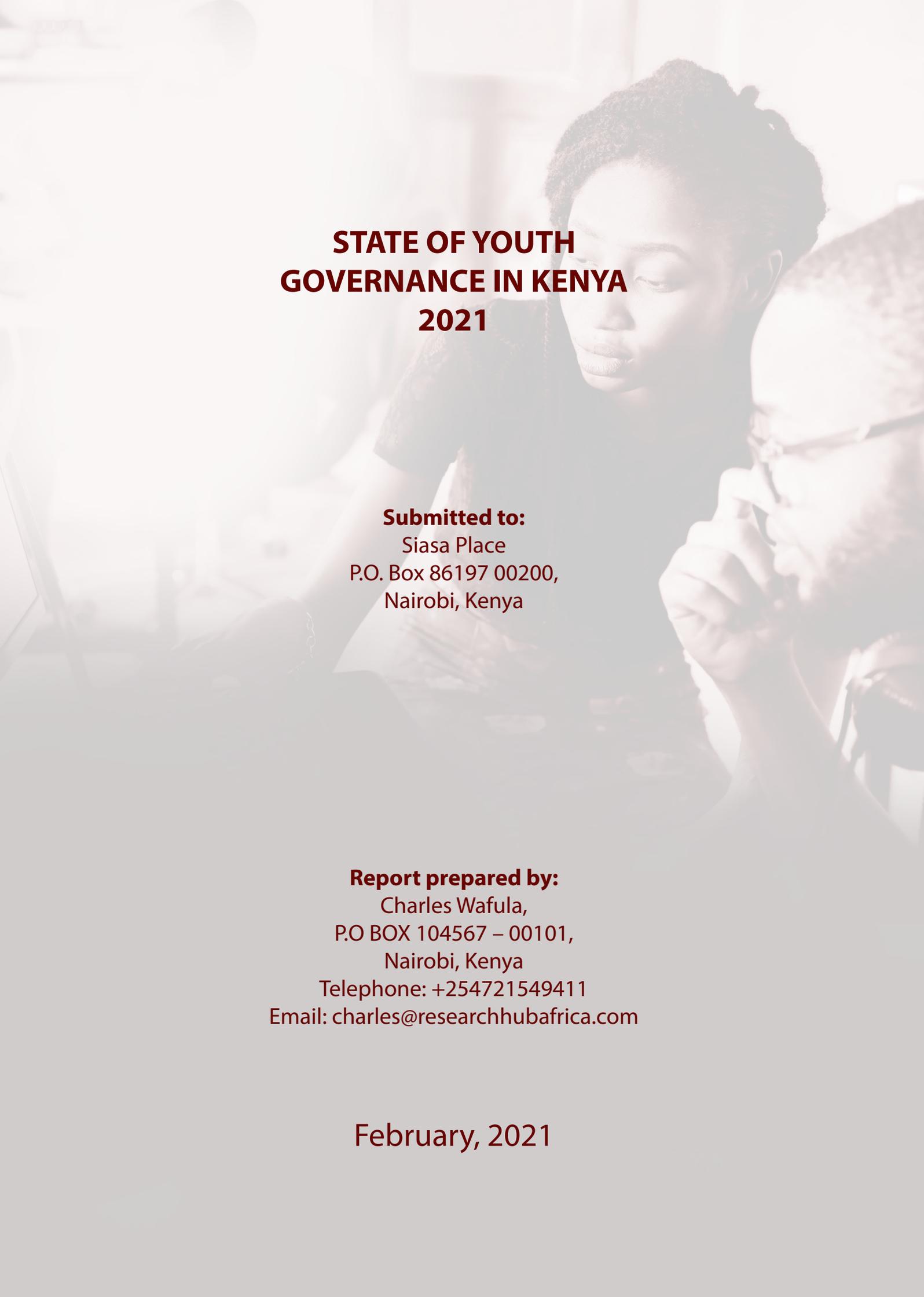# STATE OF YOUTH GOVERNANCE IN KENYA

2021

STATE OF YOUTH GOVERNANCE IN KENYA 2021

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February, 2021

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank all the participants in the recently concluded **'Youth Advocacy Plan for More Democratic Political Processes'** workshop, held in Kisumu, from 18th – 19th February, 2021. This report draws a lot of the information from the contributions of the said participants.

Secondly, I would like to thank the staff at Siasa Place and National Youth Bunge Association (NYBA), for providing technical guidance to both the conduct of the workshop and the preparation of this report. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge **Sophie Okotta** (Vice-President, NYBA), **Todosia Ruto** (President, NYBA), **Niceta Nyaga** (Communications Team, Siasa Place), **Grace Chege** (Finance and Administration Assistant, Siasa Place), and **Ken Ogembo** (Program Manager, Siasa Place), for their unceasing support during this whole process.

Finally, I also acknowledge the overall guidance of **Mrs. Nerima Wako - Ojiwa** (Executive Director, Siasa Place) for providing the overall strategic direction of this work.

Thank you very much indeed!

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BBI – Building Bridges Initiative

CDF – Constituency Development Fund

DFRD – District Focus for Rural Development

ICT – Information, Communication and Technology

KANU – Kenya African National Union

KKV – Kazi Kwa Vijana

MDAs – Ministries, Departments and Agencies

NYBA – National Youth Bunge Association

NYC – National Youth Council

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programs

SONU – Students Organization of Nairobi University

SP – Siasa Place

TOR – Terms of Reference

WEF – Women Enterprise Fund

YEDF – Youth Enterprise Development Fund

YSOs – Youth Serving Organizations

Summary Information

Title of Project	Rooting Youth Inclusion in the Kenyan Democratization Process
Implementing Partners	(a) Siasa Place (b) National Youth Bunge Association
Project Location	8 regions, Kenya
Duration of the Project	6 months
Time-line	January 2021 – June 2021
Donor	USAID

1.0 | INTRODUCTION

1.1 | Rooting Youth Inclusion in the Kenyan Democratization Process Project Background

This report is a result of a consultative process that brought together youth leaders and representatives of Youth Serving Organizations (YSOs) and political parties. The process was led by Siasa Place (SP) and National Youth Bunge Association (NYBA), under the theme 'Youth Advocacy Plan for More Democratic Political Processes'.

The culmination of all these was a 2 day consultative workshop in Kisumu, attended by more than sixty (60) youth leaders drawn from counties represented in the eight traditional regions of Kenya. To ensure inclusiveness and selection from a wide array, the selection criteria ensured gender balance, minority groups and people with disability.

Since inception in 2015, Siasa Place has extensively been involved in capacity building and creating platforms for the youth to engage in governance processes. In the recent past, through the Sauti Yetu (Our Voice) project, the organization collaborated with county-based youth serving organizations to create a platform for youth to participate in the BBI process. The project organized county-level forums through which youth were able to compile views from youth serving organizations which were then presented to the BBI taskforce in an organized manner. SP partnered with a total of 87 organizations in 6 counties: youth serving organizations, movements, networks, political parties and universities among others.[1]

The National Youth Bunge Association is a registered youth society that is run and led by the youth, drawn from County Youth Bunge Forums throughout Kenya. The forums have come together for the mutual cause of promoting youth-friendly policies and activities that support economic and civic development of the youth in the villages and counties of Kenya. Some of the core objectives of NYBA include improvement of the youth voice in local, regional and national policy dialogue through enhanced advocacy capabilities and inter-ethnic dialogue and establishment of institutional relations that can leverage public and private resources for youth-managed organizations and society at large.[2]

1.2 | Key Objectives

The key objectives of the Sauti Yetu Project included the following:
1. Evaluation of the status of youth governance, establishing strengths, weaknesses and recommending what needs to be done to meet the gaps identified.
2. Evaluation of the extent to which the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) has addressed the issues identified as gaps in youth governance.

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[1] Sourced from the Consultancy Terms of Reference
https://siasaplace.com/terms-of-reference-tor-for-consultant-to-facilitate-a-two-day-workshop-on-youth-advocacy-plan-for-more-democratic-political-processes/
[2] Sourced from the NYBA Website https://nybakenya.org/about-us/

3. Development of Status of Youth Governance Report, with an annexure of an Advocacy Plan that will articulate ways and strategies through which the identified issues will be addressed.

2.0 | STATUS OF YOUTH GOVERNANCE IN KENYA

2.1 | Introduction

This report traces how different administrations since the pre-independence period have instituted measures to address youth issues during their tenure in office. The assessment takes into account all measures – policy, legal, institutional and constitutional, which have been put in place to advance the youth agenda in Kenya.

2.2 | Pre-Independence Years

Before the advent of colonialism, there were no centralized policies targeted at youth, because of the non-existence of a nation-state. Different ethnic groups had different youth formations, mostly guided by rites of passage, or allocation of duties like manual work, or participation in war, on behalf of their communities.

The arrival of the colonial administration, first as Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA), in 1887, and later on as Britain in 1895, not only destroyed the traditional set-up, but also instituted a system that exploited those who were considered youths. There was no legal tenure to address the unique issues directly.

By and large, the colonialists perceived youths either as collaborators (to be given an illusion of power) or antagonists (to be hunted down, arrested, tortured, jailed and/or killed).

The persecution notwithstanding, youths from some communities played a key role in the fight against colonialism and dehumanisation of Africans. Others were forcibly conscripted into the Kings African Rifles (KAR) and shipped to foreign lands to fight the British wars during World War II (1939 – 1945).

Although Harry Thuku became increasingly conservative as the war against the colonialists evolved, he is remembered as a trailblazer, especially with his founding of the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) in 1921, when he was only 26 years old. [3]

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[3]
https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/mashujaa-wetu-heroes-of-the-kenyan-nation/QQLyO36pSrXmLA

2.3 | Jomo Kenyatta Years (1963 – 1978)

In the preface of Jomo Kenyatta's autobiography, he dedicates the book thus:

"To Moigoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African Freedom, and in the firm faith that the dead, the living, and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines." [4] Page 4

One would imagine that he would have a heightened sense of consciousness in addressing the plight of youths once he takes over the presidency. However, during his15 year tenure, there was no clear and targeted policy addressing issues unique to youths. In fact, there was roll-out of **Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965** – African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. This document is noted for cementing the foundation for lack of equity in Kenya's socio-economic spheres, which affected youths, especially from the marginalized areas. The Paper divided the country into a hierarchy of six agro-ecological zones. Zone 1 was made up of the former White Highlands, where export products like tea and coffee, were grown. This zone got priority investment of public money since it was deemed to hae higher returns. On the other hand, Zone 6 was made up the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). This zone got the least attention in terms of government investment. As such, this disenfranchised youths from the marginalized areas.

The destruction of the checks and balances in the independence constitution and creation of an imperial presidency also destroyed the avenues through which youths would participate in governance issues.

There was notable activism and agitation on the part of youths, especially University of Nairobi students, in engaging in street protests, to highlight their displeasure on many issues, including the economic strains caused by the 1973/74 Oil Crisis[5], and other domestic grievances.

To his credit though, Jomo Kenyatta appointed fairly young Kenyans into the first independence cabinet. These included Dr. Julius Kiano (36 years) as Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. C.M.G. Argwings-Kodhek (40 years old), as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tom Mboya (33 years old) as Minister for Economic Planning and Development, and Mwai Kibaki (35 years old) as Minister for Commerce, in 1966, amongst others.

2.4 | Daniel Moi Years (1978 – 2002)

In 1983, President Moi introduced the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD). This was an attempt to move away from the heavily centralized model of development that had been in place since 1963. However, within the DFRD, there was no clear plan to address the

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[4] Facing Mount Kenya: *The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* by Jomo Kenyatta

[5] The Truth about the 1973 Arab Oil Crisis

https://www.thebalance.com/opec-oil-embargo-causes-and-effects-of-the-crisis-3305806

plight of youths as a unique demographic group. This model was said to be *centralisation in a new guise*[6].

His tenure also saw introduction of repressive laws as a response to the 1981 attempted coup. These laws brutalized many young people in Kenya through detention without trial, exile, enforced disappearances, and murder. The democratic space which would have fostered youth activism was significantly constrained.

There was heightened participation of youths in the struggle for justice, equity, fairness, inclusion and the fight against the one party (KANU) dictatorship. University students (especially University of Nairobi's SONU) were particularly at the forefront. The presence of youths was both inside and outside parliament (Young Turks[7]).

The introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the late 1980s (courtesy of IMF/WorldBank) led to economic meltdown in many families, which affected the ability of youths to nurture self-reliant lives and access other public services like education. Cost sharing model of procuring public services puts many of these services beyond the reach of many households.

Formation and deployment of the KANU Youth Wing, which was used to repress members of opposition parties and entrench Moi's repressive rule was a misuse of the youth as a group for political mobilisation.

Overall, there was no clear and targeted policy addressing issues to do with youths as a unique demographic group.

2.5 | Mwai Kibaki Years (2002 – 2013)
The stint of President Kibaki saw fruition of youth inclusion into governance spaces on various fronts. A number of institutional and policy changes targeted at youths came to the fore. Key amongst these is the Kenya National Youth Policy, in 2006. Institutionalization of the National Youth Council (NYC) was handicapped for many years because of wrangling amongst youths from different regions, inability to roll-out nationwide elections and court cases.

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[6] Fiona Mackenzie & D. R. F. Taylor (1987) District Focus as a Strategy for Rural Development in Kenya: The Case of Murang'a District, Central Province, Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement, 8:2, 299-316, DOI: 10.1080/02255189.1987.9670192

[7] Youthful leaders fight for space as Young Turks of 90s call the shorts from behind https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/politics/article/2000211987/young-turks-of-90s-still-relevant-as-youthful-leaders-fight-for-space#_=_

There was the establishment of a Ministry for Youth Affairs, a first since independence. This ministry undertook multiple programs aimed at broadening the youth voice in governance issues. Youth desks/officers were instituted in virtually all line ministries.

The significant growth of the Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) sector provided a platform for youths to realize their socio-economic and political aspirations. The inception of The East African Marine Systems (TEAMS) fiber optic line in 2009[8] was the trigger point in this stead. The expansion of the digital economy has also had a net effect in how youths engage in **virtual advocacy and activism**, with notable successes in holding different government officials to account. Social media platforms especially Facebook and Twitter have provided avenues for millions of youths to engage in digital activism.

The massive investment in and expansion of education has had a huge impact in the cognitive development of youths, and enhanced their literacy and numeracy skills, which are prerequisites for an engaged citizenry.

There was a centering of attention towards **arts as a legitimate source of income and talent realization** for youths. This included areas like sports, theatre, and music amongst others. These expressions of art have also been used by youths as weapons of advocacy. Many songs, graffiti and plays resonate with messages of protest against governance ills including corruption, ethnocentrism, and nepotism. Previously, there was a silo view of education and academic excellence as the only pathways of career success in life.

Establishment of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) in 2004 played a role in the initial devolution of resources which aided different infrastructure projects that were supportive of youth lives. Some of the infrastructure projects also created employment opportunities for youths. The spread of projects at the grassroots level also made many youths to participate in social accountability initiatives including **social audits, citizen report cards, and community score cards[9]** of CDF projects.

Utilization of violent youth formations in the 2007 post-election period was a blot.

Promulgation of the 2010 constitution entrenched a number of solid wins for the youth sector. Various articles recognize youths as a historically disadvantaged group and specifically put responsibility on duty bearers to take measures to enhance equitable access to socio-economic and political opportunities. Other downstream pieces of legislation which were enacted to give effect to the constitution also lay out measures that are aimed at limiting the potential of disenfranchising youths in different spheres of life.

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[8] Kenya's investment in fiber optics good for digital economy
https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/opinion-analysis/columnists/kenya-s-investment-in-fibre-optics-good-for-digital-economy-2283354

[9] Social Accountability in the Public Sector
https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Event/MNA/yemen_cso/english/Yemen_CSO_Conf_Social-Accountability-in-the-Public-Sector_ENG.pdf

His tenure also witnessed the establishment and operationalization of various youth-centred financial services including the Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDF) as a State Corporation in 2006, and Women Enterprise Fund (WEF) in 2007.

The formulation of the Vision 2030 also clearly articulated the place of youths in the socio-economic and political development of the country.

The multi-billion Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV), program also known as Kenya Youth Empowerment Project[10], launched in 2009, sought to give economic empowerment for youths. Between 2009 and 2010, it is estimated that it employed about 300,000 youths and enabled them to earn a basic living. Nonetheless, it was marred by many scandals.

2.6 | Uhuru Kenyatta Years (2013 – todate)

President Kenyatta campaigned on the platform of ushering in a digital approach to governance, which was meant to be a departure from the analogue era. This heralded an era that was to place youth at the centre of its agenda.

By and large, his tenure has sustained the many gains that were realized during the presidency of Hon. Mwai Kibaki. This is in part because of the strong constitutional guardrails contained in the 2010 constitution.

There have been mixed results in the implementation of the 2010 constitution especially clauses that address youth issues – Articles 43, 55, 100, 260, especially on provisions touching on INCLUSION and NON-DISCRIMINATION on the basis of AGE.

One key milestone under Hon. Kenyatta's tenure was the operationalization of the National Youth Act, through the formation of the National Youth Council (NYC). This statutory body has been a mixed bag of fortunes, with notable successes but one that anecdotal evidence shows remains elitist and removed from youths at the grassroots level across the country.

Apart from WEF and YEDF, there was institution of the Uwezo Fund[11] to supplement pathways through which youths can access capital for their businesses. Uwezo Fund modelled its access to also target youths with disabilities and also have programs centred on enterprise development besides financing.

There has been further expansion of the ICT sector which has further broadened the opportunities for youths to engage in socio-economic and political which provided a platform for youths to realize their dreams. Greater access to smart-phones, and growth in electricity and internet connectivity have opened opportunities for youths to explore the knowledge based economy. Additionally, many youths now engage in online debates about emerging governance issues on an on-going basis. This is evident in the way virtually all government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) have a social media management team as a medium of communicating with the youth in Kenya.

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[10] Kenya Youth Empowerment Project shorturl.at/xITU7

[11] Uwezo Fund https://www.uwezo.go.ke/

There has been notable expansion of post-secondary education especially the huge investments in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET). This has directly impacted development of youth in different spheres of life.

The development of the Kenya Youth Development Policy (2019) is another milestone in seeking to clarify ways in which the government can deliver on the promise of making youths count in the country's overall development strategy.

Under Hon. Kenyatta, there was also massive reinvigoration of the National Youth Service (NYS), through which thousands of youths received training in different disciplines and some went on to be employed by the government.

Implementation of the multibillion Kazi Mtaani program has seen the state provide temporary employment to over 280,000 youths. This was a targeted program that aimed at alleviating the socio-economic shocks caused by Covid-19 pandemic.

Implementation of devolution under the 2010 constitution has seen animated activities at the county level, with many youth groups forming and engaging in governance processes including budget making, filing of memoranda to county assemblies and executive branches, picketing, amongst others.

The 2017 post-election stand-off led to the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), which has evolved into consensual moment, amongst the political elite, for changes in both the supreme and subsidiary laws. A number of the proposed changes have a direct bearing on the youths, as shall be outlined in the next section.

2.7 | Conclusions
These include the following:

- President Mwai Kibaki's rule was an INFLECTION POINT in youth governance, seeing the progress that was made in institutionalizing and constitutionalizing the youth agenda in the country.

- A lot of gains in the youth space will need to be continually defended and protected since they face a roll-back

- BBI proposals are a bag of mixed fortunes for youths. Therefore, other persuasions will play a role in shaping the way they will vote.

3.0 | THE YOUTH AGENDA WITHIN BUILDING BRIDGES INITIATIVE REPORT

This section gives the background of the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), and a critical reading of the Taskforce's final report, on the basis of how it addresses youth related issues, and a recommendation of how youths can interact with the proposals, as we head into a referendum later on in 2021.

3.1 | Overview of the Building Bridges Initiative

The Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) is a March 2018 result of a ceasefire between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Right Honorable Raila Odinga, after a fiercely fought general election in 2017, which ended in irreconcilable differences over the process and outcome of the election. The two principals identified nine sticky issues through a Joint Communiqué of Building Bridges to a New Kenyan Nation and therefore appointed a Taskforce[12] with a mandate to conduct public consultations on how resolve these issues, namely:

1. Corruption
2. Lack of a national ethos
3. Devolution
4. Divisive elections
5. Safety and Security
6. Responsibilities and rights
7. Inclusivity
8. Shared prosperity
9. Ethnic antagonism and competition

According to the Taskforce, they were able to conduct a comprehensive validation of the Task force Report through:

a) Holding a total of 93 stakeholder validation meetings attended by representatives from civil society, faith-based organisations, women's groups, youth groups, persons with disability (PWD) groups, cultural leaders and government institutions;

b) Participation in regional delegates' meetings where they received written validation submissions from the leaders at the end of each of the meetings;

c) Participation in regional public meetings where they received written submissions from Kenyans through their leaders.

Further to the above, the Taskforce indicated that they processed a total of 124 hand-delivered memoranda and 223 emailed memoranda, invited external experts and drafters to provide technical information, and also undertook desktop review of relevant documents and international good practices to inform and enrich the report.

Ultimately, all this effort culminated in a report containing various policy, administrative, statutory and constitutional instruments propositions that address the national challenges outlined in the Joint Communiqué of 'Building Bridges to a New Kenyan Nation'.

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[12] President Kenyatta extends term of BBI Taskforce
https://www.president.go.ke/2019/12/12/president-kenyatta-extends-term-of-bbi-taskforce/

3.2 | BBI Proposals on Youth Related Issues

The proposals addressing youth related issues can be categorized largely as either **express** or **proximate.** The express ones touch specifically on youth grievances while the proximate ones have incidental benefits for youths.

3.2.1 Express Propositions

The two key areas under which youth related issues have been addressed expressly, relative to the nine agenda items, are:

1. Inclusivity
2. Shared prosperity

1. Inclusivity

The challenges highlighted under this theme include the following:

- Limited employment opportunities for them
- Frustration with the job market – Stringent **entry requirements** into jobs both in public and private sectors
- Lack of implementation of Kenya Youth Development Policy 2019
- Difficulty in accessing the 30% public procurement provision, and the existing youth funds.
- Lack of a structured mechanism for the youths to engage the government

The BBI proposals to cure these problems include the following:

- Reducing the cost of doing business and impediments to starting enterprises;
- Awarding at least seven years' tax holiday for youth-owned businesses;
- Legally recognising the home office as a place of business;
- Creation and promotion of business incubation and industrial parks for small-scale innovators and business owners;
- Developing and promoting a culture of saving and investment among Kenyans;
- Increasing lending to small-scale businesses;
- Ensuring that 30% of opportunities in the Counties and Wards are reserved for youth, women, PWD and minorities to support SMEs;
- Affordable and reliable access to digital platforms in the wards and villages to promote ecommerce at the grassroots level.

2. Shared Prosperity

The cited challenges included the following:

- Failure of the economy to generate sufficient jobs and employment, particularly for young people.
- Frustration with the lack of sufficient and meaningful job opportunities
- Lack of a long-term economic development plan in which industrialisation is aggressively and consistently encouraged and promoted
- Insufficient efforts by the Government to promote and develop small business owners in the country to enhance self-employment.
- Lack of coordination among various Governmental agencies tasked with supporting businesses, particularly Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs).

The proposed measures to address the above challenges include the following:

- Establishment of mechanisms to ensure more accessibility into the **job market** especially at the entry-level.
- Elimination of barriers to accessing the 30% procurement provision and the already existing **youth funds**.
- Exhaustive execution of the **Youth Development Policy**, 2019.
- Establishment of **policy**, **legal** and **administrative** structures to the effect of the **youth** admittance into the **job market** as well as elective and appointive positions and **business opportunities**.
- Decreasing the expenses incurred in starting and sustaining **business enterprises**.
- Granting a tax holiday of at least seven years to start-ups by **young people**.
- Ensuring that 30% of opportunities in the counties and wards are reserved for **youth** and other **marginalized** persons.
- Need to formulate a **policy framework** for **harnessing**, **promoting,** and **marketing** the **creative** potential of **young people** in **sports**, **music**, **dance**, arts, **ICT** and other creative industries generally.
- Revisiting the curriculum to focus on **technical subjects** from early stages as a significant initial stride to nurture and open opportunities for **children** and **youth**.
- Creation and promotion of **business incubation** and **industrial park**s for **small-scale innovators** and **business owners**.
- Properly regulate loan apps to shield Kenyan youth (who are the biggest borrowers) from indebtedness

Others:

Establishment of the Youth Commission

Some of the countenanced roles of the Youth Commission include advancing the participation of the youth in all spheres of public and private life, to ensure the mainstreaming of the youth perspective in planning and decision-making, to advise the national and county governments on the design, implementation, and evaluation of policies and programs to secure sustainable livelihoods for the youth.

This is the most consequential constitutional proposal that will affect how youth issues are transacted by the government. In essence, the commission will enjoy security of tenure, compared to the current National Youth Council which is a Statutory body with no legal protections beyond an Act of Parliament, which can be abolished nonetheless. Funding for the commission will also be safeguarded and accountability of its performance will be under the ambit of the National Assembly.

Figure 1: Establishment of a Youth Commission

To ensure the Kenyan youth are secure and safe, the BBI report recommends help from the Ministry of Interior in providing national cyber-security, and the government to include

conflict resolution, negotiation and counseling skills in the curriculum in primary and secondary schools.

Issues of concern
- This is not the first time that many of these proposals *(in one shape or another)* are being made to the youth – so why should the youths support them right now?
- There exists policy, legal, administrative and constitutional mechanisms to address a number of these proposals – so why shouldn't the government swing into action and solve the challenges pervading the youths now?
- What is stopping the government from proceeding with implementation of many of these measures, considering that they do not require any constitutional changes?

3.2.2 Proximate Propositions

These are propositions which will have a certain degree of bearing to youth issues, depending on how youths will engage in them. They include the following:

Table 1: Proximate Propositions in the BBI Report

Issue	Details
County Ward Development Fund	- This is meant to ensure greater inclusivity, fairness, equity and accountability in the distribution of resources. - This has the potential of deepening the focus on the socio-economic disadvantages faced by youths at the grassroots level. Traditionally, the county and constituency have been the only units of resource distribution. While this is good, there are disparities within those two units that disenfranchise youths who are located in geographic areas that face resource discrimination. - The downside to this is that 5% allocation means different amounts for different counties in different counties. Therefore, there is potential for lack of allocative efficiency.[13]
Kenya National Policy Guide on Public Participation	- To institutionalise effective public participation in Kenya. - To clarify and implement transparent and broadly understood standards and processes of public participation. - To provide continuous civic education on the importance of and citizen responsibility for informed public participation.

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[13] Borrowed from Dr. Abraham Rugo's presentation on behalf of International Budget Partnerships (IBP)

	• This provides youths with a strengthened platform to meaningfully engage in civic issues that affect them, both at the county and national levels
Allocation of public resources according to population size – amplification of the 'one man, one vote, one shilling' mantra	• This has an effect on small counties and marginalized counties. • The underlying assumption is that all counties have small development differences, which is not the case in Kenya • Case in point, Turkana County has 18 times the number of poor people as Lamu County. That is a very wide gap and limiting at a per capita proportion of 3:1 would disadvantage counties like Turkana County. • Looking at direct services, the situation is the same. For example, Bungoma County has 15 times the number of children enrolled in ECD as Lamu County. The same applies for services such as roads, water etc. • The reason why this mostly affects small counties like Lamu and Isiolo is due to logistical costs and standard administrative costs. [14] • Therefore, there is potential of limiting access to key services by youths resident in the small counties (population-wise).
Increased allocations to counties under the Equitable Share – from 15% to 35% of the last audited	• If well implemented, this would boost the resource envelope of counties thereby empower them to provide an enabling environment for youths to conduct businesses, get jobs and get the required services. • The above notwithstanding, the country does not have enough fiscal space to channel such a high amount to the devolved units. Our debt financed budgets and limited revenue generation are major handicaps to the national government's capacity to share this level of revenue with counties.

3.3 | Conclusions

These include the following:

1. The BBI process undertook a fairly inclusive approach, in view of the opportunities that youths and youth serving organizations had, to either appear physically, or send petitions to the Taskforce.
2. The outcome of the report assessed key issues affecting youths in Kenya, and made a number of progressive recommendations to redress these issues.

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[14] Ibid

3. There is a need to mobilize collective voices and lobby the government to move forward with the policy, administrative, and statutory proposals which do not require constitutional changes to come to being.

3.4 | Should Youths Support or Oppose the BBI Proposals?

Based on the foregoing, the following **six-point matrix** can guide the decision making on the part of youths, as the country heads towards a referendum:

- If they believe the proposals are new/innovative/practical solutions to the challenges facing young Kenyans (they should support BBI). Conversely, if they believe that there is nothing new in all these proposals (they should reject BBI).
- If they believe the proposals can be implemented within the existing structures (they should reject BBI). But if they believe that there is an urgent need to come up with new structures to implement these proposals (they should support BBI).
- If they believe that socio-political and economic change is INCREMENTAL (they should reject BBI, as another step towards progressive change, based on the proposals you consider as steps in the right direction). If they believe that the said change ought to come once, and in a version that bears wholesome goodness, then they should reject the BBI proposals.
- If they believe in the principle of proportionality between what one considers as GOOD and BAD. That is, if the GOOD outweighs the BAD (they should support BBI) and vice versa.
- If they believe that the constitution is a CEASEFIRE DOCUMENT (it will contain things youths like and those that they don't) or a PURITANICAL DOCUMENT (it will only contain things that youths like). Therefore, if they believe in the former, they can accommodate the proposed changes and support BBI because different sections of the population have their grievances captured too. Conversely, if they believe in the latter, it is all or nothing for you.
- If the IEBC settles on a MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTION referendum – the youths will have a chance to specifically accept/reject different clauses. A SINGLE QUESTION referendum means the metrics specified above can provide a guidepost.

4.0 | ADVOCACY PLAN

The following agenda items have been synthesized from the proposals sent by workshop participants, the plenary discussions that took place in between, and the issues highlighted in the BBI document, which fall under **policy, legal and institutional** reforms, that do not require constitutional changes to be effected.

Table 2: Advocacy Plan for Youth Related Issues

Agenda Item	Categorization *i.e Policy, Legal, or Institutional*	Duty Bearer	Approach
Increased participation in budget making cycle	Policy, Institutional	Treasury, Parliament	Advocate for passage and enforcement of the Kenya National Policy Guide on Public Participation
Training staff in all police formations on sign language interpretation to provide effective services to youths with disabilities.	Policy, Institutional	National Police Service	• Present a petition to the Inspector General's Office • Conduct Social Media campaigns to increase public awareness
Increased effectiveness of National Youth Council	Policy, Institutional	Ministry of ICT, Innovation And Youth Affairs	Present a petition with propositions on how NYC's effectiveness can be improved and measured
Improved capacity of youths to engage in civic issues	Policy, Institutional	All MDAs & County Governments	• Present a position paper on how MDAs can integrate capacity building initiatives targeting youths in their line of operation, with the aim of increasing their capacity. • Widespread social media campaigns to

			garner support and concurrence from youths across the board
Creation of structures for mentorship of young leaders into governance spheres	Policy, Legal, Institutional	NYC	A strategy paper can be developed and shared with NYC outlining how such a program can be implemented, in consonance with youth serving organizations like Siasa Place, NYBA etc NB: Mentorship is one of the recommended mandates of the yet to be established Youth Commission (Article 237a)
Organizing youth conventions at both county and national levels	Policy, Institutional	NYC	Engage with NYC leadership to see how they can be supported to roll-out these forums systematically. Such forums are good, not only for NYC's visibility, but also as platforms for youths across the country to channel their issues through a statutory body established to do exactly that
Changes to the Elections Act to allow youths	Policy, Legal, Institutional	National Assembly	● Lobby a friendly MP to introduce the amendment to the House for

without degrees to run for office (MCA, MP etc)			debate and adoption. ● Lobby members of the National Assembly Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, under whose ambit election affairs fall.
Exhaustive execution of the Youth Development Policy, 2019.	Policy, Legal, Institutional	Ministry of ICT, Innovation and Youth Affairs & NYC	● Youth Serving Organizations to partner in lobbying the ministry and NYC to fully implement the Youth Development Policy ● Presentation of petitions to the Treasury for provision of adequate funding to NYC for the implementation of the Policy. ● Youth Serving Organizations to develop Score Cards to monitor implementation and effectiveness of the NYC in relation to the execution of the Youth Development Policy
Implementation of ALL the proposals under INCLUSIVITY that do not require constitutional changes	Policy, Legal, Institutional		Develop a position paper (borrowing from the BBI Report) on specific (and enhanced) ways these recommendations can be implemented

			pronto, and present to the President. Having the President as the anchor on this will give it the needed impetus.
Implementation of ALL the proposals under SHARED PROSPERITY that do not require constitutional changes	Policy, Legal, Institutional		Develop a position paper (borrowing from the BBI Report) on specific (and enhanced) ways these recommendations can be implemented pronto, and present to the President. Having the President as the anchor on this will give it the needed impetus.
Incorporation of a detailed report articulating the progress made by counties in promoting youth affairs, in the Governor's Annual 'State of County Address	Policy, Institutional	Council of Governors, Senate, Individual Governors	• Develop a petition outlining how this reporting can be done on an annual basis, to the County Assemblies. • Lobby County Assembly members (friendly to the youth agenda) to hold the governors accountable
Amendments to the University's Act reversing the stringent and undemocratic ways that university students are	Policy, Legal, Institutional	Council of University Education, Kenya University Students' Organisation	• Rally Presidents of all university students' unions to develop a petition on this and present it to the relevant

electing their representatives currently		(KUS0), National Assembly	entities for action. ● Use of social media to create a buzz around the issue. ● Engage university students virtually to gather their views on this
Development of Youth Policy documents by County Governments (as a cascade from the National Youth Development Policy)	Policy, Legal, Institutional	County Governments (Executive) and County Assemblies	● Lobby governors, CECs in charge of youth affairs and MCAs members to introduce this into the county assembly for debate and adoption ● Develop drafts highlighting the key issues that ought to be captured in the youth policies by each county, specifying the areas of emphasis, implementation mechanisms, and ways of monitoring and evaluating the overall performance of the policy.

CONTACTS

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