

# KIPP Programme Endline Evaluation Phase I and II

Wisena Consultancy Ltd

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	Amani National Congress
ANDY	Action Network for the Disabled
CADICA	County Assemblies Disability Caucus
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DAP-K	Democratic Action Party - Kenya
DICC	Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee
FORD-K	Forum for Restoration of Democracy - Kenya
GCK	Green Congress of Kenya
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
JFP	Justice and Freedom Party
JP	Jubilee Party
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KEDIPA	Kenya Disability Parliamentary Association
KESP	Kenya Elections Support Programme
KIPP	Kenya Inclusive Political Parties Programme
KNHCR	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
KUB	Kenya Union for the Blind
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MCCP	Maendeleo Chap Chap Party
MDG	Movement for Democracy and Growth
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC-K	National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Executive Council
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NRA	National Reconstruction Alliance
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD-DAC	Development Assistance Committee
OPD	Organisation for Persons with Disabilities
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PDU	Party of Democratic Unity
PPF	Political Parties Fund
PPK	Progressive Party of Kenya
PPK	Progressive Party of Kenya
PPLC	Political Parties Liaison Committee
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIG	Special Interest Group (Youth, Women and PWDs)
TOC	Theory of Change
TWG	Technical Working Group
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UDPK	United Disabled Persons of Kenya
WDM-K	Wiper Democratic Movement -Kenya
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy

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# Executive Summary

## Introduction

WFD has been implementing the Kenya Inclusive Political Parties (KIPP) Programme. The programme is funded and delivered in collaboration with Demo Finland and aims to strengthen political parties to respond to the strategic and practical needs of persons with disabilities within their internal party structures, political commitments, and policies. Originally launched in 2020, the first 12-month phase of the programme was implemented from August 2020 to July 2021, with a subsequent 17-month phase two continuing immediately after August 2021 and due to end in December 2022. KIPP worked directly with political parties, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Organisations for Persons with Disabilities (OPDs). It focused on two key output areas: developing inclusive party policies and providing OPDs and CSOs with tools for inclusion advocacy. KIPP has also invested in products to advance the programme's objectives and widen access to knowledge and products, with a view to usage beyond the programme's life cycle.

## Methodology

The objective of this endline evaluation was to assess phase I and phase II of the KIPP Programme. The endline evaluation documents the changes attributable to the actions of the KIPP Programme towards achieving participation and representation of persons with disabilities within the political parties. The endline evaluation utilised a pre-post evaluation approach, which compared the baseline (situational analysis) and endline in November 2022. The evaluation was largely qualitative and guided by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's - Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) evaluation criteria of impact, relevance, efficiency, and sustainability. The evaluation participants included 74 individuals drawn from political parties, OPDs and CSOs, government agencies WFD and Demo Finland.

## Results

- a. **Contribution to project outcomes.** The KIPP Programme significantly strengthened inclusive multiparty democracy in Kenya. At the output level, political parties have become more knowledgeable and, to some extent, implemented inclusive reforms within their policies, structures, and processes. Similarly, the OPDs and CSOs have increased their capacity to advocate for political participation and representation by the political parties. Both phases provided a solid foundation that opened engagement with the political parties.
- b. **Relevance.** Overall, KIPP was timely and responded to the needs before the intervention. The Theory of Change (TOC) was well conceived and remains relevant to the current state of political parties and democracy in Kenya. As much as the impact, outcome, and outputs remained the same, a deliberate strategy, including the graduation of activities, aided in responding to the emerging issues and needs that supported preparing the political parties and the state electoral actors for the General Election. However, gaps remain in operationalising the

political party and national electoral policies that would be important to consider in the post-election interventions. Therefore, this model of KIPP remains relevant and can be replicated in a future related programme, while considering the prevailing political context.

c. **Efficiency and effectiveness.**

Overall, the programme was efficient in how the activities were conducted and the results achieved. WFD responded to emerging needs and supported the partners in related activities. By the time of the review, most of the activities had been achieved with the expectation that this would be completed within the remaining programme period. This is attributable to efficient human resources, organisational leadership, and the adopted partnership model. Adaptation to COVID-19 and inclusion practices provided by WFD also contributed to the efficiency and effectiveness of KIPP. Both phases adopted a politically informed and problem-driven approach aimed at understanding the political dynamics and identifying change champions within and outside parliaments and political parties. This model allowed a continued response to local dynamics, building on locally driven and owned initiatives, encouraging behaviour change, reinforced with international good practice and experience sharing. This way, WFD provided tailored and targeted support to beneficiaries and other stakeholders and built effective coalitions for change. The partnerships between KIPP, political parties, OPDs and government agencies based on the principles of human rights programming ensured the right holders (persons with disabilities) demanded their rights and the duty bearers (state electoral agencies) responded to their rights of inclusion in political rights. Engaging with the political parties provided the much-required support in building their capacity to respond to the needs of persons with disabilities by making their policies inclusive. Similarly, the partnership arrangement between Demo Finland and WFD was mutual. The knowledge sharing by Demo Finland and WFD learned over time while implementing similar programmes contributed to the success of the KIPP.

d. **Impact.** As a result of the intervention, KIPP achieved both expected and unexpected key achievements. The key changes include: a) political parties have inclusive party policies, structures and processes; b) all political parties now have established disability leagues/caucuses/wings; c) political parties waived or discounted nomination fees for candidates with disabilities; d) there is enhanced relationships among the political parties, OPDs and state electoral agencies; e) enhanced capacity among the OPDs to advocate for political participation and representation of persons with disabilities in political parties; f) increased members with disabilities in political parties; g) increased interest in the political process among persons with disabilities; h) improved intra-party relationships; i) legal electoral reforms; and j) increased capacity of WFD and Demo Finland to implement the inclusive programmes.

e. **Sustainability.** The structures and tools created for the political parties and OPDs potentially created a foundation for sustainability. KIPP contributed to ensuring sustainability through creating knowledge products, including situational analysis, evaluation reports, Minimum Standards, advocacy strategy, and customised training modules. Capacity building was a strong component where modules were developed in a participatory manner, used for capacity building for and by different groups, and can also be utilised in the future by different players.

The inclusive internal policy documents such as manifestos and constitutions will have medium-term impacts and be used by disability leagues to seek accountability from their political parties. The waiving or discounting of nomination and membership fees are sustainable achievements by the political parties. The formation of disability leagues is progressive and a structure that can continually lobby for inclusion. The Technical Working Group was the most innovative idea that KIPP adopted and has received universal acceptance with a diverse membership, including political parties, OPDs, and parliamentary disability caucuses. The mutual engagement of state electoral agencies opened engagement spaces that can be utilised for future inclusion advocacy.

## Lessons learned

- a. Multi-stakeholder collaboration and engagement with the duty bearers and right holders creates trust and opens an avenue for future engagements. Further, collaboration, instead of competing, leveraging the strengths of each organisation is more effective in addressing shared challenges and is more impactful.
- b. Direct engagement among the critical stakeholder groups creates trust and mutual relationships among the groups.
- c. Interventions are best tracked when programming is evidence-based. For example, KIPP referred to the situational analysis and other research conducted during the implementation period.
- d. Institutionalisation of disability leagues within political parties is more sustainable than ad hoc party interventions. Beyond being recognised by the political parties, Disability Leagues must be recognised by the national legal space to ensure sustainable inclusion.
- e. MOUs and formal agreements established with parties address the risk of de-prioritising the inclusion agenda.
- f. Neutrality, issue-based and focused discussions reduced the risks of politicising the KIPP Programme.
- g. Communicating and clarifying the programme interventions and scope helps manage expectations among the beneficiary groups.
- h. Targeting key decision-makers within the political parties and other agencies facilitates action.
- i. Utilising highly experienced staff enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of a programme.
- j. Limited bureaucracies, clear, effective, and continuous communication create efficiency.
- k.** Programme dynamism aids in adopting new ideas and strategies of implementation.

## Recommendations

- a. Sustain and strengthen partnerships with more strategic state and non-state actors for electoral reforms.
- b. Support the development of an accountability mechanism for the political parties in implementing internal policies.
- c. Lobby the implementation and operationalisation of the Minimum Standards by other political parties who are not beneficiaries of KIPP Programme.

- d. Design holistic interventions that cover entire electoral cycles.
- e. Strengthen the capacity of political parties and state electoral agencies for management of inclusive data.
- f. Strengthen specific political party interventions to address gaps of those that lag.
- g. Conduct targeted and strategic engagement of OPDs by undertaking capacity assessment to establish their human and other resource capacities.
- h. Empower disability leagues to participate in the planning, utilisation, and accountability of the Political Parties Fund.
- i. Improve accessibility of knowledge products by producing more simplified and inclusive materials.



# Introduction

## 1.1. About WFD

The Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is the UK's leading democracy support organisation, working in partnership with political parties, parliaments, and civil society organisations (CSOs) around the world to create more inclusive, accountable, and transparent democratic systems. WFD strengthens the capacity of these key democratic institutions, helping ensure they have the systems, knowledge, and skills to perform effectively. WFD also fosters improved democratic processes, bringing together individuals and institutions and encouraging them to work together to solve concrete problems, applying democratic values and principles.

To support stronger democracy in Kenya, WFD has been working in the East African country since 2009: from implementing parliamentary strengthening programmes that enhance the capacities of the National Assembly, Senate, and County Assemblies for more effective representation, legislation, and oversight; to programmes that promote youth and persons with disabilities' inclusion and participation in politics.

## 1.2. About Demo Finland

Political Parties of Finland for Democracy – Demo Finland is a cooperative organisation of all Finnish parliamentary parties. It enhances democracy by supporting collaborative projects between Finnish political parties and political parties in new and developing democracies. Demo Finland's activities aim to strengthen equal opportunities for participation, constructive multiparty cooperation, pluralist political debate, and the capacity of politicians to influence social development through

peaceful methods. The specific priorities of the activities include supporting the inclusion of underrepresented groups in politics, such as women, youth, and persons with disabilities, fostering dialogue between political parties, and strengthening the programmatic work of parties.

## 1.3. Background of the KIPP Programme

WFD has been implementing KIPP Programme, funded and delivered in collaboration with Demo Finland and aims to strengthen political parties to respond to the strategic and practical needs of persons with disabilities within their internal party structures, political commitments, and policies. Originally launched in 2020, the first 12-month phase of the programme was implemented from August 2020 to July 2021, with a subsequent 17-month phase two continuing immediately after August 2021 and due to end in December 2022.

KIPP worked directly with political parties, OPDs and CSOs focused on two key output areas: the development of inclusive party policies providing OPDs and CSOs with tools for inclusion advocacy. KIPP also invested in products to advance the programme's objectives and widen access to knowledge and products, with a view to usage beyond the programme's life cycle.

## 1.4. Objective of Evaluation

The objective of this endline evaluation was to assess phase I and phase II of the KIPP Programme. The endline evaluation documents the changes attributable to the actions of the KIPP Programme towards achieving participation and representation of persons with disabilities within the political parties.

## 1.5. Scope of Evaluation

The scope of evaluation included the following:

- a. A theory-based evaluation looking at the extent to which our Theory of Change (ToC) is/has worked as a concept; has evolved from phases I and II and the relevance/validity of the current ToC;
- b. An assessment of key results to help WFD and Demo Finland understand the progress made in the 21 months since the programme commenced and in relation to the baseline study.
- c. An analysis of how these results have affected the August 2022 elections, e.g., the level of PWD participation in party primaries and/or on party lists;
- d. An analysis of the sustainability of results;
- e. An analysis of key lessons and deliverables to consider if the steps and programme approach taken to achieve outcome and impact have been valid;
- f. An analysis of the lessons learned, benefits and challenges of identifying entry points (partners, activities, etc.) for working with political actors/structures to achieve meaningful change;
- g. Recommendations on next steps, including approach and adaptations, to inform future programming;
- h. An analysis of programme efficiency, looking at the size of resources (financial and human) in line with the programme objectives and results achieved;
- i. An analysis of the implementation model, i.e., partnership(s) and role(s) of WFD (Head Office and Kenya) and Demo Finland, its value, and its impact on the achievement of programme results.

## Evaluation Methodology

### 2.1. Approach

The endline evaluation utilised a pre-post evaluation approach, which compared the baseline (situational analysis) conducted before the project began in 2020 and the end of the project in November 2022. The evaluation was largely qualitative and guided by the OECD -DAC evaluation criteria of impact, relevance, efficiency, and sustainability.

### 2.2. Data collection methods

Primary data was collected qualitatively through key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs). During primary data collection, some elements of the outcome harvesting technique were employed to gather the impact of the KIPP Programme beyond what was intended by the programme. KIPP Programme was implemented where multiple actors were involved, and the achievements may have been partially contributed by other players while also recognising the fluid nature of Kenyan elections. Outcome harvesting involves reflecting on the possible changes and then ascertaining by tracing them back to the intervention. Secondary data was collected from the project documents and reports, relevant laws and policies and other documents—the findings from primary data corroborated with the secondary data. A virtual stakeholder validation workshop confirmed the report findings.

### 2.3. Sampling

Table 1 below summarises the groups of those who participated in the endline evaluation. A total of 74 participated in the endline evaluation. The participants included 14 political parties (including the UDA Party that was informally engaged), members of the Technical Working

Group, 12 OPDs/CSOs, KEDIPA, CADICA, nominated MCAs, leaders who vied but lost, three government agencies, and Demo Finland and WFD staff.

**Table 1: Summary of endline respondents**

<b>Category</b>	<b>No of organisations</b>	<b>No of respondents</b>
Political parties (including a party that was informally engaged UDA)	14	33
Technical Working Group (TWG)	1	6
Organisations of Persons with Disabilities (OPDs)	12	12
KEDIPA	1	2
CADICA		2
Those who vied but lost		5
<b>Government agencies</b>		
1. ORPP	1	4
2. NGEC	1	2
3. PPLC	1	1
Demo Finland	1	2
WFD	1	5
<b>Total</b>		<b>74</b>

## 3.0. Evaluation Findings

### 3.1. Relevance and Evolution of the Theory of Change

One of the aims of this evaluation was to assess the extent to which KIPP's Theory of Change (ToC) has worked as a concept, how it has evolved from phases I and II, and the relevance/validity of the current ToC.

#### 3.1.1. The situation before KIPP Programme

The situational analysis conducted before KIPP concluded that the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the political parties in Kenya was inadequate and presented a gap concerning the civil and political and democratic rights of persons with disabilities as entrenched in the international and national legal instruments. Political parties were slowly trying to include persons with disabilities in their agenda in terms of policy and practice. The report cited some varied facilitative practices and incentives by different political parties, such as discounted nomination fees, the formation of party disability leagues and the development of inclusive party policies. However, other political parties were grappling with the inclusion partly because of unresponsive internal policies, limited capacity, and lack of awareness among the party leadership, among other barriers. Opportunities, therefore, existed for structured engagement with political parties towards building inclusive culture and practice among its membership. Such a change required a paradigm shift to achieve intra-party pro-disability agenda and national legal reforms that would address the challenges that limited the participation of persons with disabilities in the political parties. From the legal perspective, the lack or low participation of persons with disabilities in the political parties goes against the principles of non-discrimination propagated by the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other legal instruments. Political parties are vehicles that promote democracy and, therefore, should do so with respect to human rights.

#### 3.1.2. The role of KIPP in addressing the inclusion gaps

KIPP Programme was conceived to address the challenges of systemic discrimination by political parties. KIPP was very timely as political parties were preparing for the 2022 General Election, which is usually a high-stake event for Kenya. The electoral cycle constitutes three phases, including before, during and after elections. The project interventions were tailored to fit within before and during elections. Before elections, political parties were preparing, some of which were legal compliance. The political parties lacked the expertise and knowledge to ensure genuine inclusion and compliance. KIPP provided some of the much-needed internal technical support that significantly contributed to achieving inclusion in their policies, structures, and practices. At the policy level, KIPP supported the government agencies, for instance, the ORPP, to develop the Minimum Standards, which guided the parties on how to comply regarding the inclusion of persons with disabilities. Broadly, the continued capacity building among the OPDs resulted in sustained advocacy, which led to some policy and structural reforms among the electoral actors.

Therefore, KIPP was a very relevant and timely intervention that contributed significantly to including persons with disabilities in the political parties and the democratic space.

### 3.1.3. Evolution of the TOC

This section describes how both phases of KIPP evolved and how the contribution of the evolution to the attainment of the results. The evolution focuses on the timelines and targets; impact and outcome; outputs and activities; and the implementation approach. Table 2 below summarises these key areas.

**Table 2: Comparative analysis of KIPP Phase I and Phase II**

Narrative	Phase 1	Phase II
Timelines	August 2020 to July 2021	16 months (August 2021 to November 2022, later extended to December 2022)
Targets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Targeted 10 but reached 13 political parties</li> <li>Targeted at least 3 but reached 11 OPDs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Targeted 13 political parties but had three additional that were informally engaged</li> <li>21 OPDs engaged</li> <li>Duty bearers /state agencies (ORPP, IEBC, NGEC, PPLC)</li> </ul>
Partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>KEDIPA</li> <li>CADICA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>KEDIPA</li> <li>CADICA</li> </ul>
Impact	Strengthened inclusive multiparty democracy in Kenya	Strengthened inclusive multiparty democracy in Kenya
Outcome	Effective provisions are in place in political parties to respond to the strategic and practical needs of PWDs within their internal party structures, political commitments, and policies	Political parties respond to the strategic and practical needs of PWDs within their internal party structures, political commitments, and policies and in the contestation of elections
Output 1	Political parties are more knowledgeable and have the capacity to implement inclusive reforms, specifically of PWDs, within their structures and processes and develop inclusive public policies	Political parties have developed/adopted inclusive party policies specifically for PWDs, within their structures and processes
Output 2	CSOs and OPDs are more knowledgeable and have the capacity to advocate for political participation and representation of political parties	CSOs and OPDs have tools in place to advocate for political participation and representation of political parties
Activities for Political Parties (output 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Development and/or customisation of e-learning methodology for political parties.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strategic bilateral meetings between political parties, OPDs/CSOs and electoral actors to internalise IEBC vetting tools (of political aspirants),</li> </ul>

Narrative	Phase 1	Phase II
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Online and/or in-person training on mainstreaming disability inclusion in policy issues and budgeting for inclusion.</li> <li>• Discussions, consultations, and mentoring of political parties.</li> <li>• Reviewing party manifestos and other documents</li> <li>• Monthly bilateral meetings on select topics, including PWD Agenda</li> <li>• Cross-party engagements on disability equality and inclusion</li> </ul>	<p>ensure inclusion of PWDs in electoral processes and inspire political parties to embrace PWD inclusion [Priority] Facilitated by WFD staff</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facilitate update of internal PP documents, responding to recommendations from the manifesto and party documents review.</li> <li>• Transcription and digital conversion on training modules for increased accessibility by the KIPP partners and wider political parties</li> <li>• Jointly work with political parties to lead capacity strengthening of candidates in preparation for elected positions</li> <li>• Support the development and institutionalisation of disability leagues within the original political party's cohort</li> <li>• Facilitate the development of an accountability mechanism within the political parties to track progress on realisation of party commitments</li> <li>• Strengthen TWG for structured engagement with strategic actors on political inclusion of PWDs ahead of the 2022 General Election</li> <li>• Strengthen capacities of PWD representatives in political parties' NEC for focused engagement with party structures to meet their commitments in advance of the 2022 General Election.</li> <li>• Cross-party peer exchange sessions between Kenyan and Finnish political parties.</li> </ul>
<p>Activities targeting CSOs and OPDs (Output 2)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Training on party structures, nomination processes, vying for elections as candidates</li> <li>• Online Training of Trainers of CSOs and OPDs working on inclusion to better engage and advocate to duty bearers for</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Development and support for the implementation of CSO/DPO strategic advocacy plans for engagement with political parties to advance the political inclusion of PWDs.</li> </ul>

Narrative	Phase 1	Phase II
	<p>the inclusion of PWDs in politics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilateral and cross-party engagements with political parties on select topics, including PWD Agenda and disability inclusion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facilitate and moderate advocacy meetings between OPDs and political parties.</li> <li>• CSO/DPO joint development of minimum standards on the inclusion of PWDs as active members and candidates within political parties</li> <li>• Engage ORPP in the dissemination of minimum standards on the inclusion of PWDs to all registered political parties</li> </ul>
Cross-cutting activities	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Research: Brief update of Political Economy Analysis to reflect election context</li> <li>• Increased linkages and deepened engagement with state actors (ORPP, IEBC, NGECC, PPLC) ahead of the 2022 elections</li> <li>• Independent endline study to assess progress and gains realised in implementation of KIPP</li> </ul>
General methodology and approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adopted a politically informed and problem-driven approach</li> <li>• Utilised four key approaches, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Utilising an Inclusion lens and issue-based approach.</li> <li>b) Dialogue as a conflict prevention and resolution mechanism.</li> <li>c) Cooperation and multi-stakeholder engagement with CSO/OPDs and existing parliamentary networks; and</li> <li>d) Customised e-learning training curriculum.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adopted a politically informed and problem-driven approach</li> <li>• KIPP incorporated additional tools and frameworks to guide the delivery of the programme interventions to build on relationships and deepen results and reach.</li> <li>• Deepening of engagement with core partners and stakeholders (to support results).</li> <li>• Promoted cross-party dialogue and consensus on cross-cutting non-partisan issues</li> <li>• The programme also focused on deepening engagement with participating CSOs and OPDs.</li> <li>• Widening of dissemination and access to learnings (to support reach)</li> <li>• Increased linkages and deepened engagement with state actors ahead of the 2022 elections</li> </ul>

### **3.1.3.1. Timelines, target, and purpose**

KIPP phase I was a 12-month intervention from August 2020 through July 2021. Phase II was expected to build on Phase I through the delivery of an initial 16 months from August 2021 to November 2022 (and later extended to December 2022). Both phases focused on the political parties, but phase II added a target for state agencies, including ORPP, IEBC, NGEC and PPLC.

Most phase I activities were preparatory, including developing existing and new party relationships, recruiting programme participants, situational analysis and gaining commitment from political parties, among other preparatory activities. Phase II progressed to support parties to respond to the commitments while focusing on the August 2022 General Election that presented an opportunity for engaging with political parties to transit from policy to practice.

### **3.1.3.2. Impact and outcome**

There were no significant programmatic differences in the design and delivery of both phases, except for the activities. The anticipated impact for both phases remained as "strengthened inclusive multiparty democracy in Kenya." The outcome slightly differed, where the first phase focused on achieving inclusion within the political party structures, commitments, and policies. Phase II additionally focused on the contestation of elections.

### **3.1.3.3. Outputs and activities**

There were two outputs for both phases. For output 1, both phases were concerned with ensuring political parties were more knowledgeable and could implement inclusive reforms within their structures and processes. Phase II slightly differed by targeting to develop inclusive public policies.

Output 2 focused on ensuring CSOs and OPDs were more knowledgeable and could advocate for political participation and representation by the political parties. The second phase focused on providing tools to advocate for political participation and representation to political parties.

The activities for the first output were significantly different in both phases. In the first phase, the activities were more targeted to prepare the political parties by identifying their needs, building their capacity, reforming their internal policies and processes, and establishing cross-party engagements. The second phase graduated the activities to strengthen the created structures, implementation of the political party policies, advanced capacity building, preparation of candidates, and strategic advocacy targeting government agencies.

Output two activities targeted CSOs and OPDs. The first phase had three activities that prepared CSOs and OPDs by building their capacity to engage with the political parties and state agencies. Phase II also had three activities that progressed to developing advocacy plans, engaging in advocacy meetings, and developing an accountability framework, including the Minimum Standards. Phase II introduced three cross-cutting activities: research, linkages, and deepened engagement with state actors (ORPP, IEBC, NGEC, PPLC) ahead of the 2022 elections and endline survey.



#### 3.1.3.4. Implementation approach

Both phases adopted a politically informed and problem-driven approach aimed at understanding the political dynamics and identifying change champions within and outside parliaments and political parties. This model allowed a continued response to local dynamics, building on locally driven and owned initiatives, encouraging behaviour change, reinforced with international good practice and experience sharing. This way, WFD provided tailored and targeted support to beneficiaries and other stakeholders and built effective coalitions for change.

Additionally, four key approaches were utilised during the implementation.

- a) **Utilising an Inclusion lens and issue-based approach. Inclusion and meaningful participation in decision-making are key features of democracy.** Under this approach, KIPP created a space for cross-party dialogue on and around key inclusion policy issues. This was expected to minimise the short-term political point-scoring and lead to longer-term considerations in the current decision- and policymaking.
- b) **Dialogue as a conflict prevention and resolution mechanism.** Informed by the fluid nature of politics, KIPP intended to increase interpersonal and inter-party trust and confidence levels by embracing bilateral and multiparty approaches. Promoting cross-party dialogue and consensus on cross-cutting non-partisan issues would, in turn, help avoid the potential for conflict, tensions and disputes, thereby helping to consolidate and strengthen multiparty democracy and political dialogue.
- c) **Cooperation and multi-stakeholder engagement with CSOs and OPDs and KEDIPA.** CSOs were considered inclusion experts and therefore, KIPP created dialogue spaces between OPDs/CSOs and political parties. KEDIPA was targeted to push for disability inclusion reforms within the political parties to which their members belong.
- d) **Customised e-learning training.** The online training curriculum on inclusive budgeting for persons with disabilities was to be adapted and customised for local audiences, which was to be delivered through a blended approach. It was planned to adopt a training of trainers to equip partners and participating OPDs and CSOs who would, in turn, cascade the knowledge to the political parties and their members. However, a curriculum was developed in phase I, adapted in phase II and disseminated to the local audience, including political parties and the OPDs.

In the second phase, KIPP incorporated additional tools and frameworks to guide the delivery of the programme interventions. These tools were aimed at building on relationships and trust gained for maximum impact and, ultimately, the potential to deepen results and strengthen the programme's reach.

- e) **Deepening of engagement with core partners and stakeholders.** Follow-ups were made on inclusive commitments to ensure political parties institutionalised, implemented, and operationalised recommendations and reforms. KIPP continued to utilise a flexible approach by balancing parties' specific needs through bilateral engagements, alongside opportunities for collective, cross-party learning, to ensure the programme was responsive.

- f) Promoted **cross-party dialogue and consensus on cross-cutting non-partisan issues such as disability inclusion**. The cross-party dialogues minimised risks of politicisation of programme activities and engagements by political parties, particularly as the General Election approached.
- g) The programme also focused on **deepening engagement with participating CSOs and OPDs**. As the experts and knowledge bearers on inclusion, the programme continued to engage key disability-focused organisations, platforms, and umbrella networks. This approach was vital to ensure the continued reach of programme learning resources and the responsiveness of programme activities to the breadth of inclusion issues by political parties.
- h) **Widening of dissemination and access to learnings**. The widened dissemination was aimed at supporting the reach of learning resources produced during this programme to wider stakeholders and audiences for the sustainability of results. This would sustain and reinforce oversight by accountability actors and mechanisms by ORPP and the public on the inclusive commitments and reforms made by political parties.
- i) **KIPP prioritised activities that were perceived as more impactful**. The second phase identified the priority activities. Examples of such prioritised activity were: - a) supporting the development and institutionalisation of disability leagues within the original political party's cohort; b) capacity strengthening of PWD candidates in preparation for elected positions through continued mentorship and development of personal campaign strategies; and c) engaging the ORPP in the dissemination of minimum standards on the inclusion of PWDs to all registered political parties. Prioritisation of activities was a deliberate approach that worked, informed by the General Election that was fast approaching.
- j) **Increased linkages and deepened engagement with state actors ahead of the 2022 elections**. KIPP strategically targeted state electoral agencies throughout the implementation to ensure strategic linkages, impact and continue to be ingrained with the programme's delivery approach.

### 3.1.4. Overall relevance

Overall, KIPP Programme was timely and responded to the needs before the intervention. The TOC was well conceived and remains relevant to the current state of political parties and largely democracy in Kenya. Much as the impact, outcome, and outputs remained the same, a deliberate strategy, including the graduation of activities, aided in responding to the emerging issues and needs that aided in preparing the political parties and the state electoral actors for the General Election. However, gaps remain in operationalising the political party and national electoral policies that would be important to consider in the post-election interventions. Therefore, this model of KIPP remains relevant and can be replicated in a future related programme, while considering the prevailing political context.

## 3.2. Efficiency and Effectiveness of the KIPP Programme

### 3.2.1. Partnership model

#### 3.2.1.1. Beneficiaries and Stakeholders

KIPP phase 1 targeted political parties, OPDs and CSOs, parliamentary caucuses (CADICA and KEDIPA) and state electoral agencies (ORPP, IEBC, NGEN and PPLC).

##### a) Political Parties

The partnership with the political parties was aimed at building their capacity to implement inclusive reforms within their structures and processes and develop inclusive public policies. Phase I of KIPP targeted ten but reached 13 political parties, which were also reached in the second phase with three additional that were informally engaged<sup>1</sup>. The initial 10 and later 13 political parties were meant to create a model for others. The KIPP did not reach the grassroots level because it was more institutional (national) than sub-national.

The selection criteria for the political parties included:

- Membership in Parliament (National Assembly and Senate);
- Membership in the County Assembly.
- Number of the party's registered members (above 500,000 members);
- Number of persons with disabilities /reserved seats (in party leadership); and
- Provision of persons with disabilities in previous election manifestos and party constitutions.

The selection criterion was a good inclusion strategy. However, it could also have been interpreted as skewed and excluding smaller and younger parties. The criteria would have considered varied selection angles to ensure all characteristics are included among the participating political parties. However, since the first and second phases have been implemented, and while recognising resource constraints, it would be important for phase III to innovatively seek additional parties while considering regional representation and size, among other factors. The formation of coalitions, to some extent, acted against some parties, which could have diluted their gains and plans for inclusion. For example, 10 out of 13 parties got into coalition arrangements, meaning they had joint manifestos that might not have been adequately inclusive. A party like Jubilee, which was strong in 2017, became weaker in terms of membership and influence (after joining Azimio Coalition), while UDA, a splinter from Jubilee, became the strongest party in 2022. Along the way, depending on the level of activeness, some political parties benefited more than others, pointing to the need to strengthen specific political party interventions.

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<sup>1</sup> Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Jubilee Party (JP), Kenya African National Union (KANU), Forum for Restoration of Democracy - Kenya (FORD-K), Green Congress of Kenya (GCK), Justice and Freedom Party (JFP), Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK), Party of Democratic Unity (PDU), Maendeleo Chap Chap (MCC), National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA), National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya (NARC-K), Amani National Congress (ANC), Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM), 3 informally engaged -United Democratic Alliance (UDA), Movement for Democracy and Growth (MDG) and Democratic Action Party - Kenya (DAP).

## b) OPDs and CSOs

KIPP, I targeted at least three but reached 11 OPDs and CSOS, which was enhanced to 21 in the second phase. OPDs were selected based on two considerations: (a) mandate and scope of work (demonstrable inclusion, issue-based and impartial); and (b) level of engagement (national, regional, county level) to engage participating OPDs across various levels. This output was to be achieved by facilitating bilateral and cross-party exchanges between political parties and representatives of CSOs and OPDs.

Before the KIPP programme, most of the OPDs had limited strength in democracy programming, which KIPP aided in addressing in an advocacy capacity. The OPDs created an interface between persons with disabilities and political parties. OPDs were targeted for capacity building as experts and advocacy partners on inclusion who would cascade the capacity to their members, networks, and the wider community of persons with disabilities.

Using diverse cross-disability, OPDs identified specific and common issues affecting persons with disabilities that strengthened their voice. However, some of the OPDs targeted had limited capacity to cascade the knowledge learned. They did not clearly understand their roles in the partnership, while others were busy implementing their related activities. This explains why stakeholders felt that KIPP was a national programme and, thus, engaging smaller and strategic OPDs could have improved efficiency.

"The general design of including OPDs was impactful. The inclusion of various organisations (different types of disabilities) brought varied issues and made us speak in the same and stronger voice." (ANDY).

"OPDs did not have adequate resources to reach the members as envisaged in the project design, there was a replication of targets and there lacked a clear collaboration strategy between KIPP and OPDs." (OPD).

## c) Office of the Registrar of Political Parties

The ORPP is a state office established under Article 260 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, and the Political Parties Act, 2011. ORPP is mandated to regulate the formation, registration, and funding of political parties per the Constitution and the rule of law. As a result of the mutual partnership, KIPP complemented the ORPP's legal mandate on compliance by supporting political parties to review their internal policies, including persons with disabilities in party governance structures and developing Minimum Standards. Another key achievement of this partnership was the legal reforms of the Political Parties Act 2022, which led to 49 political parties qualifying for the Political Parties Fund.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [orpp.or.ke/index.php/work-with-us2/career/8-latest-news/271-more-political-parties-to-benefit-from-parties-fund-as-orpp-holds-a-briefing-meeting](https://orpp.or.ke/index.php/work-with-us2/career/8-latest-news/271-more-political-parties-to-benefit-from-parties-fund-as-orpp-holds-a-briefing-meeting)

#### d) **Political Parties Liaison Committee**

The Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) is created under Section 38 of the Political Parties Act. It comprises all registered political parties and provides a dialogue platform between Political Parties, the Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission, and the Registrar of Political Parties. The PPLC's leadership participated and engaged with the KIPP programme acquiring the capacity and technical support to understand the importance of political inclusion. PPLC comprises representatives of all the registered parties in Kenya. Hence, the expected outcome was that this knowledge would be cascaded to the other political parties that were not among the 16 KIPP beneficiaries. This led to the PPLC women's caucus and ORPP seeking from WFD the dissemination and presentation of the minimum standards for inclusion of PWDs in political parties at a retreat that had women leaders from all 90 registered political parties in Kenya. Engagement meetings with PPLC recognised the need to establish the PPLC Disability Caucus and ensure representation of persons with disabilities in the already established Women and Youth Caucus. The PWDs Caucus could be established by tapping into providing technical assistance to the ongoing development of the PPLC Regulations.

#### e) **National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC)**

The NGEC is established by the National Gender and Equality Commission Act (2011). The Commission focuses on special interest groups, including women, youth, and persons with disabilities. NGEC participated in the KIPP strategic meeting, such as the Election Preparedness Coordinating Meeting, with a specific focus on preparedness in relation to the prevention, response, and management of violence against women, including women with disabilities.


#### f) **Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (IEBC)**

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is an independent electoral regulatory agency founded in 2011 by the Constitution of Kenya (2010). The Commission is responsible for conducting and supervising elections. KIPP participated in various strategic meetings with IEBC. IEBC formed the IEBC - Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee (DICC) to advocate for the inclusion of persons with disabilities. Despite the challenges experienced by IEBC-DICC, this was one such bold step toward inclusion. But should be legalised and gazetted to ensure continuity.

*"IEBC formed a committee on disability to advise IEBC and the committee was very active. There was still a lack of political goodwill by IEBC to include persons with disabilities. We were supposed to participate in civic education and implement the action plans we had developed, but this was not actualised because no funding was provided to support DICC activities. It looked like it was more OPDs-driven than IEBC. An audit is not yet done on polling staff to establish if persons with disabilities were represented." (DICC Member).*

#### g) **Disabilities Caucuses: CADICA and KEDIPA**

The County Assembly Disability Caucus (CADICA) is a formal forum for MCAs with disabilities to champion inclusion. CADICA and Kenya Disabled Parliamentarians Association (KEDIPA) a Parliamentary caucus were engaged strategically since their members are within the legislative arm of the government and can further lobby within the Parliament and County Assemblies to include persons with disabilities in legislative processes. The caucuses also supported mobilising their members in various programme engagements, facilitating the success of various meetings (see example)<sup>3</sup>.

 **KENYA DISABILITY PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION(KEDIPA)** @KKedipa

2. The Kenya Inclusive Political Parties Programme has been supporting political parties to respond to the needs of Persons with Disabilities within their internal party structures, political commitments and policies.



 Demo Finland and 4 others

1:15 PM · Oct 28, 2022 · Twitter Web App

### 3.2.1.2. WFD and Demo Finland

#### a) WFD Kenya Implementation Team

WFD's Country Director (-30%), as the Senior Responsible Officer in Kenya, directly managed KIPP Programme. The Country Director provided strategic direction and input to programming,

<sup>3</sup> <https://twitter.com/KKedipa/status/1585938177994260482>

while keeping abreast of WFD Kenya and organisational priorities, including engagement and mobilisation of participating OPDs and CSOs with whom the CR has established relationships. The Country Director worked alongside an in-country programme implementation team, including the Programme Coordinator and a Programme Administrator.

The Programme Coordinator (50%) oversaw the implementation of the programme. Bringing significant technical experience and existing relationships and contacts with target beneficiaries, the PC was integral to delivery and took a key role during the inception phase and provided direct guidance to the Programme Officer after that. In phase II, the Programme Coordinator supported the programme for a reduced period, from August 2021 to July 2022.

A Programme Administrator (100%) supported programme implementation as a dedicated focal point to participating political parties, CSOs and OPDs, and in liaison with stakeholders towards delivering outputs. As a relatively junior-level post, it was expected that the Programme Administrator would work closely with the existing Kenya team. A Finance Officer (50%) led day-to-day administrative tasks and supported the program's accurate and timely financial administration. A Programme Intern (100%) supported the day-to-day tasks and worked with the Programme Coordinator and Programme Administrator to ensure the effective communication of the programme.

From August to November 2021, the delivery team was scaled down to 30%, 100% and 50% time for the Country Representative, Programme Administrator and Finance Officer, respectively.

## **b) WFD London Office**

WFD's Regional Director for Africa (8 days across the programme) provided oversight and strategic linkage to WFD's global strategy. The WFD Senior Programme Manager for Africa (26 days across the programme) offered technical and administrative support where necessary. The WFD Senior MEL Manager (16 days across the programme) guided the development of monitoring tools and worked closely with the Senior Programme Manager and delivery team to document experiences and capture lessons. The Senior MEL Manager also supported the formative evaluation of the programme, conducting remote interviews and focus group discussions with key informants at the end of the programme to ensure any programmatic and organisational learnings were captured. The Finance Business Partner (12 days across the programme) provided financial oversight to ensure proper accounting aligned with donor requirements.

## **c) Demo Finland**

With support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Demo Finland provided grants to WFD to implement KIPP Programme. Demo Finland and WFD, both European peer organisations, agreed on a mutual partnership to implement KIPP through WFD-Kenya (a locally managed organisation), with periodic accountability to Demo Finland. Demo Finland offered programme leadership to WFD that contributed to wider networking discussions to promote coordination and shared learnings across their respective programmes. The Finnish Embassy in Nairobi was engaged during

programme updates. The Director of Programmes and the Programme Manager have been providing leadership to KIPP Programme.

### **3.2.1.3. Contribution of Partnership to KIPP success**

The partnership arrangement between Demo Finland and WFD was mutual. The knowledge sharing by Demo Finland and WFD learned over time while implementing similar programmes contributed to the success of the KIPP. No conflict was experienced in managing KIPP, attributed to the clarity of partner roles and respect for accountability mechanisms. The decision to select WFD-Kenya (locally managed) to implement had a strategic advantage, including knowledge of the Kenyan political context, use of local experts (reduced human resource costs) and guaranteed ownership, sustainability, and follow-up of the interventions.

Utilising experienced staff enhanced the efficiency and effectiveness of a programme. The KIPP human resource arrangement facilitated the realisation of admirable results. Designating staff to KIPP ensured that each staff member understood their role, provided dedicated support, and avoided potential conflict arising from unclear job descriptions. For example, in phase I, the Programme Administrator who offered full support to KIPP had rich experience in inclusion and greatly contributed to creating a unified and strong relationship among the stakeholders and achieving KIPP's outcomes, laying the groundwork for deepened engagement in phase II. Similarly, the support from the Country Representative, Programme Coordinator, Finance Officer, and WFD London team provided seamless administrative and technical support to the programme. WFD-Kenya relied on shared technical expertise from the WFD London office to strengthen accountability. This also ensured that all activities were carried out on time and achieved the best results. It is worth noting that limited bureaucracies often witnessed in some other international organisations facilitated the efficiency of KIPP. The engagement of external resources helped achieve (for example, 50% of the phase II activities) project efficiency and effectiveness and reduced the administrative costs of hiring highly skilled and multiple staff.

*"With the limited time, the programme was very small (financially), and the human resources allocated were able to achieve good results because we had a team that understood the disability subject. There was support from the programme management side, including the partner. Demo Finland was very keen on the project management side in terms of tracking the results and monitoring." (Demo Finland).*

### **3.2.1.4. Adaptation and inclusive practices that facilitated the efficiency of KIPP**

The KIPP Programme began at the height of COVID-19 when organisations were scaling down. WFD quickly adapted to this situation by designing an online contact modality which happened close to a year before gradually moving to physical contact meetings. Despite the downside of this new way of working, the project beneficiaries equally adopted and were supported to participate in virtual meetings. Savings were made from this adaptation and were used to support follow-ups and new ideas that emerged.



*"When COVID-19 came, we had limitations in virtual meetings that initially impacted the meeting costs. During this period, we provided more technical support, and political parties were able to appreciate the role of technology. We picked up fast after COVID-19 after MOH gave the health guidelines. We began utilising a hybrid of virtual and physical meetings and stakeholders started to appreciate the change. Kenyans are more leaned towards physical meetings, and we had to get back quickly. WFD underwent rigorous training to go back to physical meetings. (WFD-Kenya).*

The project stakeholders appreciated the supportive role of WFD staff in achieving project activities and the proactive effort to help deliver quality results. The participants also acknowledged the inclusive practices of WFD, including the choice of accessible conference facilities, provisions for Sign Language interpreters and logistical facilitation for all participants and the support persons (aides) for participants such as those with physical and vision impairments. Political parties also acknowledged the follow-ups made by staff on the agreed deliverables. The flexibility of the project responded well to the emerging ideas and activities would be quickly adopted to fit them. An example of an emerging idea that was quickly adopted was the Technical Working Group which has been picked as one of the successful components of KIPP.

### **3.2.2. Overall KIPP efficiency**

Stakeholders were generally satisfied with the project interventions, despite the short implementation period and closeness to the General Election. WFD responded to emerging needs and supported the partners in related activities. A need was identified to achieve long-term policy programming targeting state organs.

*"Partners at different points contributed to the success. KIPP worked with the demand side and supply side and for political parties to become inclusive, there was a need to create a push from persons with disabilities." (WFD-Kenya).*

By the time of the review, most of the activities had been achieved with the expectation that this would be completed within the remaining timelines. Additional activities were conducted from the budget savings to respond to the emerging needs. This is attributable to efficient human resources, organisational leadership, and the adopted partnership model. Overall, KIPP was efficiently implemented, leading to the desired results.

## **3.3. Impact of KIPP Interventions**

### **3.3.1. Intended Changes**

This section details both the expected and unexpected results that were achieved and can be attributed to the KIPP intervention. It is important to note that a related project, the Kenya Elections Support Programme (KESP) was implemented during the same period (April 2021 to December 2022). KESP was funded by the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) with

International Foundation for Electoral Systems initiative (IFES)<sup>4</sup> as the lead. IFES partnered with the National Democratic Institute (NDI)<sup>5</sup>, the Elections Observation Group (ELOG), and South Consulting as the research partner. The key activities included a) strengthening the engagement and relationship building of electoral institutions with political party leaders; b) facilitating dialogue between PPLC, parties and parliamentary caucuses or committees; c) improving the clarity and consistency of aspirant nomination processes; d) strengthening consensus building sessions between the leagues representing marginalized groups and the elections and nomination boards; and e) strengthening political party leagues representing women, youth and people with disabilities. One of the key achievements of KESP was the formation of the IEBC- Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee (IEBC-DICC). Therefore, the changes may not be wholly attributed to KIPP Programme.

**a) Political parties have inclusive party policies, structures, and processes**

KIPP provided technical support to review the political party policies of all the participating political parties, including their manifestos and constitutions. As a result, the ORPP reported that all parties have complied by having at least one PWDs in their NECs and other management structures (see table 3 below).

Ten of the 13 KIPP-targeted political parties are from either major coalition (Kenya Kwanza and Azimio la Umoja). The political parties reported that they were involved in developing their coalition manifestos of the two coalitions, either as manifestos committee members or contributors to the persons with disabilities chapters. The availability of provisions targeting persons with disabilities in the coalition manifestos is evidence of transferred learning and enhanced intra-coalition embrace of diversity and participation. Political parties attributed their engagement capacity and contributions towards inclusive manifestos to KIPP's capacity-building activities. Below are some of the provisions in the respective manifestos for different parties and coalitions.

"Our political party started Disability league long before the KIPP program came and most of the documents were already being amended to include persons with disabilities. However, with additional guidance from the KIPP programme, we were able to enhance our legal materials and lobby for the adoption of the amendments by the Governing Council and National Delegate Conference this year (2022)." (ODM Respondent).

**Table 3: Inclusive internal policy provisions**

Party	Inclusive internal policy provisions
<b>Kenya Kwanza Coalition</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commits to ensure 100% NHIF coverage for PWDs within 18 months.</li> <li>• Increase the capitation of pupils with Disabilities by 50%. Set aside 15% of all public funded bursaries set aside for pupils with Disabilities,</li> </ul>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.ifes.org/kenya>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.ndi.org/sub-saharan-africa/kenya>

Party	Inclusive internal policy provisions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ring fence adequate percentage of Hustler Fund for PWDs,</li> <li>• Ensure that all markets - 5% of all market stalls are allocated to PWDs,</li> <li>• 5% of AGPO should be for PWDs with an increase in the LPO financing fund;</li> <li>• Encourage Counties to waive license fees of new businesses opened by PWDs;</li> <li>• Exempt all assistive devices from import duty and explore possibilities of partnership with domestic manufacturers to produce affordable devices.</li> </ul>
<b>Azimio La Umoja Coalition<sup>6</sup></b>	<p>Section 3 on social transformation 3.5.2, the coalition commits to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure that PWDs are treated with respect and dignity;</li> <li>• Make public spaces and facilities accessible;</li> <li>• Access to affordable credit and other economic opportunities;</li> <li>• Review the existing legal and policy frameworks relating to PWDs with the view to enhancing their participation in society;</li> </ul> <p>Permanent tax exemption.</p>
<b>KANU</b>	<p>The third priority provides social infrastructure - social protection and development agenda no 5 on the protection of special interest groups (youth, women, PWDs and ethnic minorities).</p>
<b>FORD-K</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commits to including persons with disability and all marginalised communities in collective policy formulation, implementation, evaluation, and monitoring to shape the nation into 'the Kenya we want.'</li> <li>• Agenda two on social justice provides that the FORD-Kenya-led government will institutionalise measures to protect special interest groups (SIGs), including persons with disabilities (PWD), women, youth, children and older members of society, minorities and marginalised groups.</li> </ul>
<b>ANC</b>	<p>Agenda 2 on <i>huduma bora</i> includes strengthening social protection for persons living with disabilities</p>
<b>FORD-K</b>	<p>The constitution references the full participation of PWDs under the party's objective, management structures the party and organisation structure. The nomination rules composition of sixteen committee members includes a representative of PWDs. In the party's Election Manual, a 25% fee waiver has been applied for PWDs seeking all elective seats.</p>
<b>GCK</b>	<p><b>The Constitution provides for the</b> National Office Bearers with a provision for Secretary for Disability Affairs, and National Delegates Convention has a provision for Persons with disability representative within the eight members of the Subbranch Executive Committee; the National Executive Committee has the flexibility to include PWDs.</p>
<b>PPK</b>	<p>The PPK government will ensure that the less fortunate members of our society are treated with the respect that all human beings deserve, establish the basic</p>

<sup>6</sup> KIPP participants included ODM, NRA, WDM, JP, KANU, NARC-K, and GCK. Informal partners included UDA, DAP

Party	Inclusive internal policy provisions
	necessities for assessing disabilities and special learning needs for those in need, and equip the special education programme.
<b>JP</b>	The NEC and NDC amended and adopted the Constitution in February 2022 to include persons with disabilities. Article 21 includes PWD leagues as part of the party's organs in article 7. In article 9, the national league chair will be a member of the national constituency and ward officials; article 13 on party lists includes persons with disabilities.
<b>MCC</b>	Nomination regulations - Has provisions for PWDs in article 13 of their nomination regulations which indicates that the party shall have DL at all levels of the party structures; article 24 includes PWDs representatives at the polling centres, article 24 Ward Committee members representative of PWD, article 27 branch committee members PWD representatives. The delegates of the National Delegates Conference include Persons with disabilities. The Constitution includes representatives of persons with disabilities in forming party branches in all 47 counties under article IX and representatives of PWDs among the polling centre executive committee in article XI.
<b>NRA</b>	The nomination regulations include provisions for persons with disabilities as ward and constituency representatives at polling centres
<b>JFP</b>	The nomination regulation was amended to reference PWDs in article 13, which provides for the representation of PWDs at all levels and DL as a structure of the party.
<b>MDP</b>	It amended its Constitution to include the Disability League and article 11 of its constitution provides for a special congress of persons with disabilities. Party nomination regulations require the representation of persons with disabilities in polling centres, branch steering committees' officials, delegates of polling stations and intention to nominate and provide nomination certificate.
<b>PDU</b>	Article 6 of the constitution guarantees and ensures full participation of special interest groups). Article 7 includes promoting and protecting democracy, human rights, and the rights of the youth, women, and persons with disabilities. Article 10 provides for two National Officials, i.e., the national leader of persons with disabilities and the deputy national leader of persons with disabilities. Article 13 requires the National Delegates Assembly (NDA) to have one representative of persons with disabilities. Article 14: The National Executive Council provides for two slots, i.e., national leader for persons with disability and deputy national leader for persons with disability, Article 16: Branch, Sub-Branch and Cell Organisation have provision for the Branch/Sub-branch leader of persons with disability.
<b>NARC-K</b>	The constitution article 9 requires forming political party branch officials to include representatives of persons with disabilities. Article 10 requires the use of party funds to consider persons with disabilities. The national elections and nominations rules state that priority cadres or individuals to be considered for inclusion on the party list seats are members with disabilities.

Party	Inclusive internal policy provisions
<b>WDM</b>	The constitution provides in the party structure for the Secretary for Disability Affairs responsible for promoting the interest of PWDs within the mainstream of the party, i.e., representation and participation in party structures and activities, identification and mobilisation of PWDs, ensuring that people with disability have national presence and profile within the Party. The general principles of the nomination rules require the election of party officials and the nomination of candidates to reflect diversity. The guidelines on the composition of the National Delegates Congress provides for ten representatives of special interest groups, including at least two representatives of persons with disability.
<b>ODM</b>	The constitution was amended and adopted by NEC in February 2022. The national officials of ODM include the Secretary for Disability League. The Secretary for Disability League shall be the National Chairperson of the ODM Disability League and shall be responsible for- The nomination rules require consideration of persons with disabilities. The National Assembly list is supposed to contain two women and two men, representing persons with disabilities in order of priority, and the Senate should contain one woman and one-man representing persons with disabilities.

In addition to the Manifestos, all the targeted political parties revised their Constitutions and required the Persons with Disabilities League to be represented in the National Executive Board. This was a significant improvement compared to the baseline where 50% of the parties (FORD-Kenya, WDM-K, ANC, MCC and KANU) did not clearly define the special interest groups. Therefore, persons with disabilities were vaguely recognised. Five political parties, including FORD-Kenya (1), WDM-K (2), ANC (1), MCC (1) and KANU (1), had made provisions for PWDs in their NEC. The review of the Constitution was also partly to comply with ORPP.

**b) Establishment of disability leagues**

All political parties now have established disability leagues/caucuses/wings (see table 4 below) that respondents attributed to the capacity strengthening and technical assistance received from KIPP. This increased from the baseline, where only 20% (ODM and JP) had disability leagues/caucuses/wings. The training included mainstreaming disability inclusion in policy issues and budgeting for PWDs, legal reforms relating to political parties and PWD inclusion. The training enabled the persons with disabilities to get involved in reviewing the internal party documents that established the PWD leagues. The leagues have continued to lobby for the inclusion of PWDs in the political parties through the development of internal documents of the party as manifestos, actively seeking to have PWDs participate in the political party activities and lobbying for inclusion in the party organs. However, most of the leagues established under the KIPP I and II are in their formative stage and therefore need continued strengthening.

*"[On one hand,] the formation of disability leagues is expected to contribute to political parties' broader inclusivity, but the impact may be felt in the long term. On the other hand, the very creation*

*of disability leagues as inclusive structures within political parties is an impact in itself. In the next phase, we would like to build their capacity." (Demo Finland).*

**Table 4: Status of party disability leagues**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Disability League Status</b>
<b>ODM</b>	ODM had disability leagues at the beginning of the programme and has been instrumental during cross-party learning forums on how the leagues operate.
<b>JP</b>	JP disability had a disability league at the beginning of the programme. However, after dropping off the programme for a few months to undergo restructuring and re-alignment, the party reactivated its DL and launched the league in February 2022. The league chair has been elected to the NEC.
<b>NARC-K</b>	Disability league was launched and recognised by the party; it has a clear structure at the National and is in the process of forming county disability leagues.
<b>KANU</b>	Formed and launched a disability congress recognised as one of the party organs by the constitution.
<b>JFP</b>	Formed and launched the league and appointed the national chair of the league to the NEC of the party.
<b>ANC</b>	Formed and launched the league recognised by the party constitution.
<b>PDU</b>	Formed and held an official launch of the national disability league on the 12th of November 2021, comprising 9 PWDs forming the National steering team, 4 NEC members and six members. Two OPDs were invited to attend Disability Sausage Media and LEDI. League recognised in the party constitution and nomination regulations.
<b>GCK</b>	Held an official launch of the national disability league on the 24th of November 2021, comprising 8 PWDs forming the National steering committee, NEC members and media personalities. The keynote speaker from KEDIPA.
<b>PPK</b>	Held an official launch of the national disability league on the 5th of November 2021, comprising 14 PWDs, 5 NEC members.
<b>WDM</b>	WDM held an official launch of its disability league on the 5th of April 2022.
<b>FORD-K</b>	Launched its DL steering committee on the 30 <sup>th</sup> of June 2022, attended by the party Executive Director and other senior party NEC members.
<b>NRA</b>	League formed with National and County leaders nominated, planning to launch the National league formally.

Eleven out of 16 political parties have representatives with disabilities in the NEC, two of which are the newly formed parties UDA and DAP. Compared to before KIPP, where such representation was ad hoc and for compliance, the representatives of persons with disabilities are more objectively engaged after the interventions. There is still low representation in other structures such as the National Governing Councils (NGC), National Elections Boards (NEB), and Party Dispute

Resolution Committees, with political parties having few (such as ODM with two in Dispute Committees) or none. Other respondents were unsure about data on the same.

ANC, on 27th June 2022, launched its DL charter. The charter is expected to provide explicit guidance on how the party will ensure members with disabilities fully and effectively participate in political and public life on an equal basis with other members. It also spells out the objectives and activities the party will implement to ensure inclusive participation and defines the activities of the DL and its relationship with the party. The launch of DL is a good practice that needs to be replicated by other parties and its implementation monitored.

**c) Political parties waived or discounted nomination fees for candidates with disabilities**

At the baseline, half (50%) of the political parties incentivised the nominees with disabilities by allowing them to pay an average discounted nomination fee of candidates up to 50% (for example, JP, ODM and FORD-K), while others, like MCC, discounted up to 75%. After the intervention, all political parties revised their nomination rules and now discount or waive nomination fees for aspirants with disabilities and therefore, aspirants were getting direct nomination certificates. For example, NARC-K and Green Congress Party waived. Other parties like ODM also discount to encourage the participation of running mates in the special interest group. The waivers attracted more aspirants. However, despite the waiver, some aspirants complained that the cost of participating in the election was still high. Besides the nomination fee, the aspirants are still required to register as political party members. Also, some political parties did not implement the nomination rules due to the lack of a mechanism to hold them accountable.

*Section 18(8) "Where a male gubernatorial candidate appoints a running mate of the opposite gender, or a youth or a person with disabilities, the candidate shall be refunded one quarter (1/4) of the fees prescribed." (ODM Nomination Rules).*

*"The Green Congress Party waived the nomination fees; I only paid a life membership of Ksh 20,000." (Aspirant).*

**d) Enhanced relationships among the political parties, OPDs and state electoral agencies**

Initially, political parties were seen as entities that propagate political competition; therefore, each would independently strategise. The continuous engagement has created mutual relationships and borderless disability leagues across parties. The disability leagues are now sharing political platforms, including joint media pressers, and sharing ideas. The newly established political parties gained much from experienced (older) parties like ODM Disability League.

*"There is more trust between OPDs and political parties, where they communicate mutually and speak in constructive language." (Demo Finland).*

The formation of the **Technical Working Group (TWG)** was evidence of a close relationship resulting from the shared need to achieve a common voice of inclusion. The TWG was borne as an

innovative idea, an independent group comprising eight members nominated by their respective organisations, including diverse groups of four political parties, four OPDs, and two parliamentary disability caucuses (see table 5 below).

The TWG played a facilitative role in influencing the inclusion discourse within the political parties and by the state electoral agencies through media engagement and written submissions. They also supported the project by mobilising their members and giving general advice to KIPP programming. The TWG was instrumental in advocating the adoption of the Minimum Standards by ORPP as a policy document. The key challenges to its effectiveness were the institutionalisation of the group without usurping the mandate of other state electoral institutions and the lack of resources to build its capacity to deliver on its mandate.

**Table 5: Membership of Technical Working Group**

No.	Member Organisation	Organisation Category	Role
1.	NARC- Kenya	Political party	Chairperson
2.	ANC	Political party	Member
3.	ODM	Political party	Member
4.	KANU	Political party	Member
5.	CDPOK	OPD	Member
6.	UDPK	OPD	Member
7.	ANDY	OPD	Member
8.	BLINK	OPD	Member
9.	KEDIPA	Parliamentary Caucus	Member
10.	CADICA	County Assembly Caucus	Vice Chair

**e) Enhanced capacity among the OPDs to advocate for political participation and representation of political parties**

The OPDs and CSOs underwent sustained capacity building on different issues, including media advocacy and support to meet various electoral stakeholders. As a result, OPDs were equipped with skills to engage the state agencies concerned with elections. The tools created through KIPP, such as the situational analysis report, advocacy strategy plan, Minimum Standards, and online learning modules, facilitated their inclusion advocacy agenda. For example, the direct lobbying of IEBC by KIPP achieved strategic representation of ODPs and political parties in the IEBC Coordination Committees. KNAD was included in the IEBC-DICC, and KANU was included in the IEBC Women Coordination Committee. KANU and UDPK were also included in the Youth Technical Advisory Committee. The IEBC Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee (IEBC-DICC)<sup>7</sup> brings together 10 OPDs and is mandated by IEBC to coordinate meaningful engagement of persons with disabilities in the electoral process. The three structures were part of the IFES

<sup>7</sup> [https://twitter.com/IEBC\\_DICC?s=20&t=lm6eUyUHofS\\_GS\\_Ncqe4\\_mw](https://twitter.com/IEBC_DICC?s=20&t=lm6eUyUHofS_GS_Ncqe4_mw)



initiative though it was not highly effective due to lack of funding. This group forms an entry point for engagement with IEBC to achieve electoral reforms.

***"The training and knowledge acquired helped link with IEBC through the Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee." (UDPK Representative).***

***"We participated in elections observation to see how persons with disabilities were involved in the electoral process, particularly on how they voted and how accessibility was achieved." (Doors of Hope Representative).***

***"Before, during and after election, we participated in forums by WFD. We sensitised our members and they contested though they were unsuccessful. Our efforts were an effect of the training we participated in." (Leadership Empowerment Initiative).***

***"We did advocacy on the rights of deaf people in different political parties. We created awareness for deaf people to get involved (in politics). We sensitised the public on how the deaf can engage in political processes." (KNAD Representative).***

***"DICC achieved accessibility during the voting. The agreement was to hire temporary staff that included persons with disabilities, which was achieved to some extent. We made administrative and policy recommendations that are long-term." (DICC Member).***

Below are examples of advocacy initiatives taken by OPDs attributed to KIPP Programme:

- a. The engagement of OPDs with the political parties, and the umbrella networks (CDPOK and ANDY), led to the signing of a memorandum of understanding with 20 political parties that would see political parties commit to inclusion. The agreement formalised engagements with the political parties. The key areas of agreement included the need for political parties to promote and adhere to the legal provisions on inclusion; establish functional disability leagues, ensure accessibility of party documents, proceedings, and offices; have accountable and transparent party lists inclusive of all categories of disabilities; include persons with disabilities in the party organs; conduct inclusive voter education to register members with disabilities, and discount/waive nomination and membership fees.
- b. In February, OPDs and CSOs presented position papers to political parties seeking that political parties engage DL when nominating PWDs in the party lists, showing goodwill through prioritisation of PWDs in the party lists and verifying the nominated PWDs by the PWD NEC members and DL leaders.
- c. The representatives of the OPDs in the TWG attended the Azimio la Umoja advocacy meeting to rally the coalition leadership to consider being inclusive.
- d. An informal partnership between LEDINTIVE and JFP led to mobilising persons with disabilities to understand JFP's political ideology. As a result, two leaders have since opted to join the party with a view of actively participating in politics.
- e. During the launch of the NARC-K league, the party collaborated with CDPOK and invited the chairperson to deliver a keynote address on the importance of participation of PWDs in political

parties. The party leadership consulted him on issues of physical and communication accessibility. This is an informal engagement that was created through the participation of both in the KIPP programme activities.

- f. During the PDU Disability League launch, the Director of Disability Sausage Media participated in the launch and provided great insights on inclusion and the need to include persons with disabilities in the party activities.
- g. BLINK engaged with WDM and as a result, 50 members with disabilities were recruited and registered as members.

***"ANDY formed a partnership with WFD, and we benefited from training such as media advocacy. We had an ongoing project which helped us curate the message targeted to our main stakeholders. We created an MOU and signed with 20 main political parties to include persons with disabilities in their political parties." (ANDY Representative).***

After the General Election, there was general discontent about the underrepresentation of persons with disabilities. The stakeholders and lobby groups called for the cancellation of swearing-in and even went to court to challenge the legality of nominated Members of County Assemblies in the 21 underrepresented counties, though attempts have been unsuccessful<sup>8</sup>. Standing up for their rights was a testament to the increased capacity to advocate for representation.

***"Even without KIPP, the complaints about underrepresentation in nomination indicate that (persons with disabilities) could push for inclusion even without us." (WFD-Kenya).***

#### **h. Increased members with disabilities in political parties**

According to Figure 2 below, there was a significant increase in the number of members with disabilities in 2022 compared to 2022 from selected parties. On average, parties increased membership by 363. This could be attributed to the formation and strengthening of the disability leagues, sensitisation and inclusive membership drives by the disability leagues. By the time of evaluation, ORPP was integrating the NCPWD database into the Integrated Political Parties Management System (IPPMS).

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.kenyanews.go.ke/the-disabled-lament-lack-of-representation-in-assemblies/>

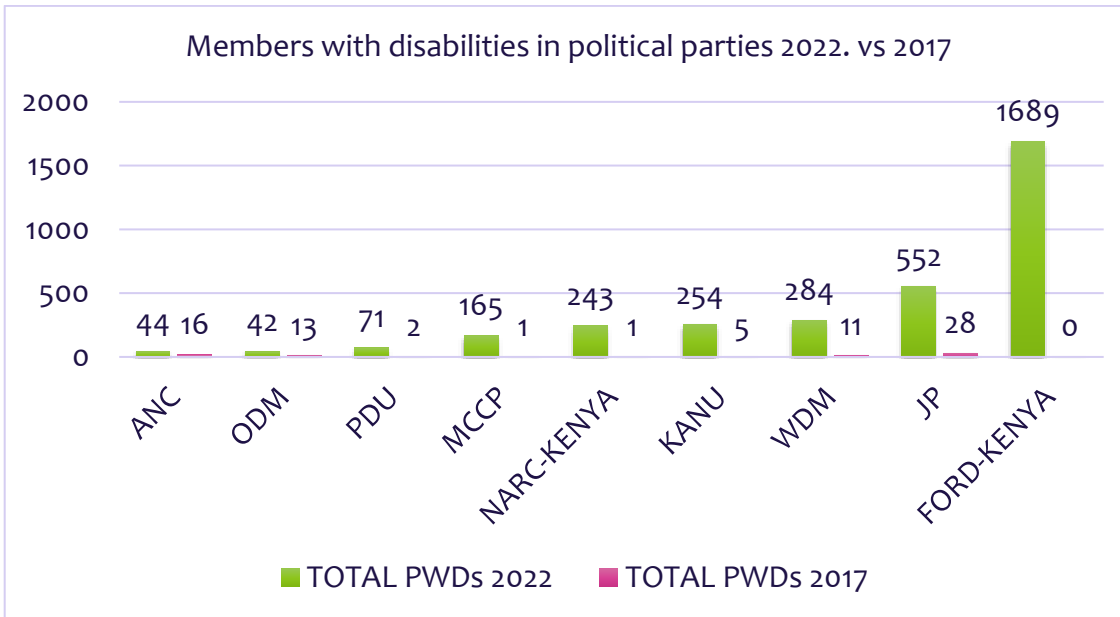


Figure 1: Members with disabilities in political parties 2022. vs 2017

### 3.3.2. Unintended Changes

#### i) Increased interest in the political process among persons with disabilities

In 2022, although there was a lack of authoritative data from IEBC, anecdotal evidence suggests that more persons with disabilities presented themselves for party primaries and as candidates. For example, according to Washington Post, UDA had at least 300 of the 5,000 aspirants who had a disability. KANU, compared to 2017, only about 4 vied, but in 2022 there were 13 (1 MP and 12 MCAs) PWDs who vied. Interestingly, the deaf persons who have not been much engaged in past elections increased their participation. For instance, one male in Kirinyaga County<sup>9</sup> and one female in Bomet<sup>10</sup> were nominated. Also, other contestants vied but lost<sup>11</sup>.

Unfortunately, the names of contestants for members of the national assembly and the county assemblies published by IEBC<sup>12</sup> did not indicate the nature of the disability. For example, the list indicates that Kevin Eyanagan of Turkana County has no disability yet has a hearing impairment.

The increase in the number of aspirants with disabilities indicates increased interest among persons with disabilities to participate in political activities, compared to 2017, where lack of interest was cited as one of the limiting factors. The increased interest can be attributed to sustained

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.the-star.co.ke/counties/central/2022-09-21-kirinyaga-mca-takes-oath-of-office-using-sign-language/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4r6LVnApPQA>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hiGow0EyuiY>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.iebc.or.ke/uploads/resources/oL58gti6SK.pdf>

awareness creation and increased capacity to communicate their ideologies and solicit support from the parties.

***"The media training that we were taken through, including messaging and branding, helped me gain confidence and I could appear in media, and this greatly contributed to my campaigns." (MCA Candidate, Kiambu County).***

***"There was an increased number of persons with disabilities who participated in the political parties, in elections and as candidates. The information we got was cascaded to persons with disabilities who understood and participated in elections as voters and contestants." (Women Empowerment Link).***

***"The UDA Disability League presented 300 aspirants in the party primaries. Persons with disabilities were confident and knew what was expected of them during campaigns. KIPP built the capacity of UDA leaders who trained the league members and various aspects of inclusion." (UDA Disability League Representative).***

**j) Improved intra-party relationships**

Political parties reported that there was an increased engagement between political leaders and league members on the issues of electoral inclusion. KIPP also used cross-party learning to diffuse political tensions between opposing parties. Many trained political leaders from leagues and OPDs formed a pool of discussants on mainstream TV/Radio and online media to provide expert opinions on inclusion. Despite KIPP having done remarkably well, many leagues are newly established (for example, FORD-K launched DL on June 2022 and WDM in April 2022) and will need more capacity building to ensure they support inclusion initiatives in the respective political parties.

**k) Legal electoral reforms**

Several policy reforms took place due to continued advocacy by KIPP and other players. For example, the Political Parties Act (2022)<sup>13</sup> was amended to allow other small parties to benefit from PPF. The situational analysis report indicated that most political parties had limited resources to run their programmes, including those of the special interest groups. The amendments to this Act relaxed the stringent qualification criteria for political parties. Of this, 54% (49 out of 90) of political parties are set to benefit from the Political Parties Fund. The main source of the Political Parties Fund is the National Government (0.3 % of National Revenue). The amendment on Section 25 became more favourable, requiring a party to have an elected leader in any of the four elective positions, including the national assembly; the senate; the governor; or the county assembly. Previously, the Act required a political party to have at least three per cent of the total number of votes at the preceding General Election, at least twenty elected members of the national assembly, three elected members of the senate, three elected members who are governors and forty

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<sup>13</sup> [http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Acts/2022/ThePoliticalParties\\_Amendment\\_Act\\_2022.pdf](http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Acts/2022/ThePoliticalParties_Amendment_Act_2022.pdf)

members of county assemblies, which was a tall order for most of them. Despite this progress, there are no policy guidelines on how the Political Parties Fund will be distributed among the special interest groups and this could be an avenue for marginalisation since it was noted that the largest portion of the Fund benefits women and youth.

Another key reform by ORPP is that they partnered with NCPWD to confirm the registration of political party members with disabilities. By the time of evaluation, ORPP was integrating the NCPWD database into the Integrated Political Parties Management System (IPPMS). Before, this loophole was being misused by faking disability and would be enlisted for nomination by political parties. NCPWD shared the database of persons with disabilities that confirms disability before registration.

Currently, the structures of PPLC do not have members with disabilities represented. The engagement and sensitisation targeting PPLC have opened an opportunity to ensure persons with disabilities are proportionately represented in PPLC structures.

l) [Increased capacity of WFD and Demo Finland to implement the inclusive programmes](#)  
Implementing an inclusive programme was a great source of learning for WFD. It shaped how WFD interacted with various stakeholders who are key in the electoral space in Kenya while being sensitive to include practices such as the provision of accessible conferences, accommodative logistical support, and the provision of Sign Language interpreters, among other strategies.

In November 2022, KIPP won the [Impact and Innovation Award Certificate](#) for achieving measurable progress toward disability equality and better democratic representation. The Innovation Award is an internal WFD award that recognises programmes that have delivered significant impact and embraced innovative practices to transform institutions. KIPP won the award given its contribution to supporting multiparty engagement around disability inclusion, with the impact of WFD's work being realised in the recently concluded elections where the KIPP partner parties opened up the space and enabled persons with disabilities to contest for elective seats actively.

KIPP was also featured in the Washington Post, crediting its role in influencing party policies, building the capacity of political parties to become more inclusive, and encouraging the biggest number of persons with disabilities to contest in the 2022 General Election.

Demo Finland is currently utilising lessons and experiences from its disability-focused programmes in Kenya and Zambia to achieve disability inclusion in the design and implementation of other programmes, and to inform disability inclusion work within Finnish political parties. The multi-year strategy aims to ensure that political parties are more inclusive and democratic by creating political spaces for underrepresented groups and minorities.

### 3.4. Sustainability of the KIPP Programme

The structures and tools created for the political parties and OPDs potentially created a foundation for sustainability. However, as it is now, there is a need to support the structures created to ensure they are institutionalised continually. Sustainability can be evidenced in several ways that have been previously discussed but are highlighted.

**Knowledge products.** KIPP produced knowledge products, including situational analysis, evaluation reports, Minimum Standards, advocacy strategy, and customised training modules. Adopting the **Minimum Standards**<sup>14</sup> by the ORPP was a great step toward achieving compliance. Being a policy document, it will also act as an accountability document that can be enforced on all political parties. The knowledge products and tools produced by KIPP in a participatory approach will be used as reference documents by different stakeholders to promote progressive inclusion in the political parties and the wider democratic space.

*"KIPP entrenched ownership and commitments because most of the products were done in partnership with the stakeholders, which helped achieve the buy-ins, e.g., minimum standards. (WFD-Kenya).*

*"The changes in political context and coalitions, for instance, will possibly lead to revisions in the content of the training materials.' (Demo Finland).*

**Capacity building.** KIPP had a strong component of capacity building. The reports, tools, and modules were developed in a participatory manner and were used for capacity building for and by different groups. Political parties will utilise the knowledge acquired through the training, disability leagues and OPDs to advocate inclusion within political parties, state electoral agencies and general policy advocacy. It is hoped that future aspirants can use them to become successful aspirants.

**Inclusive internal policy documents.** The review of manifestos, constitutions and other internal party policy documents will have medium-term impacts and be used by disability leagues to seek accountability from their political parties. The waiving or discounting of nomination and membership fees are sustainable achievements by the political parties.

**Formation of disability leagues.** The disability leagues have been included in the political party documents and subsequently established. Though not yet strengthened, their existence is progressive and a structure that can continually lobby for inclusion.

**Technical Working Group.** The Technical Working Group was the most innovative idea that KIPP adopted and has received universal acceptance with a diverse membership, including political

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.wfd.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/Minimum%20standards%20on%20PWDs%20inclusion.pdf>

parties, OPDs, and parliamentary disability caucuses. The TWG has developed the term of reference that will guide its engagement, and some of the mandates included in it include:

- I. prioritising disability inclusion issues within political parties and electoral processes;
- II. monitoring and engaging IEBC and other electoral actors to modify electoral programming to be more inclusive;
- III. lobbying, advocating, and monitoring the involvement of persons with disabilities in the political parties and key institutional decision-making processes; and
- IV. recommending via national policy advocacy to review electoral policies and laws to be more inclusive.

**Mutual engagement of state electoral agencies.** The engagement of the different state agencies using a friendly and mutual approach was a gain that opened up engagement spaces that can be utilised for future inclusion advocacy. For example, the uptake of the Minimum Standards by ORPP can be furthered to ensure political parties comply with its provisions. The engagement with IEBC has created a friendly entry point to ensure electoral systems are more inclusive. Despite the underrepresentation of persons with disabilities, PPLC presents an opportunity for further engagement to address the representation gaps.

"The engagement of government agencies such as ORPP and IEBC will ensure that the electoral cycle will be taken into account. The impact from KIPP will ensure the results impact other political parties." (Demo Finland).

## 4.0. Lessons Learned and Emerging Issues

This section highlights what was learned during the implementation of both phases of the KIPP Programme. In addition, the emerging issues are documented. Both lessons and emerging issues help in shaping the recommendations.

### 4.1. Lessons Learned

This section provides the key lessons learned during the first and second phases of the KIPP Programme that would be useful in the next phases.

- a. Multi-stakeholder collaboration and engagement with the duty bearers and right holders creates builds trust and opens an avenue for future engagements. More importantly, it increases opportunities to influence positively and contributes to positive behaviour change and inclusive practice in the political continuum and, ultimately, in the larger society.
- b. Collaboration, instead of competing, leveraging the strengths of each organisation is more effective in addressing common challenges and is more impactful. Further, working with local

organisations creates good relationships, wins trust, and creates an open atmosphere to achieve results.

- c. Direct engagement among the critical stakeholder groups, including the political parties, OPDs and policy-makers in government institutions) creates trust and mutual relationships among the groups.
- d. Interventions are best tracked when programming is evidence-based. The situational analysis conducted before the interventions helped shape the interventions and provide a mechanism for tracking progress and reporting results by the donor, implementor and beneficiaries.
- e. Institutionalisation of disability leagues within political parties is more sustainable than ad hoc party interventions. This points to the need for more resourcing of such structures to achieve their independence and efficiency in achieving their mandate. Beyond being recognised by the political parties, Disability Leagues must be recognised by national legal space to ensure sustainable inclusion.
- f. MOUs and formal agreements established with parties address the risk of de-prioritising the inclusion agenda. KIPP developed MOUs and agreements with the 13 political parties to ensure they remain committed to including persons with disabilities within their structures. In the second phase, the programme re-engaged and briefed the party leadership on programme expectations and planned activities that potentially prevented the targeted political parties from distraction or deliberately de-prioritising inclusion, especially to concentrate on the elections that would have compromised the programme results.
- g. Neutrality, issue-based and focused discussions reduced the risks of politicising the KIPP Programme. KIPP played a neutral role that brought together political parties with varied ideologies while eliminating any element of preference or bias. Similarly, the OPDs, who could have leaned towards a certain party, were neutral.
- h. Communicating and clarifying the programme interventions and scope helps manage expectations among the beneficiary groups. The scope of both phases was spelled out and communicated to the groups of beneficiaries through the agreements between WFD and political parties and OPDs. However much there were over-expectations, the clarifications largely addressed this risk that often occurs in similar programmes.
- i. Targeting key decision-makers within the political parties and other agencies facilitates action. For example, the engagement of political party leaders and top decision-makers made the proposed internal policy changes easier. For ORPP, engaging the top management ensured that the Minimum Standards were adopted as a public document.
- j. Utilising highly experienced staff enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of a programme. The KIPP human resource arrangement facilitated the realisation of admirable results.
- k. Limited bureaucracies, clear, effective, and continuous communication create efficiency. Effective communication between Demo Finland and WFD (UK and Kenya) created mutual trust and functional growth.
- l. Programme dynamism aids in adopting new ideas and strategies of implementation. KIPP was responsive to the needs of stakeholders, which contributed to better results, a case of the Technical Working Group and the Minimum Standards.



## 4.2. Emerging Issues

Several issues emerged during the 2022 General Election. The key emerging issues are around inadequate institutionalisation of representation of persons with disabilities in the political party structures, low representation in elective positions and

### a) **Inadequate institutionalisation and lack of genuine goodwill from political party leadership**

Despite the progress made within the political parties on the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the structures, some stakeholders felt that most of the political parties included persons with disabilities as a compliance issue rather than as a genuine and goodwill from the party leadership. This requires sustained engagement, including with key stakeholders in political parties, to achieve a complete change of attitude, behavior and practice.

"Senior political leadership did not fully adopt the proposals from the disability leagues. There was a challenge with the institutionalisation of disability mainstreaming by the political parties because we did not engage the owners of the parties but the brokers." (Member of TWG).

"One of the coalition parties, the leadership chose a person who had no interest in matters of disability. Two senior members owned up to the disability leadership for their benefits." (Member of TWG).

"Some parties believe that including persons with disabilities is for compliance [and therefore] is not a genuine act. The inclusion should be regarded as a human rights issue; therefore, there is a need for programmes targeting political parties on behavior change." (Registrar of Political Parties)

During the KIPP's engagements, political parties committed to including persons with disabilities in their nomination rules and subsequently in the nomination lists. However, it was noted that most of them did not comply with the provisions of their regulations when IEBC rejected the party lists, citing that "all the 79 parties that submitted party nomination lists did not meet the constitutional threshold to represent special interests, the youth and Persons with Disability." <sup>15</sup>

*"The political parties nominated many persons with disabilities in 2022 compared to 2017 though only a handful succeeded. Most nominees with disabilities were placed at the last priority in the party lists, which disadvantaged them." (ANDY).*

The constrained resources within political parties contributed to limited support for candidates with disabilities. Even before the KIPP Programme intervention, the high cost of participating in elections remained a critical challenge. Many candidates with disabilities could not sustain their

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.citizen.digital/news/iebc-rejects-79-political-parties-list-over-implementation-of-gender-rule-gives-7-days-to-comply-n302210>

campaigns, which largely contributed to their loss. The political parties reported high and unmet expectations from aspirants and candidates who participated in elections through their political parties. It is hoped that the discounted and waived nomination fees by political parties and the increase in the number of political parties who will benefit from the Political Parties Fund will partly address this challenge.

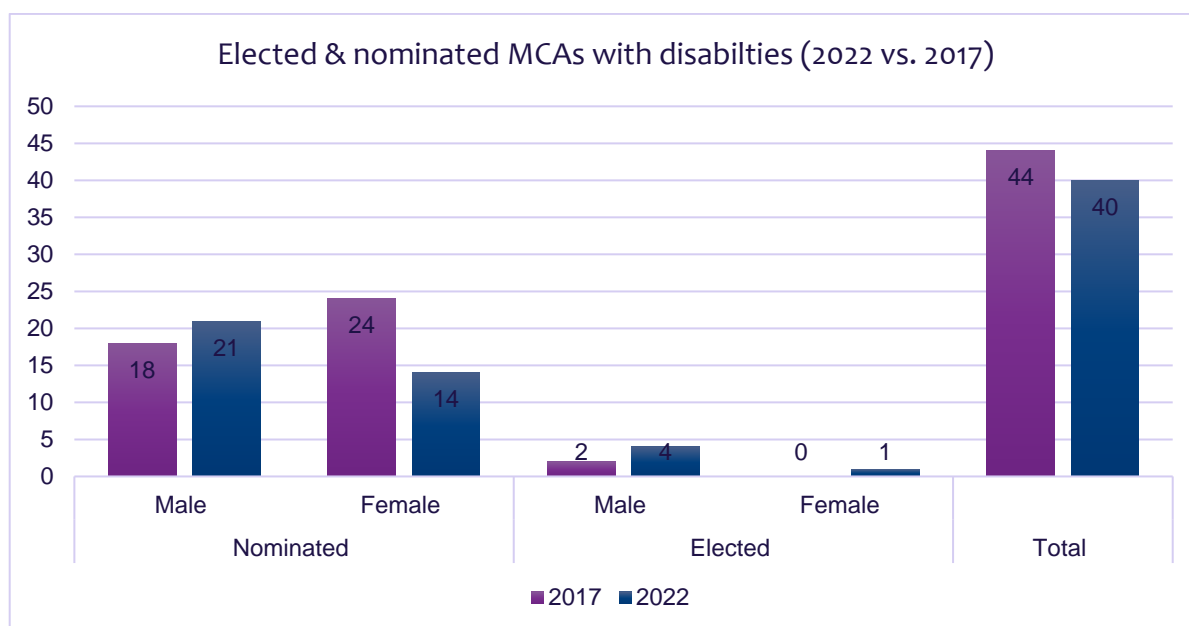
**b) Underrepresentation in elective positions**

The underrepresentation of persons with disabilities in elective and nominative positions evidences a lack of genuine support. The political parties ought to have facilitated better representation of persons with disabilities in the parliament and the county assemblies. Still, the political parties were not keen on facilitating their representation.

In 2022, although there was a lack of authoritative data from IEBC, anecdotal evidence suggests that more persons with disabilities presented themselves for party primaries and as candidates. For example, according to Washington Post,<sup>16</sup> UDA had at least 300 of the 5,000 aspirants who had a disability. However, the number of those who succeeded tended to decrease. In the 2022 General Election, 45% of the counties (21/47) were not represented by a person with a disability. This has been a downward trend of representation in the last three elections (2017-14 and 2013-7) since the Constitution of Kenya was promulgated in 2010.

**Representation in the County Assemblies**

According to Figure 3, the number of elected and nominated Members of County Assemblies dropped from 44 to 40 (2%). In 2022, out of the 40 (25M, 15F) MCAs, 35 (21M, 14F) were nominated and 5 (4M, 1F) were elected, while in 2017, 42 (18M, 24F) were nominated and 2 males elected. In 2013, 62 MCAs were nominated to the county assemblies (32M, 30F).



<sup>16</sup> <https://wapo.st/3deLGTTr>

Figure 3: Elected & nominated MCAs with disabilities (2022 vs. 2017)

Out of the 47 counties, 26 had at least one person nominated to represent the interest of persons with disabilities, leaving out 21 counties with no representative. Most counties (17) had each one nominated MCA with a disability, eight had two, and only Kisii County had three. From table 6, UDA had the highest number of those nominated (43%), followed by ODM (38%). DEP and NARC and DEP had the lowest (3%) MCAs nominated to represent persons with disabilities.

Table 6: Nominated and elected MCAs by political parties

Party	Nominated MCAs	Elected MCAs	Total	%
DEP	1	0	1	3%
NARC-K	1	0	1	3%
WDM	1	0	1	3%
ANC	2	0	2	5%
JP	2	1	3	8%
ODM	11	4	15	38%
UDA	17	0	17	43%
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Representation in the National Assembly

According to Figure 4, in 2022, two MPs increased to 6 (5M, 1F) MPs compared to 4 in 2017, both nominated and elected. The elected MPs increased from 1 (male) in 2017 to 5 (4M, 1F) in 2022, while the nominated MPs reduced from 3 (2M,1F) in 2017 to 1 male.

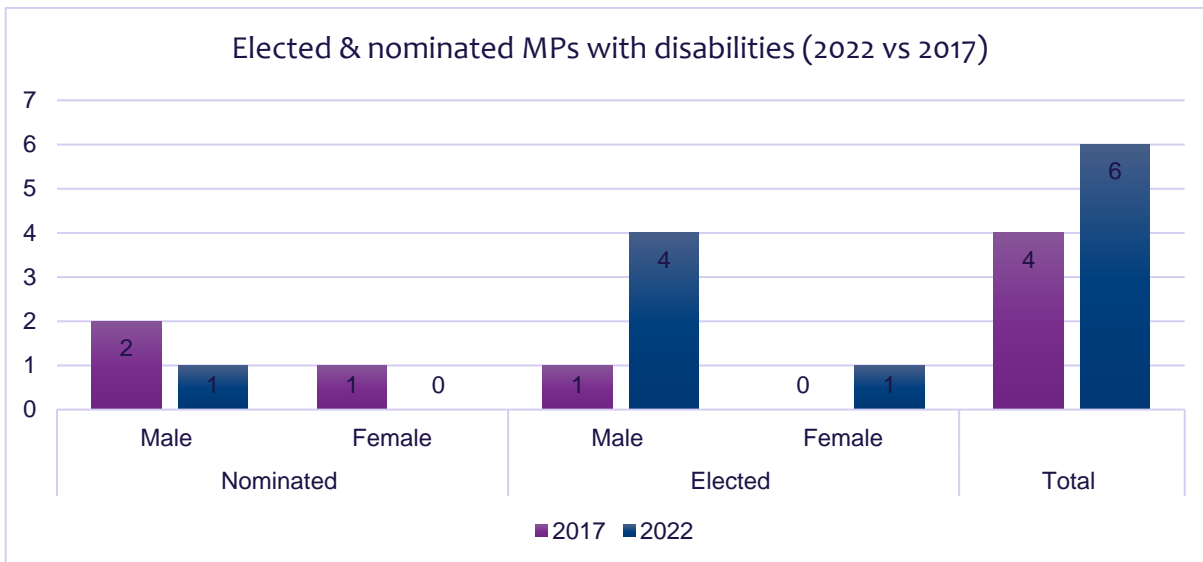


Figure 4: Elected & nominated MPs with disabilities (2022 vs 2017)

### Representation in the Senate

In 2022, 3 (2M, 1F) Senators are representing persons with disabilities compared to 2 (1M, 1F) in 2017 (Figure 5).

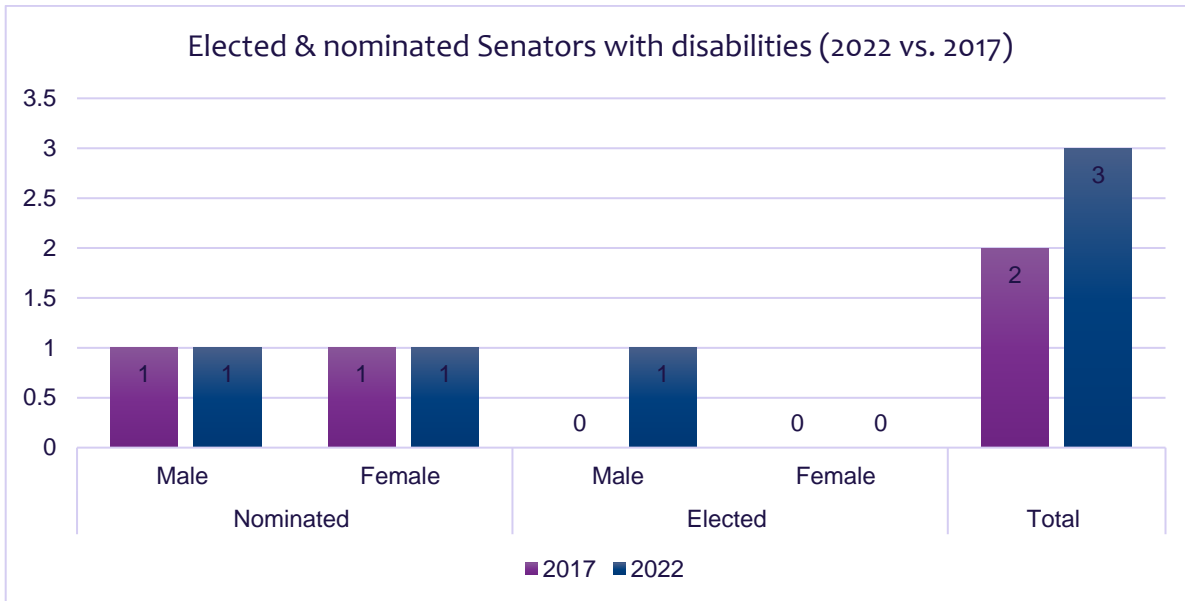


Figure 5: Elected & nominated Senators with disabilities (2022 vs 2017)

The increase in the number of elected MCAs with disabilities in 2022 compared to 2017 indicates an increased confidence among persons with disabilities to seek elective positions. Unfortunately, no data was available to help analyse how many persons with disabilities contested.

### c) Effect of the coalition arrangement on the participation of persons with disabilities in the 2022 General Election

The Political Parties (Amendment) Act 2022 introduced coalition political parties. This led to forming two major coalitions: Kenya Kwanza and Azimio La Umoja One Kenya. Most political parties felt that the coalitions negatively affected the gains of including participants in the electoral processes. Some challenges experienced included large party dominance, zoning of the political parties/candidates, low support candidates of smaller parties and poor coordination among the coalition partners.

*"The key interests among political formations and coalitions were more focused on attaining power. Such coalitions had little focus on issues such as disability inclusion because no structured PWD Leagues to negotiate their issues in such coalitions." (Respondent).*

*"Candidates from KANU were not recognised in Kiambu since Jubilee was the strongest party." (KANU MCA Aspirant).*

*"As a candidate from KANU and a coalition partner (Azimio One Kenya), we were de-campaigned with the guise that persons with disabilities would always benefit from nomination slots." (KANU MCA Aspirant).*

*"I was zoned at the last minute to the election, this together with de-campaigned on the falsehood that being a person with a disability, I had already been nominated, a propaganda that worked against me." (ANC MCA Aspirant).*

*"My competitors would say do not vote this lady because she is already poised for nomination."  
(Wiper MCA Candidate).*

The combined effect disenfranchised persons with disabilities, especially from smaller parties, reduces their chances of nomination. Both coalitions had met persons with disabilities and made pledges in their manifestos, but the current representation indicates non-commitment. Persons with disabilities felt that their choices did not serve their interests but those of party leaders.

**d) Conflict and post-election petitions**

After the stakeholders and lobby groups felt aggrieved due to underrepresentation, the lobby groups called for the annulment of swearing-in and even filed a petition challenging the legality of nominated MCAs in the 21 underrepresented counties, though attempts were unsuccessful.<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>Many aggrieved aspirants could not file petitions due to the high cost of filing court cases and the technicalities involved. The stakeholders felt that had the Judiciary been engaged early, it would have supported the aspirants and OPDs to gain capacity on election petitions and dispute resolution.

*"There was no engagement with the Judiciary. After IEBC failed, TWG would have engaged the Judiciary to empower the persons with disabilities in election petitions and dispute resolution."  
(Respondent).*

*"The filling of petitions was supposed to be done online, which had an accessibility barrier to petitioners with disabilities. Inaccessibility to the judicial services includes the high cost of filing petitions and inaccessible filling processes, such as hiring a lawyer." (Respondent).*

*"As a leader of Disability League, I did what I could and advised the Party. However, the party list was still altered. The Judiciary would have come into guide interventions." (Respondent).*

*"KIPP did not budget for the petitions. The TWG made an effort to look for resources to stop the swearing-in until the KHRC came to support the petitions." (Respondent).*

**e) Capacity to handle elections aftermath**

Political competition emerged as highly competitive; aspirants made huge financial and emotional investments toward seeking nominations and elections. Many aspirants who lost were affected to the extent of having depressive symptoms that were not intervened. Also, many of the first timers who succeeded had limited capacity to engage in their mandate. The Parliament and the County Assemblies usually conduct generic orientation, leaving a gap in the role and mandate of those nominated to represent persons with disabilities.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.kenyanews.go.ke/the-disabled-lament-lack-of-representation-in-assemblies/>

<sup>18</sup> <https://twitter.com/KBCCchannel1>

# 5.0. Conclusions and Recommendations

## 5.1. Conclusions

The KIPP Programme significantly strengthened inclusive multiparty democracy in Kenya. At the output level, political parties have become more knowledgeable and, to some extent, implemented inclusive reforms within their policies, structures and processes. Similarly, the OPDs and CSOs have increased their capacity to advocate for political participation and representation by the political parties. Both phases provided a solid foundation that opened engagement with the political parties. Engaging political parties can be complex due to their political and demanding nature. KIPP created a mutual partnership, trust and momentum for continued engagement that, if sustained, can yield more impactful results. Being an inclusive intervention, it remains a model that can be replicated by other political parties in Kenya and other countries in the quest to promote inclusive democracy. The programme utilised an innovative approach which has yielded not only the planned results but also other unexpected results. The programme was flexible and accommodated innovative ideas that have created an avenue for sustainability. It is hoped that continued interventions will increase its impact by scaling up or altering the high-impact interventions that will be more sustainable.

**Approach.** Both phases adopted a **politically informed and problem-driven approach** aimed at understanding the political dynamics and identifying change champions within and outside parliaments and political parties. This model allowed a continued response to local dynamics, building on locally driven and owned initiatives, encouraging behaviour change, reinforced with international good practice and experience sharing. This way, WFD provided tailored and targeted support to beneficiaries and other stakeholders and built effective coalitions for change.

**Partnerships.** The partnerships between KIPP, political parties, OPDs and government agencies based on the principles of human rights programming ensured the right holders (persons with disabilities) demanded their rights and the duty bearers (state electoral agencies) responded to their rights of inclusion in political rights. Engaging with the political parties provided the much-required support in building their capacity to respond to the needs of persons with disabilities by making their policies inclusive. Similarly, the partnership arrangement between Demo Finland and WFD was mutual. The knowledge sharing by Demo Finland and WFD learned over time while implementing similar programmes contributed to the success of the KIPP.

**Relevance.** Overall, KIPP was timely and responded to the needs before the intervention. The TOC was well conceived and remains relevant to the current state of political parties and democracy in Kenya. As much as the impact, outcome, and outputs remained the same, a deliberate strategy, including the graduation of activities, aided in responding to the emerging

issues and needs that aided in preparing the political parties and the state electoral actors for the General Election. However, gaps remain in operationalising the political party and national electoral policies that would be important to consider in the post-election interventions. Therefore, this model of KIPP remains relevant and can be replicated in a future related programme, while considering the prevailing political context.

**Efficiency and effectiveness.** Stakeholders were generally satisfied with the project interventions, despite the short implementation period and closeness to the General Election. WFD responded to emerging needs and supported the partners in related activities. By the time of the review, most of the activities had been achieved with the expectation that this would be completed within the remaining timelines. Additional activities were conducted from the budget savings to respond to the emerging needs. This is attributable to efficient human resources, organisational leadership, and the adopted partnership model. Overall, the programme was efficient in how the activities were conducted and the results achieved. Adaptation to COVID-19 and inclusion practices provided by WFD, such as the provision of accessible conference facilities, provisions for Sign Language interpreters and logistical facilitation for all participants and the support persons (aides), also contributed to the efficiency and effectiveness of KIPP.

**Impact.** As a result of the intervention, KIPP achieved both expected and unexpected key achievements. The key changes include: a) political parties have inclusive party policies, structures and processes; b) all political parties now have established disability leagues/caucuses/wings; c) political parties waived or discounted nomination fees for candidates with disabilities; d) there is enhanced relationships among the political parties, OPDs and state electoral agencies; e) enhanced capacity among the OPDs to advocate for political participation and representation of persons with disabilities in political parties; f) increased members with disabilities in political parties; g) increased interest in the political process among persons with disabilities; h) improved intra-party relationships; i) legal electoral reforms; and j) increased capacity of WFD and Demo Finland to implement the inclusive programmes.

**Sustainability.** The structures and tools created for the political parties and OPDs potentially created a foundation for sustainability. KIPP contributed to ensuring sustainability through a) creating knowledge products, including situational analysis, evaluation reports, Minimum Standards, advocacy strategy, and customised training modules. Capacity building was a strong component where modules were developed in a participatory manner, used for capacity building for and by different groups, and can also be utilised in the future by different players. The inclusive internal policy documents such as manifestos and constitutions will have medium-term impacts and be used by disability leagues to seek accountability from their political parties. The waiving or discounting of nomination and membership fees are sustainable achievements by the political parties. The formation of disability leagues is progressive and a structure that can continually lobby for inclusion. The Technical Working Group was the most innovative idea that KIPP adopted and has received universal acceptance with a diverse membership, including political parties, OPDs, and parliamentary disability caucuses. The mutual engagement of state electoral agencies opened engagement spaces that can be utilised for future inclusion advocacy.

## 5.2. Recommendations

- a. **Sustain and strengthen partnerships with more strategic state and non-state actors for electoral reforms.** The partnerships envisioned by KIPP need to be sustained and strengthened to help tackle the pending policy issues. Some of the strategic partnerships would include:
- The **IEBC Disability Inclusion Coordination Committee (IEBC-DICC)**<sup>19</sup> brings together 10 OPDs and is mandated by IEBC to coordinate meaningful engagement of persons with disabilities in the electoral process. The structure was part of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems' initiative though it was not highly effective due to lack of funding. This group forms an entry point for engagement with IEBC to achieve electoral reforms and should be legalised and gazetted.
  - **The Judiciary** can be enjoined into the Programme to provide advice on how better representation can be achieved through judicial processes. Other issues the Judiciary can support include manoeuvring the election petitions, dispute resolutions, filling of petitions and general access to the judicial process.
  - **KHRC** would be a strategic partner to provide technical aid on judicial processes and the filing of petitions.
  - **PPDT** would be a critical partner in addressing disputes related to political processes.
  - WFD can partner with **KEDIPA** to fast-track the **County Government (Amendment) Bill, 2021** (initially sponsored by NDI), which seeks to amend the County Government Act, No. 17 of 2012, to ensure that persons with disabilities are adequately represented at the county level. KEDIPA would also be key to making the Constitutional and Political Parties Act and IEBC Act review that requires political parties to undertake nationwide consultations before identifying a nomination candidate to represent persons with disabilities for nomination in the Parliament and County Assemblies.
  - **ORPP** is a key structure that can push for more compliance by political parties. Particularly, KIPP needs to partner with ORPP to implement the Minimum Standards and develop guidelines for the distribution of PPF for special interest groups.
  - The **Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC)**<sup>20</sup> established by the Political Parties Act, 2011 is mandated to provide a platform for dialogue between the Registrar, Electoral Commission, and political parties. However, despite being a state organ, it lacks representation of persons with disabilities. PPLC Regulations are being developed; therefore, KIPP needs to partner with PPLC to ensure that persons with disabilities are legally included as members.

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<sup>19</sup> [https://twitter.com/IEBC\\_DICC?s=20&t=lm6eUyUHoFsGS\\_Ncqe4\\_mw](https://twitter.com/IEBC_DICC?s=20&t=lm6eUyUHoFsGS_Ncqe4_mw)

<sup>20</sup> <https://orpp.or.ke/index.php/2-uncategorised/73-political-parties-liaison-committees-pplc>



- b. **Support the development of an accountability mechanism for the political parties in implementing internal policies.** KIPP aided in creating inclusive structures, but it was realised there is still a lack of genuine goodwill to achieve inclusion, including representation in all party structures, nomination processes, and ensuring adequate resources to support disability leagues, among others. Therefore, an accountability mechanism would ensure the implementation and follow-up of the policy commitments made by the parties. Other political parties should replicate ANC by establishing charters for their disability leagues. Achieving change would also require engaging the high-level stakeholders within the political parties, including the party owners.
- c. **Lobby the implementation and operationalisation of the Minimum Standards by other political parties.** As it is now, the implementation of the Minimum Standards has progressively begun among the 13 PPs who are all at different levels of implementation though not yet fully achieved. WFD should partner with ORPP to ensure other political parties that are not part of KIPP programme adopt, implement, and report the progress of implementing the Minimum Standards.
- d. **Design holistic interventions that cover entire electoral cycles.** Ideally, programme interventions should holistically focus on the electoral cycle. However, it is acknowledged that there exist resource limitations. KIPP needs to focus on high-impact policy activities in the electoral cycle that also accommodates emerging issues. For example, it emerged that the newly elected leaders with disabilities had limited capacity to engage. Political parties should be skilled in introducing mentorship programmes. Additionally, the election losers faced psychosocial difficulties that could be anticipated and supported. through pre-electoral mentorship activities.
- e. **Strengthen the capacity of political parties and electoral state agencies on data management.** Data remains a key challenge that limits evidence-based programming. Most political parties had no authoritative data on their membership, aspirants and candidates, particularly those with disabilities. This was also observed in IEBC. KIPP needs to support political parties to develop data management and reporting systems that capture disaggregated data.
- f. **Strengthen specific political party interventions.** KIPP utilised bilateral and cross-party activities while recognising the varied strengths of political parties. It was recognized that parties would respond differently due to internal dynamics and processes, and as such all political parties are not on par at endline. Furthermore, some parties joined later, inconsistently engaged and formed their leagues at separate times. KIPP should undertake an individual assessment of those that lag and tailor-make responses to their needs.
- g. **Targeted and strategic engagement of OPDs.** Before the KIPP Programme, most of the OPDs had limited strength in democracy programming, which KIPP addressed. However, engaging a smaller and more strategic group of OPDs can be more efficient and cut engagement costs. Before engagement, it is important to undertake a capacity assessment to establish their human and other resource capacities to integrate the agreed actions into their programmes and cascade them to their members.
- h. **Empower disability leagues to participate in the planning, utilisation, and accountability of the PPF.** It is encouraging that many parties have qualified for the Political Parties Fund.

Disability Leagues need to be empowered to get an allocation, participate, monitor, and seek accountability for how such funds are utilised. The parties should implement mechanisms, including budgeting and planning for PPF. In addition, ORPP and Parliament need to provide policy guidelines to political parties on the distribution of the PPF for special interest groups.

- i. **Improve accessibility of knowledge products.** The modules produced were, to some extent, customised. Still, some respondents felt that for it to become more effective, KIPP needs to produce more simplified and inclusive materials with a richer graphical presentation, multi-lingual interpretation (including Kiswahili and Sign Language), and multiple formats.

## 6.0. Annexes

### Annex 1: Impact and Innovation Award Certificate



KIPP Impact and Innovation Award.pdf

### Annex 2: Terms of reference for the Final Evaluation



Request for Quotes - KIPP Endline Evaluatio

### Annex 3: Tools for data collection



Questionnaire for WFD and Demo Finlar



Questionnaire for Registrar of Political F



Questionnaire for Demo Finland Staff.dc



Questionnaire for Political Parties.docx



Questionnaire for OPDs, CSOs and TWG



Questionnaire for Elected and nominate

### Annex 4: List of nominated and elected leaders with disabilities



List of elected and nominated leaders wi

### Annex 5: List of evaluation respondents



List of Respondents.docx

### Annex 6: Summary PowerPoint Report



KIPP Evaluation Summary Report.pptx

# Infographics



Worked with **16**  
Political parties



Worked with **5**  
State Electoral  
Actors



Worked with **30**  
OPDs, CSOs,  
County and  
Parliamentary  
caucuses

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