

EVALUATION REPORT  
Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the  
Consolidating Democratic Dividends for  
Sustainable Transformation Project in  
Kenya

**Date:** December 2024



## **EVALUATION REPORT**

Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya

**Project Title** - Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation in Kenya

**Negotiation** - UNDP-KEN-00246  
(Terminal Evaluation-Deepening Democracy Project)

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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
AWCFS	African Woman and Child Feature Service
AMWIK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
BAKE	Bloggers Association of Kenya
BETA	Bottom-up Economic Transformation Agenda
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CMD	Centre for Multiparty Democracy
CPD	Country Programme Document
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KEN	Kenya
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentary Association
KJA	Kenya Judiciary Academy
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
LNOB	Leaving No One Behind
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MoD	Ministry of Devolution
MTP	Medium Term Plan
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NYC	National Youth Council
OHCHR	Office of the High Commission for Human Rights
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PTC	Project Technical Committee
PST	Project Steering Committee
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSDCF	United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework

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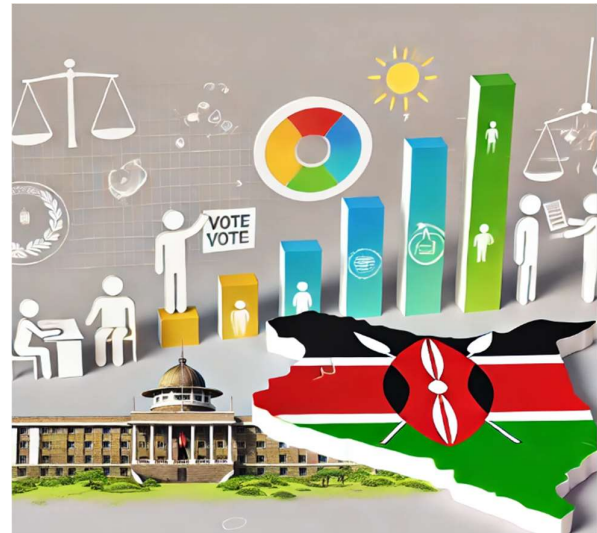
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Context and background

The Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (also referred to as the Deepening Democracy Project) was implemented between November 2021 and June 30, 2024. It is a project implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in collaboration with UN Women, and the Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (OHCHR). The project is implemented through several interventions including building effective and responsive institutions; strengthening the capacity of constitutional and independent offices in the country's governance and electoral ecosystem; promoting civic engagement; and support to marginalized groups for access to justice and democratic participation.

At the time of starting the project, Kenya had made significant progress in democratic governance. Among others, Kenya conducted relatively peaceful elections in 2013 and 2017. The county witnessed a peaceful political transition in 2013. A devolved system of government comprising 47 counties improved service delivery at the local level with devolution laying a strong foundation for sustainable transformation. The 2017 election passed as a peaceful election, but the presidential election had challenges that led to the Supreme Court annulling the election and ordering a fresh election. This outcome was attributed to the strengthening of the electoral process and institutions.



Kenya held another peaceful election in 2022. Election observers generally passed the election as largely peaceful, free, fair and credible. The Deepening Democracy project supported strengthening of electoral institutions and processes and also supported non-state actors to strengthen their voice in demanding free, fair and credible elections.

Overall, this responded positively to the prevailing governance challenges especially by sensitizing citizens on the importance of civic engagement in governance and also institutional strengthening of targeted government institutions. In varied project sites, there were notable contributions attributable to the project. For instance, in Kiambu county, through the training received under the Githurai Social Justice Centre, community members actively participated in vetting persons aspiring for varied electoral positions in the August 2022 general elections (e.g. Member of County Assembly and the Member of Parliament). Uraia's *Kagua Maendeleo* initiative is another example of notable aspects attributable to the project.

Indeed, though not attaching attribution to the project, at the end of the project period in June 2024, Kenya witnessed unprecedented protests by Generation Z – youth protestors – who were demanding

greater accountability of the government, end of corruption, and improvement of service delivery. All this points to the continued importance of interventions by governance projects such as the Deepening Democracy Project.

## **The Terminal Evaluation**

This draft report provides findings of terminal evaluation of the Deepening Democracy Project. The Terminal Evaluation was commissioned to assess the project's contribution towards democratic governance. The objectives of the evaluation were:

- a. Assess the project Theory of Change to establish alignment with the goals, outcomes, or problems addressed by project interventions.
- b. Review the relevance and coherence of the project to the country context including the national and sub-national development priorities (Vision 2030 and Medium-Term Plan (MTP) IV, CIDPs, among others).
- c. Review the effectiveness of the project including the attributability of results to the project. Review any gaps/inefficiencies, areas of work that required strategies to be adjusted during implementation, and with what effect.
- d. Assess efficiency in the utilization of programme funds including cost-effectiveness, and value for money while balancing with social dimensions including gender equity and environment.
- e. Review the extent to which the principles of LNOB have been incorporated into the programme implementation. These include women and girls; children and youth; people living in ASALs; and people living in urban informal settlements, human rights, HIV/Aids and Persons with Disability (PWDs).
- f. Document lessons learnt, challenges and future opportunities, and provide recommendations for improvements or adjustments in strategy, design and/or implementation arrangements.

A mixed methods approach was applied in collecting and analyzing data. The specific methods included key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and a survey of 121 community level beneficiaries. Analysis of available reports including progress reports and others relating to the project complemented these sources of data. Information obtained from different sources was triangulated to enhance validity of findings. This evaluation report was also prepared with reference to the UNDP Evaluation Guidelines.



## **Key Findings**

### **Theory of Change**

The project's Theory of Change (ToC) is well aligned with the contextual issues identified and connects well with United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2018 – 2022, and the Country Programme Document (CPD, 2018-2022) among others. The project also aligns well with Kenya's national priorities on democratic governance, improving accountability and a culture of constitutionalism (e.g. political pillar of Kenya Vision 2030; and the Constitution of Kenya).

### **Relevance and coherence**

The evaluation examined the extent to which the project was relevant and coherent. The findings show that the interventions aimed at addressing prevailing governance challenges as well as consolidate the gains made after the passing of the 2010 constitution. Moreover, the interventions were informed by evidence including various election observer mission reports.

The project is also anchored on existing global frameworks and priorities including the SGDs (SDG 5 on gender equality; SDG 10 on reducing inequality, and SDG 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions), Convention on the Elimination on all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Furthermore, the project design is well aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2022-2026; Country Programme Document (CPD) 2018-2022 to CPD 2022-2026 and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2018 – 2022. The project also aligns well with Kenya's national priorities on democratic governance, improving accountability and a culture of constitutionalism articulated under political pillar of the Kenya Vision 2030; and the Constitution of Kenya). Some of the specific national priorities include the need to promote a culture of constitutionalism and improving accountability; enhancing gender equality and women's participation in leadership and decision making; promoting participation of the youth in democratic processes; and need to enhance political parties democracy.

This project has been implemented in the context of two transitions with respect to the larger UN and UNDP programming frameworks. The transitions from UNDP Kenya Country Programme Document (CPD) 2018-2022 to CPD 2022-2026 and from United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2018-2022 to the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2022-2026 are significant shifts that have taken place during the project cycle. The period under review was implemented under the United Nations Development Assistance Framework UNDAF 2018-2022: Outcome 1 and UNSDCF 2022-2026 Outcome 1. With respect to the UNDP Kenya framework, the period under review was implemented under CPD 2018-2022 Outcome 2; CPD Output 2.4: and UNDP Kenya CPD 2022-2026, Outcome 1; CPD Output 1.4.

Overall, the project was 'fit for purpose.' However, there is a need to improve on co-creation of project priorities by consulting with all actors in the governance ecosystem. Involvement of downstream partners in identifying core governance challenges in their contexts would add value. Relatedly, the

issues of youth, women, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups should be embedded into project design as cross-cutting issues. This will strengthen and institutionalize the Leave No One Behind (LNOB) principles.

### **Effectiveness**

The project demonstrated mixed effectiveness across various output areas. Overall, the project strengthened democratic governance and electoral institutions and increased capacities and opportunities for strategic stakeholder and public engagement in key electoral and governance processes from a human-right based lens, consequently contributing to peaceful elections in Kenya in 2022. This is supported by feedback from key informant interviews and the beneficiary survey. In particular, 45% of the beneficiary survey respondents strongly agreed that there was improved service delivery and accountability in government institutions as a result of the project's activities.

Further, 52% beneficiary survey respondents strongly agreed that the interventions contributed to a peaceful pre and post-election period in Kenya, and 47% respondents strongly agreed that the project promoted women's participation in the country's electoral processes. These sentiments indicate commendable progress towards achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Corporation Framework (UNSDCF)/Country Programme Document (CPD) Outcome 1 *By 2026, people in Kenya at risk of being left behind particularly all women and girls, all children and youth, all people in the ASAL counties and in informal urban settlements, - inhabit an inclusive, enabling, socially cohesive, and peaceful society where human rights are upheld, and benefit from accountable institutions and participate in transformative governance systems that are gender responsive and uphold the rule of law.* Good communication and responsiveness of the participating United Nations agencies (UNDP, UN Women, and OHCHR) helped achieve the outputs.

However, delay in starting the project and reduced budget vis a vis the scope and scale of the planned outcomes and outputs constrained effectiveness. While the delay in starting the project was beyond the control of partners, there is a need to identify and prioritize activities in the broader ecosystem that should be supported in preparation of actual roll out of an election project. Partners can conduct preliminary activities awaiting approval by the government.

A major challenge in making a concrete conclusion on effectiveness is lack of appropriate baseline M&E data and lack of targets on some indicators including the outcome indicator. The M&E plan also focuses on tracking the project level outputs with limited outcome monitoring/harvesting which should have been done prior to the final evaluation. This limits systematic review of progress towards long term results.

### **Efficiency**

The governance and management structures (PST, PTC, and PMU) of the project worked well. Some stakeholders observed that the frequency of meetings was excessive, leading to resources strain and diminished focus on key tasks. In future it would be necessary to consider streamlining the meeting scheduled to enhance productivity. The short timeline and late start of the project, delays in approval

of work plans, combined with the late disbursement of funds impacted on efficiency. Further, the short-term nature of the project impact on the project team and sometimes resulted in administrative challenges and hurried implementation. This impinged on the efficiency of the project.

Findings on the basket funding modality were mixed. Some of the implementing partners noted that the basket funding modality worked well because it allowed coordinated support to activities across the country. This also helped reduce duplication of efforts and wastage of resources which would have been the case had development partners proceeded to implement such a project without coordination. But there were those who highlighted inefficiencies.

Notwithstanding the above, basket funding model has the advantage of pooling resources and aligning contributing agencies with common objective and by that improving on collective action. To address the operational challenge in the basket funding model, there is need for a need for extensive consultations on how the design of the project should look like, expectations of all partners, and how past lessons are incorporated to inform implementation.

### **Gender equality**

The project design and implementation prioritized the issue of gender equality, women's participation in decision making including participation in the electoral processes. Stakeholders from the six project sites visited (Nairobi, Kiambu, Garissa, Kwale, Bungoma and Nakuru) were united in affirming the contribution of the project interventions in increasing women's participation in the country's electoral process not only as voters, but also in seeking varied political offices. Civic engagement activities contributed to addressing cultural norms that undermine women's participation in the electoral processes. Further, implementing partners embedded gender issues while implementing the programme activities.

Promoting gender equality resulted in increased participation of women in political process. However, there are a number of outstanding issues that require sustained and intensified efforts by various actors to address. First, how to enforce the two thirds gender rule remain a dominant governance issue. Second, women continue to face challenges – including financial – in participating in electoral politics and democratic governance in general. Social cultural context of politics continue to impact on gender and inclusive politics.

### **Impact**

The project contributed to enhancing the capacity of targeted electoral institutions (e.g. IEBC, ORPP) as well as the capacity of community members to effectively participate in the country's electoral processes. At the community level, through capacity building efforts, citizens have been able to apply knowledge received through trainings to demand for improved service delivery and responsiveness of public institutions. The youth were able to participate in electoral processes with some running for office.

Importantly, civic education on governance enabled citizens to link governance issues to service delivery under devolution and development in general. Because of this, citizens were able to continuously demand for accountability by county and national governments. At the same time, the civil society groups involved in the project played an important part in promoting peace during the election period. Their focus on preventing violence and promoting peace was evident especially in areas where there was intense electoral competition and even dispute over results.

## **Sustainability**

Implementing partners embedded considerations on sustainability in the design and delivery of their interventions. For instance, this included the adoption of community-based approaches (e.g. training of budget champions at the ward level), availability of social audit and vetting tools all contributed to ensuring the continuity of the project impacts beyond the life of the project. All the same, many argue that the short time span did not allow for reflections on how to embed adequate sustainability measures in the project.

Generally speaking, there were several factors that weakened the sustainability of the results of the project. One was the funding constraints. The project did not manage to secure all the funds to support the scope and depth of project activities. This led to the project spreading itself thin and implementation of activities without sufficient depth. Many of the activities demonstrated impact but this impact would have been greater had there been sufficient time and depth in implementation.

Two, the government buy-in and late approval affected the pace of implementation. It is understandable that due to the political context at the time, there were challenges to guarantee buy-in of an electoral project. Political polarization and political divisions within the government meant new dynamics. However, early planning would have mitigated these challenge especially if a government counterpart or champion had been identified early enough. Thirdly, there was no evidence of a clear exit strategy, and more so a strategy to ensure that the downstream partners would continue with some strategic activities after the closure of the project.

## **Partnership and coordination**

Findings on partnership and coordination are mixed. Implementing partners pointed at the strong coordination and collaboration among UN agencies and partners. The principle of “Delivering as One” allowed the agencies to bring their experience on board, and share expertise and resources to enhance effectiveness in implementation.

The project involved a broad array of partners with interest on democratic governance and election related issues. The diversity of partners on its own enhanced comprehensive coverage of election related matters and democratic governance in general. Nonetheless, there is a need to involve non-traditional actors such as the private sector, especially, because of their growing influence on governance related issues.

**Lessons learned**

- i. *Planning and implementing activities that cover the entire election cycle and starting early is important.* Future interventions should start with a focus on the entire election cycle; the end of an election marks the beginning of a new one. Designing future projects should have a long term perspective so that planning for an election begins when one election is concluded.
- ii. *Implementation period and timelines were so compressed that various actors did not have time to synergize and effectively learn from one another.* Partners implemented activities as individual actors tasked with contributing to specific outputs but there was limited time to ensure they interlink their efforts. To address this challenge, in future, actors handling similar outputs should be brought together under a consortium to create synergy, harmonize interventions, enhance coordination and create opportunities for learning.
- iii. *A focus on inclusion and principles on Leave No One Behind creates opportunities to broaden project benefits beyond traditional beneficiaries;* it is key to laying a strong foundation for governance especially at the local level and among the marginalized. Inclusion was an important and key strength of the project.
- iv. *Leveraging innovative approaches like digital technology and digital democracy and crowdsourcing complements traditional approaches to civic education.* This is particularly important for young people. The increased awareness of youth – Gen Z – itself invites the need to integrate digital technology and digital democracy in civic education approaches more than ever before.
- v. *In undertaking electoral interventions (especially electoral reforms), you get better results when all key stakeholders in the electoral ecosystem are involved.* This promotes and enhances buy-in and ensures there are no gaps in delivery. The design of future projects should aim for this approach too.
- vi. *Relating governance issues to budgeting enables the citizens to relate to real life and everyday experiences.* The project innovatively moved away from abstract relationships to real life examples in budgeting and accountability with a focus on service delivery.
- vii. *Interventions touching on the budget process and accountability should encompass a longer period and preferably within one Medium Term Plan (MTP) cycle.* Such an approach will provide an opportunity not only to follow the budget process but also execution and accountability to the budget as passed.

## Conclusions and recommendations

The project was strategic enough to address important issues but it was implemented within a very short time period. The recommendations made below recognises this challenge and argues for early planning for a future project.

- a) One major shortcoming of the project was the compressed timeline for implementation. The late start and limited funding compared to the anticipated scope and scale of the project activities impacted on efficiency. That being said, the project addressed strategic democratic governance issues that should not be ignored. Indeed, there is growing demand for this type of project now and in the future. It is recommended that initiation and planning for a future project begin early enough to avoid delays in starting implementation and mobilisation of funds.
- b) The project was not designed to cover the entire electoral cycle. A project focused on elections, among others, should be developed on the recognition that the end of one election marks the beginning of the next electoral process. It is recommended, therefore, that planning for a similar project (focused on 2027 elections) should begin as early as possible to avoid delays in implementation and focused approach to getting buy-in from the government.
- c) To enhance the relevance and coherence of future interventions, there is a need for co-creation process between the UNDP, lead agencies, the implementing partners and other actors including downstream partners. The design should also be preceded by a deeper political economy analysis of the context of implementation to appreciate the complexities of the environment and risks that would confront implementation.
- d) Leave No One Behind is an important principle in a governance related project. In this regard, the issue of youth, women, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups should be embedded into project design as cross-cutting issues. This will ensure that each project activity reflects and considers these dimensions in a deliberate manner.
- e) The M&E framework in place tracked implementation of activities but the compressed timelines put pressure on project team and everyone else implementing the project. The short timelines for the project made it difficult to track impact in a comprehensive manner. At output level, the M&E framework included results at all the output levels with indicators. However, some of the indicators were not robust enough to measure the output level results. While one can't have an indicator for each set of activity/groups of activities conducted, it would be ideal to come up with robust measures that encompass the level of investment.

An M&E framework in such a context certainly faces administrative challenges. There are competing priorities and needs that should be addressed within a short period which may constrain effective monitoring. It is important that a more robust M&E framework to capture project impact is developed early enough for the purpose. It should be robust enough to adapt to the complex political context, be able to help in assessment of risks and provide mitigation strategies. The design of the results framework should also take into consideration the input of

implementation organizations to enhance harmony of indicators.

- f) Leveraging innovative approaches like digital technology, digital democracy and crowdsourcing can complement traditional approaches to civic education. This is particularly important for young people who spend a substantial amount of time online and may no longer embrace the traditional forms of civic education. It is recommended that future project focuses on ‘youth voice’ given the central role they have occupied in democratic governance in recent times.

# 1 INTRODUCTION



The Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (hereinafter referred to as the Deepening Democracy Project) was implemented between November 2021 and June 30, 2024. It is a project implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in collaboration with UN Women and Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (OHCHR). The project covers Kenya's 47 counties through diverse interventions. These include building effective and responsive institutions; strengthening the capacity of constitutional and independent offices in the country's governance and electoral ecosystem; promoting civic engagement; and support to marginalized groups for access to justice and democratic participation.

The challenges to deepening democracy in Kenya informed the choice of project interventions. Some of these challenges to which the project was responding include management of political processes; constrained evolution of issue-based political processes; ethnic polarization, partisan mobilization and factional posturing; nature of political elites and their influence on national discourses through self-interests; limited public accountability; need to strengthen social cohesion; and finally, the need to deepen efforts for protection of human rights.

At the time of starting the project, Kenya had made significant achievements in democratic governance, but the gains made required consolidation to lay a firm foundation for transformation. Among other achievements, Kenya conducted relatively peaceful elections in 2013 and 2017. The country also witnessed a peaceful political transition in 2013. Furthermore, Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) 2024 show that Kenya's governance score has improved in the period



between 2013-2023 but the pace of improvement has slowed in the period between 2019 – 2023. Kenya has improved in three out of four categories. Overall Kenya has deteriorated in security and rule of law but has continued to improve on especially on participation, rights and inclusion.<sup>1</sup>

The 2017 election also passed as a peaceful election, but the presidential election presented challenges that led to the Supreme Court annulling the election and ordering for a fresh election. Although violence followed much later after the repeat of 2017 elections, it is notable that violence ended after the opposition leader and the elected President agreed to work together – an agreement that culminated in the infamous “handshake” between the two - and undertake reforms to strengthen governance institutions and promote transformation. Indeed from then on, Kenya held another election in 2022 which observers agreed was largely peaceful, transparent, free and credible. The institutions supporting the conduct of the elections effectively discharged their mandate in this regard. This is the context on which the project was implemented.

Significant also is that the project contributes to UNDAF /Country outcome 1.1 that ‘by 2022 people in Kenya enjoy improved governance, access to justice, respect for the rule of law, human rights and gender equality’. The project also contributes to realization of CPD outcome 2 that ‘by 2022, people in Kenya live in a secure, peaceful, inclusive, and cohesive society’. In turn, the project contributes to three UNDAF outputs:

- i. Strengthened technical and financial capacities by the rule of law, access to justice and legislative institutions to deliver inclusive, accountable, and equitable services in line with normative frameworks.
- ii. Strengthened electoral systems, and a public that is capacitated to participate in electoral processes.
- iii. Strengthened capacities of citizens, non-state actors, and media to engage in governance.

The Deepening Democracy Project focused on the following outputs:

- i. Enhanced institutional capacity for inclusion, transparency, and accountability.
- ii. Dispute resolution by strategic governance institutions strengthened.
- iii. Strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks and stakeholder coordination for democratic consolidation.
- iv. Increased civic and media engagement and participation in governance processes for accountable service delivery.
- v. Strengthened and coordinated human rights monitoring.
- vi. Enhanced capacity on security, risk management, and coordination.
- vii. Strengthened civic engagement of women and youth participation in conflict prevention and peace-building.
- viii. Effective and efficient management, partnership formation, monitoring, and evaluation of the project.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://assets.iig.online/2024/profiles/2024-IIAG-profile-ke.pdf>

## 1.1 Terminal evaluation: scope and objective

The Terminal Evaluation was commissioned to assess the project's contribution towards broad democratic governance. The assessment also aimed at examining the project's contribution to a free, fair, accountable, inclusive, and peaceful 2022 general election through enhanced capacity of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and other national institutions and civil society partners identified as key stakeholders in the governance and electoral ecosystem. The evaluation also assessed the progress made against the planned project outputs, indicators, and lessons learnt for future programming.

The evaluation further assessed the extent to which the project contributed to national efforts towards realization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 5 on Gender Equality; SDG Goal 10 on reducing Inequality; and SDG Goal 16 on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions. The project also aligns with ICCPR and CEDAW and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2018-2022, which seeks to ensure that the culture of constitutionalism is strengthened in Kenya, underpinned by improved governance, respect for human rights, and a justice and rule of law system that is inclusive, accountable, and empowering especially to vulnerable groups.

The objectives of this Terminal Evaluation are to:

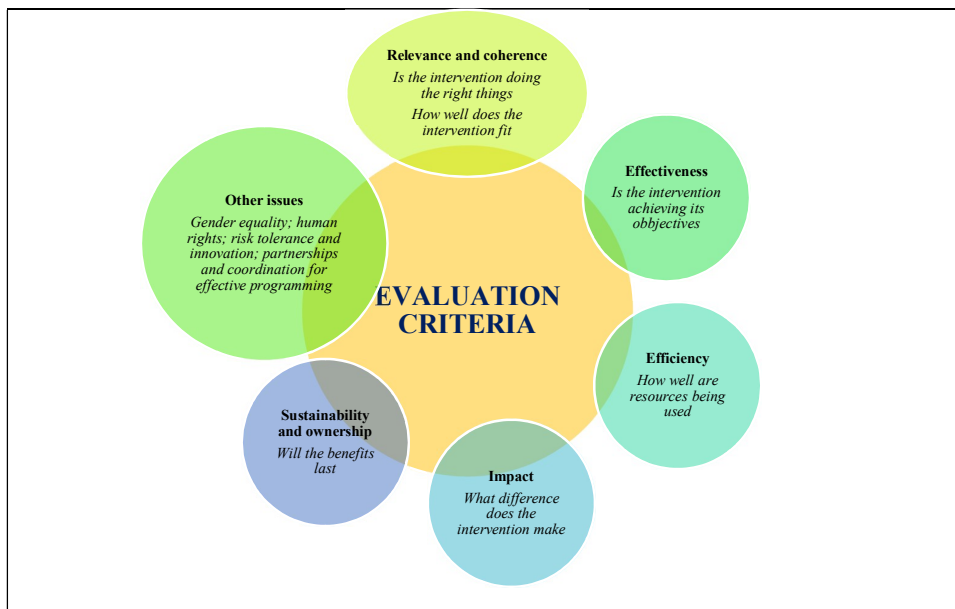
- a) Assess the project's Theory of Change to establish alignment with the goals, outcomes, or problems addressed by project interventions. It will seek to reflect and learn from evidence and experience to inform adaptation, innovation, and improvement in subsequent projects of similar nature.
- b) Review the relevance and coherence of the project to the country context including the national and sub-national development priorities (Vision 2030 and Medium-Term Plan (MTP) IV, CIDPs, among others).
- c) Review the effectiveness of the project including the attributability of results to the project. Review any gaps/inefficiencies, areas of work that required strategies to be adjusted during implementation, and with what effect.
- d) Assess efficiency in the utilization of programme funds including cost-effectiveness, and value for money while balancing with social dimensions including gender equity and environment.
- e) Review the extent to which the principles of LNOB have been incorporated into the programme implementation. These include women and girls; children and youth; people living in ASALs; and people living in urban informal settlements, human rights, HIV/Aids and Persons with Disability (PWDs).
- f) Document lessons learnt, challenges, and future opportunities, and provide recommendations for improvements or adjustments in strategy, design and/or implementation arrangements.

## 1.2 Approach and methodology

The criteria employed in this evaluation were articulated in the Terms of Reference for this assignment. The assessment criteria focused on, among other issues, **relevance**, **effectiveness**, **efficiency** and **sustainability** and overall **impact**. Further, the evaluation assessed the project using a **gender equality** lens. The evaluation also focused on how the project design integrated a **human rights-based** approach and adopted a people-centred approach to support engagement of select national institutions as well as communities and marginalized groups in governance. Figure 1 illustrates the key issues guiding the evaluation.

The specific application of this criteria can be discerned in the breadth and depth of the questions that guided this Terminal Evaluation. The evaluation also borrows from international BEST practice to ensure the Evaluation is developed through a participatory approach; is evidence-based; and informed by best theory-practice interplay in evaluative assessments. Stakeholder engagement was in-built across the critical stages of this evaluation, with key informant interviews focusing on the diversity of the partners involved in the project.

**Figure 1: The evaluation criteria and related questions**



Data was collected in a systematic manner so as to ensure the evidence gathered responds to the evaluation criteria. The goal was to ensure that the evidence generated captured the breadth and depth of perspectives from the stakeholders. Given the diversity of indicators included in the project's Results Framework and the specific objectives for this evaluation, it was prudent to adopt a mixed methods approach. Such a methodology allows for flexibility to tap into the merits of varied data collection methods in response to the diverse indicators.

We used four complementary methods of data collection for this assignment. The four are documents review; key informant interviews; focus group discussions and beneficiaries' survey. Table 1 presents an overview of the key evaluation criteria and the data sources.

**Table 1: Mapping Evaluation Criteria with Data Sources**

	<b>Evaluation Criteria</b>	<b>Sources of Data</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Relevance and Coherence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Document's review e.g. Programme document; CPD 2018 – 2022, 2022 – 2026; UNDAF 2018 – 2022; UNSDCF 2022 – 2026; ICPE Kenya 2022; BETA, Kenya Vision 2030; MTP IV; Annual reports; Results framework; theory of change; UN shared framework on leaving no one behind</li> <li>- Key informant interviews</li> <li>- Focus group discussion</li> <li>- Beneficiaries survey</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	<b>Effectiveness</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Documents review e.g. Results framework; programme document; evaluation reports; progress and project quality assurance reports; M&amp;E reports; results oriented monitoring reports annual reports; annual work plans; theory of change</li> <li>- Key informant interviews</li> <li>- Focus group discussions</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	<b>Efficiency</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Documents review e.g. Results framework; results oriented monitoring report, technical /financial monitoring reports programme document; evaluation reports; progress and project quality assurance reports; M&amp;E reports; annual reports; annual work plans; theory of change; highlights of project Board meetings</li> <li>- Key informant interviews</li> <li>- Focus group discussions</li> </ul>
<b>4</b>	<b>Impact</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Documents review e.g. theory of change; results framework; results oriented monitoring report; annual reports; annual work plans; programme document</li> <li>- Key informant interviews</li> <li>- Focus group discussions</li> <li>- Beneficiary</li> <li>- Site visits</li> </ul>
<b>5</b>	<b>Sustainability and Ownership</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents review e.g. theory of change; results framework; results oriented monitoring report; programme document; annual work plans; consolidated work plans; technical / financial monitoring reports; program/project quality assurance reports</li> <li>• Key informant interviews</li> <li>• Focus group discussions</li> <li>• Beneficiary</li> <li>• Site visits</li> </ul>

	<b>Evaluation Criteria</b>	<b>Sources of Data</b>
6	<b>Gender Equality</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents review e.g. theory of change; contribution agreement; results framework; results monitoring reports; annual work plans; program/project quality assurance reports</li> <li>• Key informant interviews</li> <li>• Focus group discussions</li> <li>• Beneficiaries /citizens survey</li> </ul>
7	<b>Human Rights</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents review e.g. theory of change; contribution agreement; results framework; results monitoring reports; annual work plans; program/project quality assurance reports</li> <li>• Key informant interviews</li> <li>• Focus group discussions</li> <li>• Beneficiaries survey</li> </ul>
8	<b>Risk Tolerance and Innovation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents review e.g. theory of change; contribution agreement; results framework; results monitoring reports; annual work plans; program/project quality assurance reports; highlights of project Board meetings</li> <li>• Key informant interviews</li> <li>• Focus group discussions</li> </ul>
9	<b>Partnership and Coordination for Effective Programming</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documents review e.g. contribution agreement, results monitoring reports; annual work plans; highlights of project Board meetings</li> <li>• Key informant interviews</li> <li>• Focus group discussions</li> </ul>

### Documents Review

A review of the project documents deepened understanding of the conceptual basis of the project, including the underlying theory of change, and the results framework. Second, some of the documents reviewed provided pointers at possible responses and explanations to the evaluation questions. The document review also helped in the design of evaluation tools as well as refinement of the evaluation methodology including potential key informants, who to consider for focus group discussions, and the beneficiary / citizens survey. Some of the documents reviewed include:

- The programme document;
- UN agreements focusing on the project;
- Strategic documents focusing on the project (e.g. CPD 2022- 2026; CPD 2018 – 2022; UNSDCF 2022-2026; MTP IV; Kenya Vision 2030; UNDAF 2018 – 2022; MTP III; BETA; ICPE Kenya 2022; Big Four Agenda etc.);
- UNDP annual reports;
- JTF monthly reports;
- Annual reports (2021 – 2022; 2022 – 2023);
- EOM reports;
- PTC and PST meetings reports among others.

Information obtained from these sources was assessed on the basis of the specified evaluation criteria of relevance, coherence, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability; gender equality; risk tolerance and innovation; partnership and coordination for effective programming.

The evaluation also mapped out the project outcomes and outputs along the larger UN and UNDP programming frameworks and assessed its adaptability to the changing context bearing in mind that it was implemented in the context of two transitions resulting in significant shifts in the project cycle. These transitions were from UNDP Kenya Country Programme Document (CPD) 2018-2022 to CPD 2022-2026 and from United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2018-2022 to the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2022-2026.

### Key Informant Interviews

The key informants were sourced from various actors involved in the design, funding and/or implementation of the project. The specific questions included in the key informant interview guide are informed by the objectives of this evaluation, the evaluation criteria, theory of change and the results framework. We categorize the institutions involved in this project into two broad categories. These are the funding agencies, and the implementing agencies (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Institutions Involved in the Deepening Democracy in Kenya Project

Broad Type	Specific Institutions
Funding agencies	EU, Irish Aid; Italy; German Embassy; UN.
Implementing agencies ( <i>UN agencies</i> )	UNDP; UN Women; OHCHR
Implementing agencies – <i>Partnering (government)</i>	MoD; IEBC; ORPP; NGEC; NYC; NCIC; Judiciary Committee on Elections; Political Parties Disputes Tribunal; Kenya Judiciary Academy; National Steering Committee on Peace Building; MCK; National Treasury
Implementing agencies – <i>Partnering (non-state actors)</i>	Uraia Trust; Wangu Kenya Foundation; Africa Woman and Child Feature Service; Defenders Coalition; Echo Network /ENA; Haki Africa; HURIA; Katiba Institute; Rural Women Peace Link; KEWOPA

### Focus Group Discussions

A total of six focus group discussions were conducted. An effort was made to spread the FGDs across the various regions of the country. The FGDs were conducted in Kwale, Nakuru, Bungoma, Garissa, Kiambu and Nairobi. The focus was on direct project beneficiaries at the grassroots level. Recruitment of participants to the FGDs took into consideration gender, and also representation of persons with disabilities. The questions in the FGD guide were also informed by the key evaluation criteria.

### **Beneficiaries Survey**

The beneficiaries' survey was focused on citizens who received training or any other form of capacity building interventions as identified in the Project Annual Progress Reports (2022, 2023). A survey tool was administered online through their email contacts (as provided by the implementing agency). This was conducted online through the SurveyToGo platform. The beneficiaries were spread across the various intervention counties. The goal was to gauge their interaction with the project intervention, impact as well as opportunities for future programming. A total of 121 community level beneficiaries responded to the survey, of whom 46% were female.

## 2 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

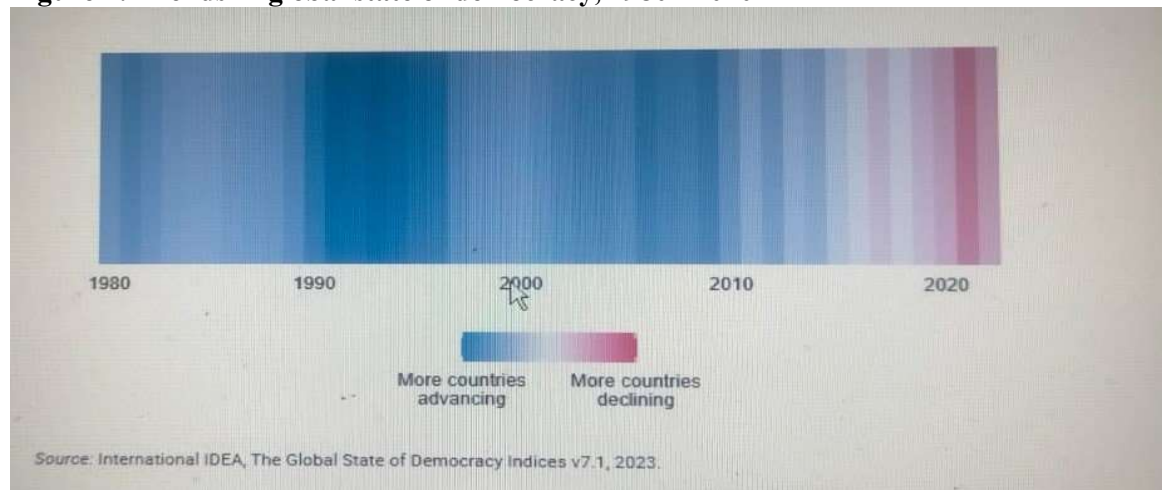
### 2.1 Global context

The project was implemented against the backdrop of contracting democratic performance across the world. The Global State of Democracy Report 2023 showed that democracy has been on the decline for the last six years (IDEA, 2023; Figure 2). The decline affected countries that had been previously viewed as healthy democracies. Key democratic principles of representation, rights and freedoms, rule of law and participation continue to record mixed results across the globe. Some of the indicators point at stagnation or decline (IDEA, 2023).<sup>2</sup> One manifestation of this decline is that people in some countries feel frustrated, alienated, disenfranchised and disempowered to express themselves through the normal democratic processes. In particular, young people share a deep mistrust of politics and politicians and democratic governance.<sup>3</sup>

The upshot of this challenge to democracy is the rising focus on not only governments but also on non-governmental institutions, organizations and movements that check the balance of power to ensure institutions become more responsive to citizen's needs. Such countervailing institutions include human rights organizations, electoral management bodies, civil society networks, investigative journalists, and popular movements.

The Deepening Democracy Project reflects this quest too. The project focused support to both governmental and non-governmental institutions and by that balanced between the demand and supply aspects of institutional context for promoting governance and transformation.

**Figure 2: Trends in global state of democracy, 1980 - 2020**



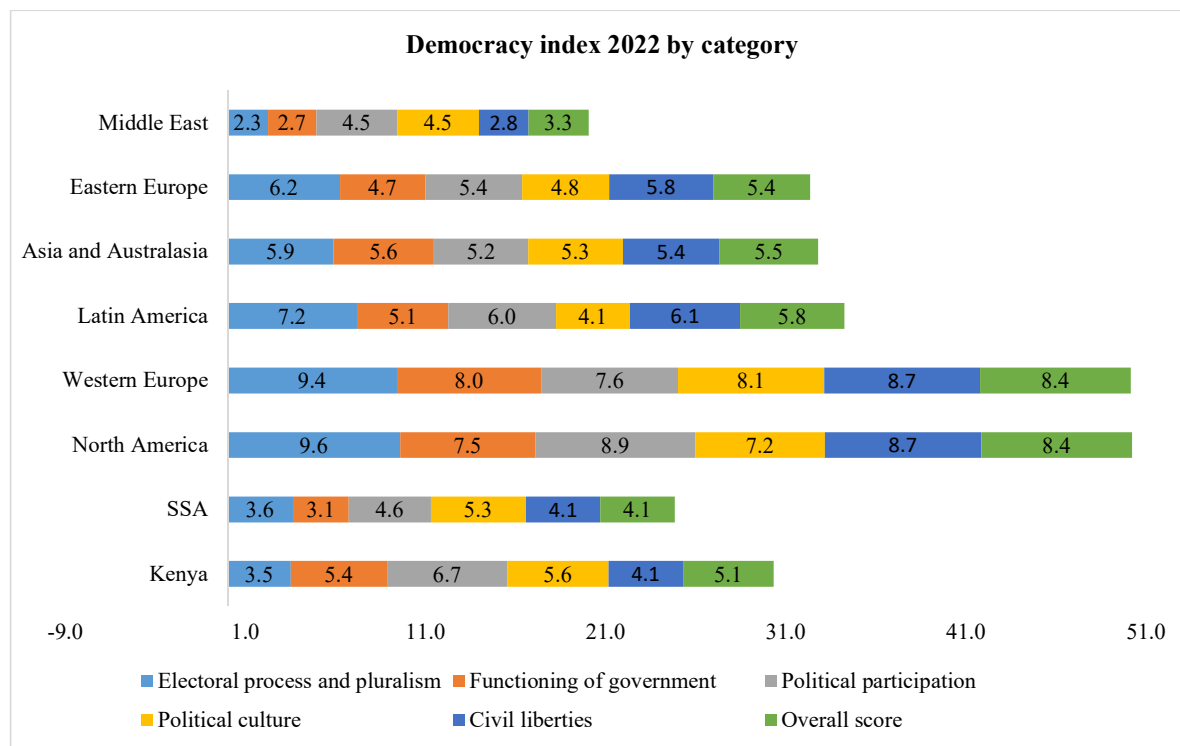
Note: After many years of democratic growth, the world has experienced a democratic recession for at least the past six years (graph shows the net number of countries advancing or declining)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Economic Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index 2022, also reports stagnation of democratic trends for the period 2021 – 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Metakides, G. (2024). 'Democracy in the digital era', in Hannes, W., Carlo, G., Jeff, K. et al., (eds.). Introduction to humanism. Springer.

<sup>4</sup> This statement and the graph are sourced from the Global State of Democracy 2023, <https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/global-state-democracy-2023-new-checks-and-balances>



**Figure 3: Democracy index 2022 by category**

Note: This chart is drawn from data sourced from the Global State of Democracy 2023, <https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/global-state-democracy-2023-new-checks-and-balances>

Attacks on democracy have corresponded with declining freedoms too. The 2024 Freedom in the World Report show that global freedom declined for the 18<sup>th</sup> consecutive year in 2023, with political rights and civil liberties diminishing in 52 countries. This decline was in part linked to flawed elections, disputes over transitions, and armed conflicts.

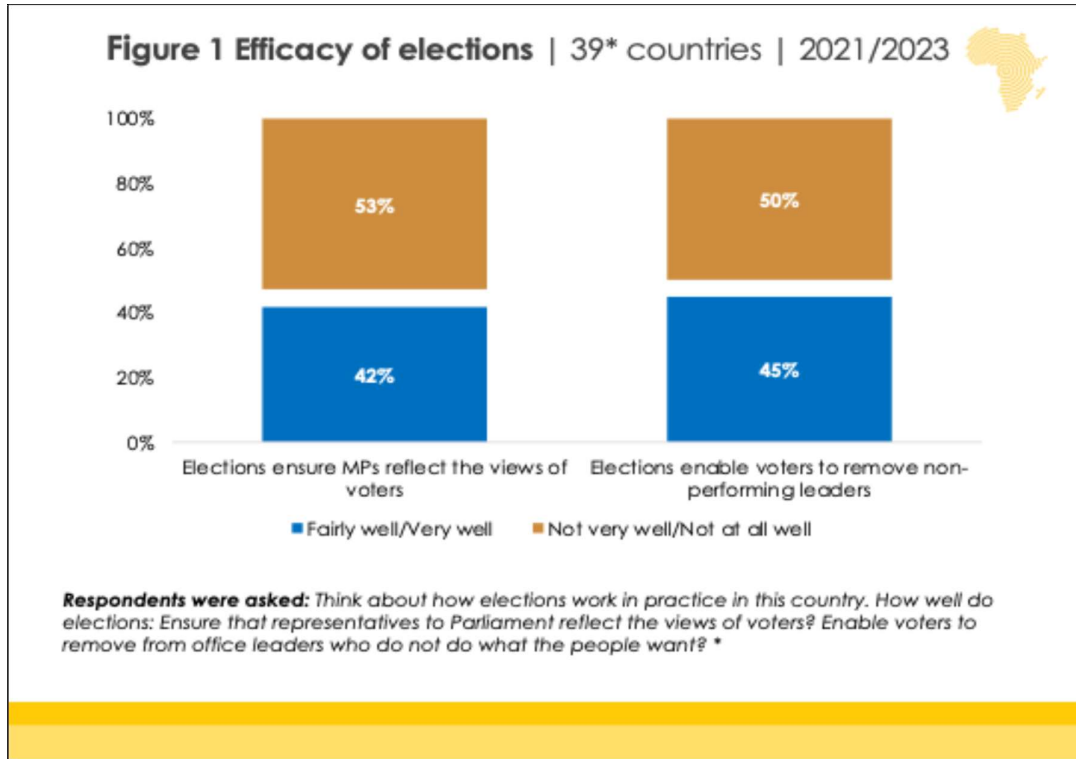
The widespread problems with elections, including violence, took place in tandem with deteriorating conditions for rights and freedoms. In some countries, incumbents manipulated electoral process to control competition. This prevented their political opponents from campaigning. In other cases, incumbents made it difficult to conduct free and fair elections.

In Africa, this has had several consequences. In some countries, voters are losing confidence in elections as a method of choosing leaders or even holding leaders to account. Afrobarometer Survey between 2021 and 2023 in 39 countries show that only 42 per cent of citizens in these countries think elections ensure representatives reflect the views of voters (Figure 4). 45 per cent also supported the view that elections enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what people want. These are averages for the continent.

The score for some countries is as low as 14 per cent. This shows that there is growing dissatisfaction with elections due to how governments and electoral management agencies conduct elections.

However, Kenya ranks above the Africa average: 55 per cent believe voters can change leaders through elections.

**Figure 4: Efficacy of elections**



Source: Afro barometer survey data

This context does not suggest disillusionment with democracy. Support for democracy remains high across the continent but people are dissatisfied with how elections – as an aspect of democracy – are conducted.

It is noteworthy that the rapid growth of the digital technology has heralded new opportunities for enhancing democracy but also aroused new threats to democracy. On one hand, digital technology has facilitated greater citizens’ participation in democratic processes: and on the other hand, it is threatening democratic processes. However, digital technology has given rise to digital democracy by giving voice to citizens in unprecedented ways.<sup>5</sup> Active participation in public affairs through online platforms and social media in general offers opportunities for citizens to be involved in decision-making processes. Be that as it may, unequal access to technology remains a barrier to many on the continent, including Kenya.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Metakides, G. (2024). ‘Democracy in the digital era’, in Hannes, W., Carlo, G., Jeff, K. et al., (eds.). Introduction to humanism. Springer.

<sup>6</sup> Zainul, D. (2023). Dynamics of democracy: challenges and opportunities in the digital era. Journal Ekonomi, 12(04), 1669 – 1674.

Although the digital space has promoted unprecedented access to information it has also created challenges too. Such as fake news, disinformation and spaces for hate speech are emergent threats.<sup>7</sup> Potential of hacking to manipulate election results, misinformation and disinformation at election time, everywhere, continue to threaten credibility of elections.<sup>8</sup>

The project implementation phase coincided with the immediate post-Covid recovery period. The impact of Covid-19 continued to be felt from 2021 as globally countries were forced to adjust their economies to mitigate some of the negative impacts the pandemic occasioned on their economy and society. This also impacted on resources by governments and development partners across the world as priorities shifted to strengthening health systems and focusing on resilience of their economies. The Covid-19 pandemic period also redefined how people worked, with an increased tendency towards the use of digital spaces as the new norm including in interactions within governance spaces.

The project was also implemented within the context of the Sustainable Development Goals. A focus on gender equality (SDG 5), reducing inequalities (SDG 10), and peace, justice and strong institutions (SDG 16). The stated goal of SDG 16 is to “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. In particular, Target 16.6 seeks to ‘Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions. The broader SDGs agenda places people and sustainability at the heart of development interventions. Inherent in the SDGs agenda is a focus on rights based approaches to development.

The project was implemented during two significant transitions within the UN and UNDP programming frameworks, moving from the UNDP Kenya Country Programme Document (CPD) 2018-2022 to CPD 2022-2026, and from the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2018-2022 to the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework (UNSDCF) 2022-2026. These transitions marked shifts in focus, from improved governance and human rights under UNDAF to addressing inclusivity, social cohesion, and gender-responsive governance under UNSDCF. The project aligned with key outcomes of both frameworks, particularly in strengthening electoral and governance institutions to promote peaceful, inclusive, and accountable governance.

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<sup>7</sup> Turner, G. (2018). The media and democracy in the digital era: is this what we had in mind? Media International Australia, 168(1): 3 – 14.

<sup>8</sup> The Global State of Democracy 2023

## **2.2 The National Context**

### **2.2.1 Challenges to democratic governance**

In 2010, Kenya promulgated a new constitution following a long clamour for democratic governance reforms. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 radically altered the structure of government and governance. It provides for a devolved system of governance comprising 47 county governments and the National Government. Power and resources are also given to the county governments to enable them promote social and economic development, provide easily accessible services, among other objectives of devolution.

The constitution also espouses values and principles of governance to guide conduct of public affairs. These include prioritization of people’s participation in the governance processes; gender equality; inclusion; human rights; rule of law; transparency and accountability, and social justice, among others. These values are further reflected in the political pillar of Kenya’s Vision 2030, where additional issues such as security, peacebuilding, and conflict management are also prioritized.

The adoption of the devolved system of governance, and the framing of the Constitution around human rights, provided spaces for the participation of the people in how they are governed, as well as providing constitutional safeguards towards more accountable governance in the country. A robust Bill of Rights has also enhanced the space for civic engagement and promotion of human rights. Electoral laws and regulations have been put in place to guide the conduct of free, fair and credible elections.

The Deepening Democracy Project was also implemented in a context where there were efforts to undertake constitutional changes through the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). However, a Supreme court ruling in late March 2022 brought this endeavor to a halt. Among other issues, the BBI sought to address the following: divisive elections, inclusivity, rights and responsibilities, shared prosperity, devolution, safety and security.

#### Gen Z Protests

This Terminal Evaluation takes place at a time of significant developments in Kenya following the recent public protests and demands by Gen Z – and the youth in general - for greater accountability in public service and responsive governance. As a consequence of the Gen Z protests, the President dissolved and reconstituted the cabinet, made changes in the top leadership of the national police service, and declined to assent to the contested Finance Bill 2024/25. The President also announced several measures to deepen accountability in public service, fight corruption and improve governance. These changes and the voice of the youth are important gains in democratic governance but will require deeper attention to prevent erosions. The deepening democracy project would play an important role in this respect as shown hereafter.

The Gen Z protests raised new concerns about human rights violations and constrained civic space due to the fact that the police responded by violently dispersing protesters, resulting in numerous deaths. The conduct of the police during the protests presents a setback to the country’s democratic progress. The government has also threatened to close down some human rights CSOs for alleged involvement

in supporting the protests. These are important occurrences as they provide vital lessons, opportunities and risks on future governance and democracy programmes in the country.

### **2.2.2 Ranking on democracy and governance**

The gains made have not registered adequate success in transforming, positively, the space for democratic governance and development. Notably, the 2022 Ibrahim Index of African Governance shows that while Kenya made strides in overall governance, at position 13 out of 54 countries, the country recorded a decline in performance in a number of areas.<sup>9</sup> These are security and rule of law; inclusion and equality; foundations for economic opportunity and human development. However, Kenya's performance in the IIAG for 2022 was higher than the African average of 48.9%, and the Eastern Africa average of 46.0%.<sup>10</sup>

The Freedom House Report 2024 also classifies Kenya as 'partly free'. As noted above, many citizens are in support of democracy as evidenced by the Afrobarometer survey findings over the years (Figure 5). Over three quarters of Kenyans prefer democracy to any other kind of government. This number is higher than in many other countries in Africa: where only 13 countries out of 39 in Africa have over 75 per cent of their citizens saying they prefer democracy over any other kind of government.<sup>11</sup>

The 2022 Economist Intelligence Unit on Democracy places Kenya at position 94 out of 165 countries assessed. It ranks Kenya as a hybrid democracy. This ranking illustrates reversals occasioned by challenges in Kenya's electoral process including disputes over the 2017 and 2022 general elections, shrinking civil liberties, limits in functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and women's representation in electoral politics.

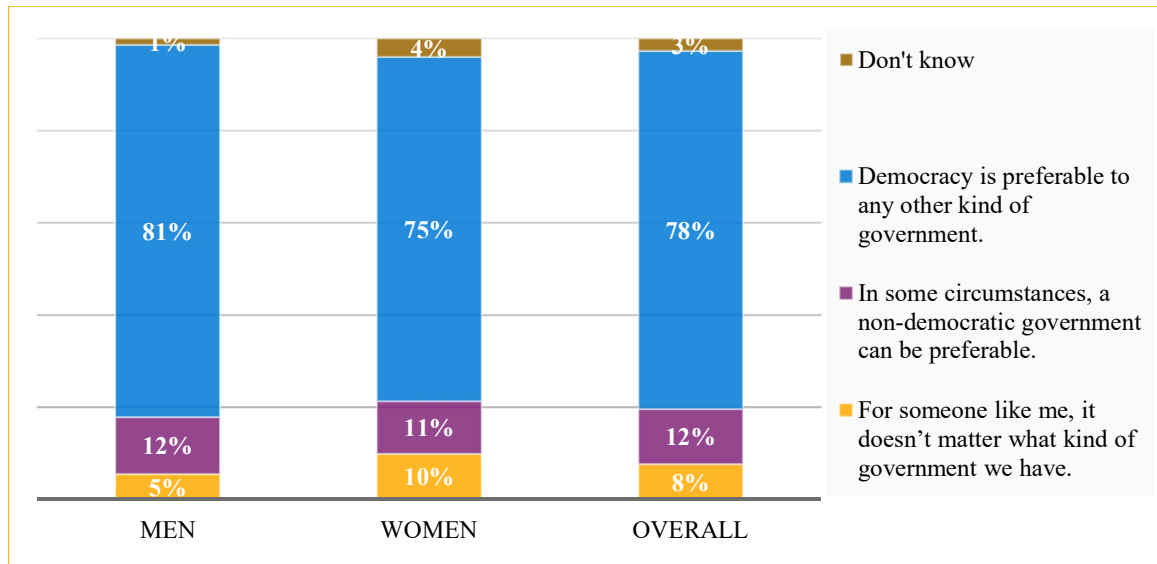
These issues raise the need to consolidate the gains made thus far and, significantly, enhance the space for deepening democratic governance. Enhancement of reforms including building institutional capacity, strengthening legal frameworks, among others, will firm up the foundation for social development and change in general. This observation is very much in line with the objectives of this project.

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<sup>9</sup> <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/kenya-ranked-13th-in-2022-ibrahim-index-of-african-governance-4099500>

<sup>10</sup> <https://iiag.online/locations/ke.html>

<sup>11</sup> Afrobarometer survey findings on Unconstitutional Change of Governments, see [https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/ECOSOCC-UCG-presentation\\_11Jul22\\_Boni.pdf](https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/ECOSOCC-UCG-presentation_11Jul22_Boni.pdf)

**Figure 5: Support for democracy 2011 – 2021**

Note: **Respondents were asked:** Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? (% saying ‘democracy is preferable’)

Source: Afrobarometer (2011 – 2021)

### 2.2.3 Devolution and service delivery

Various studies show that Kenya’s devolved system of governance has facilitated delivery of basic services in the counties.<sup>12</sup> However, implementation continues to face challenges. Late disbursement of funds to the counties; failure to transfer all functions and resources to the counties; misuse of public funds at both the national and county levels; ethnic inequalities in composition of county services; and poor mobilization of own source revenue continues to slow implementation. There are also perennial conflicts over division of revenue between the National and County Governments. These challenges have combined to weaken progress in implementation.

<sup>12</sup> Muwonge, A., Williamson, T. S., Owuor, C., & Kinuthia, M. (2022). *Making devolution work for service delivery in Kenya*. World Bank Publications; Kanyinga, K. (2016). Devolution and the new politics of development in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 59(3), 155-167; Ngigi, S., & Busolo, D. N. (2019). Devolution in Kenya: the good, the bad and the ugly. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 9(6), 9-21.

## 2.2.4 Elections, political parties and institutional reforms



Kenya's political context after 2010 has also changed. The electoral system was improved to provide for election of County Governors and Members of County Assemblies in the devolved units, alongside election of Members of National Parliament and the President. Intense competition and polarisation have marked the competition for these posts. Electoral reforms including legal framework to support conduct of free and fair elections were implemented at different times but these did not prevent disputes over election results especially at the presidential level.

Nonetheless, the country has witnessed some progress in terms of institutional reforms. As noted above, in 2017, the Supreme Court overturned the presidential election, a hitherto unprecedented action on the Continent. The court found that the election was not conducted in line with the law and that the voting method that was used was not verifiable and transparent. This on its own pointed at a strengthened Judiciary. But this also indicted the electoral management body – the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) – due to the fact that the court faulted the electoral process. All the same, these issues signify the importance of strengthening institutions of governance to help consolidate the gains and progress made in undertaking of constitutional reforms.

The political parties that formed the alliance that won the 2017 elections split thereby causing tension among the ruling elites. This fragmentation of the ruling political alliance and formation of new alliances to compete in the 2022 election demonstrated the lack of institutionalization of political

parties, despite the foundation laid by the 2010 Constitution. However, it is the outcome of the election that revealed the real challenges facing governance institutions. The IEBC was able to conduct the elections in line with the law but faced considerable pressure to manipulate the election results in favor of a candidate favored by the incumbent president and government.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, no electoral body in Kenya has been able to survive beyond one electoral cycle. There is high turnover of commissioners owing to disputes over the electoral process and outcome. For this reason, the appointment of commissioners is itself a highly politicized process, and marks the beginning of a new electoral cycle.

The centrality of the judiciary and the electoral management body (IEBC) in the electoral process and how they delivered the 2022 elections is reflected in the objective of the deepening democracy project. The focus of the project draws from the context of politics in Kenya. Political divisions deepened after the 2017 elections and following the fragmentation of the ruling alliance. Increased polarization rose in tandem with reduced interest by citizens in electoral politics. About one-third of registered voters did not vote in the election. The election had the lowest voter turnout at 65 per cent compared to 73 per cent in 2017 and 86 per cent in 2013.<sup>14</sup>

The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), whose mandate is to register and regulate political parties and administer the political parties fund, also plays an important role in the electoral process. The Political Parties Liaison Committee, established under the Political Parties Act, is responsible for providing a platform for dialogue between the Registrar of Political Parties, the IEBC, and political parties.

Strengthening the capacity of electoral institutions in the country is a critical step in not only delivering free, fair and peaceful elections, but also improving their capacity for compliance, transparency and accountability. Improved corporate governance of electoral institutions as well as improved public confidence in these institutions provides an additional space to diffuse and address electoral related grievances thereby limiting opportunities for conflict during elections.

### **2.3 The economic context**

The project was implemented at a time of unprecedented economic challenges globally as well as at the domestic level. The Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 had dampening effects on global and domestic economic activities because of difficult containment measures. In Kenya this had effects of increasing poverty by 4 percent points which translated to two million additional poor people. Poverty increased; the pandemic impacted livelihoods – decreased incomes and employment. GDP growth declined from 5.1 percent in 2019 to -0.3 percent in 2020. This was the lowest growth in two decades.

The government introduced quick policy responses – tax and regulatory relief measures - that helped to cushion the citizens. This led to the gradual recovery of the economy. By the end of 2021, business

<sup>13</sup> *Odinga & 16 Others v Ruto & 10 Others; Law Society of Kenya & 4 Others (Amicus Curiae) (Presidential Election Petition E005, E001, E002, E003, E004, E007 & E008 of 2022 (Consolidated))* [2022] KESC 54 (KLR) (Election Petitions)

<sup>14</sup> International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)



was beginning to rebound but was depressed yet again by the election campaigns that preceded the 2022 elections. The smooth transition of power following the peaceful election helped in recovery: GDP rebounded to 7.6 percent in 2021 but declined to 4.8 per cent in 2022.

Following the election, the new government launched a development transformation agenda focused on economic empowerment of the population at the bottom of the pyramid and in line with the campaign promise of lifting the poor from poverty. The new transformation agenda focused on five sectors: agriculture, MSMEs, housing and settlement, healthcare, and digital superhighway.

Notwithstanding this policy, the performance of the economy was not sufficient for generating sufficient jobs to address growing unemployment. High cost of living, climate change shocks, and unemployment remained a challenge for many. Agriculture, the main economic activity –is largely rain-fed and therefore has been subject to constant agro-climatic shocks. Low agricultural productivity tended to pull back growth of the economy. All the same, sustained rainfall in 2023 improved food production thereby reducing inflation.

In addition to these challenges, the government had limited fiscal space. Public debt standing at about 70 percent of GDP remained a challenge. Repayment of international and domestic debts had the effect of crowding out resources for development expenditure. This limited the government's fiscal space and has remained a major economic challenge to date. But this problem deepened because of poor accountability of public resources. Combined, these challenges contributed to public anger among the youth and the Gen Z in particular, who protested demanding accountable systems and end to opulence by public officials. Overall, these challenges that undermine Kenya's socio-economic transformation are linked to the quality of governance. This makes for an uncertain and challenging economic outlook.

Summary of contextual issues	Observation
<p>The project was implemented at a time of unprecedented challenges to democracy almost everywhere in the world. Democracy has been on ‘attack’; reports on state of freedom show reversal of gains; there is more retrogression of democratic values than adherence</p>	<p>Consolidating democratic gains and preventing erosion of gains made thus far, arguably, should be prioritized given the evolving context.</p>
<p>The Deepening Democracy Project was relevant for the evolving Kenyan social-political and economic context.</p>	<p>There is a need to deepen democratic governance interventions by building resilience of governance institutions and enhancing the voice of citizens</p>
<p>The challenges to democratic governance in Kenya continues to evolve. At the time of the evaluation, Gen Z protests erupted in the country demanding improved governance and accountability of government in use of public resources, among others</p>	<p>Building democracy and consolidating gains is an everyday work as the global and national contexts continue to show.</p> <p>Democratic governance projects – including projects on elections – should embed continuous interventions to enrich the gains.</p> <p>There is a need to concentrate focus on youth to give them more voice through digital technology and social media.</p>
<p>Digital democracy is evolving fast. The youth are using digital technology and social media gain voice in participatory democracy. This is unprecedented.</p>	<p>Leveraging on digital technology and social media would add value to future governance projects. Traditional ways of delivering civic education and engaging in public affairs will need to be reconfigured and adapted to this reality.</p>

## 3 FINDINGS: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Relevance and coherence

The Deepening Democracy Project is well aligned to the governance context of the country. The project focus on strengthening the capacity of governance institutions to enhance public accountability, gender equality, social inclusion, institutional coordination, stakeholder engagement and electoral assistance towards the 2022 general election. It is not in question that the project responded to the key challenges afflicting Kenya’s governance architecture and the need to strengthen institutions to support the conduct of free, fair, and credible elections.

The findings show that project design responded to the challenges of democracy in Kenya’s context. Some of these challenges include management of political processes, lack of respect for human rights, limited public accountability, bottlenecks in service delivery, peace and security including the desire to strengthen social cohesion, constrained space for the participation of women, youth, persons living with disabilities and marginalized groups in the country’s political processes, and gender equality.

The design was also informed by recommendations of the different missions from the previous elections.<sup>15</sup> Information informing the design of the intervention was also sourced from a diverse set of stakeholders in Kenya’s electoral ecosystem in terms of which areas to prioritize and the scope of the intervention.

#### 3.1.1 Alignment to existing global frameworks and priorities

The project’s Theory of Change (ToC) is well aligned with the contextual issues identified and connects well with United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2018 – 2022, and the Country Programme Document (CPD, 2018-2022) among others. For instance, UNDAF 2018 – 2022 seeks to ensure that a culture of constitutionalism is strengthened in Kenya, as underpinned by improved governance, respect for human rights, and a justice and rule of law system that is inclusive, accountable, and empowering especially to vulnerable groups.<sup>16</sup> The project also aligns well with Kenya’s national priorities on democratic governance, improving accountability and a culture of constitutionalism (e.g. political pillar of Kenya Vision 2030; and the Constitution of Kenya).

A focus on institutional capacity strengthening addressed other structural issues that continue to constrain democratic consolidation in Kenya. As interviews with stakeholders reveal, issues on accountability, transparency and compliance should concern not only the public sector, but also the private sector, non-state sectors, and the society in general. This called for a nuanced focus on institutions and enhancing the capacity of the citizens to abide by a value system that strengthens rather than blocks the workings of institutions. For instance, a focus on values such as honesty (e.g. *utu* spirit) and responsibility among the general citizenry add value in the sustainability of capacity strengthening for the targeted institutions.

<sup>15</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>16</sup> Cited from the Terms of Reference for Terminal Evaluation of the Deepening Democracy Project, p. 2

The relevance of the project is also evident in its alignment with international development frameworks and global commitments. The project's objectives resonate with the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly those related to reducing inequalities, promoting peaceful and inclusive societies, and fostering sustainable economic growth. By contributing to these global priorities, the project holds significance beyond Kenya's borders. Moreover, interviews with stakeholders emphasized the project's potential to serve as a model for other countries undergoing democratic transitions or seeking to consolidate their democratic gains.

The key programmatic issues prioritized by the project are well situated with the country's development aspirations and commitments. These are the Sustainable Development Agenda (e.g. SDG 5 on gender equality; SDG 10 on reducing inequality; and SDG 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions); Convention on the Elimination on all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

### 3.1.2 Response to governance and human rights challenges

The Project aligns closely with the country's development priorities and needs of the citizens. It is noteworthy that Kenya has ratified a number of regional and international frameworks including the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. The Constitution of Kenya, Article 2(5)(6) obligates provides for a mechanism through which such regional or international treaties and conventions ratified by the Kenyan government becomes part of the national law.



The project design and implementation paid attention to the discourse on human rights including enhancing gender equality and the participation of diverse groups (e.g. women, youth PLWDAs, and the marginalized) in the country's leadership and decision making. Issues of accountability, responsiveness and effectiveness of public institutions, functional civic engagement, and support to marginalized groups for access to

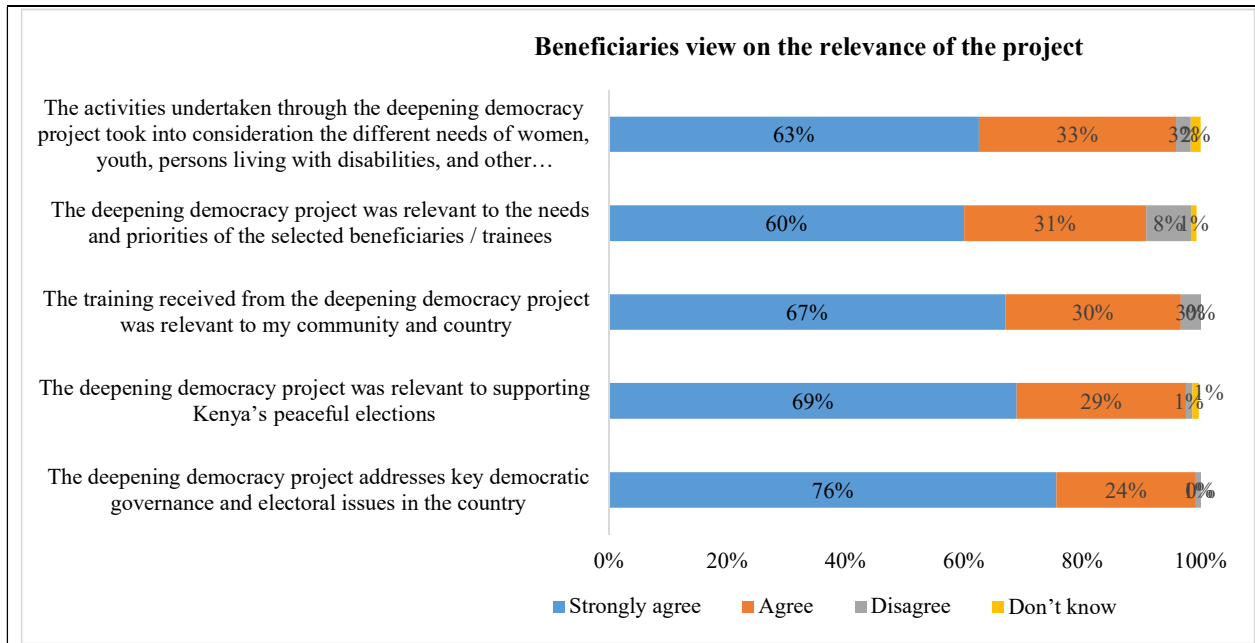
justice and democratic participation remain at the core of Kenya's democratic endeavours.

This evaluation underlines that Kenya has made gains in democratic transition, though challenges remain in consolidating these gains into tangible benefits for all segments of the society. The project focus on strengthening democratic institutions, promoting inclusive governance, and fostering socio-economic development is highly relevant in this context. As this evaluation shows, gaps remain in addressing deep-rooted issues of inequality, marginalization, and limited access to opportunities.

It is these gaps that are largely responsible for the protests demanding accountability of the government to citizens and demands for improved services. Though attribution is difficult given the short implementation period, the evaluation finds a strong correlation between civic engagement of youth under different interventions in this project, and the increased awareness on importance to press for accountability at the level of national government and county governments. The youth engagement with governance issues in Kiambu and Kwale are just one example of civic engagement that pressed the national government administration and the county governments to respond to community needs.

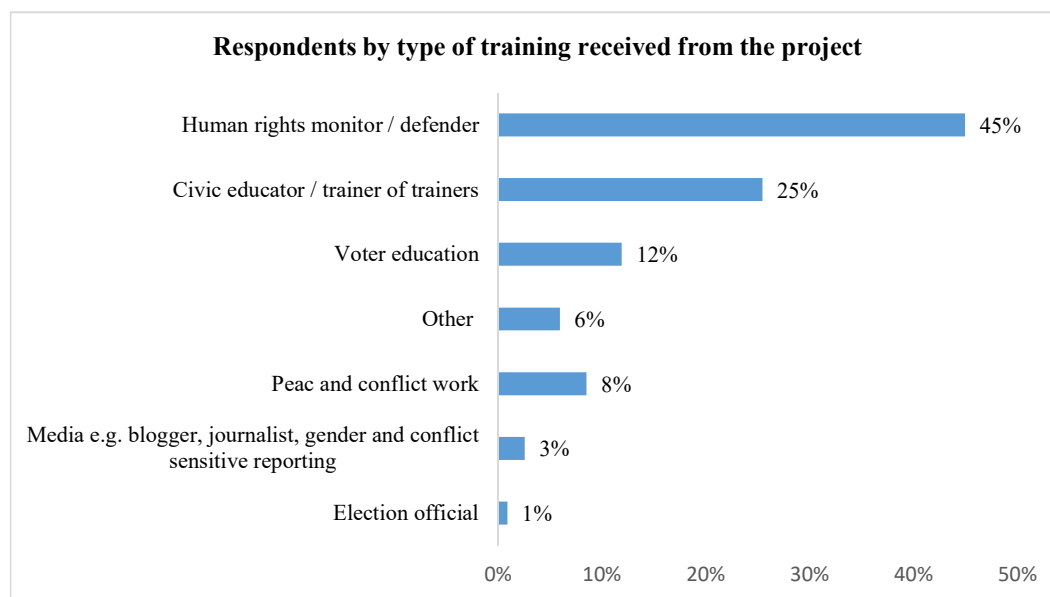
The Deepening Democracy Project is highly relevant; it aligns with the country's development needs and addresses deep-rooted constraints to democratic governance. The project also is contributing to global development frameworks and has potential to serve as a model for other jurisdictions. The engagement with stakeholders underscores the project's significance in fostering a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable democratic society in Kenya. Results from the direct beneficiaries' survey also underscore the relevance of the project interventions (Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Beneficiaries view on the relevance of the project**



Source: Beneficiaries survey.

A majority of respondents to the survey indeed agree that the project was relevant at both the community and national level while 76 per cent agreed that the project addressed relevant governance and electoral issues. The survey reveals that most respondents had received training in the area of human rights through the programme. However, the proportions in Figure 7 should be interpreted with caution in that they are on the basis of those that took part in the study. This is because, there may have been more of those that got training on human rights who responded to the survey tool than those training on others issues e.g. voter education.

**Figure 7: Type of training that the beneficiary received through the project intervention**

Source: Beneficiaries survey

The project focus on a human rights-based approach to development connects very well with the framing of the constitution around the issue of rights. The emphasis on people-centred approach in supporting engagement of select national institutions, civil society groups, communities and marginalized groups in governance is also noteworthy. The project management structures (e.g. PTC, PST) provided safeguards to ensure the project remained relevant and aligned to the national goals of the country.<sup>17</sup> These project management organs were critical in reviewing and endorsing the project annual work plans and also acted as forums to ensure alignment, relevance, coherence and inclusion of relevant stakeholders in project design and implementation.

In the words of the stakeholders, the project was spot on and strategic.<sup>18</sup> It was started at an opportune time just before the elections - its relevance was not in question.<sup>19</sup> For instance, by providing civic education, the project helped in building the capacity of the citizens to effectively participate in the electoral processes.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.1.3 Strengthening electoral process and inclusion

The design of the project is also informed by lessons from previous electoral cycles. These highlighted the need to focus on institutional, legal, policy, administrative and technical issues in the electoral ecosystem (e.g. IEBC, political parties, ORPP, media, national police service, citizens/voters, civil society organisations, judiciary and parliament among others).<sup>21</sup> Electoral issues such as civic and

<sup>17</sup> PTC Meeting, 12 October 2023.

<sup>18</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>19</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>20</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>21</sup> ELOG 2022 Summary Report

voter education; voter apathy; civil society and electoral cycle; political parties disputes resolution are all pertinent issues to Kenya’s electoral process.<sup>22</sup>

The targeted institutional interventions were aimed at strengthening the capacity of the institutions at the centre of electoral processes in the country to effectively discharge their respective mandates. In this category are interventions such as voter education; strategic communication of the IEBC; electoral reporting, electoral dispute resolution; participation of women, youth, PLWDAs in elections; and finally a focus on national peace including early warning and response.<sup>23</sup>

It is notable that implementation partners were involved in deciding the nature of support to be accorded to them. As was noted by some interlocutors, the project collaborating partners (UNDP, OHCHR, and UN Women) did not impose the project idea.

*... we appreciate the UN Women. They don't impose programmes. They asked us the support we need within the budget that they had, ...and we identified specific programme that would have impact. We identified training on elections because political parties have impact on the ground. There is also the issue of violence during party nominations and internal dispute resolution mechanisms within political parties. ...we got support to address these issues identified by ourselves. (Key informant interview, July 2024).*

The project promoted inclusion by engaging marginalized groups like women, youth, and persons living with disabilities in the electoral process. In addition, religious leaders were trained to promote peace and transparency in their communities, thereby contributing to peaceful 2022 general elections. In turn, civic education, community dialogues and capacity building enhanced voter participation and reduced electoral related violence.

The project’s multi-pronged approach, encompassing civic education, capacity building, policy reforms and community engagement, is well positioned to holistically tackle these complex governance challenges in the country. Data from the key informant interviews and focus group discussions attest to the relevance of the project. The project promoted inclusive dialogues and amplified marginalized voices<sup>24</sup>, a key value of governance espoused in the constitution. Capacity building for political parties on nominations and disputes resolution<sup>25</sup> was timely and impacted positively on the electoral process during the 2022 general elections.

The project focus on accountability, budget as a human rights issue, and service delivery enabled the citizens to connect governance issues to local development. *Kagua Maendeleo*<sup>26</sup>, among others, effectively related development budgets with local governance issues and by that made it possible for citizens to foster accountability in local development processes. Much of this was also made possible by use of social media tools in advocacy. Specifically, it was found that linking livelihoods, governance, and rights to be an innovative strategy: it builds capacity for local accountability by

<sup>22</sup> Joint Task Force Report, October 2023

<sup>23</sup> Joint Task Force Report, August-September 2023

<sup>24</sup> Key informant, Garissa county

<sup>25</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>26</sup> *Kagua Maendeleo* is an initiative by URAIA that brings together citizen groups and county government officials to dialogue on development issues and service delivery.

enabling citizens to link governance to development and service delivery. Without this linkage, governance and rights would remain abstract and without connection to local realities.

There were certain gaps in the project design that warrant consideration so as to enhance the relevance and coherence of similar interventions in the future. First, there is need to emphasis co-creation with all poject implementing partners including those at the local level (i.e. downstream partnrs). This is because some downstream partners felt that the design of the programme ought to have been more inclusive.<sup>27</sup>

Second, issues touching on women, youth, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups should be treated as cross-cutting and not implemented as stand-alone activities. Thus, varied UN agencies would be required to collaborate across all activities and not just those that form the core mandate of the specific agency.<sup>28</sup> Third, is the need to begin early in an electoral cycle,<sup>29</sup> which can be informed by the existing reports on the election (e.g. recommendations of various observer groups, and IEBC post-election evaluation report among others).

Summary of findings: Relevance and Coherence	Observations
<p>The Deepening Democracy Project is well aligned to the governance context of the country. The project was ‘fit for purpose’ and relevant to Kenya’s social-political context and national priorities.</p> <p>Identifying programme priorities should be done jointly with all partners including downstream partners where possible.</p>	<p>Co-creation of project interventions is a requisite need especially because of the fast changing governance context.</p>
<p>The project was anchored appropriately on global UN frameworks and Kenya’s national development and governance priorities</p>	<p>It is important to stress the importance of these linkages in dialogue with the government for fast buy-in. planning for a future project should begin with a dialogue focused on these interlinkages</p>
<p>One innovative aspect of the project is the ability to link rights, governance and service delivery through some of the interventions by CSOs. This had the effect of speaking to real life situation</p>	<p>Relating governance interventions to people’s everyday development experiences has the potential to strengthen the sustainability of the results and overall impact.</p> <p>These innovative aspects should be identified and scaled up.</p>

<sup>27</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>28</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>29</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024



## 3.2 Effectiveness

### 3.2.1 M&E Framework

The project had a detailed monitoring and evaluation plan. The monitoring plan included field visits aimed at strengthening implementing partners M&E mechanisms; tracking activity implementation; tracking progress towards meeting indicator targets and identification of risks.

The M&E framework is broad and encompasses results and indicators at all levels. The outcome level results anchored the Program on the UNDP Kenya Country Programme across the two reporting periods of (CPD) 2018-2022 to CPD 2022-2026; UNDAF 2018-2022 and the UNSDCF for 2022-2026. While these results were clearly outlined with corresponding indicators, it was difficult to establish a solid causal link with the project. Because of this, it is advisable for future projects to develop intermediate outcomes and corresponding indicators that demonstrate the causal - linkage and measure the extent to which the program is contributing to the longer-term results envisioned in the CPD and UNSDCF. With these in place and proper implementation it would enable the program conduct outcome monitoring/harvesting (including review of progress on the UNSDCF/UNDP CPD outcomes) prior to the final evaluation.

At output level, the M&E framework included results at all the output levels with indicators. However, some of the indicators were not robust enough to measure the output level results. For instance, output 3 focused on “Strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks and stakeholder coordination for gender inclusion, peace & democratic consolidation”. Though, the indicator for this result was “# of initiatives for democratic consolidation supported”. A review of the programmatic focus indicated a range of strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks at national level and stakeholder coordination for peace and democratic consolidation. Further to this, a review of the annual reports and the FCDO report point to the fact that there was a mix of institutions and initiatives being reported. While one can’t have an indicator for each set of activity/groups of activities conducted, it would be ideal to come up with robust measures that encompass the level of investment.

Importantly, clarification of which initiatives contributed to the achievements is important in order to provide an accurate assessment of results in line with the indicator definitions. To enhance clarity, ideally, the narrative reports should present this information immediately after the respective output table. This would show how the summary achievement figure was arrived at. This is also useful for institutional memory and facilitates the M&E processes such as data verification and outcome assessments where the program may want to assess effectiveness of the initiatives supported over time.

In the M&E plan, it may be useful to add a column after the cumulative achievements for each indicator summarizing how the figure was arrived at (for example if counting initiatives supported, list them). Consistency in the reporting across the reports and M&E plan should also be reinforced in the next project cycle.

Regular verification and validation measures should also be put in place if only to ensure partners measure and report effectively. Also a monitoring, evaluation and learning plan for an elections project implemented in a rapidly changing context should be adaptable and flexible to accommodate

competing priorities and needs that need to be addressed within a short period. It should be robust enough to adapt to the complex political context, be able to help in assessment of risks and provide mitigation strategies. The design of the results framework should also take into consideration the input of implementation organizations to enhance harmonization of indicators.

### 3.2.2 Status of outputs

The project largely contributed to strengthening democratic governance and electoral institutions to conduct more inclusive and peaceful elections in Kenya.<sup>30</sup> It also strengthened political parties understanding of the electoral laws and improved their internal dispute resolution mechanisms.<sup>31</sup> As a consequence of the project interventions, political party nominations improved, while the internal dispute resolution mechanisms within political parties was strengthened. People’s understanding of the electoral process also improved.

The project management was very supportive in facilitating downstream activities for partners at the county level. This coordination made it possible for partners to maintain the focus of the project outcomes. The basket funding modality improved coordination, resource allocation and impact.

While the project certainly made positive contributions, its effectiveness was hampered by delays in getting government approval,<sup>32</sup> delays in implementation, limited resources, bureaucratic delays in funds disbursement, and misalignment between donor expectations and the provided support.

The findings show several challenges. Firstly, the support came in too late to allow for intensive implementation of activities. This made it difficult to engage in effective advocacy and to effectively support the processes leading to the 2022 general elections. Taken from the perspective of a holistic electoral cycle, support prior to the 2022 elections seemed targeted at the event (2022 elections) rather than the broader cycle leading up to the event. A focus on the electoral cycle would have achieved much more in terms of sustainable outcomes. This is a key consideration for any support geared towards the next electoral cycle.<sup>33</sup>

Secondly, while the project intervention surpassed the target on field monitors, the number supported was relatively small compared to the needs and given the large number of polling stations across the country, making it statistically insignificant for credible reporting.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the limited support provided and the objectives set constrained the achievement of the project goals.<sup>35</sup>

Thirdly, the timing for the project activities was too close to the election.<sup>36</sup> The short project timeline and compressed implementation period negatively impacted the depth and impact of the interventions. The lesson learnt in this respect is that all project interventions should have longer timeframes in order

<sup>30</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>31</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>32</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>33</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>34</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>35</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>36</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

to realize the desired impact. Effectiveness could also be improved by developing long term interventions that are aligned to the country's MTF.

Finally, lack of synergy between different implementation partners reduced learning opportunities. Although the M&E framework was good, it was developed without sufficient inputs of the downstream implementation partners. This led to incidences of mismatch of indicators. Furthermore, some outcome indicators were not well defined. Baseline data specific for the project was also lacking and the sources providing the baseline data lacked consistency. However, the effectiveness of project interventions was enhanced by responsiveness of the participating UN agencies.

What follows is an overview of our assessment of the progress made in the achievement of the set outputs. It is noteworthy that the M&E plan focuses primarily on tracking project level outputs and does not outline plans for outcome monitoring, thus limiting evaluation of the progress made towards achieving longer term results prior to the end of the project. This is complicated by insufficient indicator definitions at the outcome level which would have informed identification of appropriate data sources. Given these shortcomings, we limit our reflections to project level outputs.

*Project Output 1: Strengthened institutional capacity for compliance, gender inclusion, transparency, and accountability*

The project noted a number of results under output one focusing on compliance transparency, accountability and gender inclusion. On the latter, the project has reported increasing adherence to the 2/3 gender rule enhancing women's participation in democratic processes as a result of the concerted efforts of a wide range of relevant stakeholders (IEBC, NCIC, ORPP, the NGEC, KEWOPA and CSOs).

Notable results include 98% compliance by political parties to the 2/3 gender rule, and increasing the number of women nominated to Parliament and Senate (31 in 2022 as compared to 18 in 2017), with 16 in the National Assembly and 2 Senate and increased capacity to track, monitor, document, analyze and report institutional performance on women's participation in the electoral process. The programme also reported an increase in the number of female candidates including special interest groups (SIG) candidates, for the six elective post in the general election from 14,542 in 2017 to 16,100 in 2022<sup>37</sup> because of capacity building of regulatory bodies.

However, on strengthening the gender responsive laws and policies, while the program outlines capacity building efforts in that regard, there are no results reported as a result on this. For instance, there was no report on how the parliamentarians utilized these skills to ensure the development of gender responsive legislation. UNDP, therefore, needs to develop some policy tracking mechanism to track progress after capacity building efforts. This will also help identify any challenges that would form the focus of subsequent capacity building efforts and programs.

<sup>37</sup> UNDP Deepening Democracy Project, October 2022 to September 2023 Progress Report (page 11)

There is double reporting of similar results: for instance both ORPP and NGEC reported that the key findings of the work supported under the project were, “...only 54% of polling stations were reported to be accessible to persons with disability and other mobility challenges, 41% of candidates observed were youth, with a majority vying for MCA positions, and that 85%of observers reported witnessing a 50-50 distribution of male vs female election officials”<sup>38</sup>.

On institutional compliance, the greatest gains were noted with the IEBC in electoral risk management and electoral security coordination. Tangible improvements were noted in IEBC’s ability to identify, assess, and mitigate potential risks associated with the electoral process as a result of implementation of the IEBC-led Electoral Security Arrangement Programme (ESAP). The programme focused on enhancing capabilities in 2 key areas - boundary delimitation and capacity building of targeted election officials on electoral risk management. This helped to foster a more secure and conducive environment for free and fair elections in Kenya.

Additional results on IEBC include improved reporting of traditional media prior to the election as a result of an improved communication strategy where the IEBC enhanced capacities of regional based journalists and media practitioners on electoral management, responsible electoral reporting, gender sensitive reporting, and conflict sensitive reporting as a result of a strengthened communication strategy of IEBC. The improved reporting was also acknowledged in several election monitoring reports.

The program’s investments in elections monitoring have yielded some commendable results that will inform strategies for future electoral cycles. Partnerships between UN Women and NGEC and ORPP resulted in the development of knowledge products which will inform the programming for the next electoral program. This includes the ORPP Post Election Evaluation report, NGEC’s PEA findings contained in a report titled “PAMBANA!” that focused on assessing factors that inhibit women candidates from vying and obstacles that exist once elected. In particular, the study brings into perspective how barriers to women’s political life are evolving (e.g. the disproportionate cost of running for office for women candidates). Knowledge products will inform women’s political participation and representation in the 2027 electoral cycle.

On a broader level the partnership with the OHCHR and KNCHR conducted post-election monitoring on human rights compliance in electoral processes providing insights into the level of preparedness of key stakeholders, and the results will inform the 2027 General elections. The Gender Audit and Analysis of Kenya’s 2022 General Election by the Echo Network Africa (ENA) and UN Women, on the other hand, provides an understanding of the elections from a gender perspective and makes recommendations to bridge the gender gap and strengthen regulation and compliance of the two-thirds rule, recommendations that will continue to inform UNDP post-election interventions and the 2027 electoral cycle.

The service delivery component led by URAIA Trust was aimed at increasing demand for services and creating constructive spaces for dialogue between citizens and public institutions, as well as dialogue

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<sup>38</sup> UNDP Deepening Democracy Project, October 2022 to September 2023 Progress Report (page 11 and 12).

forums on governance and emerging issues. The '*Kagua Maendeleo*' initiatives strengthened public engagement, enhanced service delivery, inclusive participation in development planning and allocation of additional personnel to enhance service delivery.

Specific results include - improved availability and access to water in Nakuru County; enhanced accessibility and availability of healthcare services at local clinics in Uasin Gishu County; and inclusive participation of youth, women, individuals with disabilities, and marginalized communities in the formulation of annual budgets and development planning through citizen forums. In Kisumu, the shortage of nurses at Jaramogi Odinga Odinga Referral Hospital and Kisumu District Hospital resulted in improved healthcare accessibility and quality, primarily through the recruitment of additional healthcare personnel by way of productive engagements with the county government.

Overall, this output made significant investments in strengthening the institutional capacity of key institutions (KEWOPA, NGEC, Africa Women Leaders Network (AWLN), Echo Network Africa, Centre for Multiparty Democracy, Africa Women and Child Feature Service, KNCHR & IEBC) to deliver on their mandates. Subsequently, this resulted in the results noted above. However, there is a need for focused reporting at outcome and not output level and the identification of better indicators to help track results.

There was a significant focus on gender inclusion at the expense of other marginalized groups such as people with disabilities. There were also limited investments made in improving the policy and legal framework for transformative governance as outlined in the Programme Document and nothing was reported on the South-to-South learning.

**Table 3: Progress in Output 1, Strengthened institutional capacity for compliance, gender inclusion, transparency, and accountability**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
1.1 # of regulated entities supported to comply with relevant legal standards (cumulative)	0 (2021)	60 (2021 – 2023)	48 (80%)

*Project Output 2: Dispute resolution by strategic governance institutions strengthened*

The focus of this result area was on enhancing a coordinated approach of the judiciary, constitutional commissions and independent offices in the delivery of their mandates as well as promoting gender mainstreaming in the adjudication of disputes under their various mandates. Enhanced capacity of IEBC'S Dispute Resolution Committee (56 IEBC Officials) to effectively handle and manage pre-electoral disputes in line with the constitutional mandate of the IEBC to hear and determine pre-electoral disputes arising from candidate registration resulted in a notable resolution of 162 nomination-related disputes.

Further, the IEBC, Legal Case Management System was strengthened through the procurement and installation of high-capacity scanners which were used to scan all documents presented by the political

parties after the disputes were raised after the 2022 general elections. This resulted in effective and efficient case management as the Commission was able to fast-track, hear, determine, and close cases within constitutionally stipulated timelines. Subsequently, this enhanced the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal (PPDT's) capacities to address electoral complaints.

The decentralization of Elections Dispute Resolutions capabilities of the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal's (PPDT) in record keeping and case management was strengthened through the procurement of thirty laptops which were deployed along with relevant staff to at least 18 counties increasing their efficiency in service delivery.

**Table 4: Progress in Output 2, Dispute resolution by strategic governance institutions strengthened**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
2.1 # of personnel trained	400 (2017)	400	409 (287 males; 122 females)
2.2 # of institutional policies and systems developed to support dispute resolution	6 (2017)	6	2 (33.3%)

*Project Output 3: Strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks and stakeholder coordination for gender inclusion, peace & democratic consolidation*

This output has been designed to focus on 2 key areas - strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks, and stakeholder coordination for peace and democratic consolidation. The latter was achieved specifically through various forms of stakeholder engagement and voter education. At national strategic level, engagement with the State Department of Devolution identified entry points for support to the rollout of the National Civic Education Framework (NCEF) aimed at providing youth leaders at the County Governments with essential skills for civic engagement, peaceful co-existence, alternative dispute resolution and effective citizen engagements in the development agenda. In order to effectively promote positive citizen engagements during the 2027 electoral cycle, the NCEF is aiming to enhance the skills of youth leaders in influencing democratic processes and good governance.

The IEBC National Elections Conference (10-12 July 2022) attended by approximately 800 (34% females) participants representing a broad spectrum of electoral stakeholders themed 'Moving Kenya Towards a Stronger Democracy,' provided a forum for assessment of Kenya's preparedness towards a fair, peaceful, and credible election.

IEBC and electoral stakeholders reflected on their respective roles in the context of preparedness for the 2022 General Elections. Discussions addressed thematic issues on Understanding the Context and preparedness of 2022 General Election; enhancing inclusive electoral processes; electoral security, Peace, and Conflict Mitigation; technology in elections; electoral legal framework and electoral

dispute resolution. One of the key highlights of the NEC was the signing of the peace accord by the four Presidential candidates, who pledged to promote peace before, during and after the August 9 General Elections.

**Table 5: Progress in Output 3, Strategic engagement on legal and institutional frameworks and stakeholder coordination for gender inclusion, peace & democratic consolidation**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
3.1 # of initiatives for democratic consolidation supported	2(2021)	3	10 <sup>39</sup> (333%)

*Project Output 4: Increased civic and media engagement and participation in governance processes for accountable service delivery*

The project made significant efforts to increase participation of the public directly as well as through various institutions at local and national level in governance processes in order to drive the demand for accountable service delivery. As this project had a focus on the electoral processes, it contributed to a great extent towards informed and sustained civic and media engagement during key moments of the electoral cycle. This included civic and voter education prior to the elections to ensure the public understood their rights and responsibilities as well as the importance of electing leaders with integrity as a fundamental requirement for accountable service delivery.

Additionally, through partnerships with media organizations (Media Council of Kenya) and civil society organizations (Uraia Trust, *Inuka* Kenya), the project rolled out media campaigns through radio, print, TV and social media in support of civic and voter education during the elections. The Media Council of Kenya also facilitated capacity building of journalists on professional elections coverage which enhanced unbiased reporting in that period. In collaboration with Association of Media Women in Kenya and Bloggers Association of Kenya, county level journalists, bloggers and social media influencers were also trained on the role of mainstream and social media in promoting democratic governance and human rights.

The media practitioners' training was complemented by active countering of dis/misinformation online on social media platforms and through UNDP's *iVerify* platform. *iVerify* is an automated fact-checking tool developed by UNDP that was used by 19 fact-checkers trained by the Media Council of Kenya to verify online media content and provide feedback on 255 items from the public. These interventions contributed towards factual, gender and conflict-sensitive media engagements that facilitated informed messaging and public dialogue during the election period.

The project further enhanced visibility of women candidates in the elections through UN Women's partnership with African Woman and Child Feature Service (AWCFS), Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) and Echo Network Africa (ENA) among other key partners. The profiles of 25

<sup>39</sup> State Department of Devolution (SDD), Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), IEBC, National Youth Council (NYC), Ministry of ICT, Innovation and Youth Affairs, NCIC, and Youth Empowerment and Development Network (YED-N)

women candidates were featured in mainstream media, reaching an estimated 6.5 million people. At least 19 journalists gained skills in gender mainstreaming in their content in a bid to increase the voices of women on media platforms. Female candidates also received IEC materials that boosted their visibility during campaigns and along with the *Chagua Mama* media campaign gained opportunities to demonstrate their leadership visions and lobby the public for votes.

The project also contributed to increased visibility for women candidates in the electoral process. The project reports that this support to women contributed to increased number of women taking up leadership positions in the 2022 general elections (16,100 women in 2022 compared to 14,542 in 2017) which would be difficult to solely link to this project and these specific activities on their own – an assessment of factors that contributed to this increase would be useful and should include interviews with women candidates directly or indirectly targeted with the interventions to identify what factors they felt contributed to this increased participation. This would help with evidence based reporting and can be tasked to the partners and verified by UNDP's monitoring.

Under this result, OHCHR also facilitated community level capacity building and dialogues that enhanced the ability of youth, women and the wider community to participate in the county integrated development planning process from a rights-based lens. This was accompanied by capacity building for county government executive, members of county assemblies, communities, and CSOs on human rights-based budgeting in Makueni and Marsabit counties.

The scope for reporting changes in accountable service delivery for this output is too broad to allow tangible measurement of results that were achieved by the project. It would be useful in future to define some areas of focus where the project and its implementing partners could systematically document changes in accountable service delivery that the project contributed to – for example, the presidential and gubernatorial debates could be said to promote public accountability from a point of facilitating public participation in the electoral process by allowing citizens to interrogate candidates' plans for their constituents, as this could influence their voting decisions. However, for accountable service delivery, this engagement should ideally continue beyond the electoral cycle to allow citizens hold the elected leaders accountable for their campaign promises. This could be an area to look into as part of the electoral cycle approach and within UNDP's broader governance program.



**Table 6: Progress in Output 4, Increased civic and media engagement and participation in governance processes for accountable service delivery**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
4.1 # of citizen groups supported for improved service delivery	15 (2017)	31	108
4.2 Degree of content circulation on gender equality, inclusion of youth and PWDs, and accountability	0 (2020)	20	43

*Project Output 5: Strengthened and coordinated human rights and gender monitoring*

This output aimed to strengthen compliance with human rights standards primarily during the elections process through utilization of information gathered through systematic human rights and gender monitoring.

In partnership with OHCHR, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) and grassroots CSOs, 290<sup>40</sup> monitors trained and deployed by the project conducted human rights monitoring during the political party primaries and the general elections. Findings<sup>41</sup> collected through the Election Monitoring Hub were analysed and used to inform action by KNCHR including investigations, rapid response missions, issuance of advisories and reports with key findings and recommendations to relevant entities. For example, during the pre-electoral period, KNCHR deployed monitors to observe and document the conduct of the political parties' primaries. The findings were utilized to advocate for political parties' compliance with the provisions of Article 38 (Political Rights) of the Constitution. The extent to which all the parties complied with these provisions is, however, not documented.

In addition, KNCHR developed a matrix of recommendations targeting relevant duty bearers and initiated advocacy for implementation of the respective human rights obligations in identified hotspots at the national level. The entities targeted included the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), Judiciary, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP), National Police Service, County Health Service Providers, Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC), Ombudsman and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC).<sup>42</sup>

The KNCHR Elections Monitoring Report contains several press statements published in the run up to, during and after the elections highlighting key areas of concern that specific duty bearers were called upon to address. KNCHR commended actions by responsible actors in resolving issues that

<sup>40</sup> Project life achievement figure provided for indicator 5.2 (*# of monitors trained and deployed*) in the project M&E Plan

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.knchr.org/Portals/0/CivilAndPoliticalReports/HR-Account-2022%20-Elections%20Monitoring%20Report.pdf?ver=2022-09-26-160305-977>

<sup>42</sup> Deepening Democracy Project 2021-2022 Progress Report Pages 46-47

arose during the 2022 electioneering period, however the organization noted critical gaps that informed the recommendations provided to 16 relevant entities which aimed at reinforcing adherence to human rights standards in electoral processes and safeguarding the right to free, fair and credible elections in Kenya.

In partnership with the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC), the project deployed 112 trained monitors who documented incidences of violence against women and special interest group candidates and voters during the elections process (campaigns and voting). The reported incidences included intimidation and discrimination. After the elections, UN Women, NGEC and Wangu Kanja Foundation facilitated a stock taking exercise on Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWiE) where NGEC’s contribution towards ending VAWiE and the progress made in attainment of gender equality in political representation was discussed. A key result of this exercise was development of six strategies aimed at promoting gender equality and preventing VAWiE in the 2022-2027 electoral cycle.

Overall, the project conducted human rights monitoring including on violence against women in elections and used findings to flag critical violations requiring action by 32 entities during the 2022 electioneering period. Indicator 5.1 under this output counts entities supported to comply with human rights standards which is defined in the indicator definition as national institutions that have received capacity building to promote and implement human rights principles in their daily operations.

Additionally the compliance element is not robustly documented and reported – what human rights standards were they expected to comply with? Implementation of the recommendations from the human rights monitoring reports should be tracked systematically in order to determine if they were practical/achievable and provide ongoing lessons to inform programming in subsequent electoral cycles.

**Table 7: Progress in Output 5, Strengthened and coordinated human rights and gender monitoring**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
5.1 Number of entities supported to comply with human rights standards	15 (2017)	30	32
5.2 Number of monitors trained and deployed	233 (2017)	250	290

*Project Output 6: Enhanced capacity on security, risk management and coordination*

The project strengthened the national and subnational capacities for conflict early warning and response through engagements with Uwiano Platform for Peace, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), Conflict Analysis Group (CAG) National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) as well as engagement with CSOs and agents of change at community level.

The Uwiano Platform for Peace strengthened coordination and response to early warning information by peace and security actors through weekly Peace Hub meetings. Uwiano developed and disseminated over 7 early warning reports in 2022 compared to only one such report being produced during the 2017 election. These reports informed responses such as community dialogues in Nakuru, Uasin Gishu and Nairobi to address elevated levels of political intolerance, and engagement of youth in offline and online spaces to promote peace.



In addition, NCIC’s institutional capacity to monitor online incitement and hate speech during the electioneering period was enhanced through collaboration with the MAPEMA consortium that utilized artificial intelligence tools and software to monitor the online space. This dynamic social media monitoring approach facilitated improved NCIC’s ability to investigate and counter hate speech, incitement and mis/disinformation in collaboration with other peace actors.

Out of the over 600 cases forwarded to NCIC, 240 were identified as mis/disinformation, 126 cases were forwarded to relevant organizations for action while 60 cases were investigated by the NCIC and ODPP. Meta (formerly Facebook), TikTok and Twitter provided support in taking down harmful content, inclusion of disclaimers/labels/notice tags on accounts running false information, debunking false information with fact checkers and monitoring of political advertisements resulting in an increased number of cases being addressed. The social media analysis also informed development of counter messages and actions for the harmful content online by peace and security actors. This approach coupled with intensive media campaigns and dialogues at community level promoted cohesion during the elections period.

The OHCHR in partnership with KNCHR convened human rights defenders, peacebuilding and conflict prevention stakeholders through 5 county duty-bearer advocacy sessions in Nyeri, Nakuru, Kilifi, Mombasa and Uasin Gishu County to identify and respond to emerging human rights violations and conflict issues during the electoral campaign period.

**Table 8: Progress in Output 6, Enhanced capacity on security, risk management and coordination**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
6.1 Number of personnel trained	150,000 (2017)	10,000	5132

*Project Output 7: Strengthened civic engagement, women and youth participation in conflict prevention and peacebuilding*

Under this output, the project supported 19<sup>43</sup> mechanisms to strengthen civic engagement with significant focus on women and youth participation in peacebuilding in line with UNSCR 1325 and 2250. Beneficiary institutions included; UWIANO Platform for Peace, National Steering Committee on peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC/PBCM), State Department for Gender and Affirmative Action (SDfGAA), Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP II), Survivors of Sexual Violence in Kenya Network, National Police Service; Youth and Women Bunge (informal parliaments), NGEN, Rural Women Peace Link, African Woman and Child Feature Service and NCIC.



At local level, women and youth through *bunges*, peace committees, leadership structures increased their knowledge on UNSCR 1325 and 2250, and their roles in promoting peace and security during the electioneering period. The project enhanced the integration of gender and human rights in the conflict preparedness contingency plan of the National Police Service through specialized technical

<sup>43</sup> From 2021-2023 Project Report (FCDO)

support to the 267 police officers on prevention and response to GBV, peace and security and other human rights violations during elections.

UN Women sought to increase women's meaningful participation in conflict prevention, and peacebuilding. At least one county (Kwale) launched its County Action Plan on UNSCR 1325. KNAP II aimed to engage grassroots women as a means of promoting inclusivity and sustainable development. This has seen a 33% increase in the number of women in 2021 that are part of the County Peace Committee Women peace committees participated in a review of the National Peacebuilding Architecture by the NSC which covered 33 counties. These women shared their experiences which contributed to documentation of the essential roles and contributions of women in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The national review is aimed at advancing the New Agenda for Peace as a component of the Global Summit of the Future scheduled for 2024.

At least 127 women and youth drawn from county peace committees, women mediators, and youth leaders increased their knowledge and skills on UNSCR 1325 and 2250, conflict analysis, mediation, referral pathway and early warning response mechanisms through capacity building initiatives implemented in partnership with National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and UWIANO Platform for Peace.

The project strengthened the capacities of women mediators from 33 counties on mediation and conflict prevention. The women learned from each other's experiences and developed key activities to enhance peace in their respective counties. Subsequently, a network of women mediators was established to help coordinate women's peace initiatives across the country. This network was instrumental in linking local-level initiatives to the national agenda which has enhanced the implementation of Kenya National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security 2020 – 2024 (KNAP II). County Peace Committee members, women leaders and youth from Mombasa, Kisumu, Kakamega, Nakuru, Kirinyaga, Nyeri and Uasin Gishu also gained knowledge on Women, Peace and Security through capacity building initiatives facilitated by the project.

In addition to capacity building, the project facilitated women and youth participation in dialogues around violence against women in elections as well as peaceful elections. These conversations engaged youth bunge chairpersons, boda-boda chairpersons and representatives, youth PWDs, youth human rights and women and youth political aspirants. The results reported do not adequately convey how each of the groups used the information they gained to support inclusive and peaceful electoral processes.

Nonetheless, the training of peace actors led to formation of a youth group in Cheptiret, Uasin Gishu to aid in strategic reporting, prevention, and response to VAWiE and any other political related cases of violence. With CSO Rural Women Peace Link, UN Women also supported the establishment of a multi sectoral coordination forum with a membership of 39 people on election preparedness in Uasin Gishu that worked towards prevention of electoral violence.

In response to potential sexual violence, the project enhanced the capacity of the Survivors of Sexual Violence Network (SSV) to monitor, report and document cases of GBV including Violence against Women during Elections (VAWiE) with the data shared showing improved disaggregation. Furthermore, the members of SSV demonstrated enhanced capacity on peer support, assisting GBV survivors to access essential services within their counties through the referral pathway.

Finally, the project contributed to the production of three knowledge products that share lessons from Kenya on monitoring and countering dis/misinformation during elections. This was achieved through the production of iVerify evaluation report that assessed the relevance, impact, effectiveness, efficiency, and sustainability of the iVerify fact-checking tool against misinformation, disinformation, and hate speech during the 2022 General Election.

**Table 9: Progress in Output 7, Strengthened civic engagement, women and youth participation in conflict prevention and peacebuilding**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
7.1 Number of mechanisms supported for dialogue, consensus-building, response, and reconciliation with equal participation of men and women.	2 (2018)	21	19

*Project Output 8: Effective and efficient management, partnership formation, monitoring and evaluation of the project*

The extent to which this output was achieved is elaborated in the section on partnerships and coordination.

**Table 10: Progress in Output 8, Effective and Efficient management, partnership formation, monitoring and evaluation of the project**

OUTPUT INDICATORS	BASELINE	PLANNED	ACTUAL
8.1 Annual Resource Delivery and Audit (%)	0% (2020)	100%	88%

Summary of findings: Effectiveness	Observations
The project demonstrated mixed effectiveness across various output areas. The project contributed to strengthening democratic governance and electoral institutions to conduct more inclusive and peaceful elections.	Embracing the electoral cycle approach and beginning activities early after conclusion of one election is important. This will deepen the interventions and allow for more tangible results. Starting interventions early in an electoral cycle would also help reduce the pressure occasioned by undertaking such interventions too close to an election.
The project contributed to improved party nominations as well as internal dispute mechanisms.	To enhance learning and impact, there is need for enhanced synergy between project implementation partners.
The project effectiveness was however undermined by delays in getting government approval, limited resources, bureaucratic delays in funds disbursement, undertaking activities too close to an election, misalignment between donor expectations and the support provided, as well as lack of synergy between different implementation partners.	To enhance project monitoring and evaluation there is need for well-defined baseline data specific for the project including ensuring consistency in the sources of data for the baseline data.

### 3.3 Efficiency

At the apex of the Deepening Democracy Project governance and management arrangement was the Project Steering Committee (PSC) comprising of UNDP, UN Women, and OHCHR with select government ministries, departments, agencies, counties, legislative assemblies and non-state actors as the core partners. PSC offered strategic direction for the project, reviewed and endorsed the annual work plans, oversight of the implementation progress as well as financial progress reporting. In turn, the Project Technical Committee (PTC) was tasked with the technical, advisor support and quality assurance mandate.

The Project Management Unit (PMU) acted as the secretariat for the PSC by coordinating and facilitating project planning, delivery, and ownership of results and outcomes. The regular electoral assistance project updates and joint task force reports were a good practice in terms of improving project coordination, tracking progress and planning ahead. These governance and management arrangements worked well in supporting the timely delivery of the project outputs.

There were notable delays in approval of work plans, and in the disbursement of funds which impacted adversely on project implementation.<sup>44</sup>

*“..we also faced significant delays with the approval of the annual work plans. For instance the 2023 annual work plan was approved towards the end of 2023...this delayed post-election activities. We had a situation where partners had produced their reports, but could not be launched due to this delay”. (Key informant interview, partner).*

The project adopted a basket funding approach, with the multi-donor fund being managed by UNDP. The basket fund model ensured neutrality given the then prevailing political context. It also provided an opportunity for smaller donors to make a contribution by pooling resources together.<sup>45</sup> The funding model also helped cut down on the administrative processes in funding the project. Implementation partners noted that the basket funding model worked well although the issue of timely disbursements of funds can be improved.

*The technical management of the basket fund worked really well. The management structures put in places, the technical structures that were put in place, the frequency of meetings called to evaluate progress and technical inputs worked really well. There were real time updates on project progress as well as updates on the context. (Key informant interview, Partner).*

Among some of the donors, there are questions as to whether the basket funding model provided value for money. Some of the challenges cited include the bureaucratic processes within the UN system that led to delays in project implementation and lack of a written commitment on the basket fund modalities.<sup>46</sup> The available funds (i.e. USD 8.22 million) fell short the estimated total resources required for the project (i.e. USD 25.6 million) which in turn impacted on the delivery of all project activities.

Community-led approaches fostered local ownership.<sup>47</sup> Project efficiency was, however, undermined by a number of factors. These include:

- (a) Delayed approvals and disbursements from donors impacted program delivery and timing. To address this challenge, it may be useful to consider initiating conversations with implementing partners early so as to anticipate funding needs.
- (b) Late start and delays in implementation due to bureaucracy (including government approvals)
- (c) Limited resources and funding constraints impacted the scale of activities.<sup>48</sup>
- (d) Short term project cycles affected continuity and sustainability.<sup>49</sup> The short time frames just before the elections placed immense pressure on the implementation partners given competing time demands for some of the partners.
- (e) Lack of institutional support (e.g. to cover overheads) impacted on project implementation

<sup>44</sup> Key informant interview, August 2024

<sup>45</sup> Key informant interview, August 2024

<sup>46</sup> Key informant interview, August 2024

<sup>47</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>48</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>49</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024



Summary of findings: Efficiency	Observations
The governance and management arrangement of the project (e.g. PST, PTC and PMU) helped in supporting the timely delivery of the project outputs.	Future such interventions should be initiated early while paying attention to the alignment between the funding needs and the resources available.
The basket funding modality was generally seen as efficient, allowing for coordinated support and reducing duplication of efforts. However, there is scope to improve the operationalization of the fund so that all partners contributing to the kitty get value for money.	Future interventions could benefit from earlier start and more sustained engagement throughout the electoral cycle.
Limited funding restricted the scope and depth of the interventions. The project did not manage to mobilize all the resources required to support project activities. This limited the scope of activities carried out.	Balancing between ambitious needs and expectations on resource flow is not an easy task especially post pandemic period when all actors are keen to spend less. Planning for budget mobilisation should begin early enough so that the project can plan for what is available
Delayed approvals and disbursements from development partners impacted project delivery while late start and delays in implementation all impacted on project efficiency.	Starting dialogue with the government early during the start of MTP will help unlock the challenge of buy in. The plans for next project should have started in earnest.

### 3.4 Gender Equality

The principle of Leaving No One Behind (LNOB) was central in the design and implementation of the interventions under the Deepening Democracy Project. The project aimed at enhancing gender equality and women’s participation in leadership and decision making in the country. This involved strengthening the capacity of key state agencies to promote gender equality concerns (e.g. NGEC) as well as that of non-state actors so as to promote gender centered civic engagement.



Primary data highlights several ways in which the project aimed to promote gender equality in the country’s electoral and governance processes. The process involved mainstreaming gender across all project outputs and activities.<sup>50</sup> UN Women played a key role in ensuring gender perspectives were incorporated in the project design and implementation.<sup>51</sup> Training and capacity building efforts targeted women leaders and candidates ahead of the 2022 general elections.<sup>52</sup> The interventions also sought to change people’s perceptions on women in leadership. In Garissa for instance, the advocacy campaigns contributed to greater visibility of women in the 2022 general elections,<sup>53</sup> in a context where the community embraces negotiated democracy through the elders who are all men. In a context of negotiated democracy, women have to go to much greater efforts than men to get the attention of the elders to be supported for a political seat.<sup>54</sup>

The project also supported the development of knowledge products on gender equality and social inclusion, as well as advocacy on legal and policy reforms to enhance women’s political representation. However, resistance to gender equality policies and women leadership remains a challenge. In this regard, the project advocated for mindset shifts on gender norms and women’s leadership capabilities<sup>55</sup> as one of the ways of addressing barriers to gender equality.

Downstream partners at the county level emphasized the importance of including women, youth, persons living with disabilities and marginalized groups as central to their interventions. Key strategies towards gender equality and gender empowerment included capacity building, advocacy, legal and policy reforms, research, and engaging influencers to address socio-cultural barriers hindering women’s participation.

Ultimately, the number of women who vied for elective political seats in the 2022 general elections increased. Some of the stakeholders attributed this upward trend to the advocacy campaigns, capacity building interventions, and mentorship provided to the women aspirants.<sup>56</sup> Campaign financing, however remains a key bottleneck constraining women’s participation in elective politics. The issue of the two thirds gender rule also remains unresolved.

Summary of findings: Gender Equality	Observations
The project contributed in strengthening the capacity of the government institutions (e.g. NGEC), and non-state actors in promoting gender equality in the country’s governance and electoral processes.	Given the deeply entrenched cultural biases and norms that adversely impact on gender equality, there is need for continued and sustained efforts to overcome these persistent barriers within the country’s political landscape.
The project deliberately integrated gender considerations across project outputs and activities. As a consequence women’s participation in the 2022 general election was enhanced.	

<sup>50</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>51</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>52</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>53</sup> Focus group discussion, Garissa county, July 2024

<sup>54</sup> Focus group discussion, Garissa county, July 2024

<sup>55</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>56</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

### 3.5 Human rights

A rights based approach was one of the key strategies in the design and delivery of the Deepening Democracy Project. This is built upon a realization that every human being is a rights holder who should be enabled to meaningfully participate in processes and decisions that affect them.<sup>57</sup> A human rights approach was also infused in the project design, and this also informed the choice of some of the partners (e.g. OHCHR, KNCHR).<sup>58</sup> As a consequence, implementation partners embraced a rights based approach, non-discrimination, attention to vulnerable groups, the principle of Leaving No One Behind in their implementation strategies and activities.

Stakeholders emphasized that upholding human rights was a core value woven into all aspects of the project, from design to implementation, monitoring and reporting. The project implementation guidelines emphasized the need for inclusion (gender, age, persons with disability, marginalized) in project interventions. Rights based approaches guided activities while human rights monitoring provided critical data to advise stakeholders during the electoral process. CSOs doing advocacy on budgets as well as those advocating for social accountability focused on raising consciousness among the people on the linkage between budgets, service delivery and rights. Thus activities such as civic education and community engagement were all anchored on a rights based approach.

Partners also conducted human rights monitoring across the country during elections. Ahead of the monitoring exercise, partners developed tools for use in monitoring and reporting of human rights violations. Thus monitoring reports listed specific rights violated rather than just numbers,<sup>59</sup> hence providing opportunities to highlight interference with rights like education, assembly and security. Other issues touching on rights included participation, being elected, and voting in nominations hence a process was instituted by the ORPP to support political parties to conduct credible and inclusive nomination process.

Summary of findings: Human Rights	Observations
The project adopted a right’s based approach to democratic governance, integrating human rights principles throughout project activities. The project employed a multi-faceted approach that addressed various aspects of human rights from civic education to institutional capacity building.	There is need for continued and sustained efforts to help overcome the persistent challenges to respects for human rights as we as achieve lasting improvements in human rights protection and promotion within Kenya’s political landscape.
The project made deliberate efforts to include and empower marginalized groups, including women, youth, and people with disabilities under the principle of Leaving No One Behind.	

<sup>57</sup> Deepening Democracy Project document, UNDP.

<sup>58</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>59</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

### 3.6 Risk, tolerance and innovation

The project governance and management provided spaces for monitoring and mitigating risks that would have undermined successful implementation. One way was regular monitoring of implementation progress for key activities by partners. The happenings within some of the implementation partners were also monitored so as to ensure any risks were detected early and corrective measures devised. In one instance, the continued lack of Commissioners at the IEBC was identified as a high risk to project implementation given planned support to the IEBC.<sup>60</sup>

This is not an isolated case as the case with the previous election cycles where the commissioners have left office for one reason or another before the lapse of their terms in office, which in turn creates instability<sup>61</sup> and discontinuity in terms of capacity interventions at the commissioners' level.

Political interference from some political actors (e.g. MCAs) was reported among some implementation partners as a variable that posed a risk to the implementation of social accountability activities. Some of the political actors viewed accountability activities undertaken by the CSOs as possible a risk to their political careers. For future programming on projects of this nature, the government itself does pose a potential risk given the constrained civic space and threats to close some of the CSOs undertaking work on human rights and accountability especially in the context of the protests led by the Gen Z in the recent past.

Summary of findings: Human Rights	Observations
The project's governance and management arrangements (e.g. PST, PTC, and PMU) provided opportunities for monitoring and mitigating risks that would have undermined its successful implementation.	A deeper understanding of the project implementation context (e.g. political economy analysis, political settlement analysis, and context and systems analysis) can all add value in helping identify potential risks at the point of project design and also during implementation.

<sup>60</sup> Joint Task Force Report, October 2023

<sup>61</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

### 3.7 Impact

The impact of the Deepening Democracy Project has been assessed based on the extent to which the project had an impact on the targeted beneficiaries. The project was set up to promote democratic governance through provision of technical and financial support to select government ministries, departments, and agencies, and non-state actors that promote democratic governance. These includes institutions in the electoral architecture, rule of law, human rights, and gender equality. The project theory of change highlights how the project level outputs lead to the realization of UNDAF level outputs and the eventual UNDAF / country outcome.

The project had eight project level outputs and three UNDAF outputs. The UNDAF outputs connect very well with the impact on the ground as demonstrated by the primary data collected from key informants across the various implementing agencies. Data points to strengthened technical capacity of the rule of law, access to justice and legislative institutions to deliver inclusive, accountable and equitable services in their normative frameworks. The project interventions further strengthened the electoral systems and capacitated the public to participate in the electoral process through various interventions including civic education and voter education. There is also ample evidence that the project contributed to the capacities of citizens and non-state actors to engage in governance processes.

The project interventions successfully increased grassroots engagements, including in electoral monitoring and prevention of violence. In Garissa and Bungoma counties, interventions linked to the project in part contributed to peaceful elections. For instance, in Garissa County, interventions by Activista and active engagement of the youth largely contributed to a peaceful electioneering period within Garissa town constituency. Respondents in Garissa county show that for the first time in the constituency's electoral history, a market in Garissa town that is usually burned down following every election was not burnt during the 2022 election cycle. This they attribute to their engagement with the youth and the elders on the need for a peaceful election.<sup>62</sup>

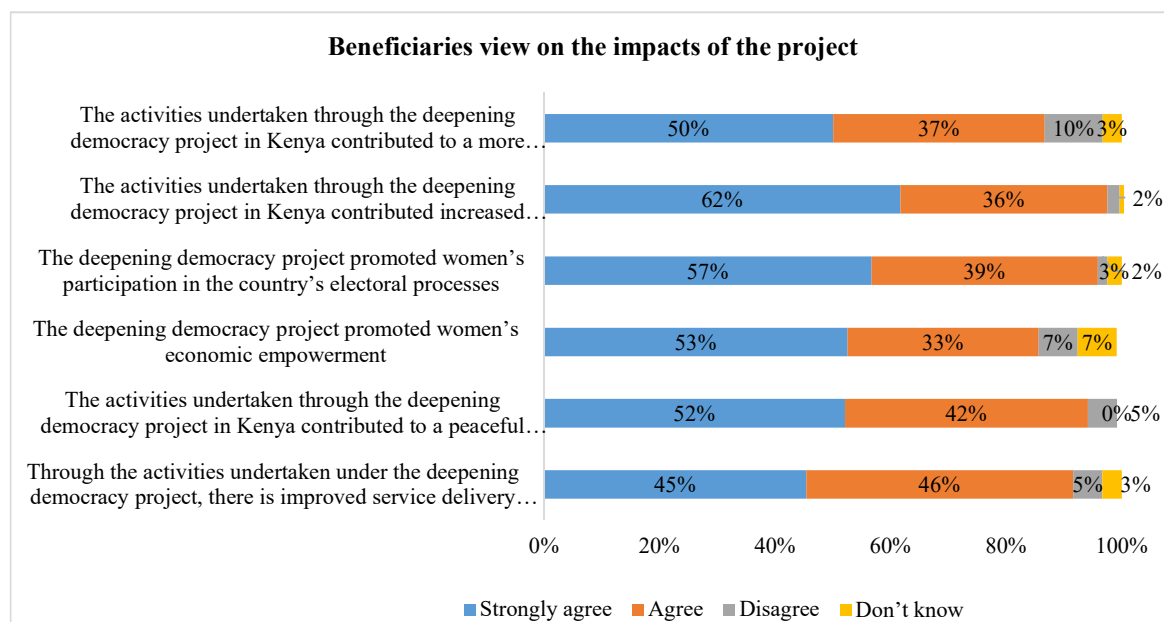
A similar success story is reported in Bungoma County especially in the Mount Elgon region where unlike in the past elections, there was relative calm during the 2022 general elections.<sup>63</sup> In Nakuru County, interventions led to the establishment of community oversight cells within the municipality as one way of promoting social accountability.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Focus group discussion, Garissa county and key informant interview, Garissa county, July 2024

<sup>63</sup> Focus group discussion, Bungoma county, and key informant interview, Bungoma county, July 2024

<sup>64</sup> Focus group discussion, Nakuru county, and key informant interview, Nakuru county, July 2024

**Figure 8: Beneficiaries view on the impacts of the project**

Source: Beneficiaries survey

The project level outputs impacted positively on the communities as people using the knowledge, skills and tools to demand for their rights and social accountability thereby leading to improved responsiveness on the part of the duty bearers. Overall, the project made notable strides in promoting inclusive and peaceful elections in Kenya through multi-stakeholder coordination and civic engagement efforts. Stakeholders generally agreed that the project made positive contributions to Kenya's electoral process, particularly in promoting peace, inclusion, and stakeholder capacity. From the perspectives of the stakeholders, the project:

- contributed to peaceful and inclusive elections by strengthening electoral institutions and political parties.<sup>65</sup>
- improved understanding of electoral laws and dispute resolution mechanisms among stakeholders.<sup>66</sup>
- promoted women's political participation and leadership.<sup>67</sup>
- prioritized human rights in electoral and governance processes.<sup>68</sup>
- facilitated civic engagement and advocacy efforts.<sup>69</sup>

The project also played an important role in advancing Kenya's journey towards achieving peaceful election, as demonstrated by the improvement in Kenya's Global Peace Index (GPI) ranking. In 2020, Kenya was positioned at 128 out of 163 countries with a GPI score of 2.388, indicating a moderate level of peace. However, by 2023, the Kenya GPI improved to 117 out of 163 with a reduced score

<sup>65</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>66</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

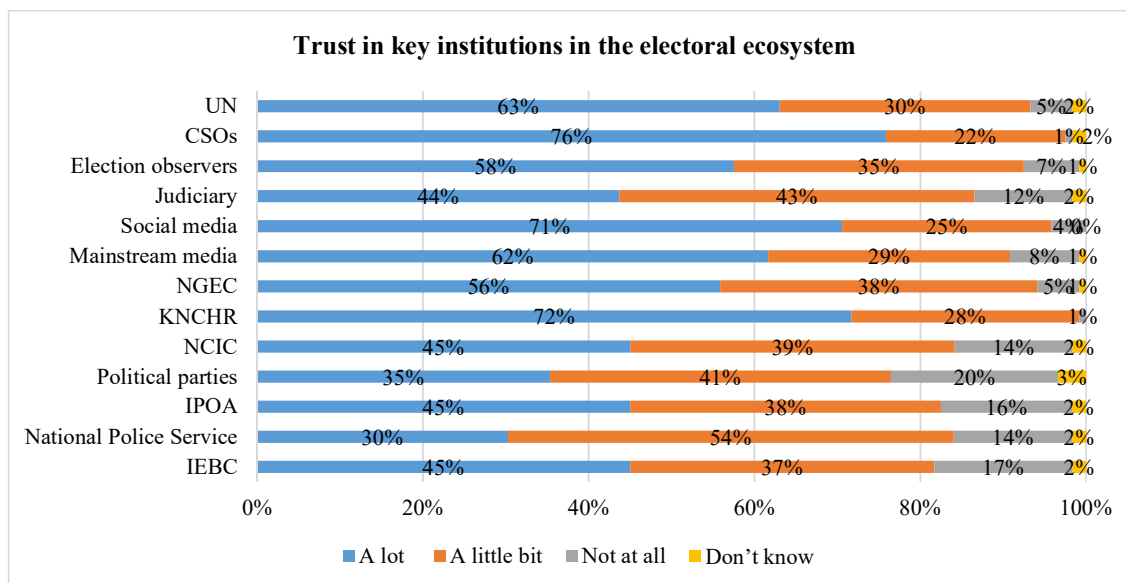
<sup>67</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>68</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

<sup>69</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

signifying tangible progress towards a more peaceful environment.<sup>70</sup> Further, the project’s interventions had a direct and significant impact on strengthening public trust in Kenya’s governance institutions as underscored by the findings of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) report following the 2022 general elections. However, beneficiary survey data points to low levels of trust in key electoral institutions in the country (Figure 9).

**Figure 9: Beneficiaries trust in key institutions in the electoral ecosystem in Kenya**



Source: Beneficiaries survey

The impact of the project was undermined by the late start and limited timelines that constrained the scale of interventions. Inadequate resources and the limited number of field monitors further undermined impact. Other factors that undermined impact include delays in approvals and disbursements of funds. Stakeholders, however, raised question on the extent to which we can attribute the impacts to the project interventions given the short life span of the project.

### 3.8 Sustainability

In assessing the issue of sustainability the question that arises is the likelihood of the continuity of the impacts achieved both at the institutional level as well as the community. Stakeholders highlighted efforts made to promote local ownership through inclusive design and capacity building interventions. The non-state actors involved in the project established sustainability mechanisms beyond the project’s implementation, with the funding having been complementary to other on-going interventions. The project built on on-going activities hence the capacity interventions received enabled beneficiary implementing partners to continue with their other activities. To some CSOs the project was therefore an anchor to other human rights monitoring interventions.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> FCDO Report

<sup>71</sup> Uraia Monitoring Report, November 2023

For CSOs working with community members for instance as budget champions and civic educators provides opportunity for continuity given the enhanced capacity at the local level. Some CSOs have also invested in tools that enable continuity of impacts beyond the life of the project. A case in point is Uraia’s social accountability, vetting and audit tools that are ready for use in other interventions.<sup>72</sup> Engaging local partners like civil society and community groups also enhances sustainability. A focus on stakeholders like political parties and electoral bodies also improved sustainability.

*...embracing a community led and community centered approach infused a sense of ownership by the target communities. It was a question of supporting communities to lead in supporting others at the local level, and this way we created a pool of citizens at the community level who could cascade the lessons learned and ensure continuity when the project ends. (Key informant interview, July 2024)*

However, a number of factors were identified as threats to sustainability. These include short project timelines; limited government involvement; lack of government cost-sharing and ownership of the project. Embracing multi-year programming, enhanced coordination and securing government commitment could help improve project sustainability.

Government commitment and buy-in is of critical importance as successive elections in Kenya have been supported by significant levels of support, including efforts such as the Deepening Democracy Project. Over time, this can mistakenly create an impression that these activities are the responsibility of institutional actors, civil society and donors. While the support is necessary, it is necessary to secure the buy-in, involvement, and cost-sharing of government so as to ensure ownership and sustainability of initiatives of this nature.

Summary of findings: Sustainability	Observations
Different implementation partners embraced varied strategies to enhance continuity of project effects beyond the life of the intervention. A main focus was on promoting local ownership in project activities including working with community members in the counties of intervention.	It’s a good practice to embed sustainability indicators into the program design as well as in contracting the implementation partners.
Project sustainability was undermined by short project timelines, and lack of government cost-sharing.	Future interventions could consider multi-year programming (a project taking slightly longer period) and government cost-sharing so as to promote sustainability.

<sup>72</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024



### 3.9 Partnerships and coordination

The project was implemented under the leadership of the UNDP as a joint programme between UNDP, UN Women, and OHCHR. The European Union; United Kingdom, FCDO; Embassy of Germany; Embassy of Italy and Embassy of Ireland were key development partners in the project. The implementing partners were drawn from both government institutions (e.g. IEBC, NGEC, ORPP, Media Council of Kenya, National Youth Council, Ministry of Devolution, NCIC, Kenya Judiciary Academy, PPDT). The non-state actors included Uraia Trust, Haki Africa, AWCFS, ENA, KEWOPA, CMD, HURIA, Rural Women Peace Link, Katiba Institute, and Wangu Kanja Foundation.

The PMU acted as the central coordination unit for the project. The project was implemented through a collaboration with national government institutions, constitutional commissions, independent offices and select non-state actors. Emphasis was on delivering as one given the diversity and number of collaborating partners.

Each of the UN agencies contributed their expertise for seamless design and delivery of the project. Through the strategy of delivering as one, this provided an opportunity for the partners to leverage on each other's respective mandates and strengths.

*Looking at the different agencies, each one brings on board a specific thematic strength, and is hence able to leverage on each other's strengths, but also collectively deliver on the project goal. (Key informant interview, July 2024).*

During the project implementation, each of the UN agencies largely focused on their core areas of institutional interest and expertise (e.g. OHCHR on human rights, and UN Women focusing on gender). In the principle of delivering as one, human rights, gender mainstreaming, youth, persons with disabilities) would have been better handled as cross-cutting issues for all the partners.

*One of the weaknesses is on how we handled cross-cutting issues such as youth, women, and human rights components. We had a joint work plan. In the implementation, each agency ended up picking certain activities as standalone activities. Moving forward, it would better if the cross-cutting issues are mainstreamed across the project and create opportunities for implementing agencies to come together and collaborate on across all the activities and not just the activity that the specific agency is known for. This would provide an opportunity for learning and impact. (Key informant interview, July 2024).*

Stakeholders took note of the strong coordination and collaboration among UN agencies and partners. Monthly steering committee meetings facilitated real-time updates and addressing concerns. The monthly joint task force reports were a good practice in terms of project coordination, tracking progress and planning ahead. The project design was also informed by the need to create synergies and linkages between varied actors, as well as acknowledgment of shared responsibility of different players in democratic consolidation space. However, management coordination faced difficulties with unclear roles between coordinating and implementing agencies. Differing methodologies among partners made standardized reporting difficult. Furthermore, lack of clarity on agency roles especially between coordination and implementation undermined coordination.

Key informant’s data amplifies the need for regular reviews and reflections in the life of the project to ensure consensus is achieved between key stakeholders, as well as ensuring partner objectives are aligned with the project goals and implementation modalities.<sup>73</sup>

Summary of findings: Partnerships and Coordination	Observations
The project engaged a wide range of partners including donors, government agencies, civil society organizations, international development partners and this was seen as a key strength of the project.	While the overall assessment of partnerships and coordination was positive, there is need for enhanced engagements with government partners to reduce delays, greater involvement of non-traditional partners including the private sector, as well as improved mechanisms for managing partner expectations and ensuring equitable participation.
The project exemplified the ‘Delivering as One’ approach within the UN system, with the UNDP serving as the lead agency, coordinating with UN Women and OHCHR. This collaboration allowed for sharing of expertise and resources across agencies, hence enhancing the project’s overall effectiveness.	Earlier engagement of partners in project design and planning phases is also a good practice.

### 3.10 Lessons learned

This evaluation has documented a number of lessons that could inform similar initiatives. The following lessons learned are noteworthy:

- i. *Planning and implementing activities that cover the entire election cycle and starting early is important.* Future interventions should start with a focus on the entire election cycle; the end of an election marks the beginning of a new one. And so should the projects on elections and democratic governance in general. The project started too late, and too close to the election period thus constraining effectiveness. Future projects should focus a new electoral cycle to allow for interventions for all the phases. Designing future projects should have a long term perspective so that planning for an election begins when one election is concluded.
- ii. *Implementation period and timelines were so compressed that various actors did not have time to synergize and effectively learn from one another.* Indeed partners implemented activities as individual actors tasked with contributing to specific outputs but there was limited time to ensure they interlink their efforts. For instance, there was limited effort to create synergy between actors working on similar outputs. This would have enabled them to create opportunities for sharing, learning and thereby leveraging on each other’s strengths. To address this challenge, in future, actors handling similar outputs should be brought together under a consortium to create synergy, harmonize interventions, enhance coordination and create opportunities for learning.

<sup>73</sup> Key informant interview, July 2024

- iii. *A focus on inclusion – Leave No One Behind – creates opportunities to broaden project benefits beyond traditional beneficiaries; it is key to laying a strong foundation for governance especially at the local level and among the marginalized. Inclusion was an important and key strength of the project. Embracing inclusion resonates well with the country’s democratic and governance processes and is key in promoting equity. Emphasis on inclusion of women, youth, persons with disabilities and marginalized groups was a key strength of the program and worked well in promoting inclusive governance.*
- iv. *Leveraging innovative approaches like digital technology and digital democracy and crowdsourcing complements traditional approaches to civic education. This is particularly important for young people who spend a substantial amount of time online and may not embrace the traditional forms of civic education. The increased awareness of youth – Gen Z – itself invites the need to integrate digital technology and digital democracy in civic education approaches more than ever before.*
- v. *In undertaking electoral interventions (especially electoral reforms), you get better results when all key stakeholders in the electoral ecosystem are involved. This promotes and enhances buy-in and ensures there are no gaps in delivery. Such an approach also contributes to strengthening the electoral process and building resilience of institutions. The design of future projects should aim for this approach too.*
- vi. *Relating governance issues to budgeting enables the citizens to relate to real life and everyday experiences. The project innovatively moved away from abstract relationships to real life examples in relation to budgeting and accountability with a focus on service delivery.*
- vii. *Interventions touching on the budget process and accountability should encompass a longer period and preferably within one Medium Term Expenditure Plan (MTP) cycle. Such an approach will provide an opportunity not only to follow the budget process but also execution and accountability to the budget as passed.*

## 4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This terminal evaluation sought to among other issues assess the relevance and coherence; effectiveness; efficiency; impact; sustainability; alignment of the project to the principle of Leaving No One Behind; as well as document lessons to inform similar interventions in the future. The evaluation has highlighted challenges to democracy at the global and national level and implications of these challenges for deepening democracy in Kenya.

At the time of undertaking this evaluation, Kenya experienced unprecedented wave of Gen Z protests with many youth demanding improvement of governance and enhancement of accountability and responsiveness in public affairs. While there were certain gains because of the protests (e.g. withdrawal of the Finance Bill 2024, dissolution of the cabinet, resignation of the Inspector General of Police among others), there were important reversals in democratic governance. For instance, police brutality, enforced disappearances, and abductions of vocal youth eroded the gains made in promoting and protecting human rights. On the whole, there were setbacks eroding gains made over the years on the issue of rights, freedoms and civic space.

Based on the findings of this evaluation, the following recommendations are made:

- i. One major shortcoming of the project was the compressed timeline for implementation. The late start and limited funding compared to the anticipated scope and scale of the project activities impacted on efficiency. But the project addressed strategic democratic governance issues that should not be ignored. Indeed, there is growing demand for this type of project now and in the future. It is recommended that initiation and planning for a future project begin early enough to avoid delays in starting implementation and mobilisation of funds.
- ii. The project was not designed to cover the entire electoral cycle. But the end of one election is the beginning of the next election. Some downstream partners ended their activities just before the elections even though they were keen to proceed. It is recommended, therefore, that planning for a similar project (focused on 2027 elections) begin soonest possible to avoid delays in implementation and challenges in getting buy-in from the government.
- iii. To enhance the relevance and coherence of future interventions, there is a need for co-creation process between the lead agencies, the implementing partners and other actors including downstream partners. The design should also be preceded by a deeper political economy analysis of the context of implementation to appreciate the complexities of the environment and risks that would confront implementation.
- iv. The issue of youth, women, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups should be embedded into project design as cross-cutting issues in a democratic governance and electoral support project, instead of being implemented as stand-alone issues. This will ensure that each project activity reflects and considers these dimensions in a deliberate manner.

- v. The M&E framework in place tracked implementation of activities but the short time line and compressed timelines put pressure on project team and everyone else implementing the project. The short timelines for the project was itself a challenge that made it difficult to track impact in a comprehensive manner. An M&E framework in such a context certainly faces administrative challenges especially because of many competing priorities and needs that should be addressed within a short period. It is important that a more robust M&E framework to capture project impact is developed early enough for the purpose. It should be robust enough to adapt to the complex political context, be able to help in assessment of risks and provide mitigation strategies. A future M&E framework should adequately define indicators at the outcome level. The design of the results framework should also take into consideration the input of implementation organizations to enhance harmony of indicators.
  
- vi. Leveraging innovative approaches like digital democracy and crowdsourcing can complement traditional approaches to civic education. This is particularly important for young people who spend a substantial amount of time online and may not embrace the traditional forms of civic education. Indeed it is highly recommended that future project should have a focus on ‘youth voice’ given the central role they have occupied in democratic governance in recent times.

## ANNEXES

### **Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (19 November 2021 – 30 June 2024)** **Questions for UN and Funding Agencies**

We are conducting a research to assess progress made by the project against the planned outputs and also document lessons learnt for future programming and are therefore looking for insights from key stakeholders including the Implementing Partners. Your thoughts and views about this project, key strengths and areas for improvement are invaluable. The interview will around one hour and your responses remain anonymous. Thank you. Your time and interest in this process is highly appreciated.

#### **A. Introduction**

1. What key lessons have you learned in the design and implementation “Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya? *What do these lessons imply for the project’s theory of change and the overall results framework?*

#### **B. Relevance and Coherence**

2. What’s your view on the appropriateness of the project in addressing the priorities of democratic governance in Kenya? *Probe for appropriateness in supporting peaceful elections; addressing electoral challenges; and alignment with the principle of Leaving No One Behind (LNOB); alignment with the UN’s democratic and participatory electoral mandate and SDGs.*
3. How were implementation partners and beneficiaries involved in the design and implementation of the project?
4. What kind of evidence informed the design of the projects theory of change and the results framework? What gaps in evidence existed and how were these addressed?

#### **C. Effectiveness**

5. What do you see as the contribution of the key outputs towards the achievement of UNSDCF 2018 – 2022 and UNSDCF 2022 – 2026?

#### **D. Efficiency**

6. What would you consider as the key strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the project’s implementation?
7. How would you rate how resources (e.g. financial, human, technical and institutional) were allocated and used in the delivery of the project? *Probe for timely disbursement of funds; use of the Project Steering Committee; provision of updates on project progress; overall value for money in the use of project resources.*
8. What was the nature of working together / synergy with different programs of the UN agencies, other implementing agencies and donors? What worked and what did not work?

**E. Impact**

9. How in your view has the project contributed to the conduct of democratic and inclusive elections in Kenya? *Probe for institutional strengthening of electoral institutions; impact on conduct of elections; impact on democratic governance; voters' participation in electoral activities; peaceful pre-and post-election period in the country.*

**F. Sustainability and Ownership**

10. How did the project design and implementation address the issue of sustainability and ownership?

**G. Gender Equality**

11. In your view how did the design and implementation of the project promote the inclusion of women, youth persons with disabilities, marginalized groups participation in the country's electoral processes?
12. To what extent did the project promote gender equality and empowerment of women? Probe for unintended outcomes.

**H. Human Rights**

13. In what ways was the issue of human rights prioritized in the design and implementation of the project? *Probe for the application of the human rights-driven approach in the design and implementation; any evidence that the project advanced key national human rights, gender and inclusion policies; priorities of UN and the UNDP on human rights.*
14. In what ways did the project design and implementation advance key national human rights /gender and inclusion policies; priorities of UN, UNDP, UNDAF and UNSDCF on human rights?

**I. Risk Tolerance and Innovation**

15. To what extent were risks adequately monitored and mitigated?

**J. Partnership and Coordination for Effective Programming**

16. What's your view on the nature of partnerships and coordination of the project? *Probe for participation of the following the design and implementation: government agencies; UN agencies; CSOs in the design; authority and tools that partners had in undertaking the project.*

**K. General**

17. What are any three things that your liked about the project?
18. What did you not like about the project? How this be improved?
19. What do you see as opportunities for democratic governance and electoral process in Kenya?
20. What key lessons did you pick in the process of undertaking this project?
21. In your view what needs to be done differently for projects of this nature?

**Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (19 November 2021 – 30 June 2024)**  
**Focus Group Discussion Guide**

*(For persons who underwent training)*

We are conducting a research to assess progress made by the project against the planned outputs and also document lessons learnt for future programming and are therefore looking for insights from key stakeholders including the Implementing Partners. Your thoughts and views about this project, key strengths and areas for improvement are invaluable. The interview will around one hour and your responses remain anonymous. Thank you. Your time and interest in this process is highly appreciated.

1. Drawing from your participation in the “Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya” what is one thing that you can remember about the project?
2. On what issues did you receive training on?
3. How impactful has been the training that you received from the project? Probe on how the training has impacted on the following:
  - a. conduct of elections in the country
  - b. participation of women, youth, persons living with disabilities and marginalized groups in the elections
  - c. promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women
  - d. access to justice
  - e. improved gender and conflict sensitive reporting in the media
  - f. reduction on violence against women
  - g. improved accountability in institutions of governance and service delivery
4. What did you like most about this project?
5. What did you dislike most about the project and why? How can this be addressed?
6. Do you feel there are any issues this training failed to address?
7. In your view, what should be the focus of such programs in the future?



**Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (19 November 2021 – 30 June 2024)**  
**Beneficiary Survey (Online)**

We are conducting a research to assess progress made by the project against the planned outputs and also document lessons learnt for future programming and are therefore looking for insights from key stakeholders including the Implementing Partners. Your thoughts and views about this project, key strengths and areas for improvement are invaluable. The interview will around 20 minutes and your responses remain anonymous. Thank you. Your time and interest in this process is highly appreciated.

[D1] Gender of the respondent

1. Male
2. Female
3. Other

[D2] Kind of training received

1. Civic educator / trainer of trainers
2. Human rights monitor / defender
3. Media e.g. journalist, blogger, gender and conflict sensitive reporting
4. Peace and conflict work
5. Dispute resolution e.g. judiciary, advocates
6. Voter education
7. Election official
8. Other (specify)

[D3] Which organization conducted the training?

[D4] Thinking about deepening democracy project, what would you say are the three things you liked most about the project?

[D5] How much do you agree with the following statements?

	<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>-888 DK</b>	<b>-999 RTA</b>
a. The deepening democracy project addresses key democratic governance and electoral issues in the country						
b. The deepening democracy project was relevant to supporting Kenya’s peaceful elections						
c. The training received from the deepening democracy project was relevant to my community and county						
d. Through the activities undertaken under the deepening democracy project, there is improved service delivery and accountability in government institutions						
e. The activities undertaken through the deepening democracy project in Kenya contributed to a peaceful pre-and post-election period						

f.	The deepening democracy project promoted women’s economic empowerment						
g.	The deepening democracy project promoted women’s participation in the country’s electoral processes						
h.	The activities undertaken through the deepening democracy project in Kenya contributed increased knowledge and respect of human rights						
i.	The activities undertaken through the deepening democracy project in Kenya contributed to a more gender and conflict sensitive media reporting						
j.	The deepening democracy project was relevant to the needs and priorities of the selected beneficiaries / trainees						
k.	The activities undertaken through the deepening democracy project took into consideration the different needs of women, youth, persons living with disabilities, and other marginalized groups						

[D6] Thinking about the August 2022 general elections, how much do you trust each of the following, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say? (% who say “somewhat” or “a lot”)

<b>Institution</b>	<b>A lot</b>	<b>A little bit</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>-888 DK</b>	<b>-999 RTA</b>
Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission					
Police					
Office of the Registrar of Political Parties					
Political parties					
National Cohesion and Integration Commission					
Mainstream media					
Social media					
Judiciary					
Election observers					

[D7] What did you not like –if at all- regarding the deepening democracy project?

[D8] Looking at Kenya’s electoral process, what would you like programmes of this nature to focus on in the future?

[D9] Looking at Kenya’s gender equality, what would you like programmes of this nature to focus on in the future?

[D10] Looking at Kenya’s human rights, what would you like programmes of this nature to focus on in the future?

[11] Overall, how would you rate the contribution of the deepening democracy project to the country’s democratic governance and electoral process?

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Poor
4. Very Poor
5. No opinion

[D12] Name of your county

**Terminal Evaluation (TE) of the Consolidating Democratic Dividends for Sustainable Transformation Project in Kenya (19 November 2021 – 30 June 2024)**  
**Site Visit Checklist**

**Nature of Work**

- 1) What is the nature of work carried out at this site?
- 2) Who are the primary beneficiaries of this work?
- 3) How are beneficiaries engaged? (In person, telephone, online)
- 4) Are beneficiaries visibly present at the time of the visit?

**Staffing**

- 5) How many staff were present at the time of the visit? How does this compare to the full staff complement?
- 6) How would you describe the gender representation at this site?
- 7) Are the staff diverse in make up?

**Infrastructure**

- 8) How would you describe the physical infrastructure at this site?
- 9) Does this site appear to have sufficient infrastructure (physical/office-related etc) to meet its primary objectives?
- 10) Is it possible to observe any gaps in terms of infrastructure? Please explain