior in order to achieve their successes. Conversely, young men entrepreneurs are admired and no one questions their achievements.

Opportunities:

- Challenges can act as an incentive to prove oneself and show others that young women in business can be successful. In addition, when under-estimated, one is more easily able to maneuver around the threats posed by others.
- Although there is discrimination for career women there is also appreciation of professional skills.
- Despite the heavy burden of responsibility placed on women, women are versatile and still accomplish a lot.
- Challenges present learning opportunities that strengthen women as professionals and enable them to evaluate their personal motives. These lessons have also taught women to seek spiritual anchoring that provides them with the resilience they need to persevere.
- There is an opportunity to share stories in the public sphere through media such as books, films, et cetera.
- The recognition that there should be forums where women leaders can come together and share experiences to enable them to improve their performance.
- Women are persistent and determined. They should use these qualities to continue learning and to seek information on what opportunities are available for them.

Debrief

The discussion identified the need to promote women leaders, mentorship programs, coaching and social support. The latter can be obtained through learning opportunities, financial and human resources, information dissemination and think tanks.

As an introduction into the next phase of the program, which was entitled, 'your most powerful vision of who you would like to be as a leader,' the participants were asked to list what inner and outer resources they already have and what resources they need.

Resources they have are as follows:

- Determination
- Perseverance
- Strategic thinking
- Access to avenues that discuss issues related to women as a whole
- Perseverance and dynamism
- A dream to cultivate power through a vibrant platform that represents community-based women's peace initiatives
- Passion
- Spirituality that creates a connection to one's environment, opens up the mind to the bigger picture, and embraces other virtues such as patience
- Social support
- Determination and hard work

Resources they wanted were as follows:

- To be a role model
- More female social support
- Learning opportunities
- To stop seeing each other as their own enemies
- More professional skills
- Support
- To mentor girls to become young women with energy, vibrancy, self esteem and confidence
- To be mentored.
- To be given a second chance
- Social support in general
- Professional exposure

Debrief

It was noted that most of what the participants articulated as what they wanted focused on giving back and improving themselves. The facilitator then identified three key leadership qualities: authenticity, competence and 'being in the future business' - focusing their conversations, energy, and passion on the future and not angering themselves by thinking about the past.

Shared Vision Exercise

This exercise was divided into two parts. In the first part, participants were instructed to complete a sentence that began "I am grateful and I am happy now that I have..." As an introduction to the second part of the exercise, the facilitator outlined four virtues she believed are essential to cultivate as a leader: joy, gratitude, curiosity, and ambition. Participants were then instructed to imagine that it is October 12, 2012, and they are living in the four virtues: What action are you taking to achieve your ambitions? What contribution are you making as a leader?

After considering these questions, participants formed groups of three or four to discover common threads in their visions. They then created shared visions for the development of women's leadership in Kenya.

Participants read out their shared visions, which were as follows:

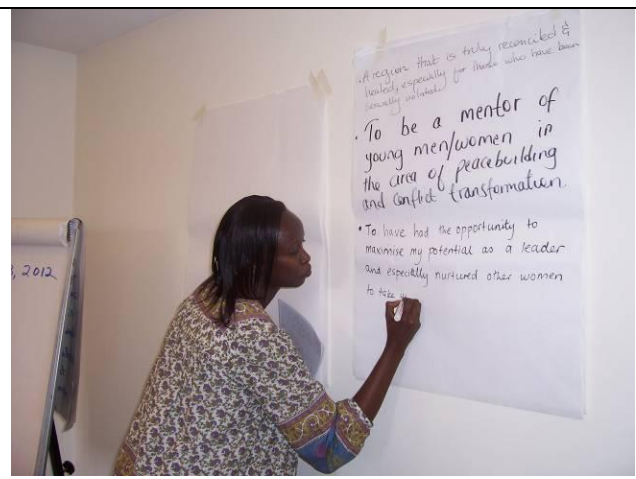
- A region that is truly reconciled and healed, especially for those who have been sexually violated.
- Women as mentors of young men and women in the area of peacebuilding and conflict transformation.
- Having opportunities to maximize leadership potential and especially to nurture other women to take up their place within their own sphere of influence.
- More women life coaches helping women and men achieve their dreams.
- The cycle of violence is broken, particularly against women and children in the Great Lakes Region.
- More women leaders in every sphere of our society changing, influencing and shaping Kenyans' perceptions, attitudes and values, as well as building skills for competence.
- Having policies and structures that enable women to exercise their leadership in every domain.
- Women are knowledgeable about issues and act as role models.
- Leadership that is inspired by human development.
- Women at the lower levels or cadres have moved to a higher level.
- Leadership that is drawn from natural woman virtues.
- Support groups that help steer women into leadership.
- Women taking a lead role in world affairs would bring positive change in leadership.
- Women as role models for the next generation.
- Every woman in the world taking advantage of emerging technologies (ICT) to improve their lives.
- Women in elevated positions socially, economically and politically that they had previously been unable to access.
- The boy child has the same protection as the girl child.
- Women and men, boys and girls have equal access to information for development and informed decision-making.
- Women engaged in leadership from a platform of excellence.
- Leadership with the capacity to deliver.
- Leadership that is consultative and relevant to needs.
- Leadership that is against injustice, corruption and human inequalities.
- Leadership that encourages a bottom-up approach.
- Leadership that does not dwell in the past.
- Women's status has changed from one of dependency to one of autonomy and control.
- Women are in possession of at least 50% of the wealth.

Conclusion

To close the workshop, each participant was asked to identify one word that best summarized how they felt about the experience. Their responses were: dignity, inspiration, reflection, motivation, inspiration, happiness, fantastic, ambition, inspiration, determination, encouraged and worried. A suggestion was made to set up an e-group as an information sharing platform, in order to continue to discuss and share resources. One of the participants volunteered to facilitate the information-sharing platform.

The workshop was closed with everyone joining in a song of solidarity for women worldwide.

Below: Photographs from the consultative meetings



Appendix B

Summary of Findings:

Kenyan Desktop Research and Qualitative Post-Election Interviews

Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa

Bridges in Organizations

Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground

Research conducted by Shelia Daunt Escandon & Prisca Mburu Kamungi

Under the leadership of the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa), Bridges in Organizations and the Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG).

Barriers to the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women's participation in democratic decision-making

The women and men interviewed shared their personal experiences struggling to secure high-profile jobs or rise through the ranks. Most of the women seemed familiar with the literature that highlights the following obstacles:

- Socialization of cultural norms and gender roles – belief that public life and leadership are supposed to be for men. As a consequence women vying for leadership positions have difficulty winning the trust of voters.⁴
- Women avoid seeking leadership positions through the electoral process because politics is a 'dirty game' that they are too refined and 'principled' to play. Men know how to play politics better than women.⁵
- Generally women believe they do not have the qualities or experience required for politics. As a result, they lack political ambition and fail to seek party nominations.⁶
- Poverty and underemployment – Compared to men, women lack the financial resources to run election campaigns and pay the huge nomination fees. Women do not own property and the amount they can spend is highly controlled by spouses or male relatives.⁷
- Many women are constrained by family responsibilities and lack the time to indulge in politics.⁸

⁴ Hienrich Böll, *Perspectives on Gender Discourse: Women in Politics, Challenges of Democratic Transition in Kenya* (Nairobi: Hienrich Böll, 2003), p. 34.

⁵ The Steadman Group, Survey Report on 'Using Multi-party Democracy in Kenya: Public Attitudes, Civic Awareness and Participation' (Nairobi: Steadman Group, 2006), pp.41-43.

⁶ Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (New York, 2003), p. 4.

⁷ Marilee Karl, *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1995), p. 79

⁸ Abigail Krystal, *The Participation of Women in Kenya Society* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1983), pp. 210-11.

- Negative media attention – Many women said that the media highlights only the negative aspects of women leaders, forcing them to avoid publicity entirely. Yet sometimes the visibility gained through publicity is considered to be an indicator of effectiveness and women lose out on promotions as a result.⁹

In addition to these widely documented obstacles, most of the women interviewed also recounted personal stories in which the inclusion and advancement of women's careers faced resistance. The barriers derived from their stories are included below:

- Male colleagues do not respect women leaders; they joke and refuse to take the women seriously. Some comment on a woman's 'sexiness' and can support or sabotage her work purely based on her looks and their perceptions of her 'availability.'
- Fellow women staff, especially those at senior level, are not always as supportive as we would like them to be. They view each other as competitors and when one gets a more senior job, some become uncooperative, jealous and spread malicious rumors that can create stress in the workplace. Stress and lack of staff cooperation can hinder a leader's effectiveness.
- Some women are pioneers in leadership in certain domains and therefore lack role models. They get along by trial and error.
- Many women alleged that the older generation of women leaders set a bad precedence of incompetence, corruption and partiality, which created a negative impression of women leadership as a whole. This has created a ceiling to promotion as Board Members decide "we don't want another Zipporah Kittony in this organization."¹⁰
- Some women also lack emotional support from their family, especially their spouses who may not agree with their ambitions. Several women said that they were abandoned by their husbands during the campaigns. Some said they experienced domestic violence at the height of their careers.
- It was also noted that the content of the training for political office tends to concentrate on *how to get elected*, rather than on how to become a good and effective leader. People therefore win elections but are then not prepared to be leaders, solve problems or manage conflicts.
- Women leaders also noted they have to work extra hard to gain recognition and respect. They are often suspected to be acting on behalf of a man or with the backing of one. This perception can delay promotion as people continue to believe the 'Godfather' syndrome.
- The need to be liked and popular with junior staff rather than isolated as the 'bitch boss' can hinder effectiveness: "Sometimes I see my staff doing wrong things and I know I should put an immediate end to it, and firmly, but they will hate me and not talk to me. So I let it pass. Then I go to my office and feel like an idiot. How can I learn to be firm but kind?"¹¹

⁹ Miriam Kahiga, "Socio-cultural obstacles to the Participation of Women in the Democratization Process" in *Thoughts on Democracy Series*, April 1995 (Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi), p. 2.

¹⁰ Interview with female Deputy Head of Section, Ministry of Livestock

¹¹ Interview with a female Deputy Head of a National institution

- Some leaders in civil society said that there are many ‘turf wars’ between organizations. The competition for funds and/or recognition inside these ‘wars’ reduces the level of cooperation among important actors.¹² Many tend to withhold information and exclude others from forums where important decisions are made. Lack of information reduces the chances of inclusion.
- The political environment is always unpredictable – “if people defect from one party to another, you have to weigh your allegiances very carefully because it means one of two things: you are in or [you are] out! Sometimes your values, leadership qualities and track record don’t count, it is just a question of being on the right side. This is not good because it constrains leaders and makes them noisemakers instead of workers.”¹³
- “Some women think they’ll get promoted just because they are women, not because they are competent or skilled. They come to the office and big meetings in mini-skirts and bright lipstick and pop gum. They don’t open their mouths except to smile suggestively. It annoys me. Women should be skilled first before they ask for affirmative action and such things which don’t recognize merit. How can you expect to be respected if you don’t respect yourself?”¹⁴
- Political parties are male friendly either because of existing cronyism and patronage networks, or because their leaders believe men are more likely to capture the seat.
- Fluid political environment – The high rate of formation and dissolution of political party ‘mergers’ means that powerful and experienced leaders are picked to represent large and popular political parties. In doing so, they force women into obscure and unpopular parties that further reduce their visibility and chances of winning.¹⁵
- Ethnicity has infiltrated the women’s political movement and, as a result, organizing for women leaders is susceptible to disagreements, sabotage, and schisms that reduce support for good candidates.¹⁶
- The women’s movement is also split along party lines;¹⁷ hence no attention is given to the gender agenda in important processes such as the constitutional review.¹⁸
- Political parties are funded by individuals and independent sources. Those who make more contributions have a bigger say regarding who may represent the party. Popular candidates end up not being nominated.
- Corruption within political parties and other leadership structures – Those not willing to bribe their way in or upward are left out.¹⁹
- Sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse – Women are pressured to exchange sexual favors for nomination, promotion, renewal of contracts, et cetera.²⁰

¹² Kenya Women’s Political Caucus (Engendering the Political Processes Program, EPPP), *Reflections: The Experience of Women in Kenya’s Transition Elections* (Nairobi: KWPC, 2003). p. 35.

¹³ Interview with former female Member of Parliament

¹⁴ Interview with a female Head of Parastatal

¹⁵ Interview with woman candidate who has vied unsuccessfully in the last three general elections

¹⁶ Interview with UNIFEM Gender and Governance Program

¹⁷ Pintos, C. ‘Women Must Do More than Talk about Gender Equality’ *The Daily Nation*, 9th May 2007.

¹⁸ Interview with male pastor who has participated in women leadership training programs

¹⁹ Interview with program officer in an NGO involved in leadership training

- Leadership training and funding support is available only through civil society organizations, some of which are unaccountable, have limited geographical coverage or are biased. These organizations often give more money to the candidates that they consider to be ‘strong’, and they assume that all women who need training require the same level of skills training.²¹
- Women become masculinized and acquiesce to the male style of politicking and leadership. “They fail to take up their role as women leaders and succumb to pressure to give up feminine traits such as sensitivity which bring a human face to leadership.”
- “It is annoying when everybody thinks because I am a woman the only thing I can talk about in parliament is gender! I want to be seen as a leader, not a gender tag. But people say when women get into parliament they abandon the women cause. That is not true; it is just that the world is not just about gender. You keep talking about gender and the people in charge of gender will ask you why you want to do their job! People don’t realize that they perpetuate gender stereotypes by thinking only women can advance the cause of women. Why don’t you talk to the men also if you insist gender is for both men and women?”²²
- Once in parliament, women face great resistance and stigma from male parliamentarians who derail their bills or judge them too harshly. Oftentimes women are compelled to focus on securing their positions rather than focusing on issues.

Opportunities

- Greater human rights awareness among women – Impact of sustained human rights education, advocacy and programming by UN and NGOs.²³
- More women are presenting themselves as candidates for electoral positions.²⁴
- Training opportunities for leadership – More programs focused on aspiring women candidates.²⁵
- More financial support for election campaigns by women-focused civil society and the UN.²⁶
- Affirmative action – Policy to increase number of women in political parties and government jobs. The current proposal recommends a 30% quota for women²⁷ and there has been increased awareness of this provision.
- Some associations deliberately promote gender parity within their organizational structure.

²⁰ Interview with former member of parliament

²¹ Interview with male lecturer at the University of Nairobi

²² Interview with former woman Member of Parliament

²³ World Bank, *The Kenya Strategic Country Gender Assessment* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2003), p. 5

²⁴ Electoral Commission of Kenya, *Gender Monitoring Report of 2002 General Elections in Kenya* (Nairobi: ECK, 2003), p. 8; Thomas, S. and Wilcox, C (eds.), *Women and Effective Office* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 39.

²⁵ Gender and Governance Program Strategic Plan 2007-2009: *Towards Transformative Leadership and Governance in Kenya* (Nairobi: UNIFEM, 2006), p. 7

²⁶ Maria Nzomo, *The Gender Dimension of Electoral Politics in Kenya: Capacity building of Women Candidates for 1997 and beyond* (Nairobi: Typedesign ltd, 1997), p. 27.

²⁷ Maria Nzomo, “Taking Stock of Women’s Performance in Kenya’s Parliamentary politics in the 2002 general elections”, in *Perspectives on Gender Discourse: Women in politics: challenges of democratic transition in Kenya* (Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2003), p. 24.

- Guidelines by institutions and departments for the inclusion of women at all levels of decision-making (for example, the UNHCR and WFP *Commitments to Women*).²⁸
- Global commitment to promote women representation through the Millennium Development Goals has made gender equality one of the goals to be achieved by 2015.²⁹
- More are women participating as voters –and are voting for fellow women.
- Media campaigns advocate for women’s participation.
- People are moving away from the old gender stereotypes and cultural norms – There is more freedom, especially since the initiation of the girl child and women leadership campaign.
- More training on leadership.
- Greater access to information about leadership strategies, making contacts, where to find support, et cetera.
- Elections are more democratic and the likelihood of rigging has been reduced, but at the same time incidences of physical attacks on women candidates during campaigns are still reported (although the numbers are reduced).³⁰
- More women have more money, connections and resources than before.³¹
- The power of technology has made campaigns cheap. It is now possible to campaign effectively via email and mobile short message service (but the same technology can also cause great damage and even polarize people along ethnic lines, as happened in 2007).³²
- Personal ambition and determination to become a leader.³³
- Greater recognition of merit.³⁴ However, the women noted that official appointments caught them by ‘surprise’ because they were not expecting the promotions. This highlights the women’s lack of leadership ambition and their attitude regarding performance: “I have never failed in my exams or the small tasks as I was growing up. So I said to myself, I will do anything to make sure I don’t fail at this big job, although I don’t know how to do it! I think I became too harsh with my staff, and they ended up really hating me. Now that I am retired, I feel like I failed, although many people tell me I was the most effective Vice Chancellor the university ever had.”³⁵

Summary of Observations

Those interviewed noted that due to heightened literacy levels and civil society advocacy since the transition to multi-party democracy, a lot has been achieved towards increasing the representation of women leaders. However, some sectors such as trade

²⁸ Mary Okumu, *Experience with Affirmative Action Efforts in Kenya, 1997-2003*. (Nairobi: KWPC, 2003), p. 5; Interview with UNIFEM Gender and Governance Program

³⁰ Interview with executive director of NGO involved with advocating against gender violence

³¹ Interview with former Vice Chancellor of a local university

³² Interview with a male program officer at an NGO promoting women’s rights education

³³ Interview with aspiring leader in Kibera informal settlement, December 2007

³⁴ View shared by all women from the universities

³⁵ Interview with former Vice Chancellor at a local university

unions and religious organizations are still dominated by men. It was said that most men, sometimes even spouses, are not happy with women's advancement and often sabotage them.

Leadership development needs

Many women leaders expressed feelings of loneliness and expressed a desire for more opportunities to "talk to someone the way I am talking to you." They wished to share their experiences with other women who have a comparable level of influence in leadership positions, and from these interactions seek wisdom on how to:

- Manage difficult situations in an office setting
- Relate with staff
- Manage anger
- Delegate and become a better team player
- Become visible in a positive way
- Lead without rubbing people the wrong way
- Deal with unprofessional or incompetent behavior without appearing overbearing
- Access strategic political information
- Enhance the art of public oratory and populist campaigning without feeding ethnic and political polarization
- Have more influence in areas defined and organized around male norms
- Develop fundraising skills
- Become part of women leadership networks – if they exist
- Focus on factors among women and the whole country that unite rather than factors that divide and differentiate
- Package self as a professional to avoid sexual harassment
- Become a good role model without being apologetic despite the perceived failure and social stigma of being single (for those unmarried or divorced)

Dilemmas for women leaders

Many women leaders feel as though they must choose between 'being liked' and being effective. Several women cried openly saying that their staff hated them. The requirements of their job as well as their commitment to their own personal values demand that certain standards to be enforced. The upholding of these standards, however, often contradicts staff expectations of leniency and leeway. Loneliness, they said, can easily compromise a leader who does not want to be seen to be unnecessarily tough. At the same time, the leaders recognized that "excusing mistakes makes you a weak and corrupt leader, and your staff realize you can be swayed. Next time you refuse to excuse a mistake they say you favored a particular staff. It is very hard to do what you know you should do, yet avoid the consequences of whatever action you take. Sometimes I make a decision then I come here to my office and cry. I don't know what to do, I wish somebody could advise me. My boss just says these things come with the job, but sometimes I want to be more understanding and kind!"³⁶

³⁶ Interview with deputy head of a parastatal

In highly competitive and polarized circumstances leaders are pressured to take partisan positions. However, women leaders said they found it difficult to align themselves with individuals spreading violent or negative messages that could entrench group hatred or precipitate violence. Yet, failure to align with either side was interpreted as a sign of weakness, indecisiveness, and political speculation. These tough decisions come with increasing public pressure to remain a relevant and visible leader. Non-alignment spells political doom given the tendency to vote along party lines, while taking sides makes one complicit to all the failures and evils of the faction. “I was very disturbed when I heard my colleagues spreading hate messages. I wished I could make them tone down! When it was my turn to speak I talked about peace and tolerance, but the media reported I differed with the rest of the team or totally refused to report what I had said. My constituents said they would vote for me only if I supported a particular party. I felt powerless. I didn’t like what was happening but what could I do? I talked to [faction leader] but he didn’t listen to me.”³⁷

There are contradictory perceptions of women as leaders: “They are expected to be nurturing but seen as ineffective if they are too feminine. They are expected to be strong but tend to be judged as abrasive or strident when acting as leaders.”³⁸

There are also varying views on how women leaders should behave compared to their male counterparts. For instance, while men gain respect for expressing anger or sadness, women who express emotion openly are perceived to be out of control. Leaders who dress too conservatively are said to lack feminine appeal, but dressing provocatively lowers their perceived integrity and competence. The women leaders interviewed are not sure what public image to portray. “There is too much contradictory pressure to behave or look a certain way. People say the content of your head is as good as you look!”³⁹

Participants also said that they face challenges when people, especially young women aspiring for political office, approach them expecting to receive support for professional endeavors. Two underlying issues emerge:

1. People feel that leaders are remote and inaccessible, yet mentoring requests are few and far between. “You can’t put an advertisement in the paper that you want to mentor people! NGOs say they have mentorship programs but they don’t tell us about them so we don’t know how to participate.”⁴⁰
2. Aspiring leaders forget that leaders (both men and women) who have secured their positions want to keep them. Politics is a competitive game and it would be illogical to promote an opponent. “A woman from your constituency will come to you and ask you to help— not with school fees but with advice on how she can take your place!”⁴¹ As a result, leaders are generally perceived as selfish and unsupportive of fellow women. Some leaders also felt that

³⁷ Interview with MP in current government

³⁸ ‘The Feminine Critique’ *The New York Times*, 2nd Nov. 2007.

³⁹ Interview with young aspiring leader

⁴⁰ Interview with university lecturer and TV news anchor

⁴¹ Interview with a former male MP

people expect too much of them in terms of time and resources and they are unable to meet everyone's expectations.

Most women leaders also said that they have values and aspirations that clash with the requirements of their job and/or the expectations of their colleagues and constituents. "There are so many 'don'ts.' Naturally you are compassionate and honest, but you get into a situation where you have to fire somebody or tell lies to protect your boss or colleague. Other times it doesn't help at all to have nice values if you are in trouble, you must come out fighting and in the process you might hurt people. You don't want to be bad, but circumstances force you to become bad. If you become bad one too many times, you forget you were ever nice."⁴²

Leadership forums

Most women said fellow leaders never meet at a personal level to share leadership experiences and wisdom, largely because no one believes that they have a need for such a forum. "We are the leaders and the role models— people who have made it. Who would imagine we are not what we seem to be!"⁴³ When leaders do come together it is often as representatives of institutions tasked with issuing press statements or giving career advice to young students. "We would like to meet as people— as women, mothers, wives, etc. We are ordinary people with normal human feelings and needs, but we are observed all the time and judged harshly by the media and the world! Do you remember what people said when one minister was seen with a priest at night? It is a big issue to have a friend! I think we need to just go away somewhere and become people again! And we share our experiences of pain and success, and laugh, and advise each other. But no one thinks about such things; people just focus on aspiring leaders and feed them with theory. They should ask us!"⁴⁴

Shared wisdom

All interviewees concurred that it takes a lot to endure and advance oneself as a leader. Women must espouse a transformative model of leadership that capitalizes on their natural endowments while employing deliberate competence-improving strategies: "Get your certificate; go to the university in the evening and add one more qualification, have that extra edge. Sell your competence and professionalism, not your sex. Have skills that male applicants don't have, sex should not be your major asset because you didn't choose to be a woman."

It was noted that some women advance through the ranks by exploiting personal or political connections to the chagrin of hard-working staff whose chances are curtailed by corruption. Such people, it was noted, receive little cooperation from their staff and end up running down departments or whole companies. In the end, their lack of professional capacity and moral paucity become widely known and their presence can dent the integrity record of an organization or department. They give women leaders a bad name and perpetuate gender stereotypes.

⁴² Interview with Program Officer at a human rights NGO

⁴³ Interview with a permanent secretary in a government ministry

⁴⁴ Interview with prominent Executive Director of a large NGO

Consultative leadership is the hallmark of teamwork but should something go wrong the leader is ultimately held responsible. This can present challenges as mistakes undermine the credibility of the leader and create perceptions of incompetence and indecisiveness. Indeed, leaders must find a happy medium between a model of total delegation and one of micro-management. Although 'control freaks' and 'perfectionists' tend to be more effective leaders, they are also often unpopular. Most of the leaders interviewed for this project sought advice on navigating the delicate balance of management and delegation. Recognizing this void in their leadership training, interviewees made inquiries into the availability of courses or 'coaching' lessons that might assist them with this challenge.

Leadership is not just about being at the top of an organization and people can lead at any level of influence: "The real leaders are not necessarily people who lead revolutions, but people who make a small difference in people's lives, like the women who protected their neighbors' children from attack [during the Kenya post-election crisis]."⁴⁵

It is important for women to support each other, especially considering the similar challenges they face as mothers, wives, caregivers, and community members. In coming together, women leaders should endeavor to promote policies and international norms within their organizations that do not discriminate against women and children.

Women said they feel such a high level of performance pressure that they tend to overwork themselves, take no time out for personal leisure, and in the long term become stressed and unhealthy.

Leaders should lead by example, inculcating in their staff and children values such as punctuality and cleanliness. They should also be sensitive to new and ongoing challenges in their colleagues' lives and assist them in managing these difficulties whenever possible. For instance, women with young children may be granted more time to spend with their children to ease the burden of being a working mother.

Women can attain greater leadership capabilities so long as they do not become complacent and feel as though they have 'made it.' Women should continue to advance their skills through further reading, exposure trips and network creation with other women leaders. Over-confident leaders can become arrogant and lose touch with their constituents and staff. Such a disconnect can mark the beginning of downfall "because no one will tell you when something is wrong. You realize when it is too late but by then no one wants to be close to you!"⁴⁶

Women leaders should accept their failures and seek advice or counseling. Those that recognize their weaknesses are less likely to make mistakes in the performance of their leadership roles. They are also more likely to seek help in the form of coaching and

⁴⁵ Interview with IDP Camp Manager, Jamhuri Show Ground camp

⁴⁶ interview with former male MP

leadership support networks: “No one is infallible; even the leader. Some people pretend they never make mistakes and fire staff for the slightest reason, even when they are responsible! A know-it-all attitude is not good for leadership.”⁴⁷

Value proposition of women leadership

Both men and women interviewed concurred to a significant degree that men and women have different leadership perspectives and focus. The following views were commonly expressed:

1. Women are different from their male counterparts with respect to their levels of political ambition, professionalism, legislative activities, ideology, and legislative tasks.⁴⁸
2. Women focus on different issues from men. For instance, since the appointment of a woman Minister for Health in 2002, there have been increased legislative changes in favor of women issues. These changes have included tax waivers on sanitary pads and diapers, greater attention paid to reproductive health, greater concern with access to medical services for HIV/AIDS patients, increased access to preventive care for malaria and tuberculosis, and the passing into law of the Sexual Offences Bill.
3. Women leaders take steps to legislate against retrogressive cultural norms and practices such as FGM and domestic violence. Men, on the other hand, tend to defeat such motions (as happened with the Equity Bill, Domestic Violence Bill and Affirmative Action Bill). If passed, such laws can place greater responsibility on men to follow equitable practices and eliminate most of the special privileges they still enjoy.⁴⁹ This trend suggests that having more women in parliament would result in greater attention paid to women’s concerns and a more gender-sensitive approach to issues.⁵⁰
4. Women leaders are more sensitive to social transformation and are more likely to pass laws favorable to families, children and marginalized groups.⁵¹
5. Men are more visible in ‘bringing development’ to their constituencies because they have more money to sponsor projects and greater influence in triggering government interventions. Before the devolution of funds by the NARC government women were at a significant disadvantage because they lacked adequate financial resources. This has changed and now constituencies represented by women are instigating more development-oriented initiatives that address such issues as access to water, improved nutrition, health services and schools.⁵²

⁴⁷ Interview with a program staff at an NGO that offers leadership training.

⁴⁸ Epstein, M.J., Niemi, R.G. and Powell, L.W., ‘Women and Elective Office: Past, Present and Future’ in Thomas, S. and Wilcox, C., *Do Women and Men State legislators Differ?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 94-109.

⁴⁹ Nzomo, M. ‘Introduction’ in Hienrich Boll, *Perspectives on Gender Discourse: Women in Politics: Challenges of Democratic Transition in Kenya* (Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2004), p. 4

⁵⁰ Nyambala M., ‘More Women MPs a Panacea for Kenya’s Leadership Inadequacies’ in *Daily Nation*, Dec. 10, 2007, p. 12.

⁵¹ Oluoch, F., ‘Women Push for Balance of Power’ *Sunday Nation*, April 22, 2007, p. 13& 15.

⁵² Interview with Executive Director of a Gender and Governance Program partner NGO.

6. Women give priority to community needs (such as efforts to improve the lives of the very poor and marginalized), whereas men focus on projects that will bring them greater visibility and fame (such as constructing a big social hall).
7. Women are sensitive— they listen and are team builders. Men are competitive and tend to promise things that they cannot deliver. Whereas women are truthful about their capabilities, men pretend to be all-powerful and in the end disappoint their constituents.

Women representation

Women representation in Parliament, 1963 – 2007

Parliament	Period	Women elected	Women nominated
First	1963 – 1969	0	0
Second	1969 – 1974	2	1
Third	1974 – 1979	6	4
Fourth	1979 – 1983	5	4
Fifth	1983 – 1988	3	2
Sixth	1988 – 1992	2	2
Seventh	1992 – 1997	7	6
Eighth	1997 – 2002	9	4
Ninth	2002 – 2007	10	8
Tenth	2007/8	16	6
Total		60	37

Source: Ministry of Gender and Sports, February 2008.

Government Ministries 2002-2007

Ministry	Name	Position
Health	Hon. Charity Ngilu	Minister
Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Hon. Martha Karua	Minister
Lands and Housing	Hon. Betty Tett	Assistant Minister
Basic Education	Hon. Beth Mugo	Assistant Minister
Manpower Development	Hon. Adelina Mwau	Assistant Minister
Environment and Natural Resources	Hon. Jayne Kihara	Assistant Minister
Youth Affairs	Hon. Cecily Mbarire	Assistant Minister
Gender, Culture and Social Services	Hon. Alisen Chelaite	Assistant Minister
Tourism and Wildlife	Rebecca Nabutola	Permanent Secretary
Justice and Constitutional affairs	Dorothy Angote	Permanent Secretary
National Heritage	Alice Kemunto Mayaka	Permanent Secretary
Public sector reform	Joyce Nyakeya Nyamweya	Permanent Secretary
Special Programs	Rachael A. Arungah	Permanent Secretary
Investment Secretary	Esther Koimet	Permanent Secretary
Public Service Commission	Bernadette Nzioki	Permanent Secretary
Labour and Human Resource Development	Nancy Kirui	Permanent Secretary
Gender, Sports, Culture and Social services	Rachael Dzombo	Permanent Secretary

Source: Ministry of Gender and Sports, February 2008

Women representation in Foreign Missions 2002 - 2007 (new appointments not available)

Mission	Name	Position
Egypt –Cairo	H.E. Mary D. Odinga	Ambassador
United Nations –Geneva	H.E. Prof. Maria Nzomo	Ambassador/ Permanent Rep
South Africa –Pretoria	H.E. Tabitha Seii	High Commissioner
France –Paris	H.E. Rachel Omamo	Ambassador
Israel Tel Aviv	H.E. Felistas V. Khayumbi	Ambassador
China Beijing	H.E. Ruth S. Solitei	High Commissioner
Netherlands – The Hague	H.E. Karimi Mworja	Ambassador
Islamabad	H.E. Mishi W. Mwatshahu	Ambassador
Italy Rome	H.E. Ann Nyikuri	Ambassador
UNESCO Paris	H.E. Dr. Mary Khimulu	Ambassador, Permanent Rep

Source: Ministry of Gender and Sports, February 2008

Women representation in Parastatals (positions held for varying times between 2002-2007)

Name	Company	Position
Rachael Lumbasyo	National Social Security Fund	Managing Director/ CEO
Prof Miriam Were	National Aids Control Council	Chair
Dr. Norah Olembo	Kenya Industrial Property Institute	Managing Directors/ CEOs
Susan Kikwai	Kenya Investment Authority	Acting MD
Jacinta Wanjala Mwatela	Central Bank of Kenya	Deputy Governor
Wambui Namu	Customs	Commissioner of Customs(Ag)
Mary M'Mukindia	National Oil Corporation	Managing Director/ CEO
Judith Okungu	Lands	Commissioner of Lands
Lilian Njenga	Land Adjudication and Settlement	Director
Jacinta Muteshi	National Commission on Gender and Development	Managing Director/ CEO
Zerina Kasu	Ministry of Information and Communication	Director, Information
Wanjiru Munene Makanga	Ministry of Wildlife and tourism	Director, Tourism

Source: Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, February 2008.

Women representation in the Judiciary: Judges of the High Court

Joyce Aluoch	Kalpana Rawal
Joyce Khaminwa	Jeanne Wanjiku Gacheche
Sarah Ondeyo	Wanjiku Lesiit
Martha Koome	Mary Kasanga
Mary Ang'awa	Wanjiru Karanja
Roselyn Nambuye	Anna Ogwengu
Murugi Mugo	Ruth Sitati
Roselyne Wendoh	

Source: Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, February 2008.

Women representation in the Kenya Police

Name	Position
Christine Mutua	Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police -Planning, community policing, children and gender issues
Rose Nekesa Mambili	Senior Assistant Commissioner of police
Pauline Adhiambo	Deputy Commandant
Mary Ruara	Provincial Criminal Investigation Officer
Mary Mukweru	Staffing and Quarter Master
Mary Ngariuku	S/ACP in charge of CID, INTERPOL
Grace Khahindi	Commandant, CID training school
Alice Naliaka	Commandant, Tourist Police Unit
Beatrice Nduta	Deputy Commandant, Airport Police
Grace Amata	Deputy Commandant, Police Dog Unit
Rebecca Mule	Forces Quarter Master

Source: Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, February 2008.

The number of women in leadership positions has been on the rise. However, the period leading up to multi-party politics in 1992 saw a marked reduction in elected women due to increased electoral violence. In 1988, the voting system required supporters to queue behind their preferred candidate. The violence and intimidation by contending supporters rendered the elections far from being fair.

The number of women leaders has risen again during the multi-party era due to more women presenting themselves for elective positions, increased lobbying for the inclusion of women in decision-making (including advocacy for quotas and affirmative action), and the diminishing influence of oppressive cultural norms against women. More and more women are better educated and qualify for senior positions that were previously dominated by men. In addition, many women who are seeking leadership positions earn their own money and possess property which has further reduced their dependence on men.

Progress has been made in the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women's participation in decision-making across all sectors. However, some analysts feel that women deserve more as they constitute 51% of Kenya's population and play important yet unrecognized roles in the private domain. As leaders, women have been accused of masculinizing themselves and becoming 'each other's worse enemies.' They have also been criticized for lacking the requisite leadership skills, political ambition and self-esteem to propel them to even higher levels of leadership. These criticisms are still debated with some advocates arguing that they are patriarchal undertakings bent on fighting the advancement of women.

Existing Women's Leadership Development Programs

Project reports from various civil society organizations, summarized in the table below under *3.6 Survey of Funded Women Leadership Development Programs*, detail specific steps to help remedy the disadvantaged position of women leaders, particularly through leadership training programs. The trainings emphasize practical challenges such as how to fundraise, choose a political party, write position papers on contentious issues, manage a successful campaign, market oneself, and how to manage negative publicity particularly through the media. Several leadership training programs also look into how to avoid or diffuse violence, control crowds and manage conflicts.

Survey of Funded Women Leadership Development Programs

The following is a table of all the women's leadership development programs that are currently being offered:

Donor	Project	Project content	Partners
International Development Research Centre (IDRC) ⁵³	Women of Africa Leadership Development Program	Research, Consultative workshops, on-the-spot leadership coaching	Search for Common Ground and NPI-Africa
	Political Leadership Training Program	Leadership training for youth and women, workshops on development of party policy position, development of a women's manifesto on political parties, consultative meeting on role of women and youth in politics	Youth Agenda and 4Cs
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Women Participation	Workshops on women empowerment, gender equality bargaining, emerging women leaders in local authorities, Research and dissemination workshop on women and the East Africa Customs Union	DARAJA, ALGAK, Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development
Hienrich Böll Foundation	Gender Program aimed at civic empowerment of women	Gender Forum for aspiring leaders to share experiences; Project partnership, monitoring and evaluation; Capacity building and networking; Studies/consultancies and Publications. Objective of gender skills training to enhance women's political participation and to strengthen the capacity of nonpartisan civic groups to monitor elections, leadership training workshops for women and youth	Political parties, Individual leaders, Researchers
National Democratic Institute	Political Party Development Program	skills training to enhance women's political participation and to strengthen the capacity of nonpartisan civic groups to monitor elections, leadership training workshops for women and youth	Political parties
SIDA, Royal Netherlands Embassy, DFID, Royal Norwegian Embassy	Gender and Governance Program	Research and dissemination workshops, development of advocacy materials, rights awareness and media campaigns, leadership training workshops for aspiring leaders, e-mentoring program aspiring leaders,	UNIFEM ECWD ACWICT IED, COVAW, KWPC

⁵³ The IDRC has funded only this women leadership development project in the Eastern and Southern African region in the last year. This, according to the Research Officer in Nairobi was due to the feeling that women empowerment projects were well funded by other actors. However, this position is changing at IDRC.

Appendix C

Project Participants:

Kenya

Nairobi Peace Initiative— Africa Bridges in Organizations Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground

The following persons participated in the Research Phase of the Women of Africa Leadership Development Program as interview respondents or participants in the two-day consultations:

Kenyan Project Participants

Kenyan Interview Respondents

Name	Title	Institution	Email	Office Tel.
Grace Ong'ile	CEO	NEPAD Kenya	gongile@nepadkenya.org	2733738/42
Fatuma Sichale	Dep. Director	Kenya Anti Corruption Commission	kacc@integrity.go.ke	2717318
Betty Murungi	Exec. Director	Urgent Action Fund-Africa	kaari@urgentactionfund-africa.or.ke	2731095/4
Faith Kasiva	Exec. Director	Coalition on Violence Against Women	faith.kasiva@covaw.or.ke	3874357/8
Margaret Jesang	Exec. Director	Education Centre for Women in Democracy	director@ecwd.org	4343508/9
Koki Muli	Exec. Director	Institute for Education in Democracy	ied@iedafrica.org	2731125/6/7
Olive Mugenda	VC	Kenyatta University	kuvc@nbnet.co.ke	810901
Florida Karani	Former VC	University of Nairobi	-	0733639695
Rachael Dzombo	PS	Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture & SS	psgender@yahoo.com	2727980-4
Mr. Alex Nyanze	Unsuccessful aspirant	Political Party	amulemi2001@yahoo.com	0722947871
Njoki Ndung'u	Former MP	Women Leadership Institute	njoki@yahoo.com	0721430630
Rachael Lumbasyo	CEO	National Social Security Fund	NSSF Hse A 3 rd Flr	2729911
Miriam Were	Chair	National Aids Control Council	mwere@nacc.or.ke	2896000
Ruth Oniang'o	Former MP	JKUAT	roniango@yahoo.com	0733476132
Mr. Mwalimu Mati	Exec Director	Mars Group	info@marskenya.org	0724568204
Mr. Kepta Ombati	Exec Director	Youth Agenda	kepta@youthagenda.org	3878331
Mr. Tom Wolf	Researcher	The Steadman Group	twolf@wananchi.com	0733637023
Mr. Paul Muite	Former MP	Legal	pmuite@yahoo.com	0733732801
Mr. Joseph Kirima	Snr Admin	Kenya Sports Council	kbaimunya@yahoo.com	0720979599
Foulata Kwena	Project Officer	UNDP	fkwena@undp.org	0722795773
Mr. Karuti Kanyinga	Snr Lecturer	University of Nairobi, IDS	karuti@south.co.ke	0733615826

Jane Onyango	Exec. Director	FIDA Kenya	jonyango@fidakenya.org	3873718
Linnet Miriti	Project Officer	UNIFEM	Linnet.miriti@unifem.org	7624383
Ann Njogu	Unsuccessful aspirant	Political party	ann.njogu@creaw.org	0722768381

Kenyan Consultative Workshop Participants (also Interview Respondents)

Day One

Name	Position	Institution	Contact information	
Evelyn Mungai Wanjiku Wakogi	Business/Aspirant Program Coordinator	Private sector/political party Heinrich Boll Foundation	evelynmungai@evelyncol.com wakogi@hbfha.com	0727252521 3744227
Jacinta Muteshi	Chair	National Commission on Gender & Devt	jmuteshi@yahoo.com	0733910862
Wambui Kimathi	Commissioner	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights	wkimathi@knchr.org	2712664
Muthoni Wanyeki	Executive Director	Kenya Human Rights Commission	lwanyeki@khrc.or.ke	3874998/9
Maria Okong'o Pamela Mburia	Program Manager Coordinator /aspirant	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Association of Media Women in Kenya	maria@fes.or.ke pmburia@yahoo.com	3748338/9 0722874185
Ann Njogu	Executive Director	Centre for Rights Education and Awareness	ann.njogu@creaw.org	3860640
Tom Wolf	Consultant	Steadman, etc	twolf@wananchi.com	0733637023
Beatrice Ndirangu	Lecturer	Daystar University	beatricendirangu1@yahoo.com	0722685163
Judy Mbugua	Team Leader	Association of Evangelicals (PACWA)	pacwa@aea.co.ke info@aea.co.ke	2716133
Mercy Rurii	Research Officer	IDRC	mrurii@idrc.or.ke	2713160

Day Two

Constance Obuya	Executive Director	African Centre for Women, I&CT	cobuya@acwict.org	3862907
Irene Oloo	Executive Director	League of Kenya Women Voters	info@leaguekenya.org	2712713
Berewa Jommo	Executive Director	African Community Education Network	acen@acen.or.ke	0722344731
Jebiwot S Mboya	Continental Coordinator	Coalition for Peace in Africa	jebiwot@copafrica.org	3870845
Karimi Kinoti	Deputy Head of Africa	Christian Aid	karimi@christianaid-nbi.org	4443242
Pollyne Owoko	Aspirant	UNDA Political party	pollyne@swiftkenya.com	0722776977
Cecilia Ayot	Executive Director	Kibera Empowerment Program	ceciliaayot@yahoo.com	0725747918
Esther Mwaura-Muiru	National Coord. / Aspirant	Groots Kenya	Esther.mwaura@grootskenya.org	3873186
Sheila Amdany	Managing Director	Radio Simba	samdany@radiosimba.co.ke	3877904/16
Pamela Wesonga	Executive Director	Youth Initiatives – Kenya	youthinitiativesk@yahoo.com	0722639256
Warigia Kamau	Research & Advocacy PC	FECCLAHA	warigia@fecclaha.org	2728289
Georgine Kengne	Director	WSCF	wscf@wscf-africa.org	0723885117
Phoebe Awiti	Education Officer	National Museums of Kenya- Kisumu	paawiti@yahoo.com	0726552681

Additional Kenyan Workshop Attendance

Representatives of the project partners and the local researcher attended the workshop:

- Florence Mpaayei, Acting Executive Director, NPI-Africa
- George Wachira, Senior Researcher and Policy Advisor, NPI-Africa
- Dorothy Ndung'u, Coordinator Research, Learning and Policy (RLP) Program, NPI-Africa
- Prisca Mbura Kamungi, Project Coordinator and Researcher, NPI-Africa
- Susan Collin Marks, Senior Vice President, Search for Common Ground
- Sheila Daunt Escandon, LWI Project Director, Search for Common Ground
- Phoebe Nyawalo, local researcher
- Kanu Kogod, president, Bridges in Organizations

Appendix D

Project Partners:

Nairobi Peace Initiative— Africa
Bridges in Organizations
Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground
Search for Common Ground in Liberia
Search for Common Ground in Cote d'Ivoire

Nairobi Peace Initiative – Africa

Founded in 1984 as Nairobi Peace Group, Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa) is a peace resource organization committed to the promotion of peaceful transformation of conflicts and reconciliation across the continent of Africa. Located in Nairobi, Kenya, NPI-Africa is an enabling facilitator, assisting and accompanying various actors in the search for peaceful transformation of conflicts. It accomplishes this mission through initiating and facilitating processes of peacemaking, peace building and reconciliation; accompanying and building the capacity of strategic actors through skills training, strategy design and evaluation; and carrying out relevant research and documentation of ideas, issues and lessons emerging from the conflict context and peace building practice.

NPI-Africa's strategic advantage stems from years of pioneering practical peace work across the continent of Africa. The initial focus was the stimulation of discussion and the action needed to make peace an important agenda for institutions in Africa. This focus later moved to direct engagement with conflicts through mediation and dialogue facilitation, reconciliation initiatives, and capacity building through training and strategy development support. NPI-Africa's peacebuilding work has been at various levels (communities, government/faith-based institutions including track-two diplomacy) in countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, DRC, Uganda and Somalia, among others. Our capacity building program carried out in collaboration with the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding, the Eastern Mennonite University and CORAT-Africa has reached approximately 30 countries in Africa. NPI-Africa's strategy of linking practice to policy has also provided an opportunity to inform policymakers on matters of peace and security at national, regional, continental and global level. Currently NPI-Africa has accreditation with the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and COMESA. NPI-Africa is also the regional facilitator for eastern and central Africa in the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict.

Over the years NPI-Africa has developed relationships with a broad range of actors, communities, organizations, institutions and networks working for peace across the continent and globally.

Bridges In Organizations, Inc.

Bridges is a small consulting firm specializing in organizational culture change and highly successful, intensive customized leader readiness programs. Best known for our work in the area of diversity, we are committed to supporting the learning of others by creating a safe, open context for people to meet their personal and professional goals. Clients especially appreciate our “action learning” approach that offers new ways of observing one’s self and others, and applying new insights in work settings. Bridges serves as the primary designers and facilitators for the award-winning Leadership Alchemy—a 9-month transformational leadership program for NASA-Goddard Space Flight Center. Other Bridges clients include the Executive Team at Maryland Park and Planning Commission, Lockheed Martin, Mitre Corporation, the American Red Cross, the National Institute on Aging and Hepburn Health Systems.

Search for Common Ground and the Leadership Wisdom Initiative

Founded in 1982, Search for Common Ground is an international NGO working in conflict prevention, reconciliation and peacebuilding worldwide, with headquarters in Washington DC and Brussels. SFCG has 350 staff working out of 18 offices in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and the US. Staff are drawn from all sides of the conflict. In sub-Saharan Africa we have offices in Angola, Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone.

In our view, current problems – whether ethnic, environmental, or economic – are simply too complex and interconnected to be settled on an adversarial basis. We work across whole countries and take a hands-on, multi-pronged, societal approach to dealing with conflict. Although we believe our overall approach is transformational, we carry out our work on a realistic scale – one step at a time. Our methodology is based on a fundamental operating principle: *Understand the differences; act on the commonalities.*

Out of this experience we have identified the great need to support emerging and current leaders who are seeking to be transformative within their communities, their nations and the world. In response we have established the Leadership Wisdom Initiative offering training and one-on-one support to political and civil society leaders to expand and maintain their inner strength, wisdom and power in the face of the daily challenges and pressures they face. LWI projects to date include, in partnership with the *Global Negotiations Project at Harvard Law School*, delivering a five day transformative executive leadership training for UN Senior Mission Leaders, including on-going individual coaching over many months; providing one-on-one coaching and leadership circles for political and civil society leaders including members of the US Congress; and offering ongoing training-of-trainers and leadership training to excombatants and former child soldiers in Sierra Leone and Liberia.