# Women of Africa Leadership Development Program

## *Combined Research Report: Kenya, Liberia & Côte d'Ivoire*

## *Research Period September 2007 – October 2008*

*Please note that the views expressed in this report 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 participants.*

**Executive Summary**

The Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG) joined with the Nairobi Peace Initiative - Africa, Femmes Afrique Solidarité, the Academy for Educational Development, and Bridges in Organizations to research  how best to support African women in their leadership journeys.  Sharing a vision of women leaders with the skills, resources and self-confidence to take their current and future positions to new heights of excellence, LWI and its partners convened four consultative workshops in Kenya, Monrovia and Abidjan and conducted over forty-five qualitative interviews as well as extensive desktop research.

The research goal was 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.

Overall, the findings in each country were similar, with consistent reports of less access to education, lower self-confidence, fewer financial resources, and higher unemployment than their male counterparts across all three countries.  As the primary caregivers, women were also challenged by the need to balance numerous family and community responsibilities in addition to work.  Indeed, cultural and institutional barriers were consistently cited as primary obstacles to women's leadership pursuits.  At the same time, there are more women role models to show the way, especially in Liberia, and in all three countries there is greater gender awareness at political and societal levels.

Many women spoke in depth about their needs, for instance for mentorship, the support of other women, financial support, personal communications skills, and belief in themselves as next steps in their momentum to a new level of leadership, or as means to deepen their existing level.  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 woman already in leadership positions.  The key leadership development needs identified in our research can be grouped under the four following categories: Coaching, Leadership Forums & Social Networking, Skills Training, and Mentorship.

Given the gaps in women's leadership development in Kenya, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, and the requests we received for ongoing developmental opportunities, we recommend the following next steps:

1. Convene 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.

**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.

In late October 2007, two half-day consultative meetings were convened in Kenya, bringing together 24 political, academic and civil society leaders.  In late July and early August 2008, the meetings were replicated in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire with participation from 36 leaders.  The research objectives of 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 Liberian and Kenyan workshops offered all invited participants on-the-spot coaching.

After each workshop, the research team conducted follow-up qualitative interviews with workshop participants and other leaders unable to attend the workshops.   The qualitative interviews sought to identify:

- Barriers and opportunities for political and civil society women leaders; Differences between men and women leaders, 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.

After the workshops, the regional researchers conducted desktop research, investigating the following points:

- Obstacles and opportunities for women political and civil society leaders;
- 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 entire project, including the four consultative workshops, desktop research and over forty-five 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 – Liberian consultative workshop report
Appendix D – Liberian desktop research and interviews
Appendix E – Côte d'Ivoire desktop research, consultative workshop and interviews
Appendix F – Project participants
Appendix G – Project partners
Appendix H – List of acronyms

Research findings are grouped by primary research questions. Where responses differed significantly between locations, the country is noted. Overall, the countries shared a lot in common with the general exception that participants in urban Côte d'Ivoire cited more opportunities and fewer barriers to women leaders. On the whole, however, women cited less access to education, lower self-confidence, fewer financial resources, and higher unemployment than their male counterparts across all three countries. Indeed, in all four workshops cultural and institutional barriers were reported as primary obstacles to women's leadership pursuits. All four workshops included some men participants.

*Note that while we cite differences that were expressed in the three countries, these may be more reflective of the issues prioritized by participants during the research rather than intrinsic differences between communities.*

### 3.1　Barriers

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

#### Women's Roles

In all three countries 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.

In Liberia, women are considered to be the 'mother of all.'  This translates into being responsible not only for themselves, their family, and their extended family, but often also for neighbors and community members.  In Côte d'Ivoire, similar roles are defined for women in rural areas but less so in urban areas.

In Kenya, 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

Across the three countries 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
Women in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, including career women, reported that they do not have money left over to invest in themselves, to save, or to simply buy something for pleasure.  Instead, earnings go towards supporting the family and, as one interviewee articulated, "what you work for is what you must share."  Conversely, men will tend to keep part of their earnings and spend it on themselves.

In Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya, current laws 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.  In Kenya, 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
Both Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire share the challenge of women's organizations and government programs working in isolation from or in competition with each other.  Energy is being lost as people working in similar areas compete for funding, recognition and power instead of pooling together their strengths to cooperatively create shared visions.

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
In Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, women are not part of the 'old boys' network and do not have the connections to advance themselves, particularly politically.  In Kenya, 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.

### Migration
Liberian and Côte d'Ivoirean women often migrate to another community upon marriage where they are considered to be outsiders and are not accepted as potential leaders (political or community).

### Media Attention
In Liberia, media attention in the form of event attendance and story writing is subject to costs. As one interviewee explained, "You need finances to advance yourself in the media." This creates more obstacles for large populations of unemployed wives and mothers. In Kenya, the failures and negative images of older women leaders overshadow young leaders and have created a poor precedent.

### Employment
In Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire many women need to 'hustle'(sell) during the day to earn money to provide basic meals. High unemployment rates result in women having a very hard time finding a job. In Kenya, 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
In Kenya, 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
Liberia's highly qualified female president and concentration of women in high-level government positions needs to be leveraged. These role models are setting the standard for Liberian women and inspiring women across the country and around the world to take on new leadership positions. As one high-ranking woman stated, "What is important is not just to be in political office, but to leave a legacy behind." In Kenya, 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.

In Côte d'Ivoire, many rural women have become the heads of their households due to the absence of their husbands who are away at war. Women have stepped into this role and gained new leadership skills. These skills have been required to manage both the home and the community. Women have the opportunity to capitalize on these skills and expand the roles that have already begun to change.

### Support of Colleagues, Family & Friends
In Liberia, women are supporting women in business start-up initiatives enabling them to earn the resources to run for political office and demonstrate a track record. In Kenya, support networks and alumni associations encourage women to ascend to leadership positions.

### Political Will
In Liberia, the government has created the space for more women to move into leadership positions by advertising jobs that specifically encourage women to apply. This situation is creating a demand for more qualified women workers that in turn encourages women to continue their studies. In Côte d'Ivoire, political will has led to new laws being ratified to promote women's rights, promote equality and create equal opportunities. In Kenya women-friendly quota systems and policies such as affirmative action and girl-child education would be beneficial to the country and demonstrate an increase in political will.

### Gender Awareness
In Liberia, the new Ministry of Gender educates society about new possible roles for women and encourages employees to hire women. Awareness of sexual harassment has increased in Liberian society with the enforcement of sexual harassment laws by the judicial system. It is now understood that if a man makes inappropriate advances towards a woman, there will be ramifications. As a result, men have started to treat women with more respect and women have begun to ask to be treated better. In Côte d'Ivoire, a Directorate of Equity and Gender Mainstreaming was established in 2006 within the Ministry of the Family and Social Affairs.

In Kenya, 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
Peace in Liberia has brought opportunities for education, employment and security. Although personal security is still an issue for many women and their children, more women have the opportunity to go to school and peace has reduced the risk of doing so. In Kenya, greater media scrutiny of electoral processes presents an opportunity to promote peace and security.

### Invitation to Lead

In all three countries women need to be asked into leadership and generally won't step forward until invited. Fortunately, within the current political culture in Liberia, more women are being invited to lead. In Kenya, training programs for aspiring leaders are needed— especially those targeting women and youth.

### Literacy

In all three countries there was a strong desire 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. In Côte d'Ivoire, programs are in place to help illiterate women get their papers in order and to teach them how to prepare to vote in elections.

## 3.3    Leadership Developmental Needs

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

### Visualize New Options

Women do not see pathways to leadership, instead they see pathways towards traditional roles. Some interviewees spoke about needing someone to show them new options through role modeling and mentorship. Others said they themselves need to be able to visualize how they can make a difference or how they can become role models for change. Social networking can address these needs and help women involve themselves in the daily activities of their community.

### Mentorship & Guidance

Intentional interaction with other Liberian women at the same level of influence is very difficult, and providing a space where women can interact with other professional women would offer opportunities to build relationships of support. One high level political leader stated, "Older women are a source of strength. We need to create the next generation of leaders who can be mentored by these existing leaders, perhaps through internships opportunities. If we want to empower women then other women must support them. When women attain power and authority, we must support and nurture them."

In Kenya, current women leaders are not accessible and some are not supportive of the leadership pursuits of other women. 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 quality many already have gained through their responsibilities supporting their families. Women also need to learn to trust their experience rather than rely on what they are told is right 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, skill transfer, 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 skills 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, behavior, 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, speech delivery, and self-expression are all key leadership skills. Women need to be able to communicate their visions 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 enhance their 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.


## 4.0    Data from Desktop Research

Desktop research was conducted to:

- Identify obstacles and opportunities for women political and civil society leaders in Kenya, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire;
- 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, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire 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, D, and E, 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 to overcome these challenges in both theory and practice, particularly through the *empowerment* school of thought that seeks to diminish the dependency of women on men by increasing their capabilities.

### *Current Data on Women's Leadership*

The desktop research showed that the number of Kenyan women in leadership positions has been on the rise since the country'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.

In Liberia the number of women in leadership positions has continued to increase since the 2005 election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as Liberia's first elected woman president.

This has been especially true for key positions including associate justice, commissioner, head of police and numerous jobs within the foreign affairs sector.

In Côte d'Ivoire the political participation of women has improved since the International Conference on the Population and the Development of Cairo in 1994 and the Beijing Conference in 1995. Côte d'Ivoire has ratified various international and regional conventions relating to 'equity in dignity and in rights' of all human beings. Indeed, gender issues are increasingly being acknowledged as a strategy to consider in development programs and policy-making.

## 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 woman 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 need 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:

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

**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.

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## 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 LWI[1], 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.


### 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

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

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 I:*

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

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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.

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*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. Their responded with the following words: involvement, support, reflection, assistance, courage, purpose, respect, commitment, and public opinion research.

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## DAY 2:

### Presentation of Research[2]
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 observations clearly do not help the African woman who experiences injustices and inhuman circumstances.

Human Rights Perspective

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[2] Research presented by Phoebe Nyawalo, and independent Kenyan researcher.

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 Mbura 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:
- o 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.[3]
- o 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.[4]
- o 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.[5]
- o 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.[6]
- o Many women are constrained by family responsibilities and lack the time to indulge in politics.[7]

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

[4] 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.

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

[6] Marilee Karl, *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making* (London: Zed Books ltd, 1995), p. 79

[7] 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.[8]

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."[9]
- 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?"[10]

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[8] 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.
[9] Interview with female Deputy Head of Section, Ministry of Livestock
[10] 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.[11] 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."[12]
- "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?"[13]
- 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.[14]
- 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.[15]
- The women's movement is also split along party lines;[16] hence no attention is given to the gender agenda in important processes such as the constitutional review.[17]
- 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.[18]
- Sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse – Women are pressured to exchange sexual favors for nomination, promotion, renewal of contracts, et cetera.[19]

[11] 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.
[12] Interview with former female Member of Parliament
[13] Interview with a female Head of Parastatal
[14] Interview with woman candidate who has vied unsuccessfully in the last three general elections
[15] Interview with UNIFEM Gender and Governance Program
[16] Pintos, C. 'Women Must Do More than Talk about Gender Equality' *The Daily Nation*, 9th May 2007.
[17] Interview with male pastor who has participated in women leadership training programs
[18] 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.[20]
- 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?"[21]
- 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.[22]
- More women are presenting themselves as candidates for electoral positions.[23]
- Training opportunities for leadership – More programs focused on aspiring women candidates.[24]
- More financial support for election campaigns by women-focused civil society and the UN.[25]
- Affirmative action – Policy to increase number of women in political parties and government jobs. The current proposal recommends a 30% quota for women[26] and there has been increased awareness of this provision.
- Some associations deliberately promote gender parity within their organizational structure.

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[19] Interview with former member of parliament

[20] Interview with male lecturer at the University of Nairobi

[21] Interview with former woman Member of Parliament

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

[23] 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.

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

[25] 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.

[26] 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).*[27]
- Global commitment to promote women representation through the Millennium Development Goals has made gender equality one of the goals to be achieved by 2015.
- 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).[28]
- More women have more money, connections and resources than before.[29]
- 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).[30]
- Personal ambition and determination to become a leader.[31]
- Greater recognition of merit.[32] 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."[33]

**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 unions and religious organizations are still dominated by men. It was said that most

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

[28] Interview with executive director of NGO involved with advocating against gender violence

[29] Interview with former Vice Chancellor of a local university

[30] Interview with a male program officer at an NGO promoting women's rights education

[31] Interview with aspiring leader in Kibera informal settlement, December 2007

[32] View shared by all women from the universities

[33] Interview with former Vice Chancellor at a local university

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:
- o Manage difficult situations in an office setting
- o Relate with staff
- o Manage anger
- o Delegate and become a better team player
- o Become visible in a positive way
- o Lead without rubbing people the wrong way
- o Deal with unprofessional or incompetent behavior without appearing overbearing
- o Access strategic political information
- o Enhance the art of public oratory and populist campaigning without feeding ethnic and political polarization
- o Have more influence in areas defined and organized around male norms
- o Develop fundraising skills
- o Become part of women leadership networks – if they exist
- o Focus on factors among women and the whole country that unite rather than factors that divide and differentiate
- o Package self as a professional to avoid sexual harassment
- o 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!"[34]

In highly competitive and polarized circumstances leaders are pressured to take partisan positions. However, women leaders said they found it difficult to align

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[34] Interview with deputy head of a parastatal

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."[35]

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."[36]

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!"[37]

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."[38]
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!"[39] As a result, leaders are generally perceived as selfish and unsupportive of fellow women. Some leaders also felt that people expect too much of them in terms of time and resources and they are unable to meet everyone's expectations.

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[35] Interview with MP in current government
[36] 'The Feminine Critique' *The New York Times*, 2 Nov. 2007.
[37] Interview with young aspiring leader
[38] Interview with university lecturer and TV news anchor
[39] Interview with a former male MP

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."[40]

### 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!"[41]  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!"[42]

### 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.

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[40] Interview with Program Officer at a human rights NGO
[41] Interview with a permanent secretary in a government ministry
[42] 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]."[43]

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!"[44]

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 leadership support networks: "No one is infallible; even the leader. Some people

[43] Interview with IDP Camp Manager, Jamhuri Show Ground camp
[44] Interview with former male MP

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."[45]

### *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.[46]
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 Offenses 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.[47] 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.[48]
4. Women leaders are more sensitive to social transformation and are more likely to pass laws favorable to families, children and marginalized groups.[49]
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.[50]
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).

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[45] Interview with a program staff at an NGO that offers leadership training
[46] 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.
[47] 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
[48] Nyambala M., 'More Women MPs a Panacea for Kenya's Leadership Inadequacies' in *Daily Nation,* Dec. 10, 2007, p. 12.
[49] Oluoch, F., 'Women Push for Balance of Power' *Sunday Nation*, April 22, 2007, p. 13 & 15.
[50] Interview with Executive Director of a Gender and Governance Program partner NGO

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 Mworia | 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)[51] | 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 | | 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 |

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

**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.
- o Political leadership has failed:  "The people did their part; they voted peacefully. The leaders failed them."
- o People who seek political office are not interested in common good; they are selfish.
- o 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."
- o Many women leaders were of the view that had they known the elections would lead to such bloodshed, they wouldn't have vied

Most people previously interviewed raised the following questions:
- o Why was the violence not predicted? Was the monitoring effective, or did it seek to minimize obvious warning signs?
- o Why did the civic education and non-violence campaigns fail to prevent violence?
- o What is the content of leadership training?
- o Of what use is leadership and conflict resolution training if beneficiaries cannot provide leadership at a critical time?
- o 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.
- o 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?
- o The anonymous men and women who took feeble actions to plead with people to stop the violence were the genuine leaders.
- o 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."[52]
- o Are the media trained on peace-building and 'responsible' journalism?
- o 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?
- o Why did women leaders become so helpless even in their own constituencies? How much control and influence do they really hold?

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[52] Interview with unsuccessful woman aspirant during the January crisis, informal conversation with neighbors, church groups

**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.

- *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.

**Appendix C**

**Liberian Consultative Workshop Report**

**Monrovia, July 2008**

**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
**Academy for Educational Development**
**Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground**


**I.      INTRODUCTION TO WORKSHOP**

The workshop was held on July 29, 2008 from 9 am to 1 pm in Monrovia, Liberia.  The workshop began with the introduction of the organizers from Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS), Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG), and the Academy for Educational Development (AED).  The workshop was presented in the context of the research phase of the Women of Africa Leadership Program sponsored by the International Development Research Center.  The research is composed primarily of desk research, consultative workshops, and individual interviews.

Presenters explained that the Liberia research project would be replicated in Côte d'Ivoire and that a report based on the collective West African research would be shared with participants.  Participants were also invited to review the final report from a parallel research project in Kenya where facilitators asked women the same questions and raised the same issues.  The overall findings were to be made available for the International Colloquium On Women's Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security sponsored by the Presidents of Liberia and Finland in March 2009, and circulated as widely as possible.

The workshop was conducted with the purpose of exploring what women need to develop, nurture, and sustain leadership at all levels of government and throughout society as whole.  The goals for the consultative workshop in Monrovia were to gather the leadership wisdom of participants and identify current barriers and opportunities for women's leadership in Liberia.  The workshop sought to elicit participants' visions for the development of women leadership in Liberia and identify the resources needed to realize these visions.

The workshop was facilitated by Aminata Dieye from FAS, Sheila Daunt Escandon from LWI, and Beatrice Newland from SFCG-Liberia.

## II.    LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Participants were asked to reflect upon a time in their lives when they acted as a leader, whether in their homes, communities or workplaces.  They were then paired with a fellow participant and asked to share their story.  After listening to the stories, participants were asked to share with the group the leadership qualities displayed by their partners that touched them.  They were also asked to identify leadership opportunities and challenges.  The goal of the activity was to help participants identify their innate leadership qualities that were summoned in the past in the face of leadership challenges.

War violence and conflict were the sources of many of the challenges identified through the storytelling exercise.  In these conflict situations the participants took on multiple roles and navigating between them was a highly complex task.  A common theme that emerged in the discussion of admirable leadership qualities was having concern for the children caught in the situation.  Inner resources such as bravery, courage, resourcefulness, vision, practicality, and strong decision-making were also highlighted. However, in many cases participants lacked experience and guidance when assuming leadership positions.  Participants espoused the value of having these support mechanisms already in place.

The following responses were elicited from the exercise:

| *LEADERSHIP QUALITIES* | |
| --- | --- |
| Confidence | Tenacity |
| Competence | Inspiration |
| Strength | Ingenuity |
| Intelligence | Faith |
| Good decision-making | Courage |
| Adept problem-solving | Self-Discovery |
| Independence | Resourcefulness |
| Bravery | Creativity |

| *CHALLENGES* | *OPPORTUNITIES* |
|---|---|
| **Abandonment** | **Professional counseling** |
| **Discrimination** | **Advice from friends** |
| **Limited resources** | **Support of family, peers** |
| **Conflict/crisis** | **Experience/skills** |
| **Familial obligations** | **Strong female network** |
| **Over-tasked** | **Cultural roles** |
| **Creating space for diversity** | **Higher education** |
| **Corruption** | **Youth** |
| **Rape/emotional stress** | **Employment/career** |
| **Balancing multiple interests** | **Relocation** |
| **Illness** | **Policy** |
| **Fear/worry** | |
| **Male dominance/intimidation** | |
| **Limited education/experience** | |
| **Lack of support** | |
| **Void in leadership** | |

## III.    VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

### *Exercise I:*

Each participant was asked to write down his or her personal vision for women leadership development in Liberia.  Participation, equality, education, and capacity building were common threads throughout the responses. The visions articulated by participants included the following:

- To advocate for women to participate in decision-making and development.
- To influence political leaders to recognize and embrace women's leadership and equal participation in decision-making and development.
- To increase women participation in local government and decision-making processes at community level.
- To build women's capacity and resolve to be more career driven, which will eventually prepare   them for leadership roles.
- To inform women of their role in the society and to have the opportunities to get children out of the street.
- To overcome traditional sentiments and forge ahead in building leadership development capacities in young women.
- To continue to have the courage to devote my energy to the development and advancement of women.
- A Liberia where women and girls will be educated and supported to make use of their space to maximize their full leadership potential.

- To see more innovation, creativity and assertiveness in women as they assume leadership roles.
- To educate women in leadership, capacity building and to help decrease the illiteracy rate.
- To help women have a change of mind and attitude about women participation in the society at large.
- 100% literacy to allow women to develop their own skills and make their own decisions.
- For all women to have the opportunity to learn and contribute to the uplifting/development of families, communities, and the nation.
- To have the capacity to help women realize that they are and can become leaders.
- To develop the educational capacity of young women and girls (i.e. girls second chance education program)

*Exercise II:*

The participants were then divided into breakout groups of three to brainstorm the inner and outer resources needed to realize their visions for the development of women's leadership in Liberia. They were to identify those resources that they already possess as well as those that are still needed. The exercise revealed that the participants already had a wealth of inner resources to call upon but lacked outer resources. The latter include financial support, strong policies that promote participation and empowerment, education and scholarships, mentoring and support of other women, partnerships and networks, and skills training in public speaking, literacy, advocacy, HIV/AIDS, management, and leadership.


## IV.     CLOSE OF WORKSHOP

After a review of the brainstorming exercise, facilitators thanked participants and informed them that they would be contacting them in the following days to offer leadership coaching and to conduct individual interviews as part of the research initiative. Participants were then asked to share one word that described their feelings about the workshop experience. Their responses were: inspired, powerful, energized, resourceful, motivated, appreciative, hopeful, renewed, encouraged, loving, great, tenacious, fortunate, determined, committed, truthful, wiser, and blessed.

Finally, the workshop closed with song: "The more we are together, together, together, the more we are together the happier we will be. My friend is your friend and your friend is my friend. The more we are together the happier we will be."

**Appendix D**

**Summary of Findings:**

**Liberian Desktop Research & Qualitative Interviews**

**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
**Academy for Educational Development**
**Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground**

**Research conducted by Cerue Konah Garlo**
Under the leadership of the Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG) – Academy for Educational Development (AED) – Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS)

## 1.0    Introduction

The research contained in this report forms part of a larger study being done on women leaders in West Africa.  The part of the study described here covers an investigation into the barriers and opportunities with which women leaders in Liberia are faced.  This research will be available to all participants and will be used to guide the direction of Search for Common Ground's Women of Africa leadership development program.  Included in this report is a brief contextual background, the results of a mini-literature review, and the findings from the qualitative interviews conducted in Monrovia.

### 1.1    Scope and Objectives

The research was carried out in Monrovia.  Qualitative interviews were conducted with selected women leaders from different sectors ranging from government to women rights.  Telephone interviews were also completed with rural women residing in Montserrado.  The objective of the survey was to provide an analysis of the desktop research and interviews conducted from September 23 to October 3, 2008.

### 1.2    Methodology and Limitations

Literature on women's leadership in Liberia was reviewed and key informant interviews were conducted during the period identified.  Interviewees included key members of civil society organizations (both male and female), government ministries and UN agencies.  Although respondents were initially pre-selected by LWI/SFCG, the field researcher also used her deep knowledge and extensive network within the women's movement in Liberia to identify further interviewees.

The ability of the researcher to comply with the terms of reference was limited by the time frame and the reluctance of Liberians to share information on the grounds that much of the research they have participated in has not had a feedback loop.

## 2.0    Research Findings

### 2.1    Country Context

*Population*
According to the preliminary results of the 2008 National Population and Housing Census (NPHC) of Liberia, the country has an estimated population of 3.4 million with an annual growth rate of 2.1%[53]. The gender composition data indicate that there are slightly more men than women in the country (1,764,555 men to 1,724,517 women). The average household size declined from 6.2 in 1984 to 5.1 in 2008 and the population density of Liberia is 93 citizens per square mile with urban areas more densely populated than rural ones.

*Poverty*
Liberia is one of the poorest countries in the world with GDP per capita estimated at US$190.[54]  Poverty is pervasive and is particularly acute in rural areas and in the remote corners of the country (67.7% poverty in rural areas versus 55% in urban areas). Since approximately 70% of Liberia's population lives in the rural areas, the degree of deprivation is significant.  Indeed, a 2007 study on income and consumption revealed that 63.8% of Liberians—1.7 million people— live on less then $1 per day.[55]  Of these, about 1.3 million people are living in extreme poverty (48% of the population).  Poverty is multi-dimensional and its indicators include low levels of income and consumption, poor nutrition and food security, weak health and education, and inadequate infrastructure. The situation is reinforced by inequities, especially in access to justice and economic opportunities.

*Infrastructure*[56]
Liberia's infrastructure was severely damaged by the war.  Most Liberians have no access to electricity, water and sanitation facilities, acceptable housing, or decent roads. Weak infrastructure undermines income-earning opportunities, limits access to health and education facilities, raises the price of goods and services, and weakens food security.  It also places a large burden on women and children as they must spend more time carrying water and other goods, are more vulnerable to crime, and have less access to health facilities which raises the risk of child and maternal mortality. Women with disabilities are also disproportionately disadvantaged.

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[53] *LISGIS National population and Housing Census 2008 (Preliminary Result)*
[54] *GOL Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*
[55] *ibid*
[56] *ibid*

*Women's Issues*
The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that brought an end to the 14 years of civil war in Liberia provided a political and substantive framework for Liberia's post-conflict recovery. The CAP defined the terms of a ceasefire that led to the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and laid out the platform and scope for the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) that guided the country towards democratic elections in 2005.

Although Liberia elected a woman president in 2005, great disparity still exists between women and men in representation and participation at various institutions of governance and decision-making both at the national and local level. Despite the election of a woman to the nation's highest office, the participation of women in political life and decision-making processes remains limited by discriminatory social, cultural and economic conditions.

The war left Liberia a devastated society, struggling to recover from destruction, suffering, pain and death. It is generally agreed that the vast majority of those affected by the war were women and girls. This segment of the society is now alienated from decision-making processes and remains extremely vulnerable. The literacy rate among women and girls is less than 20% compared to an estimated illiteracy rate of 80% across the entire population. Despite the gains made in Liberia's democratic process by the election of a woman president and the election of a considerable number of women in the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament, the presentation of women in the political decision making processes still remains a major challenge. For example, in 2005 women accounted for only 14% of the 762 candidates nominated for elections even though women accounted for 50% of the total registered voters. The elections results were even more unimpressive: In the Senatorial Election only 5 out of the 30 Senators elected were women. In the House of Representatives, there are 9 women accounting for only 12.5% of seats. In other government apparatus', women are unequally represented in decision-making positions with only 0.8% in the judiciary agency, 5.3% in national bureau and agencies and 10.3% in ministries. This data is not comparative since any information about past governments relates to the unrepresentative True Whig Party governments before 1980. The True Whig Party was male dominated and excluded most indigenous Liberians.

Even though this figure of women representation in national politics may look small, it is the best representation of women in politics in Liberia's checkered history. In fact, the above figures constitute the most women that Liberia has ever seen in leadership roles since 1847, particularly in top government positions. Given that the majority of currently elected women are based in Monrovia, the participation of women in national politics should be consolidated by representation at county and district levels. Of the 14 women currently in parliament, six were elected from Montserrado County (Monrovia and surrounding regions) and the other eight were living and working in Monrovia despite representing their county of birth. These facts will be increasingly important to remember as the government prepares to hold local and municipal elections, initiate reforms through the Governance Reform Commission, implement the Poverty

Reduction Strategy, and undertake the decentralization exercise. The success of these processes depends to a large extent on the active representation and participation of women in decision–making processes at all levels.

It is therefore imperative to start addressing the barriers to women's participation in leadership and decision-making processes at all levels of society. Doing so will ensure that the interests and needs of women are represented and protected in the decentralization plans for the channeling of resources.


## 2.2    Women in Leadership Positions

The literature review found increases in the number of women in leadership positions since the 2005 election of Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as Liberia's first woman president. This has been especially true for key positions including associate justice, commissioner, head of police and numerous jobs within the foreign affairs sector. Please refer to the charts below for more details. With the executive branch of government headed by Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and an increasing number of women in parliament, society as a large sees women as powerful. The question remains: are they really powerful? Are they gender sensitive and developing policies that will take women issues into account? Some of the interviewees identified a need for further capacity building in institutional conflict management to handle disputes between women in government, women in civil society, and grassroots women. The need to build the capacity of government leaders in advocacy and policy formulation was another major challenge noted by the participants. Women in major leadership roles are not exempt from the challenges that face Liberian women in general. They too may lack self-confidence, have inadequate funding, and struggle with balancing the roles of work and family. Whether she is a government minister or an executive director, a woman is still expected to engage in household tasks after a long day's work. Thus the persistent cultural expectation for women to be 'mother of all' and the lack of alternative role models is concerning. Indeed, there is a considerable need for new women role models in Liberian society, especially for young women and girls.

A town hall meeting conducted by the Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia (WONGOSOL) in July and August of 2008 in western Liberia showed that women in rural Liberia expressed great interest in assuming leadership roles. They said that the persistent cultural and traditional practices have limited them, as well as lack of human and food security, education and economic empowerment and limited access to proper health care. An elderly woman who is a town chief said "women are divided on party lines and therefore men use the divisiveness to further divide us and keep us in the kitchen." Men use the fact that women are not united to maintain the current gender roles and insist that women fulfill their traditional obligations. She also said that there is no link between grassroots women and women in government, and asked how those at the grassroots might feel the impact of the work of women in government. Most women feel very distant from what they call the 'most powerful women'. No in-depth research has been conducted on this topic.

### 2.3 Current Women's Leadership Development Programs

Information gathered from women-led civil society organizations revealed that there are several on-going programs designed to enhance women's leadership roles in Liberia. These projects include training, town hall meetings and exchange visits. These programs are geared towards addressing the challenges women face in leadership development. They also aim to capitalize on existing opportunities to consolidate the new leadership of women in Liberia. Trainings feature skill building in fundraising, campaigning, selecting a political party, knowing your allies, understanding your opponents, and speech making. Particular emphasis is placed on community conflict resolution, peaceful co-existence, intervening in mob justice and making reports to the police or authorities. Please see table of programs below.

**On-going Women's Leadership Development Programs**

| Donor | Project | Content | Partners |
|---|---|---|---|
| Women Campaign International (WCI) | Women's Leadership, Participation in Politics and Increasing Women's Contribution to Conflict Transformation Programs | Interviewing of women leaders, airing findings and holding town hall meetings on issues arising from radio programs. | Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia (WONGOSOL) |
| USAID/NDI | Community Based Women's Political Mobilization & Democracy | Training women to engage lawmakers on issues affecting them and finding a joint solution. | Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) |
| UNDP | Women's Leadership in Local Government and Gender Training Project | Training rural women in gender and leadership skills | Women and Children Development Association of Liberia |
| Initiative for Inclusive Security | Facilitating Empowerment of Women through Leadership Skills | Encouraging women to become involved and participate in leadership | Community Habitat Finance (CHF) |

## 3.0 Barriers to and Opportunities for Participation and Inclusion

### 3.1 Barriers
Against a backdrop of high vulnerability, nine key barriers emerged for women and girls:

*1) Stereotypes:* Cultural and traditional stereotypes characterize women as child bearers and caregivers who are not supposed to hold decision-making positions in society. Women who step out of the traditional roles assigned to them are regarded as "unwomanly, wearing the shoes of men and not eligible for marriage."[57] Respondents pointed out that the majority of the women who are in key positions in Liberia are either

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[57] Interview with representative of Liberian Women Media Action Committee (LIWOMAC)

single or divorced. This pressure to fulfill cultural expectations was said to influence many women "to turn down jobs that would separate them from their families".[58]

**2) Media:**  Media places a negative spotlight on women.  The largely male dominated media often focuses on mistakes made by women, eliciting public ridicule of female leaders while male leaders are treated with more respect.  This makes women fearful of entering the public arena.

**3) Insecurity:**  Some women in powerful positions operate from deep insecurity and, as a result, they work against women in civil society. They sometimes block empowerment programs due to fear of being seen as less incompetent than those leading these programs or as a show of power over women who are dependent on them for funding of their programs.

**4) Capacity Building:**  There is no program to build capacity in the next generation of Liberian women through coaching, mentoring and interest building.  Respondents saw this void as a threat to developing the next generation of leadership and new ideas.

**5) Gender Insensitivity:**  Most of the powerful civil society organizations are male lead and gender insensitive. As a result, they do not show solidarity or give substantive support to women's issues. Instead they pay 'lip service' to gain funding and other opportunities but are not actually in partnership with women's organizations or women's issues.

**6) Violence:**  The high level of domestic violence experienced in the country is a major obstacle to rural women's participation. Women who dare step out of the traditional roles of mother and wife to be businesswomen, politicians, or to challenge the perceived authority reported experiencing violence on a daily basis. This violence is a major inhibitor to women who have ambitions to progress out of their current positions in the communities.

**7) Rural Isolation:**  In addition, rural women feel that they are isolated from the women involved in politics.  Many respondents commented that while their mobilization efforts helped elect these women, once in power the women leaders did not maintain their grassroots links and became disconnected from rural issues and concerns.  Rural women are now skeptical of the value of getting involved with politics and say that they do not see any benefit coming their way as a result of doing so.

**8) Political Stereotypes & Direction:**  This study also found that political parties were reluctant to put women candidates forward due to claims of incompetency made by male peers.  As a result, women are continually forced to justify their inclusion in politics.  This divides their focus and distracts them away from participating fully in national issues.  Unfortunately, political parties do not work to build female candidates' capacity through mentoring tools that could address these criticisms of incompetency.

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[58] Interview with leader of young women's organization (YWCA).

Men also stated that they preferred to work with what was referred to as 'the old boys' network.'

**9) Unclear Gender Mandate:**  The ministries dealing with gender and women's issues have not developed a clear mandate and as a result politicians and civil society organizations end up competing for the same resources.  This competition creates divisions and fragmentation in the overall movement towards gender equality.  A clear plan needs to be drawn up indicating who will do what.


### 3.2    Opportunities
The following opportunities were identified through this research:

**1) High Level Role Models:**  Having a female president and an increased number of females in government was seen to be the most significant opportunity for women in Liberia.  This situation has sparked greater political will in women and has led the international community to recognize the achievements and contributions of Liberian women to social development and peace. Having these role models in place has attracted new resources and created new opportunities for women, especially in the form of capacity building and skills development.

**2) Greater Interest in Leadership:**  Women of Liberia are increasingly aware of their rights, roles and responsibilities and are enthusiastic about engaging in learning and becoming leaders. This can be leveraged to create more space for women leaders who are better prepared to take up decision-making positions and roles in society.

**3) Greater Awareness and Supportive Environment:**  Women are also more self-reflective and have a greater awareness of their own weaknesses, challenges, strengths and opportunities. Liberian women in general and women politicians in particular were also described as being more willing now to encourage each other as peers despite the competitive environment (Liberia is a small country and competition for resources and positions is fierce).  Women are open to more in-depth training and development to gain not only knowledge and skills but also wisdom in order to be authentic leaders with integrity. This offers an opportunity to create comprehensive programming for women.  These women can then become the role models and open spaces for the future generation of women.

## Annex A:  Women Representation in High Level Positions

Women Representatives in Government Ministries 2006-2008

| Ministry | Name | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Ministry of Health & Social Welfare | 1. Hon. Bernice Dahn | Deputy Minister &Chief Medical Officer |
| | 2. Cllr. Vivian J. Cherue | Deputy Minister, Health & Social Welfare |
| | 3.Hon. Bendu A. Tulay | Assistant Minister, Social Welfare |
| | 4. Hon. Jessie E. Duncan | Ass. Min.& Deputy Chief Medical Officer |
| | 5. Winnie Scott Macdonald | Administrator, John F. Kennedy Medical Center |
| Ministry of Justice | 6. Cllr. Eva Morgan | Deputy Minister for Administration |
| | 7. Hon. Fatumata Sheriff | Assistant Minister for Rehabilitation |
| Ministry of Planning & Economic Affairs | 8. Hon. Ann Dora Karbo | Assistant Minister, Regional Planning |
| Ministry of Education | 9. Hon. Josephine T. Porte | Assistant Minister, Planning, Research & Development |
| | 10. Hon. Keturah B. Siebu | Ass. Min., Bureau Primary Education |
| | 11. Hon Felicia D. Sumah | Ass. Min. Instruction/Bureau, Secondary Education |
| Ministry of Transport | 12. Hon. May Ann Fossung | Assistant Minister for Administration |
| Ministry of Internal Affairs | 13. Hon. Estelle Liberty | Deputy Minister for Administration |
| | 14. Hon Yah Suah Kialain | Deputy Minister for Operations |
| Ministry of Youth & Sports | 15. Hon Joyce K. Newman | Assistant Minister for Administration |
| Ministry of Gender & Development | 16. Hon. Varbah Gayflor | Minister |
| | 17. Hon. Anette Kiawu | Deputy Minister, Research & Technical Services |
| | 18.Hon. Patricia Kamara | Ass. Minister, Planning & Administration |
| Ministry of Information, Culture & Tourism | 19. Hon Elizabeth E. Hoff | Deputy Minister for Technical Services |
| | 20. Hon. Scholastical Doe | Ass. Min., Tourism |

| Ministry | Name | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Ministry of Agriculture | 21. Hon. Lorpu Kandakai | Deputy Minister for Regional Development, Research & Extension |
| | 22. Hon. Philomena T. Williams | Ass. Minister for Administration |
| Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs | 23. Hon. Madina Wesseh | Director of the Cabinet |
| Ministry of Commerce | 24. Hon Meima S. Kenneh | Ass. Minister for Administration |
| | 25. Hon. Adorkor Coleman | Ass. Min for Commerce |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs | 26. Hon. Olubankie King Akerele | Minister |
| Ministry of Labour | 27. Hon. Rosetta N. Jackollie | Ass. Minister for Labour Standards |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*


Women representation in Foreign Missions 2006- 2008

| Mission | Name | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Cote D'voire | 28. Hon. Sedia Bangoura | Ambassador |
| South Africa –Pretoria | 29. Cllr. Lois Bruthus | Ambassador |
| Netherlands – Belgium, European Union & Luxemburg | 30. Hon .Youngor Telewoda | Ambassador |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*


Women representation in Public Cooperation 2006- 2008

| Public Cooperation | Name | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Liberia Broadcasting Service | 31. Hon. Juliana S. Bouro | Deputy Director General for Broadcasting |
| National Port Authority | 32. Hon. Mary Broh | Deputy Managing Director for Administration |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*


Women representation at Central Bank of Liberia 2006- 2008

| Central Bank of Liberia | Name | Position |
|---|---|---|
| Central Bank of Liberia | 33. Hon. Ethel Davis | Deputy Govenor |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*

Women representation in Local Government 2006- 2008

| County | Name | Position |
|--------|------|----------|
| Montserrado | 34. Hon. Nyenekeh B.S. Barcon | Superintendent |
| | 35. Hon. Massa Kollie | Relieving Commissioner |
| | 36. Hon. Lycinda A. E Punii | City Mayor |
| | 37.Hon. Henrietta Fugans Nyae | Lord Mayor |
| | 38. Hon. Joanna N. Coleman | Lord Mayor |
| | 39. Hon. Shron B. Kamara | Township Commissioner |
| | 40. Hon. Helena T. Doe | Township Commissioner |
| | 41. Hon. Williametta G. Carlos | Township Commissioner |
| | 42. Hon. Sarah K. Berrian | Township Commissioner |
| | 43. Hon. Amelia C. R Holmes | Township Commissioner |
| | 44. Hon. Esther Belton | General Town Chief |
| | 45. Hon. Musa Kissi | General Town Chief |
| | 46. Hon. Kpankpa Boe | General Town Chief |
| | 47. Hon. Kpennah Yanga | General Town Chief |
| | 48. Hon. Jemima Washington | Township Commissioner |
| | 49. Dr. Cecil O. Brandy | Township Commissioner |
| Gbapolu County | 50. Hon. Gertrude T. Lamin | Superintendent |
| | 51. Hon. Winnie Molly | Clan Chief |
| | 52. Hon. Massa King | Clan Chief |
| Bomi County | 53. Hon. Rebecca T. Benson | Ass. Superintendent |
| | 54. Hon. Rebecca Sirleaf | Township Commissioner |
| Grand Bassa County | 55. Hon. Julia Duncan Cassell | Superintendent |
| | 56. Hon. Agnes L. Artis | Commissioner |
| Mary Land County | 57. Hon. Regina Sampson | City Mayor |
| Rivercess County | 58. Hon. Sarah M. Zeo | Mayor |
| | 59. Hon. Narah Gaye | Paramount Chief |
| | 60. Hon. Marhta Garda Wrueah | General Town Chief |
| Bong County | 61. Hon. Lucia Herbert | Development Superintendent |
| | 62. Hon. Esther Coaline Warbey | City Mayor |
| Grand Kru County | 63.Hon. Rosalind Sneh | Superintendent |
| | 64. Hon. Gbeh Gmah | General Town Chief |
| | 65. Hon. Esther K. Wleh | Clan Chief |
| | 66. Hon. Christiana Togba | General Town Chief |
| | 67. Hon. Beatrice Kumeh | General Town Chief |
| | 68. Hon. Theresa Taypoh | General Town Chief |
| | 69. Hon. Mary G. Tweh | General Town Chief |
| | 70. Hon. Elizabeth Nyanfore | General Town Chief |
| | 71. Hon. Lucy Kumeh | Clan Chief |
| | 72. Hon.Elizabeth Julu | Clan Chief |
| | 73. Hon. Tuwele Korh | Clan Chief |
| | 74. Hon. Mary Bliah | Clan Chief |
| Nimba County | 75. Hon. Emma Y. Konnah | Commissioners |
| | 76. Hon. Anita Diagor | Township Commissioner |
| | 77. Hon. Kou Bolay | Clan Chief |
| | 78. Hon. Julie Freeman | Clan Chief |
| | 79. Hon. Rebecca D. Gbor | Clan Chief |
| | 80. Hon. Helena Diayean | Clan Chief |
| | 81. Hon. Mary Nya Gonlepa | City Mayor |
| | 82. Hon. Norh T. Tensonnon | City Mayor |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 83. Hon. Angie N. Dopoe | City Mayor |
| | 84. Hon. Mary Sonkarlay Yileyon | City Mayor |
| | 85. Hon. Sarah Z. Mendoabor | City Mayor |
| **Grand Cape mount County** | 86. Catherine N. Watson Khasu | Superintendent |
| | 87. Clarissa S. Passawee | Township Commissioner |
| | 88. Roseline Q. Peters | Township Commissioner |
| | 89. Jane White | Township Commissioner |
| | 90. Frances a. Turay | Mayor |
| **Sinoe County** | 91. Frances Mondubue | Paramount Chief |
| | 92. Emma Jabbah | Clan Chief |
| | 93. Elizabeth Nippay | Clan Chief |
| | 94. Frances Kumon | Clan Chief |
| | 95. Barbara M. Keah | Mayor |
| | 96. Mary Menvay | Mayor |
| | 97. Ellen Jah | Mayor |
| | 98. Joyce Teh | Mayor |
| | 99. Sarah Kayweah | Mayor |
| | 100. Janet K. Wleh | Mayor |
| | 101. Ruth Chea | Mayor |
| | 102. Marie Wea | General Town Chief |
| | 103. Rebecca Tarpeh | General Town Chief |
| | 104. Ellen Mah | General Town Chief |
| | 105. Annie Duwroh | General Town Chief |
| | 106. Mary Marwieh | General Town Chief |
| | 107. Janet Kwen | General Town Chief |
| | 108. Betty Slewia | General Town Chief |
| | 109. Lucy Kaydee | General Town Chief |
| | 110. Lucy Dweh | General Town Chief |

## Women representation in the Judiciary: Judges of the Supreme lower Courts

| | |
|---|---|
| 111. Jamesetta Howard Wokllie | Associate Justice |
| 112. Gladys Johnson | Associate justice |
| 113. Cllr. Ceaineh Clinton Johnson | Judge |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia2007*

## Women representation in the Liberian National Police

| Name | Position |
|---|---|
| 114. Hon. B. Munah S. Brown | Inspector General |
| 115. Hon. Asatu Bah Kenneth | Deputy Inspector General for Administration |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia*

## Women representation in the Bureau of Immigration & Naturalization

| Name | Position |
|---|---|
| 116. Cllr.Alaba G. Williams | Commissioner of Bureau Of Immigration & Naturalization |

*Source: Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia*

Women representation in Commissions

## Truth and Reconciliation Commission

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 117. Cllr.Pearl Brown Bull | Truth & Reconciliation Commission ( TRC),Commissioner |
| 118. Hon. Oumu Syllah | Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Commissioner |
| 119. Hon. Massa Washington | Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Commissioner |
| 120. Hon. Dede Dolopei | Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Vice Chair Person |

*Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*

## National Election Commission

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 121. Cllr. Jeanette Ebba Davidson | National Elections Commission, Commissioner |
| 122. Cllr. Elizabeth J. Nelson | Co-Chair Person, National Elections Commission |

*Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*

## Governance Commission

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 123.Hon. Elizabeth S. Mulbah | Commissioner |
| 124. Hon. Sandra Howard Kendor | Commissioner |
| 125. Hon. Hawa Goll Kotchi | Commissioner |

*Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia 2007*

## National Commission on Disarmament Demobilization Rehabilitation and Reintegration

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 126. Hon. Ruth Caesar | Deputy Executive Director- National Commission on Disarmament Demobilization Rehabilitation and Reintegration |

## Anti- Corruption Commission

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 127.Cllr. Francis Johnson Morris | Chairperson of the Commission |
| 128. Hon. Sandra Howard Kendor | Commissioner |

## National Commission on Disability

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 129. Roseline Paul | Acting Deputy Commissioner |

## City of Monrovia

| **Name** | **Position** |
| --- | --- |
| 130. Hon. Ophelia Hoff Saytumah | Mayor |

**Annex B:  List of Obstacles**

Obstacles for the inclusion and participation of women in political leadership positions:

- Limited availability of training, coaching, mentoring and long-term capacity building;
- Limited genuine support from peers, members, or followers (lots of talk but little action);
- Refusal of members, followers or peers to regularly seek clarification on leadership issues as they arise.  As a result, decisions are made based on assumptions;
- Male peers try to challenge the woman leader as a means of proving her incompetence (they think that they are the only ones good enough for the job);
- Low self-esteem on the part of the woman who's leading;
- Challenge of dealing with other competitors who try to undermine leaders;
- Male dominance and stereotyping;
- Inability of women to lobby due to limited skills and funding;
- Inadequate support for women civil society organizations;
- Most male-led civil society organizations are not gender sensitive and as a result do not show solidarity on women's issues;
- Inadequate training of women groups;
- Lack of skills in strategizing, sustaining and sourcing funds, particularly in women-led civil society organizations;
- Lack of preparation of young women leaders;
- Lower skills in technology;
- Poor access to information;
- Traditional women activists hold to practices of gender inequality and non-inclusiveness that harm women;
- Weak links and limited interaction between grassroots women and women in political positions;
- Some women in government see the women in civil society as competitors (for power, resources and recognition) and do not want to recognize their work and include them in programs that empower women;
- Women are family-focused and sometimes turn down jobs that will separate them from their families;
- Women political leaders are always in the negative spotlight of the male-dominated media.  For example, if a man makes a mistake the media will not make much noise but if it is a woman the media will bring that woman to public ridicule;
- Sexual exploitation and abuse;
- Political parties that are not willing to put forward women as candidates;
- Women in parliament are told by their male counterparts to justify their inclusion into processes, resulting in them having less time to spend on national issues;
- Women try to act like men leaders, sometimes exhibiting more masculine characteristics then feminine;

- Domestic violence is on the increase (especially in rural Liberia) and this is impeding women from fully realizing their potential;
- Duplication of roles by both government line ministries and women-led civil society groups working on women issues, no clearly defined mandate for these organizations to follow; and
- Women in political positions do not know how and when to engage the media.

***Note: All the opportunities captured are part of the main document. This list is of obstacles captured and extracted from the interviews.***

**Appendix E**

**Summary of Findings:**

**Côte d'Ivoire Desktop Research, Consultative Workshop & Qualitative Interviews**

**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
**Academy for Educational Development**
**Leadership Wisdom Initiative at Search for Common Ground**

**Research conducted by Catherine Andela**
Under the leadership of the Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) of Search for Common Ground (SFCG) – Academic Education Development (AED) - Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS)

**Executive Summary**

The Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in partnership with Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS) and the Academy for Education Development (AED) seek to explore how more Cote d'Ivoire women can be elevated into higher leadership positions across all employment sectors. The partnership aims to develop groundbreaking, transformational leadership development opportunities for West African women leaders. For this purpose FAS, AED, and LWI/SFCG gathered Ivorian women leaders in a consultative workshop to seek their view on challenges, available resources, and needs for more empowerment.

Within this framework, research has been conducted in three Africa countries: Kenya, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire (with Côte d'Ivoire being the only francophone country included in this research). The research in Côte d'Ivoire is based on the review of the legal and institutional frameworks within the national mechanisms for gender equity and mainstreaming.

### 1. Legal and Institutional Framework:  National Context

Côte d'Ivoire has ratified various international and regional conventions relating to 'equity in dignity and in rights' of all human beings. These include the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the 1966 International Pact relating to civil and political rights, the International Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discriminations (ratified in 1973), the 1979 Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination towards women (ratified in September 1995), the 1996 International Pact relating to economical, social and cultural rights, and the 1986 African Charter of human and people's rights (with the notable exception of the additional protocol to the African Charter relating to women's rights).

In addition, the Principle of Equity between women and men is enclosed in Côte d'Ivoire's second constitution which was ratified July 23, 2000. It forbids all forms of torture, physical and moral violence, mutilations and humiliation towards women.

The participation of women in politics has improved since the International Conference on the Population and the Development of Cairo in 1994 and the Beijing Conference in 1995. Indeed, gender issues are increasingly being acknowledged as a strategy to consider in development programs and policy-making.

Some statistics received from the Ministry of the Family and Social Affairs reveal that:

In 2004,
- 14.13% of the ambassadors were women,
- 13 women were Chief of Village (out of 8549 positions),
- 3 women were magistrates in the Supreme Court (one advisor, one general prosecutor, one general substitute),
- 1 woman out of 7 members of the Constitutional Council.

Some women were also to be found in the private sector as business managers and in the sector of security and national defenses.

In 2005,
- 24 women out of 120 members (20%) composed the Economical and Social Council,
- 6 women out of 50 members (12%) at the Supreme Court,
- 2 women out of 7 (28%) are at the level of the Constitutional Council,
- 3 women out of 58 at the level of Chiefs of Clerks,
- 7 women ministers in the Government of Côte d'Ivoire,
- 1 woman vice president at the National Assembly,
- 1 single woman Presidents of General Councils out a total of 52, a rate of 1.78%,
- 20 women Vice Presidents of districts and Vice Presidents of General Councils out of 295 members, a rate of 8.37%.

The representation of women in decision-making positions of political parties is still weak comparative to their weight in the electorate (more than 70%)
- PDCI: a quota of 10% was recommended to the 10th Congress and there are 41 women out of 414 members (9.90%) in the Political office.
- FPI: 30% in paragraph 12 of its statutes with an increasing revision of this percentage at every congress. The General Secretariat has 15 women and the Monitoring Committee has 9 women representatives out of 31 members (29.03%).
- RDR: 7 women National Secretaries out of 45 members (15.55%) in the Central Committee
- PIT: 1 woman out of 11 members of the National Secretariat (9.09%).

- 3 women out of 45 seats at the Central Committee (6.66%).[59]

Although stipulated in some statutes of political parties (i.e. FPI), the promotion of women to decision-making levels is not reflected within the political parties.  Instead the women often play a secondary role, while she constitutes an important electorate of more than 70%.  Regarding the representation of women at the parliament, the graph[60] below clearly indicates the insufficient number of women at decision making levels, who could promote and mainstream gender issues and fight against discriminatory legal practices towards women.

Evolution of Women's Participation in Parliament



Source: Based on data collated and assessed by ENSEA 2005
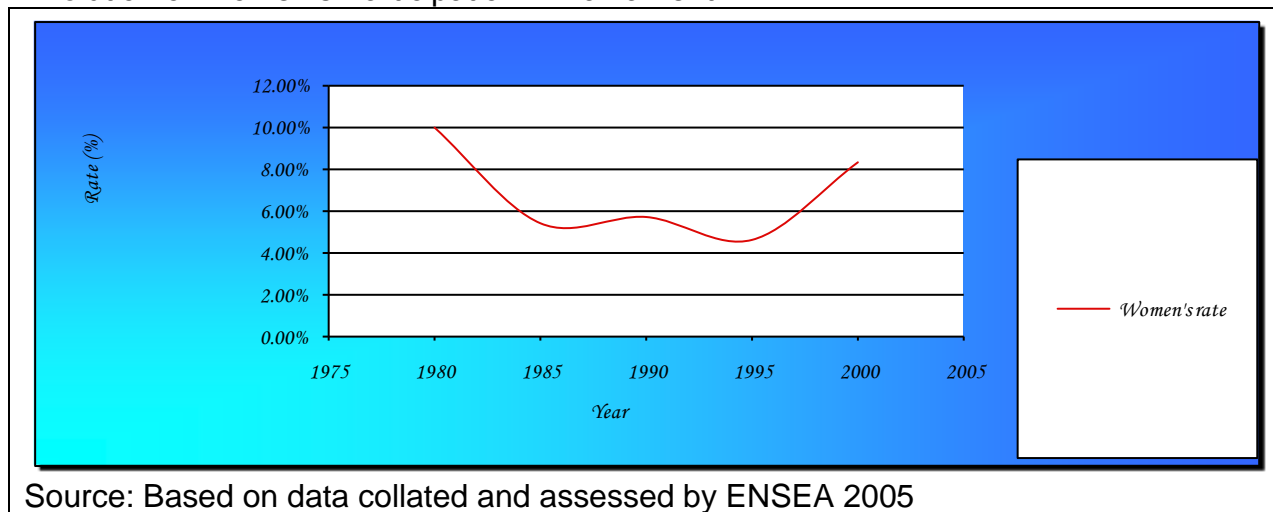
From the 1980's until 2005, the proportion of women in Parliament fluctuates between 4% and 10%.  In 1980, the strongest rate of parliamentary women was recorded.  This rate dropped considerably, reaching a low in 1985.  Between 1985 and 1990, the proportion of women in Parliament remained stable with an average of 5%.  As of 1995, this rate increased and has been constant since 2000 with a rate around 8%.

Within the civil society, women have organized themselves into networks and associations.
- Le Réseau Ivoirien des Organisations Féminines (RIOF) – Ivorian Network of Women's Organizations: Created in 1995 and comprised of 45 NGO members.
- L'Association des Femmes Professionnelles de la Communication (APAC-CI) – Association of professional women in communication.
- L'Association des Femmes Ivoiriennes Cadres Supérieurs de la Santé (AFICSS) – Ivorian Women Senior Health Officials.

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[59]  Ministry of Family, Woman and Children, (to date Ministry of Family and Social Affairs) quinzaine de la femme, April 2002.
[60] Based on data collated and assessed by ENSEA 2005, Need Analysis Framework Côte d'Ivoire 2006

- Le Réseau des Femmes Africaines Ministres et Parlementaires (REFAMP-CI) – Network of African Women Parliamentarians and Ministers.
- Le Réseau Ivoirien des Femmes Entrepreneurs (RIFEN) – Network of Ivorian Women Entrepreneurs.
- La Coalition des Femmes Leaders (CFELCI) – Coalition of Women Leaders.
- L'AID Afrique.
- Le Réseau International Eau, Femmes et Pouvoir de Décisions (RIEFPD) – International Network for Water, Women and Power of Decision-making.

Networking allows women to voice their concerns and articulate their capacity at the national and international level. This will strengthen country-wide advocacy efforts for gender equity and women's empowerment while denouncing biased legal stipulations.

For instance, the labor code foresees remuneration equity between women and men for jobs in the same category. In civil law, women benefit from the full legal capacity in the same way as men.

However, many inequalities exist. These inequalities are largely the result of cultural values, ignorance and non-application of numerous legal texts, and discrepant judiciary measures favoring men. In penal matters, there is discrimination in the management of evidence in adulterous cases. In the labor market, the legal discrepancy is the opposition right granted only to the man against the work duty performed by his spouse. This legal issue prevents the emancipation of the women and leads to the lost of their dignity. In the area of civil law, the parental right is discriminatory. Men are considered to be the head of the family. Economically, divergent fiscal treatments on salaries earned by women and men also demonstrate the patriarchal domination and prevailing socio-cultural values[61].


## 2. Evolution of Gender Issues: Strengthened Institutional Capacities in Gender

The Direction de l'Égalité et de la Promotion du Genre (DEPG) – Directorate of Equity and Gender Mainstreaming – was created in 2006 within the Ministry of the Family and Social Affairs with the aim: (I) to ensure the respect of equality and equity between men and women, (ii) to coordinate actions regarding gender issues, (iii) to monitor and evaluate the implementation of actions committed by the government at the international level regarding gender equality and equity.

With technical and financial support from the United Nations and international NGOs the DPEG elaborated:
- The Solemn Declaration of Côte d'Ivoire on equality of opportunity, equity and gender signed by the President of the Republic in 2007,

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[61] Ministry of Family and Social Affairs: Document of Gender National Policy, Côte d'Ivoire 2006

- The Document of National Policy on equality of opportunity, equity and gender elaborated in 2006,
- The 2007 National Plan regarding the implementing of the UNSC Resolution 1325.

### 3. Evolution of Gender Issues: Strengthened Operational Capacities

Below is a list of strengthened gender operational capacities:
- 13 gender units set up within the technical ministries,
- Support of training on gender issues of 30 decision-makers, ministry staff and members of the civil society;
- Support of the capacity building in budgeting gender affairs of 45 decision-makers and ministry staff,
- 12 national trainers trained in gender,
- 30 media staff (men & women) trained on gender and development and the UNSC Resolution 1325,
- 40 representatives of state structures, NGO and opinion leaders trained in gender and development and on the implementing of UNSCR 1325,
- 30 service contractors and NGO trained in GBV services,
- Publication of the findings of the study "Gender and Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire,"
- Investigation on gender based violence conducted in 9 departments,
- Training institutes of women revamped,
- Implementation of CEDEF, and
- Set up national coordination of women associations for better participation in the electoral process.

**Major Results in 2007**
- Institution of a Directorate of Equity and Gender Mainstreaming,
- Solemn Declaration of Côte d'Ivoire on equality of opportunity signed by the President of the Republic; and
- Document of the Gender National Policy elaborated.

**Major Challenges in 2007**
- The national budget contribution of the Directorate of Equality and Gender Mainstreaming (DEPG), Ministry of the Family, Woman and Social Affairs allocated to gender issues is very weak compared to the portfolio size.
- The DEPG mainly operates through the financing of projects supported by partners (UNFPA and UNDP), which limits the sustainability of actions.

### 4. Consultative Workshop

Initiative and organization by: Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) at Search for Common Ground Côte d'Ivoire (SFCG), Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS), and Academy for Educational Development (AED). Aminata Dieye from FAS and Sheila Daunt Escandon from LWI/SFCG facilitated the workshop.

This consultative retreat was held on August 5, 2008 at the Hotel Golf in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. The day began with:
- ➢ Introduction and presentation of the workshop agenda and the facilitators by Spes Manirakiza, the Country Director of SFCG Côte d'Ivoire.
- ➢ Welcome wishes by the Susan Collin Marks, SFCG Vice President.
- ➢ Presentation of FAS by Aminata Dieye, the Coordinator of the Panafricain Program on Gender, Peace and Development.
- ➢ Presentation of AED and its partnership with SFCG and FAS by Vivian Derryck, Vice President of AED,
- ➢ Explanation and guidance on the workshop facilitation by Sheila Daunt Escandon, LWI/SFCG.
- ➢ Introduction of the participants → see list of participants Table I
- ➢ Elaboration of the code of conduct during the workshop.
- ➢ Explanation of workshop goal:  to identify what women need to enrich and support their leadership development by
  - o naming the obstacles and opportunities for women's leadership in Côte d'Ivoire
  - o sharing our most ambitious vision for the development of women leadership in Côte d'Ivoire
  - o brainstorming what is needed in order to realize these visions.

## Workshop Findings

Exercise One: sharing with a partner a personal leadership challenge, the partner reports back to the group with keywords.  The objective of the exercise was to define obstacles and opportunities facing women leaders.

| Leadership Challenge | Obstacles and Challenges | Opportunities |
|---|---|---|
| Set up microfinance in Central & North West Côte d'Ivoire | • Political leadership vs socio-economic & socio-political activities<br>• How to have a sustainable program? | • Mobilization of financial resources for income generating activities for vulnerable populations in need<br>• Engagement of local leaders |
| Bring women of the different political parties together to achieve common goals | • Refusal to collaborate with women of different political parties | • Utilized good communication skills and developed exchanges to overcome political cleavages |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Convince parents to send both brother and sister to school | • Socio-cultural obstacles<br>• Act of going to school against the wish of parents seen as rebellious | • Grandparents served as mediators<br>• Courage by child and grandparents not to accept cultural norm<br>• Creativity to find a solution |
| Motivate others to protect environment | • Language barrier<br>• Leader was young<br>• Low level of interest in and knowledge of the environment | • Ability to community ideas effectively & convincingly<br>• Able to connect to other women |
| Develop and deliver training with a dispersed group over the course of a year | • Diversity of the group (differences culturally, politically, economically, and in language)<br>• Location of participants was not central, great distances between group members | • Found common interests and captured the imagination of participants<br>• Engaged and encouraged participants through dynamic leadership presence |
| Build leadership and electoral capacity of women | • Political differences of war affected women | • Developed strategy to gather these women together<br>• Patience in listening to differences<br>• Drew on personal experiences of participants to empower the group |
| Mobilize and organize an event in two days | • Limited time to prepare | • Logistical support of partner organization<br>• Flexibility, confidence and adaptability in organization |
| Delivering a training in remote area | • Equipment unavailable | • Creatively found solutions<br>• Strong desire for success |
| Rehabilitation of street children | Limited financing available due to negative stereotypes of street children<br>• Lack of food and housing | • NGO funding secured<br>• Developed self confidence in street children through interactions with the other children<br>• Strong, successful program delivery |
| Organize a field activity in two days | • Adversity of students | • Support direction of students<br>• Turn adversity into an advantage |
| Implement a gender, peace and development program | • Resistance to topic of program, questions on necessity | • Determination to raise awareness |

**Obstacles and opportunities key words as identified by participants:**

| Obstacles | Opportunities |
|---|---|
| • working in isolation instead of partnership | • communication |
| • refusal to self acceptation | • sharing space |
| • personal vision | • education |
| • cultural problems | • family support |
| • lack of education | • youth |
| • difficulties with the local leaders | • creativity |
| • communication | • courage |
| • relational problems between women | • respect |
| • lack of support | • financial resources |
| • language barriers | • community |
| • political barriers | • support of locals leaders |
| • division | • ability to mobilize |
| • differences | • knowledge of the environment |
| • conflict of interest | • being a woman |
| • lack of time | • patience |
| • lack of resources | • listening |
| • adversity | • enlarge the vision |
| • funding | • break the barriers |
| • prejudges | • alliances |
| • security | • flexibility |
| • stress | • partner organizations |
| • too many tasks | • confidence |
| • lack of communication | • capacity to find solutions |
| • responsibility within the family | • support of workplace & colleagues |
| • lack of confidence | • adversity in advantage |
| • logistics | • determination |
| | • tenacity |
| | • organizational capacity |
| | • tenacity |
| | • trust of others |
| | • convincing |
| | • sharing |

Exercise Two: write on a piece of paper your vision of women's leadership in Côte d'Ivoire.  Visions were posed on the wall and participants walked around in silence reading the visions.  The group then discussed what resources were needed in order to achieve these visions.  The following are the visions written by participants:

- Contribute to a strong representation of women in elected positions;
- See a significant presence of women at all levels of decisions-making;

- Presence of the women in all forms of decision-making, knowledge of their rights and development of equal opportunities.
- Reduce poverty in rural regions.
- Support the education and training of mothers and girls.
- Political stability, inclusive of women, in the management of political affairs.
- All the women enjoying their rights in a peaceful Côte d'Ivoire.
- Women in Côte d'Ivoire step into their leadership roles with courage, authenticity & wisdom at all levels of society.
- All women know their rights and opportunities.
- Competent women in decision-making positions.
- Help mothers to balance their professional and family responsibilities, assist young professional women in organizing their work schedules and family activities.
- Develop and ensure strong communication and the exchanges between the cities and the sub-regions.
- Training of women and young people on leadership and why it is important to be a leader.
- Provide assistance to the women in the field, sensitizing them and helping them to obtain birth and nationality certificates.
- 100% of women to be able to make decisions.
- Create funds for the education of girls to help them develop their futures;
- Achieve financial independence for women, send all girls to school, develop solidarity among women.
- Increase women's independence in finances, organizational management and decision-making through education and the revision of laws, all of which require a change of mentality (i.e. 'cultural revolution').
- Develop women's leadership without gender needing to be the focal point; and
- Strengthen the capacity of women in leadership. Women should be able develop and utilize their talents (political, economic, cultural) for their own advancement and that of their country.

**Collective brainstorming on the resources (internal/personal and external) required to realize these visions:**

- Personal will-power;
- Supportive environment and cultural context;
- Upbringing in childhood that is open to behavior and value shifts;
- Organizational and decision-making frameworks which utilize the unique qualities of women: self-denial, will-power and humility;
- Unique expertise of women: power of social representation, availability, know-how, capacity management, and solidarity;
- External resources: financing for support and capacity building;
- Understanding of the rural environment and reduction of poverty;
- Education and communication across diverse cultures and systems of productions;

- Organization of women and development of their ideas;
- Prepare women to for cultural change by engaging their initiative spirit;
- Conviction, confidence, motivation and engagement;
- Sustainable change through self-initiated leadership;
- Creation of an environment that favors the emergence of good leadership;
- Balance of family and political/external life;
- Promotion of the advancement of women;
- Feminine leadership must be integrated strategically to build the nation;
- Strong notion and understanding of the equality men and women;
- Team building, strategic planning;
- Dropping of stereotypes of boys and girls;
- Self-confidence;
- Partnerships; and
- Networking.

**The table below summarizes the internal and external resources identified by participants:**

| Internal Resources | External Resources |
|---|---|
| • willingness<br>• determination<br>• respect<br>• change of mentality<br>• humility<br>• courage<br>• expertise<br>• tenacity<br>• know-how<br>• ideas<br>• accountability<br>• motivation for change<br>• engagement<br>• passion<br>• education<br>• generosity<br>• integrity<br>• acceptance of others<br>• honor<br>• respect of women<br>• comprehension of the leadership process<br>• conviction<br>• time | • organizational and decision-making capacity<br>• financial support<br>• capacity building<br>• family support<br>• solidarity<br>• development of income generating activities<br>• communication skills<br>• exchanges<br>• logistical skills<br>• community support<br>• knowledge of the environment<br>• education<br>• capacity to organize<br>• balance of private and public life<br>• availability of friends and neighbors<br>• strategy<br>• need for coaching<br>• increase presence of women<br>• partnerships<br>• networking<br>• suitable environment |

# Appendix F

## Project Participants:

## Kenya, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire

**Nairobi Peace Initiative— Africa**
**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
**Academy for Educational Development**
**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. |
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| | | | | |
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| Ann Njogu | Unsuccessful aspirant | Political party | ann.njogu@creaw.org | 0722768381 |

## Kenyan Consultative Workshop Participants (also Interview Respondents)

### Day One

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|---|---|---|---|---|
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### Day Two

| | | | | |
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| 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) Programme, 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

## Liberian Project Participants

### Liberian Interview Respondents

| Name | Position | Institution | Contact information | |
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## Liberian Consultative Workshop Participants

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## Côte d'Ivoirean Project Participants

## Côte d'Ivoire Consultative Workshop Participants

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|---|---|---|---|---|
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| Dr. Diabate Tene Touré | Professeur Sociologique | l'Université d'Abidjan | | 05 95 41 21 ** 01 18 28 83 |
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## Côte d'Ivoire List of Interviewees

- Mrs. Coffie Raymonde, 1ère Vice-Présidente de la Coalition des Femmes Leader de Cote d'Ivoire
- Mrs. Deigna Nicole, Vice présidente du conseil économique et social Membre du Conseil Economique et Social
- Mrs. Marguerite YOLIBI Koné, Coordinatrice Nationale de WANEP en CI,
- Mrs. Tapsoba, Business
- Mrs. Monique Traoré, Présidente de la Fédération des ONG Femmes pour le Développement du Grand Nord (President of the NGO federation for the development of the Grand-North)
- Mrs. Fatou Hamsa, Minister of Reconstruction and Reinsertion

**Appendix G**

**Project Partners:**

**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
**Nairobi Peace Initiative— Africa**
**Academy for Educational Development**
**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**

**Femmes Afrique Solidarité**
Femmes Afrique Solidarité is a women's non-governmental organization working to engender the peace process in Africa. Since its inception in 1996, FAS has worked to foster, strengthen and promote the leading role of women in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts on the African continent.

FAS recognizes that women are disproportionately affected by violent conflicts. However, rather than perceiving women only as passive victims, FAS acknowledges that women are also active agents with skills, strengths, and the ability to bring about change. With this in mind, FAS works to strengthen the capacities of grassroots women's organizations so that they can participate fully in the processes of peacebuilding and conflict resolution in their countries and communities.
FAS has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and observer status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR). It is also represented in the African Union Women's Committee, originally created by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to bring women's voices into the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa. In addition, FAS chairs the Geneva Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, which works to monitor the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

**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.

**Academy for Educational Development**
Academy for Educational Development (AED) is a bridge, a link between the problem and the solution, the need and the resource, people and their potential.  Founded in 1961, AED is an independent, nonprofit organization committed to solving critical social problems and building the capacity of individuals, communities, and institutions to become more self-sufficient. AED works in all the major areas of human development, with a focus on improving education, health, and economic opportunities for the least advantaged in the United States and developing countries throughout the world.

**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.

## Appendix H

## List of Acronyms

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| AED | Academy for Educational Development |
| AFICSS | Association des Femmes Ivoiriennes Cadres Supérieurs de la Santé |
| APAC-CI | Association des Femmes Professionnelles de la Communication |
| ASCAD | Académie des Sciences et Cultures d'Afrique et de la Diaspora |
| CEDEF | Convention sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes |
| CFELCI | Coalition des Femmes Leaders |
| CI | Côte d'Ivoire |
| DEPG | Direction de l'Égalité et de la Promotion du Genre |
| ENSEA | Ecole Nationale de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée |
| FPI | Front Populaire Ivoirien |
| GBV | Gender Based Violence |
| LWI | Leadership Wisdom Initiative |
| MDG | Millenium Development Goal |
| NDI | National Democratic Institute |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organization |
| OFACI | ONG  Femme Active de Côte d' Ivoire |
| PDCI | Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire |
| PIT | Parti Ivoirien des Travailleurs |
| RDR | Rassemblement Des Républicains |
| REFAMP-CI | Réseau des Femmes Africaines Ministres et Parlementaires |
| RIFEN | Réseau Ivoirien des Femmes Entrepreneurs |
| RIEFPD | Réseau International Eau, Femmes et Pouvoir de Décisions |
| RIOF | Réseau Ivoirien des Organisations Féminines |
| SFCG | Search For Common Ground |
| UN SC | United Nations Security Council |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UE | Union Européenne |
| WANEP | West Africa Network for Peacebuilding |