KENYA YOUTH MANIFESTO 2022

"

QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE, AGENDA NI YETU!

MISSION

The mission of the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 is to amplify the voices of young people as active and influential stakeholders in the civic, democratic, social and economic spaces in Kenya.

VISION

The vision is to make Kenya the best country to be in as a young person by bolstering youth-centric, resilient, sustainable, and more inclusive governance institutions..

Summary of Recommendations

12 Demands

One Manifesto!

A Youth Manifesto for Kenyan General Elections!

Our future is promising, however, it is beset by a myriad of both cultural and systemic challenges. The Kenya Youth Manifesto contains issues and recommendations which we propose to the successive governments to use as action points to transform youth affairs.

The Kenya National Youth Policy 2019 "visualises a society where youth have an opportunity, equal to other citizens; to realize their fullest potential, productively participating in economic, social, political, cultural and religious affairs equitably."

It is time for the national and devolved governments to act on young people's demands.

As promises arepolitical being made during Kenyan elections that will define young people's future, we need to listen and work on the most pressing needs of this generation.

To start the conversation, The Youth Cafe and International Republican Institute collaborated with young people across the country to develop policy ideas that could form part of their asks to the incoming governments as we head to the next general elections and asked the youth to rank these challenges in order of prevalence. The result? Big issues and ideas on subjects like unemployment, training, and public participation.

Those ideas are inscribed herein. As such, we are now calling on the next governments to study this manifesto, understand the youth's needs, commit directly to working with young people, and jointly improve the living and working standards of this constituency expediently.

Quotations:
One: ***After youth get the opportunity to lead, they should be true to their word and deliver. Youth should believe in themselves to be able to handle the positions they hold and provide alternative leadership. - Participant from Nyanza Regional Youth Consultative forum.***

Two: ***We must not only work for youth — we must work with youth. All of us will gain by doing so - Jan Eliasson, Former Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations.***

***Three:** Africa's greatest resource is its youthful population - African Youth Charter.*

Key Demands	Call 1 to next government	Call 2 to next government
1. Create at least 1.500,000 new youth employment opportunities annually.	Enable business capital by investors/financial institutions and create economic hubs such as intercommunity market days for the youth, which provide markets for small scale businesses. Increase investment in key sectors with a higher job multiplier effect to create mass employment; to spur economic growth and enact predictable regulations.	Enhance the operationalization of Access to Government Procurement Opportunities (AGPO) policy by removing existing bureaucracies and bottlenecks to increase market access to youth-led enterprises (there is need for a forensic audit of these AGPO operations so far. Is it 30% of the number of tenders, or 30% of the total value of tenders?).
2. Actively involve youth in agro-produce, livestock market exploitation, and value addition.	Assist the youth in procuring youth with affordable agricultural machinery, input, equipment and post-harvest operations & marketing agricultural incentives to motivate the youth to venture into agriculture-related green jobs. County Governments should regularly organize annual agricultural training and expos for the youth. This will improve and broaden their skills in agriculture.	Modernize the agricultural sector by adopting climate-smart technology and innovation and enhance access to factors of production, utilization of modern technologies, and Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs).
3. Increase youth access to finance, capital, and grants.	Strengthen local level government-funded credit guarantee schemes that exclusively target the youth to ease access to finances.	Strengthen the capacity of youth in resource mobilization, financial literacy, savings, and investments through Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization (SACCOs), Chamas, producer cooperatives, and other economic enhancement models.
4. Provide conducive trade and business	Set up the County Industrial Development Authority to oversee	Regulate the importation of goods and promote the consumption of

environments.	the SMEs within the County governments based on local opportunities and needs, ease the cost of youth for doing business for youth run entities by subsidizing tax and licensing for the first year of business, and mobilize resources to develop local industries.	locally produced goods through "buy Kenya, build Kenya '' and accreditation of the informal sector.
5. Deliver inclusive quality Education and Training to youth.	Enable equitable access to quality skills and education at all levels through dedicated national funding for Bursary Commissions and youth desks, for increased intervention of skills development for in-school and out-of-school.	Ensure curriculum review for formal and informal sectors to provide training that addresses skills and market mismatch and incorporates digital skills, soft skills, and emerging 21st-century technical skills through all levels of education (fundamental and technical).
6. Promote and protect Young People's Health and overall well-being.	Sustain solid political will and commitment around a robust healthcare system. Provide free Universal Health Coverage through National Hospital Insurance Fund for all unemployed youth, and incorporate increased domestic and external investments towards health systems strengthening, especially at the community level.	Provide and implement an affordable and accessible quality health insurance scheme that will enable them to access quality healthcare with inclusion of mental, sexual reproductive health and improved sanitaion.
7. Increase action towards achieving Social protection.	Enhance youth empowerment through programs like: cash transfers, food subsidies, and access to credit facilities, that can reduce youth vulnerability especially young women and girls to poverty and poor living conditions.	Enact social protection laws that address the custodial and co-parenting plight of single parents and establish County Government Kitty and empowerment programs to assist the young single parents in taking care of their children.

8. Increase financial support in the Sport and creative economy.	Increase funding and diversification of investment in the sports and innovative economy by increasing funding for the Sports, Art and Social Development Fund by at least 25 percent. County and National Governments to establish modern sporting facilities. They should also streamline the Sports Regulations for equitable participation of the youth.	Establish a mechanism to train, streamline, equip, manage, monetize the sports and creative economy and nurture sports using sports for civic engagement at all levels of the community. Streamline channels to ensure allocated funds get to the targeted recipients. Additionally to enhance accountability.
9. Increase youth representation and inclusion in government and its agencies.	Formulate an allocation matrix for the political party funding so that 30% is allocated to youth leagues and implementation of capacity building programmes that specifically target the youth and are spearheaded by The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties.	Advocate for 50% of party lists for nomination slots to be youth. And ensure that 50% of nominees for the party tickets are youth. This will require the goodwill of political parties, particularly their leadership.
10. Ensure systematic coordination of the youth function in both tiers of government.	Devolve the youth function to have a stand-alone Youth Department at the County, Sub-County and ward level and champion for full implementation of youth policies at national and county level.	Form a stand-alone ministry for Youth Development at The Office of the President to ensure the mainstreaming of youth issues across all sectors of the economy and all ministries of government.
11. Inculcate a culture of civic citizenship by the youth.	Create Youth Development Centers within the functions of the National Youth Service to ensure incorporation of high school graduates for the first six months to train them on various skills including technical, to prepare them for post high school and national responsibilities.	Include and promote ethics, anti-corruption, and general civic education in the Kenyan educational curriculum at all levels of education for informed citizenship.

12. Entrench active public participation by the youth.	Restructure regulations in political parties to accommodate and encourage participatory democracy,upheld by merit, and representation of youth in key decision making organs.	Mainstream digital media as a space to enhance public participation and articulate issues.

DID YOU KNOW?

ACCORDING TO RESEARCH BY THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY AND MZALENDO TRUST, 2019, YOUNG PEOPLE COMPRISE OF ONLY 6.5% OF KENYA'S PARLIAMENT BUT 29% OF THE ENTIRE KENYAN POPULATION?

ACCORDING TO THE 2021 KENYA NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS REPORT, YOUTH AGED 20-34 ACCOUNT FOR 14.2% OF THE UNEMPLOYED SKILLED POPULATION.

ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC SURVEY OF 2021, THE NUMBER OF YOUTH EMPLOYED IN KENYA DECREASED FROM 18.1 MILLION IN 2019 TO 17.4 MILLION IN 2020, WITH ROUGHLY 14.5 MILLION WORKING IN INFORMAL SECTORS AND ONLY 2.9 MILLION BEING EMPLOYED IN THE FORMAL SECTORS.

THE SHARE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 15 TO 34 NOT IN EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, OR TRAINING STOOD AT 16.9% IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2021. THE RATE DECREASED FROM 18.1% IN THE PREVIOUS QUARTER.

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OHCHR), IN KENYA, THERE IS ONLY ONE DOCTOR FOR EVERY 33,000 PEOPLE IN THE RURAL AREAS AND 1,700 IN THE URBAN AREAS AND IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ONLY 12% OF THE HEALTH FACILITIES ARE YOUTH-FRIENDLY.

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The preparation of the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 benefitted from immense support from various organizations, groups, and individuals.

First and foremost, we would like to recognize the efforts of the young people from the entire country who participated at the National Youth Summit that took place in Nairobi and at the various regional consultation fora. These youth were a representation of the eight regions in Kenya: Nairobi, Rift valley, Nyanza, Western, Eastern, Central, Coast, and North Eastern. They were instrumental in championing and leading the process by airing their views, opinions, aspirations, challenges and providing a call to action through Focused Group Discussions, participation in persona creation, the policymaking process, Keynote speeches, panel discussions, presentations, workshops and networking sessions including social media mobilization and collecting input from around the country.

Secondly, we wish to thank all those who were involved in the presentation, facilitation, moderation during the workshops panel discussions, at the National Youth Summit. Without

you, the process of gathering information wouldn't have been complete. Special appreciation goes to the team from Danish Embassy Youth Sounding Board for offering a keynote speech on youth-led climate change action and solutions, Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) for giving a presentation on youth and agribusiness value chain and contributing immensely to the economic pillar of this manifesto and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Youth Coordinating Committee on Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission electoral code of conduct.

Our appreciation also goes to specific organizations that participated at the Nation Youth Summit, such as 254 Youth Policy Café, for providing valuable inputs into the summit materials and documents, leading presentations in the public policymaking process, and participation at the Summit and Technical Working Group; Global Opportunity Youth Network (GOYN) Mombasa for showing a presentation and moderation on persona creation and focus group discussions;

Democracy R&D who helped with advisory relating to the monitoring and learning exchanges and evaluating the Manifesto; New Democracy Foundation who helped with the Youth Policy Jury and The Youth Cafe (TYC) for facilitating the National Youth Summit, Regional Consultation Forums and the Technical Working Group.

Thirdly, our heartfelt gratitude goes to International Republican Institute (IRI) for sub-awarding The Youth Cafe to implement the project dubbed 'Magnifying the Visibility of Youth Leaders' project. The major output of the project is the development of the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022. The development of the manifesto was preceded by several events such as the National Summit, the eight (8) Regional Consultation Forums, the Technical Working Group, The Validation meeting by the Youth Jury, and the launch and sign-offs. Special thanks to Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) for supporting the two (2) day Technical Working Group workshop in Nairobi which refined and collated many issues and recommendations from the national summit and regional forums.

Fourthly, appreciation goes to IRI Cohort (Leadership Academy) fellows for raising youths' issues, challenges, and recommendations from a regional angle at the Youth Summit. They were also instrumental in mobilizing other youth to participate at the regional fora and leading sessions both at the regional fora and the Technical Working Group (TWG).

Special gratitude goes to organizations that seconded representatives to the TWG such as Youth Senate Kenya, Catholic Relief Service (CRS), Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA), Political Leadership and Governance Programme Alumni Network (PLGP Alumni), 254 Youth Policy Cafe, Global Opportunity Youth Network (GOYN)/ Global Development Incubator, Reach out Africa,

Volunteer Service Overseas, Run for office, Council of Africa Youth Advocates (CAYA), National Youth Council (NYC), The Youth Cafe (TYC) and International Republican Institute(IRI).

FOREWORD

According to the International Covenant on Economic, Social Rights, to which Kenya is a signatory; all human beings are entitled to Social rights. Chapter 4 on the Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution, 2010 provides for the enjoyment of Economic and Social rights under Article 43 1 (a-f) in six sectors, including health, adequate food and of acceptable quality, housing, clean and safe water, social security and education.

The 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census (KPHC) estimates that the population aged 35 years and below accounts for 75% of Kenya's population. This demographic structure can be either a valuable dividend or a risk to development (UNDP, 2013). When appropriately tapped into such a demographic structure presents a "demographic dividend" that would contribute to the realization of the UN Agenda 2030 (Sustainable Development Goals). As a valuable dividend, young people should be involved as actors in their own right throughout all the stages and processes of our nation's development. This has created a deliberate effort by many stakeholders to invest in young people not only for their improved well-being and livelihoods but the development of their economic, social and cultural aspects, without which this would result in a risk to development and societal costs.

The Youth Cafe (TYC), International Republican Institute, and strategic partners have recognized this valuable asset bestowed on young people as vital for the continuing development of the societies in which they live. TYC believes that investing in youth is a precondition for accelerated inclusive growth and sustainable development. TYC continues to actively involve young people in political processes affecting their livelihoods and future prospects and expand opportunities for youth to participate in and benefit from our nation's development.

This strengthens the commitment of The Youth Café and International Republican Institute(IRI) to increase the visibility and participation of young people on critical youth issues in Kenya's development agenda, providing an opportunity and forum for young people to articulate their issues and concerns, aspirations, motivations, raise challenges and innovate on solutions through making policy input hence contributing to the development of our nation. The KYM manifesto 2022 also involves critical youth leaders and political parties to be part of the process and include key youth issues in their individual manifestos.

Willice Onyango

Executive Director

The Youth Cafe.

Yomi Jacobs

Program Director, IRI Kenya and Somaliland

International Republican Institute.

PREAMBLE

We, young people, aged between 18 and 35 years, male and female, hailing from all the eight (8) regions of Kenya, of diverse backgrounds, faiths, and beliefs, cities and villages, varying abilities and challenges, and constituting the Kenya youth Manifesto steering committee;

Having been actively involved in the 'Kenya Youth Manifesto` project through various consultation fora from the National Youth Summit, the eight (8) Regional Consultation fora, the Technical Working Group workshop, the Youth Jury have built our capacities for effective participation in National and County based development processes;

INSPIRED by the Constitution of the Republic of Kenya, the East Africa Community Youth Policy, the African Youth Charter, Kenya Youth Manifesto 2017, Sustainable Development Goals, National Youth Development Policy, Medium Term Plans for Vision 2030, Youth Agenda for Vision 2030, United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Strategic Framework Denmark-Kenya 2021-2025 and the United Nations World Programme on Youth all of which recognises the importance of young people's role in poverty eradication and development;

APPALLED by the conditions of poverty and hardship, deprivation and exclusion of rural and urban poor, the majority of which are young people CONCERNED about the insufficient attention to youth issues in national development policy and the lack of structures for effective youth participation in the various sectors of Kenya's development;

NOTING the central role of youth in the economic, social and political development in Kenya and our potential to contribute as current and future leaders;

RECOGNISING that as young people we have a responsibility to position ourselves as formidable and trusted actors in the development process;

WORKING in unison to place youth issues and marginalized youth such as youth who live in poverty, minority youth, indigeneous youth, youth living in rural areas,youth living in informal settlement and youth with disability, more prominently on the National and County

development agenda by offering concrete alternative policy options REDEDICATING ourselves to the struggle for a just, accountable, transparent independent, democratic, peaceful and gender equal society;

PLEDGING to uphold our national ethos, values of integrity, responsibility and respect for diversity. We, the young people in Kenya, pledge to uphold national values and ethos and embrace our patriotism as a Kenyan people;

DETERMINED to support inclusive national development initiatives as a basis for effective political and economic change in Kenya;

CONFIDENT that with organization and fortitude we can make a difference to the situation of the current and future generations alike. This has been strengthened more having consulted young people in all the eight (8) regions in Kenya, collecting their views, challenges, aspiration and listening to their proposed solutions and recommendations of making a difference;

CONVINCED that a Kenya Youth Manifesto which provides a common platform for action by all stakeholders is necessary for effective advocacy for youth-inclusive national development;

Hereby adopt this Kenya Youth manifesto in furtherance of maximizing the contribution of youth to the inclusive, gender-equal, democratic rights-based development of our homeland Kenya.

OUR COMMITMENT AS YOUTH

Our commitment as youth in Kenya is founded on upholding our constitution, upholding our national ethos and values of integrity, responsibility, respect for diversity, loyalty to our Republic; promotion and protection of the rights of the individual; obedience and promotion of the Rule of Law, integrity and progressive development as ascribed under Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

Youth active participation is crucial to realizing the objectives of the Kenya Youth Manifesto. It should be seen as a process through which young people influence and share control over the decisions, plans, and resources that affect them. Involving young people in this process is empowering to them. However, it is up to the other stakeholders, who often act as gatekeepers in policy formation, to involve youth and youth organizations in the interventions that affect their lives. Empowering young people means allowing them to make informed decisions that affect their lives through their active involvement.

Empowerment is more than the opportunity to influence policy; it is a capacity-building process that often requires access to education, employment, health, and resources. If youth are

encouraged and given the tools to participate in society fully, they will become more knowledgeable about their rights, more responsible citizens, and often more self-confident. Young people should be given the platform to take an active role in addressing key questions, such as what capacity deficiencies prevent effective local development and good governance. Enhancing opportunities for youth participation builds their skills and knowledge base and serves to cultivate better policies that affect their lives.

As the youth of Kenya, we commit to protecting and promoting young people's involvement in health and well-being by creating awareness, educating, and being active participants as community health volunteers.

We commit to embracing peace and cohesion among one another, respect for human life, morality, respect for people's property, and good leadership.

In addition, we commit to sensitization of unity and collaboratively support youth leaders during the election period while actively participating in politics to eradicate youth ignorance on issues affecting them and increase their political and constitutional knowledge to bring change through seeking various elective positions.

We further pledge commitment to our civic duty roles and obligations as citizens of Kenya to safeguard our democracy by being key players in the voting process.

Moreover, we commit to being law-abiding citizens, involved in our country's economic prosperity, and work towards the Kenya Vision 2030 of creating a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030.

Part 1: Introduction

What is the Youth Manifesto?

According to the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, to which Kenya is a signatory, all human beings are entitled to Social rights. The chapter on the Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution, 2010 provides for the enjoyment of Economic and Social rights under Article 43 1 (a-f) on six sectors which include health, adequate food and of acceptable quality, housing, clean and safe water, social security and education (social, economic and political pillars).

Therefore the Kenya Youth Manifesto is a mandate from young people to political leaders and political parties, elucidating the various challenges in social, economic, and political pillars that are key to the Kenyan young people and providing valuable insights into the priorities, vision, interventions/ actionable recommendations and youth roles as directly articulated by youth. It is a model that should guide parties toward an elective promise and governance offering that takes Kenya into its future."

Why a Youth Manifesto?

World over, young people have **little or no trust** in public institutions, and Kenya is no exception. Although **75% of Kenya's population** is below the age of 35 and 25% between ages 18-34, with 43% under 15 years, Kenyan youth have been largely excluded from meaningful engagement in national leadership and economic development in the past. Young people in Kenya's political landscape, therefore, represent the **largest demographic** unit and political constituency. There is an urgency to create **opportunities** for the disadvantaged and marginalized groups, particularly young people, to avoid conflict and violence in the future, and to build **inclusive societies**. Young people's inclusion and the addressing of disenfranchisement is, therefore, not only a socioeconomic imperative but also a key to **preserving stability** and **building peace**. Securing the active participation of this demography will contribute majorly to **inclusion** in the country's **democratic processes, community resilience,** and **sustainable development agenda**.

With 2022 being an election year, it is paramount to avidly champion more youth participation in Kenya's democratic process. Only young people can articulate their issues of concern and further take a precedent role in securing sustainable long-term solutions. This would be possible through strengthening democratic participation and citizen engagement, taking part in democracy efforts, registering to vote, taking part in political party leadership, and vying for elected office. This has the potential to increase the number of youth in the public service and information sharing across youth platforms to necessitate awareness of the democratic processes and inclusion of young people in creation as well ensure that the youth play a pivotal role in the implementation of policies like **National Youth Development Policy, Kenya Youth Manifesto, Medium Term Plans, Vision 2030,** and **Sustainable Development Goals.**

The Kenyan government has been making an effort to promote youth participation in promoting human rights, governance, entrepreneurship, environmental preservation, and building peace and cohesion. For instance, **Article 55** of the Constitution elaborates on **youth rights** and their contribution to national development. It places an obligation on the state to take measures,

including affirmative action programs to ensure that young people have access to education, training, and opportunities for association, representation, and participation in political, social, economic, and other spheres of life. **Article 100** further charges Parliament with the obligation of enacting legislation to promote the representation of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities, and marginalized communities in Parliament. There is also a provision for young people in governing bodies. For example, **Article 98** of the Constitution states that the composition of the Senate must include 47 members, two of which must represent the youth. Moreover, the **Kenya National Youth Policy** has been designed to recognize the needs and concerns of young women and men and attempts to address issues affecting young people to enable them to reach their maximum potential. In addition, Kenya has also ratified the **United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child**. However, legal provisions and existing initiatives are not adequate in improving young people's political engagement and participation, and effective roles in sustainable development and hinder achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Corruption and lack of goodwill have further downgraded these initiatives leading to the persistence of many socio-economic challenges facing the Kenyan youth. It is only through joint efforts with international actors that it has been able to improve governance and accountability.

Through a joint partnership with the International Republican Institute, this project seeks to cultivate youth participation in Kenya's democracy. Following The Youth Cafe's Theory of Change and the Strategic Framework Denmark-Kenya 2021-2025, Denmark and Kenya have had bilateral engagements as a result of shared interests in addressing irregular migration and managing refugee flows, countering and preventing violent extremism and terrorism, cultivating commercial opportunities and free and fair trade, promoting shared values, and a global commitment to sustainable development.

The project's proposed undertaking will complete three complementary objectives: 1) to bolster increased participation of young people in democratic affairs in the forthcoming general election, protection of human rights for all, fostering citizen engagement resulting in more effective service delivery and a responsive and accountable state; 2) to promote active involvement of youth in peacebuilding and conflict prevention initiatives which include but are not limited to early warning systems and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, and humanitarian assistance; and 3) to promote eco-friendly sustainable solutions through climate change resilience mapping and economic growth resulting in green jobs for the youth.

Realizing that young people's right to participate and be included in democratic processes and practices is also vital to ensure the achievement of internationally agreed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the project objectives and activities cut across several goals such as

reduced inequalities (SDG 10), affordable and clean energy (SDG 7), decent work and economic growth (SDG 8), climate action (SDG 13), no poverty (SDG 1), zero hunger (SDG 2), peace justice and strong institutions (SDG 16) and partnership for the goals (SDG 17) among others. It also requires that young people and young people-led organizations have opportunities, capacities, and benefit from an enabling environment and relevant, impactful, evidence-based programs and policies at all levels.

How was the Youth Manifesto Prepared?

The Kenya Youth Manifesto (KYM) 2022 is a product of concerted efforts by various stakeholders, the youth, youth political, and civic leaders from different regions (8 regions) in Kenya being at the manifesto's core. Several stakeholders and strategic partners, including the International Republican Institute (IRI), Denmark Embassy Youth Sounding Board, 254 Youth Policy Cafe, The Global Development Incubator and The Global Opportunity Youth Network, Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA), IEBC Youth Coordinating Committee, Youth Senate Kenya, Catholic Relief Service (CRS), Political Leadership and Governance Programme Alumni Network (PLGP Alumni), Reach out Africa, Volunteer Service Overseas, Run for office, Council of Africa Youth Advocates (CAYA), National Youth Council (NYC) and The Youth Cafe (TYC) were instrumental in ensuring the manifesto comes to fruition. The Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 project was shepherded by The Youth Cafe (TYC-Kenya) with key stakeholders' active support and participation, including representatives of civil society, business, academia, relevant government agencies, and the media.

The KYM 2022 was created out of a series of discussions and consultations. The consultations began with forty (40) political and civic youth leaders drawn from across the country during the National Youth Summit 2022. The political and civic youth leaders, through a human-centered design approach, persona creation, and Focused Group discussion (FGD), created a persona of their constituents based on the four distinct age categories given (i.e., 15-18years, 19-24years, 25-29years, and 30-35years) on a template that highlighted the practical needs of a target youth removing all preconceived bias of a target audience. The personas were presented to the plenary for further input and feedback from the entire participants. Youth persona development was important in identifying the different challenges, motivation from political leadership and their participation in elections, aspirations; politically, socially, or in any leadership position, expectations; from political leadership in regard to short term or long term needs, level of knowledge in public policies and whether these policies have worked for them or not and lastly their participation in civic engagement.

The youth leaders from different regions and institutions also ventilated on the issues affecting the youth at economic, social, and political levels, and key recommendations were drawn. They also discussed how the manifesto will be disseminated and localized, manifesto adoption and accountability, and collaborators to actualize the implementation of the different calls for action.

The social, political, and economic issues and recommendations from the National Youth Summit were subjected to 240 young people from 8 regions to provide grassroots level inputs by youth who are not engaged in the political process to ensure that the priority issues are captured comprehensively. The regional consultations consisted of non-political and civic youth leaders, rural youth, students, urban youth, youth in the formal and informal sectors, youth in business, youth engaged in farming, professional youth, among others, to give the manifesto a non-political perspective, relooking at the challenges suggested at the National Youth Summit and recommending innovative solutions that are regional based and homegrown.

Key Informant Interviews were conducted to address information gaps, particularly on the policy recommendations on the policy issues. A Technical Working Group comprising around 22 young people from the private sector, youth-serving organizations, and NGOs was then convened to develop the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 document, building its content from existing literature and aligning the manifesto to existing policies and legal instruments.

The reviewed manifesto was then presented to a smaller team of writers to refine it before being subjected to a youth jury randomly selected to critique the document. The manifesto would be launched and presented for sign-off by the presidential contenders, Governors, and Member of Parliament (MP) aspirants before dissemination and localization.

How is this Youth Manifesto organized?

The Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 has been prepared for the youth and by the youth in Kenya. It seeks to place the Kenyan youth issues predominantly on the national development agenda in Kenya. The manifesto reflects on the views, aspirations, and perspectives of young people in Kenya and draws from National and International instruments such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social Rights, to which Kenya is a signatory; all human beings are entitled to Social rights. The chapter on the Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution, 2010 provides for the enjoyment of Economic and Social rights under Article 43 1 (a-f) on six sectors which include health, adequate food and of acceptable quality, housing, clean and safe water, social security and education, international youth development, the East African Community Youth Policy, the African Youth Charter, and the World Programme of Action for Youth, as well as

guidelines, tools, standards, and research developed by nongovernmental organizations and academic institutions.

The Kenya Youth Manifesto is divided into two (2) parts. **Part I** - Introduction provides some background information on the Manifesto, including its purpose and the processes used in developing it. **Part II** - Call to Action highlights key thematic issues under three broad pillars; Economic, social, and Political. Economic issues have a direct impact on the ability of the youth to generate and benefit from income-generating streams, social issues are pertinent to preventing societies from working at an optimal level, while Political issues illuminate the common barriers to youth involvement in politics. The content of each pillar moves from examining and identifying key challenges in each pillar, to providing recommendations and homegrown solutions. The actions recommended in the Kenya Youth Manifesto are directed toward specific stakeholders in youth development, including government, civil society, the private sector, United Nations agencies, donors and the international community, and young people themselves, among others. Thus, all stakeholders need to recognize that investing in youth calls for cooperation, institutional support, and youth-serving relationships across society and the different spheres of governance. The manifesto has annexes as follows: Appendix 1: Communication and Dissemination Plan; Appendix 2: Adoption & Accountability; Appendix 3: Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning Framework; Appendix 4: Youth Persona Development; Appendix 5: Members of the TWG; Appendix 6: Core Organizing team; Appendix 7: Members of the Writing Taskforce Annex;

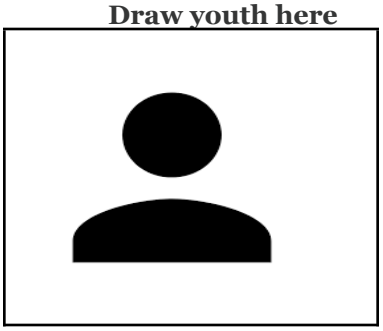
Youth Persona Development

Through a human-centered design approach, persona creation, and Focussed Group discussion (FGD), political and civic leaders created a persona of their constituents based on the four distinct age categories given (i.e., 15-18years, 19-24years, 25-29years, and 30-35years) on a template that highlighted the practical needs of a target youth removing all preconceived bias of a target audience. The personas were presented to the plenary for further input and feedback from the entire participants. Youth persona development was important in identifying the different challenges, motivation from political leadership and their participation in elections, aspirations; politically, socially, or in any leadership position, expectations; from political leadership in regards to short term or long term needs, level of knowledge in public policies and whether these policies have worked for them or not and lastly their participation in civic engagement.

Youth Persona 1: 15-18

Participants were asked to think about a youth between the ages of 15-and 18 in their community. They completed this form with details about this persona.

Draw youth here



Age (select age between age group **15-18** years) - ***16 years***

Gender: ***Female***

Highest level of education: ***Primary School (std 8)***

Religion: ***Christian***

Ethnicity: ***Kamba***

Occupation: ***High School student***

What is this person's level of knowledge on public policies?
(knowledgeable, slightly knowledgeable, ***not knowledgeable***)

How active is this youth in regards to the following
a) Civic engagement

Not Civically engaged. Her lack of participation is attributed to her lack of communication, awareness of opportunities, and fear of speaking out. She also does not see a connection between civic and political engagement. She fails to recognize that civic engagement not only helps others but also addresses social and political problems.

b)Engagement with concerned representatives: ***None, however, indirect exposure.***
Elected representatives are often far out of reach, and they do not actively include the

What kind of knowledge do they have concerning enhancing youth development?
None
Herself and most youth lack knowledge on youth development, how they can engage, and the importance of their contribution and its cause. There is a failure and less priority given by the youth societies and related organizations responsible for providing quality youth development programs.

In what ways are the current youth policies working for them or not working for them?

Youth development policies provide a framework to make resources, support, and services available. This allows young people to fulfill their potential and contribute to social and cultural activities, for example, through **Talent shows and sports tournaments (funkies).**

Aspirations (what does this youth aim to achieve politically/ socially/ leadership and in any other area?)

She aspires to execute a leadership position diligently, for example, being a prefect and volunteering for a cause to contribute to the community.

What are expectations from their political leadership?
a) Short term needs (in the next 100 days)

She expects a school calendar formulated which includes social events such as cultural diversity in the school, political articles like leadership nominations, the School calendar, and pandemic guidelines or activities to engage in to cope with the pandemic such as DIYs (Do It Yourself)

b) Long term needs (3-5 years)

More school clubs and awareness created for recruitment and participation by other young people. This will also spread knowledge on politics and culture and enhance youth collaboration.

Motivations (what is this youth motivated by in regards to the following?)

a) Leadership (political/ civic/ institutional)

Present role models in one's community and exposure to positive examples of civic engagement are a motivation in leadership.

b) Participation in elections.
None nationally, but in schools, there is democratic participation (electing prefects), thereby creating election participation.

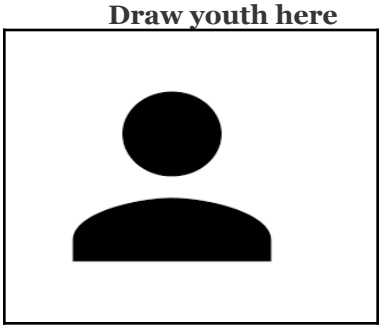
There are adopted political models such as democracy in schools involving nominations and fair election of leaders. Those vying also have the chance to campaign, an engaging and interesting activity that also prepares the youth to be future leaders and, all in all, educated on civic engagement.

youth in their programs; hence the feeling of being ignored translates to a lack of engagement with elected representatives.	c) Any other factors motivating this youth Lifestyle of people in society via media. There are so many people in the media who, in line with someone's virtue, motivate a youth. This varies from lifestyle, spiritual, talents like sports and education, says motivation from scholars Quote (what would this youth say about the needs and opportunities for a Magnified and visible Youth Leader in his/her community?) e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered. ***A magnified and visible Youth leader is a role model.*** *A youth leader who is a role model has to have a vision that others can align themselves with. They magnify their impact by making sound judgments, being masters of self-awareness, and having the ability to execute strategies successfully.*

Youth Persona 2: 19-24

Participants were asked to think about a youth between the ages of 19-and 24 in their community. They completed this form with details about this persona

Draw youth here



Age (select age between age group **19-24** years) - ***24 years***

Gender: ***Female***

Highest level of education: ***College***

Religion: ***Christian***

Ethnicity: ***Kikuyu***

Occupation: ***Entrepreneur (owns a wine and spirits vending business at Kiamaiko***

What is this person's level of knowledge on public policies?
(knowledgeable, ***slightly knowledgeable***, not knowledgeable)

How active is this youth regarding the following
a) Civic engagement?
Attends youth forums, has prioritized her business more

b)Engagement with elected representatives:
No engagement.

What kind of knowledge do they have concerning enhancing youth development?
Entrepreneurial - Sacco, a financial mobilizer, is slightly aware of AGPO.
Being a self-employed youth with a business of her own, she possesses knowledge and skills in entrepreneurship which is vital in enhancing youth development. She is also slightly aware of government initiatives like the Access to Government Procurement Opportunities(AGPO) program, which provides youth with procurement opportunities, and SACCOs which provides her access to finance and entrepreneurship education.

In what ways are the current youth policies working for them or not working for them?
Working - Beneficiary of AGPO, knows someone who got a youth fund. Not working - Tax is high for them; a license fee is too expensive.
She is a beneficiary of the AGPO program, the government's intervention for enhancing youth development. Furthermore, she has been able to get access to some of the government's funds providing financial support to youth entrepreneurs. She, however, has shortcomings in the growth of her business, contributed by the high tax rates imposed on her and the expensive license fee she pays monthly.

Aspirations (what does this youth aim to achieve politically/ socially/ leadership and in any other area?)
Gain financial stability.
As an entrepreneur, her main goal is to achieve financial stability. In addition, she aspires to grow as a business person by expanding her business by acquiring new clients and increasing the number of her workforce.

What are expectations from their political leadership?
a) Short-term needs (in the next 100 days)
Good business environment, affordable loans, and additional capital for expansion - tax waiver.
She desires access to affordable loans and additional capital for her business expansion. She also wishes to have her taxes lowered or be granted a tax waiver

b) Long term needs (3-5 years)
Better policies.
She expects the implementation of better policies that safeguard her business and provide a good business environment for her and encourage the growth and expansion of her business.

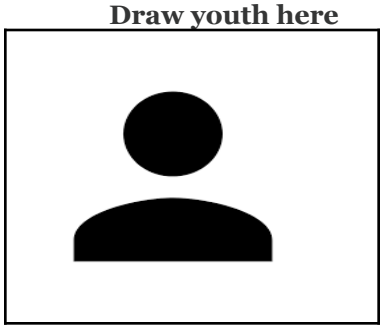
Motivations (what is this youth motivated by in regards to the following?)
a) Leadership (political/ civic/ institutional)
Institutional (SACCOs, wants leadership of SACCO.
She is motivated by her desire to be part of a Sacco's leadership and be able to effect change that affects other start-up businesses.
b) Participation in elections
Participates in elections
She is motivated by the fact that as a registered voter she has the power to make

	real change. c) Any other factors motivating this youth ***Motivated by other women in that business*** She is motivated by the success of other women who are doing well in the same business. Quote (what would this youth say about the needs and opportunities for a Magnified and visible Youth Leader in his/her community?), e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered. ***A magnified and visible Youth leader is one with pesa mingi mfukoni***

Youth Persona 3: 25- 29

Participants were asked to think about a youth between the ages of 25-29 in their community. They completed this form with details about this persona

Draw youth here



Age (select age between age group **25- 29** years) - ***25 years***

Gender: ***Male***

Highest level of education: ***Form 4O Levels***

Religion: ***Christian***

Ethnicity: ***Kalenjin***

Occupation: ***Bodaboda Operator***

What is this person's level of knowledge on public policies?
(knowledgeable, ***slightly knowledgeable***, not knowledgeable)

How active is this youth in regards to the following
a) Civic engagement
Organisations train them

b)Engagement with elected representatives:
Very active but for tokenism and rubber stamping political agendas.

What kind of knowledge do they have concerning enhancing youth development?
Slightly not knowledgeable on enhancing youth development but does it anyway.
Being a young person, he has somehow participated in some training and initiatives either by the government or NGOs aimed at promoting community development. Furthermore, he is a bodaboda guy; hence he is a member of the bodaboda Saccos, which offers him some training on financial literacy and road safety measures by NTSA.

In what ways are the current youth policies working for them or not working for them?
They are not working for them and are not involved or included in decision-making.
Youth policies don't work for him as he has little to no knowledge of them. On the other hand, he is not involved in decision-making, especially on matters that affect him as a young person.

Aspirations (what does this youth aim to achieve politically/ socially/ leadership and in any other area?)
For survival.
His occupation as a Bodaboda rider means he lives from hand to mouth; hence, he aspires to live a stable life where he can cater for his needs, including shelter and food.

What are expectations from their political leadership?
a) Short term needs (in the next 100 days)
Tokenism

b) Long term needs (3-5 years)
Reduction of tax licensing (being involved), Training, economic empowerment - cooperative loans and savings,
His long term expectations are for the government to reduce the high tax rates imposed on him and get more training opportunities that economically empower him. He also expects to gain access to loans with lower interest rates.

Motivations (what is this youth motivated by in regards to the following?)

a) Leadership (political/ civic/ institutional)

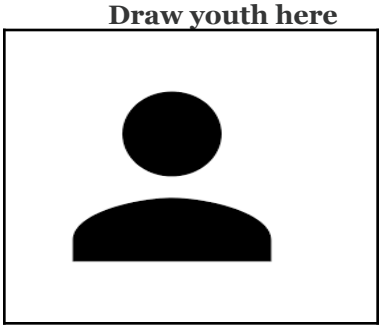
Appointments, handouts.
He is motivated by those holding elective positions in his community, including the members of parliament and the MCAs, because he and his colleagues are the first people these leaders approach for their campaigns and rubber stamping their agendas. He is also motivated by his desire to be in a leadership position, whether as an elected politician or hold a leadership position in the SACCOs.
b) Participation in elections
Active, supporting whoever they want, for handouts.
The handouts he gets from political aspirants motivate him to participate in elections actively. He is also motivated by the fact that his vote is necessary to elect and support whoever he wants.
c) Any other factors motivating this youth?
Personal development - basic needs
He is motivated by his desire to grow as an individual and be able to sustain himself.

	Quote (what would this youth say about the needs and opportunities for a Magnified and visible Youth Leader in his/her community?), e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered. ***A magnified and visible Youth leader is visionary, entitled, bazuu***

Youth Persona 4: 30- 35.

Participants were asked to think about a youth between the ages of 30-and 35 in their community. They completed this form with details about this persona.

Draw youth here



Age (select age between age group **30- 35** years) -***33 years***

Gender: ***Female***

Highest level of education: ***Class 8***

Religion: ***Christian***

Ethnicity: ***Luo***

Occupation: ***Fishmonger***

What is this person's level of knowledge on public policies?
(knowledgeable, slightly knowledgeable, ***not knowledgeable***)

How active is this youth in the following?
a) Civic engagement
Passive

b)Engagement with elected representatives:
Minimal engagement with elected representatives.

What kind of knowledge do they have concerning enhancing youth development?
Minimal
She has minimal knowledge of youth development programs since she is mostly concerned with fending for her family. Most of the time, she depends on the 'mheshimiwa' to cater for most of her financial needs, including raising school fees for her children and medical bills when ill.

In what ways are the current youth policies working for them or not working for them?
Lack of civic awareness on the issues of youth policy
The youth policies don't work for her since she is not involved in decision-making processes hence lacks awareness on issues to do with youth policy.

Aspirations (what does this youth aim to achieve politically/ socially/ leadership and in any other area?)
Soft life, instant wealth.
She aspires to live a 'soft life,' which is mostly a life of comfort and peace. Furthermore, I wish to gain instant wealth and enjoy all the luxuries that come with being wealthy.

What are expectations from their political leadership?
a) Short-term needs (in the next 100 days)
Money and individual gain
Her short-term needs involve having instant money and individual gains, which mostly involve depending on her area member of parliament and other local leaders as her source of funds for her daily needs.
b) Long-term needs (3-5 years).
Infrastructure, schools, water, and electricity.
She expects government intervention in improving the infrastructure of her area which mostly includes construction and improvement of the school and hospital facilities, free education, and healthcare. Furthermore, she expects to have access to clean water and electricity.

Motivations (what is this youth motivated by in regards to the following?)
a) Leadership (political/ civic/ institutional)
Money, power, and fame
Leadership comes with fame, power, and money factors which motivate her to aspire for a leadership position. Being a leader means she gets more money, gets recognized and known by everyone in her area, and has the power to influence members of her community.
b) Participation in elections
Money and jobs
Her motivation for participating in elections is getting instant cash and handouts from political aspirants. She is also motivated by the possibility of securing a job opportunity by campaigning and supporting one of the aspirants.
c) Any other factors motivating this youth
Mentorship, jobs, connections
She is motivated by the desire to gain mentorship and job opportunities from her political leaders. Furthermore, she wishes to gain political connections whereby she could easily get in contact with any of her 'elected leaders.
Quote (what would this youth say about the needs and opportunities for a

	Magnified and visible Youth Leader in his/her community?), e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered. ***A magnified and visible Youth leader has connections, is financially stable, and can access National leaders.***

"Foundations of youth transformation in Kenya"

The foundations of youth transformation in Kenya will be premised on the existing national legal instruments and policies, strengthening the existing policies to favour social, economic, and political areas favourable to the youth in a bid for youth to contribute to the economic and political governance in the country.

PART II: Call to Action

Economic Transformation

Sub Issue 1: Create at least 1.500,000 new youth employment opportunities annually.

Youth unemployment remains one of the most critical challenges in Kenya today. According to the 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census, the youth (18-34 years) population stands at 13,777,600, with 38.9% being unemployed. This is despite the fact the government had targeted to create over 1 million online jobs for youth through the Ajira Digital Programme (MTP 3).

The underlying issues include an unfavourable market environment, lack of/ inadequate policy framework, statutory bottlenecks, skill gap, and skill mismatch. Skills gaps and mismatches result from low educational attainment levels. A 2021 study by Shibia *et al* about Unlocking constraints to industries without smokestacks to catalyze job creation for youth in Kenya established that 43% of the working-age population have only primary education (of eight years) as their highest education[1].
According to KNBS 2021, self-employed and unpaid family workers declined by 4.1 per cent in 2020 compared to an increase of 6.9 per cent in 2019. The number employed in the public

sector had a slight decrease of 0.1% from 2.3% in 2019 to 2.2% in 2020. This is attributed to the effect of Covid-19, which slowed economic activities as a result of lockdown and cessation of movements in the country and globally.

Key Questions

1. What is youth unemployment in today's context and beyond?
2. How many youths are unemployed in the country?
3. What has been the country's youth unemployment trend over the last five years?
4. What needs to be done to balance the supply-demand chain of employment among youth in Kenya?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Enable business capital by investors/financial institutions and create economic hubs such as intercommunity market days for the youth, which provide markets for business. And Increase investment in key sectors with a higher job, multiplier effect to create mass employment, to spur growth and predictable regulations.
2. Enhance the operationalization of the Access to Government Procurement Opportunities (AGPO) policy by removing existing bureaucracies and bottlenecks to increase market access to the youth-led enterprises (there is a need for a forensic audit of the operations so far, is it 30% of the number of tenders, or 30% of the value of tenders).
3. Modernize the agricultural sector by adopting climate-smart technology and innovation through Public-Private Partnerships to bring inclusive and sustainable agricultural development.
4. Facilitate inclusive access to financial institutions for youth to access credit at friendly rates to save and invest.
5. Build the capacity of youth in resource mobilization, savings, and investments through SACCOs, Chamas, producer cooperatives, and other models.
6. Strengthen the youth-targeted credit schemes (Uwezo Fund, Women Fund, Youth Fund, etc.) to ensure better outreach, good customer service, and delivery.
7. Review and promote a curriculum that will equip youth with the skills in demand in the job market.
8. Develop and enact policies that promote paid internships and volunteer ships in public and private institutions.
9. Recognize and acknowledge the art industry as a space for youth to showcase their talents and earn income by facilitating easy access to online platforms.

Sub Issue 2: Involve youth in matters of Agro-produce/livestock Market Exploitation, Value addition

According to the Kenya Youth Agribusiness Strategy (2017–2021), only 10 percent of youth are directly engaging in agricultural labour, the majority of whom earn their living through informal and occasional jobs (including pastoralism) Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries(MoALF, 2017).

Poor land policies have locked out communities from owning land, this is worse for youth addition, and there is a lack of access to agricultural farm inputs.

The agricultural market is largely controlled by 'cartels' (middlemen and brokers) coupled with statutory barriers (taxes, cess/levies). Finally, the sector cannot undertake good value addition on the products. There is also increased competition from able suppliers/business persons in the market making it difficult for the youth to remain in the market.

Key Questions

1. How much of Kenya's arable land is accessible to youth?
2. What proportion of youth practice Agriculture?
3. What incentives (support systems) are available in the Agricultural sector?
4. What initiatives do youth think will better their agricultural environments?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Provide youth with agricultural machinery, input & equipment and post-harvest operations & marketing agricultural incentives to motivate the youth to venture into agriculture and green jobs. County Governments should regularly organize annual agricultural training and expos for the youth.
2. Modernize the agricultural sector by adopting climate-smart technology and innovation (e.g., M-shamba, Digi-Farm, Twiga) and enhancing access to production factors, utilization of modern technologies, and Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs).
3. Enable access to procurement services and supply chain with county governments working with MCAs
4. Invest and engage youth in research, development of Agri-preneurship and food systems, and utilization of innovative agricultural technologies.
5. Ensure sustainable value addition by incorporating quality standardization across the value chain through the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Trade in collaboration with international organisations such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), World Trade Organisation (WTO).
6. Develop youth-specific and friendly Public-Private Partnerships models to support agribusiness enterprises and youth-led value addition to improve the smallholder

productivity.

7. Enhance access, ownership, and sustainable land use for the youth in agribusiness.
8. Train and use youth as extension officers to educate other members on farming techniques and new economic fields to venture into.
9. Promote full exploitation of available resources and untapped community wealth to increase economic opportunities for the youth in the Agricultural sector.

Sub Issue 3: Increase Youth Access to Finance, Grants, and Capital

Despite the interventions by various Government MDAs, and Non-governmental Organizations, access to finance by many youths in Kenya remains a pipe dream. Financial Sector Deepening (FSD) Kenya estimates that 23% of 18–25-year-olds are excluded from financial services, and few financial service providers in developing countries specifically target the youth. According to Apollo 2020 around the world, youth are 33% less likely to own a bank account than adults.

Collateral, or any form of loan security, is a prerequisite to accessing loans, this is a big hurdle for youth, especially bearing in mind that their financial capacity is low. Additionally, high-interest rates often deter many youths from accessing finance products.

Formal financial service providers perceive lending to youth as risky because of their weak financial capacity, poor saving culture, and lack of collateral security. Most of our youth do not have financial discipline, the use of these loans is wanting, most being diverted into consumption activities rather than productive ventures. Generally, there is poor financial literacy and discipline among the Kenyan youth.

The fear of being listed by the Credit Reference Bureaus (CRBs) has kept the youth away from formal lending institutions, often opting to go to the less legal means (e.g., shylocks, etc.). Additionally, youth lack information about the existing forms of financing in the market, especially in rural areas.

There is a problem with unregulated digital lending allowing youth to access loans at high-interest rates hence unable to pay them back. For example, a 2016 Finacess survey shows that 27 percent of Kenyans aged over 18 had received a digital loan with over 6 million borrowers. The three main reasons for the youth to access digital credit were (i) to meet daily expenses, (ii) to access working capital, and (iii) to pay for education (FSD Kenya, 2017).

Key Questions

1. What is the real problem with access to finance for the youth?

2. How affordable are the financial services for young people?
3. How accessible are the financial services for young people?
4. What is the saving culture of the youth?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Facilitate access to financial institutions and financial literacy for youth to access credit at friendly rates and gain information on how to save and invest.
2. Develop Youth-friendly financial and insurance models to support youth enterprises and protect the youth during economic crises.
3. Strengthen the capacity of youth in resource mobilization, financial literacy, savings, and investments through Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization (SACCOs), Chamas, producer cooperatives, and other models.
4. Develop youth-based digital lending platforms and establish policies to regulate and streamline digital lending.
5. Strengthen government-funded credit guarantee schemes explicitly targeting the youth to enhance access to finance for young people in Kenya.
6. Advocate for favourable interest rates for youth-led enterprises.
7. Counter systematic redtapes especially government bureaucracy for fund accountability especially targeted at youths and youth groups.
8. Facilitate access to information and knowledge of financing options to create awareness on avenues and channels to get financial assistance..
9. Inject economic stimulus packages to youth living in areas with harsh environments, mostly arid and semi-arid ones.
10. Develop policies to promote and support Small Media Enterprises, including tariffs, waivers, and subsidies.
11. Promote monitoring and evaluation of the funds allocated to the youth and the institutions managing them.
12. Review the taxes to have youth under 30 years pay half of the set Income Tax.
13. Review the jeopardizing yoke of double licensing and double taxation for youth engaging in inter-county trade
14. Review tax regimes for youth engaging in cross-border trade through special legislation by the East African Legislative Assembly and policy decisions made by the COMESA Council of Ministers of Trade.

Sub Issue 4: Provide conducive Trade and Business environment.

Business start-ups are occasionally constrained by the initial requirements/conditions of access to finances. The need for security and collateral and huge interest rates lock out many youths from such facilities. Other statutory regulations in the form of licenses and levies further weigh in on them. These, coupled with the initial costs for setting up businesses (e.g acquiring premises, assets, etc) leave them with little capital to run the business.

Exploratory Study of Critical Success Factors for SMEs in Kenya conducted by Douglas *et al*.2017, found that about70 % of SMEs fail within the first three years. This translates to about 23.3 % per year attrition of the initial investment. In a pandemic environment, this attrition rate has invariably gone up, which is disastrous for wealth and employment creation.

Approximately, 98% of the MSMEs in Kenya are informal and micro-enterprises, followed by 1.1% small enterprises and 0.1% medium enterprises.

Key Questions

1. What are the major constraints to youth venturing into entrepreneurship?
2. Why are more than 70% of the youth-led businesses failing within three years?
3. Why are youth not tapping on the current business opportunities of trading with the government? I.e. AGPO
4. What incentives could enhance growth for youth-led businesses in the country?
5. Do youth-led businesses face any competition from the established ones?
6. Do youth carry out market research before starting the business?
7. Are there existing structures to provide mentorship and role modeling to young entrepreneurs?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Set up the County Industrial Development Authority to oversee the SMEs within the County governments based on local opportunities and needs, ease the cost of youth for doing business for youth run entities by subsidizing tax and licensing for the first year of business, and mobilize resources to develop local industries.
2. Provide tax subsidies, affordable license fees,investor friendly policies and levy holidays for youth-led businesses.
3. County governments, in collaboration with the Ministry of ICT and Youth Affairs, establish Entrepreneurship Resource Centers as one-stop-shop facilities to facilitate youth in business.
4. Implement the World Bank recommendations for Kenya as contained in the Ease of Doing Business Report 2020 to improve the regulatory environment for youth-led enterprises.
5. In conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture, the county governments and the national government provide farmers' farm produce markets. This will be possible through reduced taxes and cess payment requirements.
6. Functionalize and revive cooperatives to strengthen management, reduce the number of intermediaries and strengthen producer-consumer linkages.
7. Regulate importation of goods and promote the consumption of locally produced goods through "buy Kenya, build Kenya."

8. Sensitize youth against being used in causing violence which drives away investors and causes market distortions.

Social Transformation

Sub Issue 1: Deliver inclusive quality Education & Training to Youth

It is often said that education is the greatest equalizer and the best economic policy. However, as the youth of Kenya, we reiterate that education can only be a great equalizer if it is of high quality, accessible, and relevant to the 21st century's needs and dynamism. Our youth are graduating into a world of robots, artificial intelligence, and technology, but armed with skills for the stone age and limited **post-secondary skilling opportunities for the youth.** 14% of the fourth form graduates attain the minimum grade for university enrolment implies the majority of the youth either join the Technical and Vocational Education and Training ACT (**TVET**) or job market with no skilling Kenya Youth Development Policy (KYDP) (2019).

Unsatisfactory education and training outcomes manifest into a lack of technical and soft skills for youth joining the formal market. In Kenya, the share of young people aged 15 to 34 years old not in education, employment or training stood at 16.9 per cent in the first quarter of 2021, decreasing from 18.1 per cent in the previous quarter.

The weak linkage between education and industry is evidenced by the skills mismatch between skills demanded and skills available in the labour market.

Key Questions

1. How do we ensure there is access to quality education for young people?
2. How can we better link skills development with current and emerging market demands?
3. How can we inform and encourage youth participation in training programs?
4. How do we make opportunities for youth to apply their learned skills and expertise available?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Enable equitable access to quality skills and education at all levels through dedicated national funding for Bursary Commissions and youth desks, for increased intervention of skills development for in-school and out-of-school.
2. Ensure curriculum review for formal and informal sectors to provide training that addresses skills and market mismatch and incorporates digital skills, soft skills, and

emerging 21st-century technical skills through all levels of education (fundamental and technical).

3. Revamp/re-design and equip the Vocational Training Centers (VTCs) by the County Government and the National Level Technical and vocational centers with modern infrastructure.
4. Improve the recognition and awareness creation of importance and technical and vocational training opportunities.
5. Promote data mapping of the youth skills available and current market demand through the National Employment Authority.
6. Institutionalize and strengthen apprenticeship programs, especially in rural areas.
7. Strengthening Corporate Social Responsibility(CSR) company policies to give avenues to youth to gain experience.
8. Improve the infrastructure to increase access to educational institutions.
9. Lower costs of school fees and invulnerable, severe cases, the government should cover the fees.
10. Make Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) interest-free, initiated by the government through the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders like the Treasury.
11. Work on reducing the rural-urban or county-county migration in search of education by strengthening the learning institutions in counties facing an education crisis.
12. Salvage the indebted Institutions of Higher Learning and lower the recently increased school fees to make learning in the institutions a basic need.
13. Ensure adequate security through the Ministry of Interior and County Police Commanders is given to learners in volatile regions to ably complete their studies and compete equally with other learners
14. The Ministry of Education collaborates with local Chiefs to incentivize school dropouts and teenage mothers to return to school and complete their studies.
15. Through the Common Market Pillar of the East African Community, the Assembly of Heads of State could establish a production training center where youth in production can be skilled in the quality of production and other attendant training like Regional Competition laws and Regional Trade.

Sub Issue 2: Promote and Protect Young People's Health and well-being

Young people of Kenya say in unison that there's no wealth without health. Many young people are working hard to avoid the poverty trap as a nation. However, despite our best efforts, we are often just an illness away from poverty. Living on the edge has resulted in the explosion of mental health issues.

Drug and substance abuse is another major problem facing the country, especially among youth. Some youth also engage in high-risk behaviour, such as transactional sex and multiple partner relationships, which predisposes them to various health risks, including STIs, HIV and

AIDS, reproductive tract cancers, and early and unintended pregnancies. In addition, the youth are particularly at risk of being exposed to sexual and gender-based violence and exploitation, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriages. There are limited programs aimed at addressing the health needs of the youth. Sexual and reproductive health (SRH) is a significant aspect of adolescents' growth, safeguarded by SRH rights (SRHR). Despite various global efforts to promote adolescent SRHR (ASRHR), most adolescents still lack awareness and autonomy to access SRH-related information and services.

The Kenya Youth Manifesto also counts as an appeal the commitment to prioritizing the war against Malaria by increasing funding and access to promotive and preventive health services at the community level by bridging the KShs 24 billion funding gap in the Kenya Malaria Strategy (2019-2023) and committing to enact the Community Health Workers Bill (No. 3 of 2030). This will go a long way in the ongoing efforts to minimize the social and economic burden of Malaria, which directly and indirectly affects the youth of Kenya.

Key Questions

1. How do we replicate the existing Universal Health Coverage model in Kenyan counties?
2. How do we create an enabling environment for young people to access; youth-friendly services on SRHR, mental health, and drug and substance abuse?
3. What avenues can the government utilize to ensure that young people access credible information, quality services, and SGBV Protection?
4. How do we monetize the implementation of actions toward promoting and protecting young people's health and well-being?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Sustain solid political will and commitment around a robust, provide free Universal Health Coverage through National Hospital Insurance Fund for all unemployed youth, and incorporate increased domestic and external investments towards health systems strengthening, especially at the community level.
2. Review and implementation of key health policies: Kenya Mental Health Policy (2015-2030), National adolescent sexual and reproductive health policy.
3. Implement measures to increase access to nutrition and physical and mental well-being of young Kenyans withstanding non-communicable diseases mostly inform the explosion of mental health issues.
4. Commit to raising sufficient funding for community health services to meet the KShs 2.3b financial gap towards integrating community health services into the broader health system.

5. Mainstream use of telemedicine in providing Sexual and Reproductive Health and Research and Mental Health Services.
6. Provide and implement an affordable and accessible quality health insurance scheme that will enable them to access quality healthcare with inclusion of mental, sexual reproductive and improved sanitaion.
7. Provide and implement the establishment of youth-friendly centers nationwide that will respond to their unique needs.
8. Revamp a youth-centred education and information that will focus on sexual and reproductive health rights, an end to retrogressive cultural practices, including female genital mutilation, early marriages, and prevention of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS.
9. Promote holistic wellness-centered responses that include education, information, and affordable quality rehabilitation services to respond to mental health, SRHRs, drugs, and substance abuse.
10. Develop Mental health centers in all institutions, education, religions, and work to combat mental health issues.

Sub Issue 3: Increased Action towards achieving Social Protection

Young people are battling many issues, including female genital mutilation, sexual gender-based violence, poverty, poor sanitation, and extrajudicial killings, amongst others to which youth are vulnerable. The Demographic Health Survey of the year 2014 estimates 21% Female Genital Mutilation prevalence in Kenya, with 97.5% prevalence in North Eastern Kenya. While National Gender and Equality Commission reports a 40% and 10% prevalence of Gender Based Violence among women and men in Kenya.

Furthermore, the existing subsidies don't reach the families that have been adversely affected by the status of the economy; and there is need of strengthening of cash transfer programmes to reach the most needful cases. In addition, regular review of the social protection programmes to ensure that they are sustainable and empowering. Ensure that they benefit vulnerable, caregivers and the most deserving cases.

Key Questions

1. How do we fast-track the implementation of ratified treaties and policies?
2. How do we build a formidable collective effort to end retrogressive harmful cultural practices such as teen pregnancies, sodomy, rape, FGM, and injustice.?
3. How can we enhance quality and universal access to young people's reproductive healthcare?

4. How can we create safe spaces for victims of social crimes?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Increase investment in safe spaces and centers for youth victims and survivors of Gender-Based Violence and Female Genital Mutilation. .
2. Mainstream representation and participation of youth living with disabilities in programme/policy design and implementation.
3. Youth empowerment through programs like cash transfers, food subsidies, that can reduce youth vulnerability especially young women and girls to poverty and poor living conditions.
4. Strengthen national and county affirmative actions towards penalizing offenders and instigators of early marriages, Female Genital Mutilation, and Gender-Based Violence.
5. Educate communities on altercations of early marriages on young girls, especially in the long term.
6. Implement an Early Childhood Development program to provide education services to families and caregivers on issues related to social protection.
7. Educate teenage mothers on policies that allow for continuing their studies after school gaps due to early pregnancies.
8. Enact mass education and awareness on social protection issues to prevent stigmatization and bashing of victims of social crimes.
9. Enact policies that protect the youth against extrajudicial killings.
10. Sensitize the community on the effects of social crimes to erase retrogressive cultures which necessitate these crimes, such as Female Genital Mutilation(FGM).
11. Enact social protection laws that address the custodial and co-parenting plight of single parents and establish County Government Kitty and empowerment programs to assist the Young Single parents in taking care of their children.

Sub Issue 4: Increase financial support in the Sport and Creative Economy

The youth of this nation are talented. However, there lacks a robust mechanism to monetize their talents and gifts. For example, why can't we fix our football? Why can't we reform collective management organizations to ensure that royalties collected go to the pocket of young people? How about the establishment of a talent academy to nurture young people? The creative and sports industry can be a great source of income for the nation and reduce unemployment.

Key Questions

1. What are the mechanisms we can put in place to ensure that we revive and facilitate the growth of the sport and creative sector?

2. How can we better quantify the economic contribution of the sport and creative sector?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Increase funding and diversification of investment for sports and innovative economy by increasing funding for the Sports, Art and Social Development Fund by at least 25 percent. County and National Governments to establish modern sporting facilities. They should also streamline the Sports Regulations for equitable participation of the youth.
2. Review collective management organizations for the creative economy.
3. Establish a grassroots art and talent sports academy.
4. Establish a mechanism to train, streamline, equip, manage, monetize the sports and creative economy and nature spots using sport for civic engagement at all levels of the community.
5. Streamline channels to ensure allocated funds get to the targeted recipients.
6. Reduce costs needed to use online platforms for creatives.
7. Develop different free creative-centered studios, for instance, free recording institutions in different counties for music creatives to help talent development.
8. Develop a framework to assist and take care of the rising online content creation and influencing culture among the Youth.
9. Increase the consumption of the Kenyan creative content consumption in the local media institutions and the entertainment arenas.

POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

Sub Issue 1: ENHANCE IMPLEMENTATION OF YOUTH REPRESENTATION AND INCLUSION

Young people generally feel excluded from meaningful participation in decision-making processes and formal power structures. There is a dire need for inclusive and participatory structures to be set up within political parties, development partners, and state organs to support youth in decision-making power. This will include youth involvement in public sector employment, political appointments, and nominations to public offices in both national and county governments.

Political parties are the power vehicles. There are over 80 registered political parties in Kenya. From the most recent statistics, it is apparent that young people form the most extensive base

of registered members of political parties, with slightly over 9 million members. According to the Registrar of Political Parties, over 80% of political parties members in Kenya are people below the age of 35. Thus, the disconnect in meaningful inclusion of young people in political parties points to a lack of goodwill and the continuous participation of young people in informal structures of political organizing.

Markedly, young leaders both nominated and elected in the national assembly and senate have been able to champion legislation that favours young people and the citizenry at large. Bills sponsored and initiated by young legislators under the Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) of Kenya can be tracked through a KYPA-Bill-Tracker-Table. This justifies meaningful engagement and inclusion of young people in political processes.

Generally, achieving meaningful inclusion of young people in crucial decision-making spaces and positions will go a long way in achieving SDG 10 on reduced inequalities and SDG 16 on the promotion of peace, justice, and strong institutions.

Key Questions

1. How do we enhance youth representation in political parties and other democratic processes?
2. How do we ensure the election and nomination of youth into positions of power and authority?
3. How can political party structures be more inclusive of youth in the 'real' leadership of the party?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Formulate an allocation matrix for the political party funding so that 30% is allocated to youth leagues and implementation of capacity building programmes that specifically target the youth and are spearheaded by The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties.
2. The Office of the President to ensure that 30% of appointive positions for Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) and foreign missions go to merited youth..
3. Advocate for 50% of party lists for nomination slots to be youth. And ensure that 50% of nominees for the party tickets are youth. This will require the goodwill of political parties, particularly their leadership.
4. Implement the Elections Finance Act of 2013 that requires political parties to cap the

spending during elections as this is discriminatory for young aspirants.

5. Fund awareness campaigns to teach youth-related policies to youth in public forums and barazas.
6. Monetize job recruitments to prevent marginalization and discrimination on the tribal and nepotic bias.
7. Create and spread awareness on accessible youth networking events and civic education programs.
8. Develop a parallel youth inclusive parliament/cabinet of youths from different regions and fields to continuously give suggestions to the parliament and County Assemblies on youthful needs. This also enhances mentorship.
9. Educate the traditional society on their patriarchal and other biased views on political leadership.

Sub Issue 2:ENSURING SYSTEMATIC COORDINATION OF THE YOUTH FUNCTION

The youth function is in disarray mainly because a seamless structure does not exist to coordinate youth functions at both the county and national governments. The poor prioritization of youth issues by the government of the day can be attributed to poor coordination. Furthermore, the youth function being domiciled in a ministry with functions other than the youth function hampers the funding for implementing programs and activities. On the other hand, the National Youth Council, the unifying body for young people, is not adequately funded by the national government to carry out its mandate.

Key Questions

1. How are the youth issues coordinated between the two levels of government i.e. national and county government?
2. How can we achieve a fluid/smooth coordination that will benefit young people?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Form a stand-alone ministry for Youth Development at The Office of the President to ensure the mainstreaming of youth issues across all sectors of the economy and all ministries of government.That all ministries are interlinked to work on youth matters.

2. Devolve the youth function to have a stand-alone Youth Department at the County, Sub-County and ward level and champion for full implementation of youth policies at national and county level.
3. To have the allocation of funding for youth to be 35%
4. Amendment of the National Youth Council Act 2009
5. Review the funding approach of the National Youth Council so that it can get funding directly from the exchequer.

Sub Issue 3: INCULCATE A CULTURE OF CIVIC CITIZENSHIP BY THE YOUTH

The erosion of citizen responsibility towards civic duty among the youth presents a big challenge in achieving adequate representation of young people in politics. The youth have a civic duty to be active contributors in defining their socio-political destiny instead of the current lethargy witnessed across all the decision-making processes at the National and County levels. Despite the youth forming the biggest constituency (over 51%) of the electorate, they have not been at the center of effecting change during general and by-elections through their right to universal suffrage, which in turn, greatly reduces the chances of more youth influencing change and being voted into leadership too. Like all citizens, youth should actively be involved in political processes to influence decision-making.

Key Questions

1. What are our responsibilities as citizens?
2. How do we enhance patriotism and civic duty?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Create Youth Development Centers within the functions of the National Youth Service to ensure incorporation of high school graduates for the first six months to train them on various skills including technical, to prepare them for post high school national responsibilities.
2. Institute value-based mentorship programmes in schools and institutions of higher
3. Learning
4. Reward and celebrate values-based leadership through a National Award System
5. Include and promote ethics, anti-corruption, and general civic education in the Kenyan educational curriculum at all levels of education for informed citizenship.
6. Invest in educational programmes that empower citizens to be the champions of
7. cohesion and national unity.

8. Partner with FBOs to address radicalism, violent extremism, religious harmony and
9. diversity/tolerance.
10. Implement the recommendations of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC Report 2013)

Sub Issue 4: ENTRENCHING ACTIVE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The lack of a framework for public participation has increased the inequality gap and, as a result, poor involvement of the electorate in decision making. Notably, there is a need for the fast-tracking of the enactment of the Public Participation Bill into an Act. Responsibility is upon the National Assembly and Senate to conclude the debate and consequently pass the Bill for effective and meaningful community engagement on policy issues.

Many issues make it difficult to implement public participation, and when we have public participation forums, they are rendered ineffective. These issues include payment of participation, negative attitude or apathy from the public, difficulties in accessing information, high cost of public participation, elite capture, and inadequate decentralization of public consultations.

Consequently, when we can solve the above challenges, there will be improved decision-making that incorporates voices from the citizenry, promotion of inclusion and equity in public resource allocation, and generally promote transparency and accountability as principles of democracy and good governance.

Key Questions

1. How do we enhance the effective participation of youth in politics and governance?
2. Is public participation inclusive? Do young people participate in public participation forums?
3. Is public participation cost-effective?

Actionable Recommendations

1. Implement the 2016 Access to Information Act such as Article 35 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which outlines the declaration of principles on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information in Africa and so the Kenyan youth.
2. Mainstream digital media as a space to enhance public participation and articulate real issues.
3. Ensure that the public service and public appointments reflect the face of Kenya.
4. Restructure regulations in political parties to accommodate and encourage participatory democracy,upheld by merit, and representation of youth in key decisions.

Note: While most of the suggested sub-issues and recommendations from all the seven regional forums were laid down in this Kenya Youth Manifesto, not all were included. Common or similar sub-issues which cut across most regions were prioritized, and unique issues were brought up from the particular areas. In the Social Issue, identified sub-issues included; in Nairobi, inheritance, and disinheritance caused by the death of a parent or caregiver, lack of proper water and sanitation for decent housing also attributed to climatic changes, and radicalization of youth leading to violent extremism, in Rift valley, historical land injustices of demarcation of areas on tribal grounds and unclearly defined land boundaries. Under the economic issues, improved emergent decision-making will incorporate recommended youth civic education on patenting rights, unregulated betting and international platforms which flood the market, and climate changes like drought as an economic sub-issue in the North Eastern and Central regions. In the political issue, unique sub-issues included: the commercialization of politics in the central region, sycophancy in politics towards youths in the Eastern part, and the actual practice of voter bribery and rigging in the Nairobi region.

Collaboration among Stakeholders

Only with the commitment of all stakeholders will the Kenya Youth Manifesto be more than a statement of intent. Political leadership is intrinsic to the process of marshaling support for partnerships that work to fulfill the vision of the Manifesto. While the government should lead the actions proposed in Part II of this Manifesto, they are designed to engage all stakeholders. Sustained government involvement in youth development should complement the capacity of other actors, such as civil society organizations involved in youth programs, to avoid duplication, fragmented actions, or initiatives with insufficient capital or human resources. Inclusive policy planning to implement the Kenya Youth Manifesto requires more than just consultation with young people and other relevant stakeholders.

Government should consider reforming structures and institutions so that policymakers can maintain communication with national and local actors and establish the means to engage communities and listen to their views. When looking at institutional reform, it is necessary to refrain from simply appending youth to existing efforts; profound change for children is dependent on altering organizational frameworks.

The following principal partners have a role in the actions and recommendations discussed in Part II:

Political Parties

Parliamentarians, and other elected officials are leaders in society. They have the mandate, moral obligation, and public trust to act in their constituents' interests and bear a special responsibility to set examples that spur others into action, especially young people. They enact laws, mediate conflicting interests and engage in debate to establish priorities. Legislative control over national resources and the power to set agendas and determine budgets needed to secure progress underscores the imperative of political leadership. Political party members have a vital role in providing a supportive national framework to encourage and enable both central and local authorities to efficiently administer policies that are responsive to the challenges and aspirations of youth.

Government Ministries and Agencies

Government ministries and agencies are responsible for administering policies and programs that affect youth. To do this, they must develop tools to support data collection, opinion polls, and other reporting systems on youth and the fulfilment of their rights and opportunities. Their research capacity and ability to conduct needs assessments and monitor and evaluate the impact of existing legislation and policies are essential to effective programs. It is also important for government ministries and agencies to have the structures in place to translate a national

youth policy to the local and regional levels. This can be achieved through structures of existing youth departments within the government.

County Governments

A majority of the Counties in Kenya do not have youth policies that give guidelines on addressing youth issues at the County level. They thus do not know how to tackle youth issues. There is the marginalization of youth at the County level, especially regarding the experience as a requirement.This is especially in employment, county decision-making boards, and committees, in tendering business, among others. There is a lot of clearance required for youths to access government jobs and tendering business; these include The Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) clearance, Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), and Good Conduct. County governments are closest to the neighbourhoods and communities in which their citizens live and are often the most visible to youth. They, therefore, have an indispensable role in fostering the inclusion of young people into society. County governments are immediately responsible for upholding youth rights, ensuring community cohesion, a healthy environment, a good quality of life, and sustaining social and economic development.

County governments must provide political leadership and a vision for the future for both individuals and civil society organizations. They need to encourage youth participation not just in municipal policy making but also at the family, school, and local community levels. County governments are the best vehicles to address this through youth programs; yet, they have no existing youth policies to guide how this should be undertaken.County Assemblies are not yet fully committed to articulating the many issues facing the youth in Kenya today. To benefit from the 2010 constitution, youth should look at County Public Service Boards with employment opportunities. Youth have to be seen to be in the mainstream of the devolution agenda. The National Youth Council Act needs to be amended to strengthen county youth policies. This will champion and ensure that youth voices are heard at the county level.

Media

helps us to understand and interpret the world, communicate with one another, and participate in public life. Consistent with freedom of expression, the media should ensure the widespread dissemination of information on issues that affect youth to raise their awareness. For example, media campaigns have shown striking successes in providing vital HIV prevention information to young people. Day-to-day contact with accurate and independent reporting is part of the informal education of young people. National and community media is crucial to the infrastructure of public life and, when shaped by factual information and high-quality research, truly represents the public interest. Often, issues important to youth are absent from reporting even though the media continue to target youth in advertising and entertainment. However,

new media such as the news outlets on the internet have proved to be powerful in increasing the visibility of youth in policy-making, representing diverse viewpoints, facilitating youth connectivity, and creating innovative youth-owned communications. As youth are not passive consumers of news, the media enhance the ability of youth to enter a national discussion and be active members of their society.

Civil Society

Civil society comprises many associations around which society voluntarily organizes itself. Independent from the State, it represents a wide range of interests and ties, from ethnicity and religion to shared professional, developmental, and leisure pursuits, and issues such as environmental protection and human rights. Either membership-based or formed to produce a public benefit, civil society includes women's groups, business associations, elders, religious leaders, intellectuals, community associations, cooperatives, NGOs, and youth organizations - associations set up and managed by individuals in the youth age bracket - which make up a vital part of civil society. Youth organizations themselves engage in a unique
dialogue where they learn from their peers, share information, and act collectively. Civil society can be a force for scrutiny of government or the market, can mitigate conflict, and inspire policies for change with the power to mobilize and inform. Existing separately from organs of the government, military, or the private sector, civil society plays an indispensable role in developing an overall system enabling mechanisms to fulfill the objectives of the Kenya Youth Manifesto. The three general functions of civil society may be summed up as: articulating citizens' interests and demands, defending citizens' rights, and directly providing goods and services.

Private Sector

Youth is an integral part of the private sector either as consumers, employees or as entrepreneurs and innovators. With its resources and expertise, an innovative private sector develops distribution links, provides much-needed products and services, creates employment, and stimulates income growth. The private sector can also integrate young people into the labour market, develop infrastructure and bring information technology to young people. With its interest in a healthy, well-educated population of consumers and workers living in a stable society, the private sector should engage in partnerships that touch on every area of the Youth Manifesto to support national development.

International Organizations

The international community refers to the nations of the world and their intergovernmental associations and organizations with many diverse functions, including collecting information and

monitoring trends, delivering services and aid (e.g., the World Health Organization), and providing forums for bargaining. While International organizations play multiple roles in the lives of youth, an essential role for the international community is cooperation in promoting conditions conducive to the implementation of the Kenya Youth Manifesto, including by assisting the government to translating the recommended actions into specific plans law. International organizations should also provide a platform for exchanging good practices, information sharing, and building a community of practice. Specialized agencies of the United Nations, bilateral and multilateral institutions, and other international donors are encouraged to promote the Kenya Youth Manifesto by incorporating its goals into their plans, undertaking comprehensive reviews of the problems and obstacles encountered, and identifying options for further action.

Caregivers and the community at large

Caregivers and community members, including teachers, play many roles in young people's social networks. Despite many ongoing changes in the structure of families as an institution, parents remain vital for the socialization of children. Parents and other caregivers are educators and can fulfill this role by openly discussing issues and concerns with their children. The dialogue they conduct with their children should be a two-way street where youth feel comfortable speaking with their parents without fear. Parents also have the power to direct their children's behavior, capacities, and intellectual and emotional character. The investment of caregivers and the community in the youth, in terms of time and resources spent on their general care, is not limited to early childhood. Their influence should not be underestimated; despite the independence of youth, they often inherit their parents' perceptions of the world. They transfer physical assets (such as capital or home) and intangible qualities, such as their values, to their offspring. Ideally, they are engaged in the process of the human development of youth throughout their lifetimes. When their children are young, caregivers can reinforce messages their children learn in the classroom by openly speaking about health concerns, relationships, and social behavior. Parents and guardians should know when and how to intervene when young people may be at risk.

Faith Based Organizations and Religious Leaders

Faith-based organizations (FBOs) are "organizations that derive inspiration and guidance for their activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith." Faith-based organizations (FBOs) and religious leaders (RLs) are influential in political and social spheres and have a broad following in society. Their presence in local communities, coupled with their capacity to deliver critical services, allows them to mobilize grassroots support, earn the trust of vulnerable groups, and influence cultural norms, making them vital stakeholders in development. With their involvement in local

communities and their standing as moral leaders, many FBOs and RLs command the respect of local and national authorities, which can make them valuable peace mediators in intense environments hence preventing conflicts and encouraging peacebuilding among the youth.

Working with FBOs and RLs is especially crucial in areas where governance structures are weak and fail to ensure human rights and administer basic services, including protection, such as extending physical protection and vital space for humanitarian response, justice, and education. FBOs and RLs will assist in other many areas of youth engagement, including democratic governance strengthening the youth civil society, sustainable development poverty reduction, combating HIV and AIDS, promoting women's rights and gender equality, maximizing community impact by mobilizing large numbers of highly motivated and skilled youth volunteers and, increased advocacy and extensive networking constitute remarkable channels of communication as well as human and financial resources: FBOs are increasingly at the forefront of public policy advocacy, capitalizing on their reach among a large cross-section of youths in the society, promoting more inclusive policies. Faith-Based Organizations and Religious Leaders can link development actors with beneficiary communities due to their shared values, objectives, and commitments, in particular, their relation to gender equality and women's empowerment and respect for universal human rights.

Job platforms, educational & training corporations, and Employment providers

Actively linking the main youth training and employment actors is vital. Through this, all the principal actors: the youth, the training providers, employment providers, and other key stakeholders are connected to meet the adoption and successful implementation of reducing unemployment gaps and good working environments. Labour platforms, including digital platforms, can help address concerns regarding youth workers' income, working conditions, and social protection coverage. Employers' organizations should fully support the need for platform work to be decent work. Online talent platforms can use the potential offered by the technology to provide decent work opportunities and access to the labour market to more people, especially in vulnerable groups like people with disabilities. The private employment services sector can also rely on the experience gained in the agency work sector through social innovation. New training, social protection, and good working conditions have been developed for a more flexible form of work.

Educational and training sectors The Technical and Vocational Education and Training(TVET) sector should work not only in equipping youths with technical skills and actively connect graduates with employers and other significant stakeholders to enhance their employability. Connecting the major stakeholders, the youth, training providers, industries, Institutions, and concerned government offices through Job Business Service (JBS), is highly instrumental in

maximizing job placement rates and addressing the challenges of youth unemployment.

Annex/Appendix

Appendix 1: Communication and Dissemination Plan

Audience	Goal(s)	Medium (s)	Matrix/KPIs	Key Message(s)	Preferred messenger(s)
Primary Audience(s)					
Secondary Audience					

Appendix 2: Adoption & Accountability

MEL Plan

Appendix 3: Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning Framework

A robust Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning (MEL) framework of the KYM2022 will be designed and implemented to track the extent of uptake of the priority issues and generate key lessons on influencing government policies and interventions through advocacy tools. A strong

partnership will enable institutional actors including national and county governments, development partners, NGOs, private formal and informal sector, CSOs, and youth to undertake the MEL activities. The adoption of issues recommended in KYM 2022 will be monitored regularly through annual tracking activities and reporting frameworks. An evaluation will be conducted in the 5th year to assess the impact of the agenda issues.

Appendix 4: Youth Persona Development

The four persona groups were:

Persona 1: Age between 15 to 18 years (15-18)

This describes the **young people** aged between the age of 15 to 18 years. They were termed as those who rely on the network, clan/tribe, and family support, those who have just completed primary education or undergoing secondary education, they are mostly **unregistered voters**, they do not yet possess a **national identity card** and most of them are under the **parental influence**.

The **actual persona** in this category is a female of 16 years of age who is still in primary school at class(8) therefore a KCPE candidate. She is from a **Kamba ethnic group** and also a **Christian** who is not at all knowledgeable of **public policies**. In matters of **civic engagement**, she is not engaged. This is attributed to a lack of communication and awareness of opportunities and fear of speaking out. She also does not see a connection between **civic** and **political engagement**. She is not aware that **civic engagement** does not only help others but also addresses **social** and **political problems**. She does not have direct engagement with the elected representatives because the elected representatives are often far out of reach and do not actively include the youth in their programs hence the feeling of being ignored.

She feels that she and most **youth** of her age lack knowledge on **youth development**, how they can engage, and the importance of their contribution and its course. She recognizes that there is a failure and less priority given by the **youth societies** and related organizations which are responsible for providing quality programs on **youth development**. She acknowledges that **youth development policies** provide a framework to create resources, support, and facilitate the provision of the services available. This allows **young people** to fulfill their potential and contribute to **social and cultural activities** for example through talent shows and sports tournaments (funkies in schools) which she believes. Her aspirations are to execute a **leadership position** diligently, for example being a prefect and volunteering for a cause to contribute to the community which she sees as a starting point to spur her **political ambitions** in the future. Within the first (100 days) of office assumption by her **political leader**, as a student who is focused on better education, she expects a school calendar formulated which factors social events such as **cultural diversity** in the school, **political** articles like **leadership nominations** school calendar updates and **pandemic guidelines** or activities to engage in to cope with the pandemic such as DIYs (Do It Yourself). Her long-term expectations from her **political leader** in the office are the resumption of school clubs and awareness created for recruitment and participation by other **young people**. This will also spread knowledge on topics such as **politics, and culture** and enhance **youth collaboration** and **civic participation**. In the **leadership pillar**, she is motivated by the present role

models in her community and exposure to positive examples of **civic engagement**. She has not participated in **national elections** because she has not yet attained the **voting age**. However, she has been involved and participated in school elections which seek to choose prefects and other student leaders to help in school administration and academic development. There are adopted models in **politics** such as **democracy** in schools involving **nominations** and **fair election of leaders**. Those vying also have the chance to campaign, a really **engaging** and interesting activity. She views such activities of election in schools as a way of exercising **democracy by young people** and prepares all the participants for the future higher levels of **democracy** exercise and also models them into the **future democracy leaderships**. She states that she is motivated and influenced by the people in the media who, in line with her virtues, motivate her. This varies from lifestyle, spirituality, talent like sports and education, and motivation from scholars. In giving her personal point of view of who a **magnified and visible youth leader** is, she quotes, **"A magnified and visible youth leader who is a role model, has to have a vision that others can align themselves with. They magnify their impact by making a sound judgment, being masters of self-awareness, and having the ability to successfully execute strategies."**

Persona 2: Age between 19 to 24 years (19-24)

This describes the **youth** whose age falls between the ages of 19 to 24. The majority of this group are undergoing tertiary education / vocational training/attachment/ internships/ job searching, some are out of school involved in apprenticeships/ on the job training and most of them possess a **national identification card** and are eligible to participate in elections as voters and as aspirants in various **electoral positions**.

The actual persona in this group was '**Waithera**', a female who is 24 years old. The highest level of education is college and is currently a college student. She is from the '**Kikuyu**' ethnic tribe and her **religious affiliation** is **Christianity**. Other than being a student, **Waithera** is also an entrepreneur who operates a 'Wines & Spirits liquor store at **Kiamaiko, Nairobi county**. **Waithera** is slightly knowledgeable of public policies because she sometimes attends **youth forums** at the **community level** from where such **policies** are discussed. In the aspects of **civic engagements**, **Waithera** is slightly engaged because she prioritizes her business more than frequently attending forums and participating in **civic education** and also slightly engaged with elected representatives because she does not believe the representatives' work and plans are in line with her business endeavours.

In matters relating to the enhancement of **youth development**, **Waithera** possesses knowledge and skills in entrepreneurship which is vital in **enhancing youth development** - She is a member of a Wines & Spirits Sacco, and she is a **financial mobilizer**. She is also slightly aware of **government initiatives** like the **Access to Government Procurement Opportunities**(AGPO) program which provides **youth** with **procurement opportunities** and SACCOs which provides her access to finance and entrepreneurship education. She believes that there are some ways in which the **government policies** are working for her because she is a beneficiary of the AGPO program; the **government's intervention** for **enhancing youth development** Furthermore, she has been able to get access to some of the **government's funds providing financial support to youth entrepreneurs**. However, shortcomings in the growth of her business contributed to the high tax rates imposed on her and the expensive license fee she pays monthly. As an entrepreneur, Waithera's main goal is to achieve financial stability. In addition, she aspires to grow as a business person by expanding her business by acquiring new clients and increasing the number of her workforce. She desires access to affordable loans and additional capital for her business expansion and wishes to have her taxes lowered or to be granted a tax waiver within the first 100 days of political office from her political leader. In addition, she has long term (3 - 5 years after political office pre-summation by her political leader) expectations; She expects the implementation of better policies that safeguard her business and that not only provide for a good business environment for her but that also encourage the growth and expansion of her business. Waithera is not at all motivated to take part in political and civic leadership but she is motivated by her desire to be part of Sacco's leadership and be able to effect change that affects other start-up businesses. In matters pertaining to elections, she is motivated by the fact that as a registered voter she has the power to make real change through voting for her best candidate. Other than that, she is motivated by the success of other women who are doing well in the same business.

In response to giving an idea of who she thinks a magnified and visible youth leader is, Waithera quotes, "**A magnified and visible Youth leader is one with pesa mingi mfukoni**."

Persona 3: Age between 25 to 29 years (25-29)

This is the youth whose age falls between the ages of 25 and 29 years. This youth is described as a person who has completed tertiary education, they recognize the lack of formal employment, realize

they need practical, marketable skills that they can use to work for others or for themselves, they have possibly voted once and mostly participate in election campaigns.

The persona in this category is a 25-year-old male from the Kalenjin ethnic group. He is a form(4) leaver making his highest level of education the secondary school and operates a bodaboda in his rural hometown. He is slightly knowledgeable of the existing public policies, and he is slightly engaged in civic matters because he has had various opportunities to take part in workshops organized by various organizations to educate people on civic leadership and engagements. He acknowledges that he is very actively engaged with elected representatives however, the purpose of engagement is for tokenism and rubber stamping political agenda. Being a young person, he has somehow participated in some training and initiatives either by the government or NGOs aimed at promoting community development. Furthermore, he is a bodaboda guy hence he is a member of the bodaboda Saccos which offers him some training on financial literacy and also road safety measures by NTSA. He says that youth policies don't work for him as he has little to no knowledge of them. On the other hand, he is not involved in decision-making, especially on matters that affect him as a young person. His occupation as a Boda Boda rider means he lives from hand to mouth hence, he aspires to live a stable life where he can cater for his needs including shelter and food. His short-term expectations (within 100) of his political leader assuming office, is to get tokenism for having campaigned and voted for them. However, he has long-term expectations (3 - 5 years) when he expects the government to reduce the high tax rates imposed on him and get more training opportunities that economically empower him. He also expects to gain access to loans with lower interest rates. In areas of leadership, he is motivated by those holding elective positions in his community including the members of parliament and the MCAs because he and his colleagues are the first people the leaders approach for their campaigns and rubber stamping their agendas. He is also motivated by his desire to be in a leadership position whether as an elected politician or hold a leadership position in the SACCOs. For him to participate in elections, He is motivated by the handouts he gets from political aspirants motivates him to actively participate in elections. He is also motivated by the fact that his vote is necessary to elect and support whoever he wants. Other than that, he is also motivated by his desire to grow as an individual and be able to sustain himself. **"A magnified and visible Youth leader is visionary, entitled and is a bazuu"**, he quotes on who he thinks a magnified and visible youth leader is.

Persona 4: Age between 30 to 35 years (30-35)

The persona described under this group is aged between the ages of 30 and 35 years. Popularly referred to as young adults. This is a youth who works full-time in the formal sector/ informal sector, lives in an urban/ rural setting with greater access to resources, possibly has participated in the elections thrice, and has the privilege to act as a role model/Is influential to junior Youth.

The persona representing this category is a 33-year-old female of the Luo ethnicity. She has reached the O-Level (class 8) and she has not furthered her education. She is a fishmonger and earns her income from trading fish. She does not have knowledge of public policies and how they are used in governance. She is also passively engaged in civic matters as she believes she can not actively contribute to such aspects due to her level of education, therefore, following and supporting the decisions of other people who seem to be the role models in leadership in the area of residence. She has minimal knowledge of youth development programs since she is mostly concerned with fending for her family. Most of the time she depends on the 'mheshimiwa' to cater for most of her financial needs including raising school fees for her children and medical bills. She states that the youth policies don't work for her since she is not involved in decision-making processes and hence lacks awareness on issues to do with youth policy. She aspires to live a 'soft life' which is mostly a life of comfort and peace. Furthermore, she wishes to gain instant wealth and enjoy all the luxuries that come with being wealthy. Her short-term need (within 100 days after elections)is to have instant money and individual gains which mostly involves depending on her area member of parliament and other local leaders as her source of funds for her daily needs. Her long-term expectations -say 3 to 5 years after elections is to see the government intervene in improving the infrastructure of her area which mostly includes construction and improvement of the school and hospital facilities, free education, and healthcare. Furthermore, she expects to have access to clean water and electricity. She acknowledges that leadership comes with fame, power, and money factors which motivate her to aspire for leadership positions. For her, being a leader means she gets more money, gets recognized and known by everyone in her area, and has the power to influence members of her community. In addition, her motivation for participating in elections is getting instant cash and handouts from political aspirants. She is also motivated by the possibility of securing a job opportunity by campaigning and supporting one of the aspirants. She is also motivated by the desire to gain mentorship and job opportunities from her political leaders. Furthermore, she wishes to gain political connections whereby she could easily get in contact with any of her 'elected leaders.

“A magnified and visible Youth leader has connections, is financially stable, and is able to access national leaders.” She quotes.

APPENDIX 5:MEMBERS OF THE TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP

Economic Issues Group

Sno	Participants Name	Affiliation
1	Bonface Munene	254 Youth Policy Cafe
2.	Evans Odipo Otieno	Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)
3.	Hussein Ismail Omar	Catholic Relief Services (CRS)
4.	James Ndungu	Global Development Incubator/ Global Opportunity Youth Network
5.	Patrick Maingi	Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA)

Social Issues Group

Sno	Participants Name	Affiliation
	Esha Mohammed	National Youth Council
	Dannish Odongo	Political Leadership and Governance Programme Alumni Network (PLGP)
	Mbuki Mburu	Youth Service Organization (YSO) Consortium
	Mercy Nyaga	Commitment of African Youth Advisors(CAYA), National Youth Council
	Stella Mutuku	254 Youth Policy Cafe

Political Issues Group

Sno	Participants Name	Affiliation
1	Alex Matere	Notable National Youth Leaders Caucus
2	Alice Wangari	IRI Cohort
3.	Desmond Boi	Youth Senate Kenya
4.	Sankale Ole Keis	Youth Senate Kenya

5.	Sheila Sifuma	IRI Cohort
6	Wilkister Aduma	Run For Office

Appendix 6: Core Organising team

Sno	Name	Affiliation
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2	Cosmas Tabuche	International Republican Institute
3.	Elizabeth Munge	International Republican Institute
4.	Eric Mokebo	The Youth Cafe
5.	Jerusha Achieng	The Youth Cafe
6	Julie Jepkemboi	The Youth Cafe
7.	Jonathan Doernhofer	International Republican Institute
8.	Racheal Sanga	The Youth Cafe
9.	Willice Onyango	The Youth Cafe
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Appendix 7: Members of the Writing Taskforce

1. Alice Wangari
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The Youth Cafe:

The Youth Café strives to enrich the lives of young people by modeling and advancing youth-led and rights-based approaches to foster young people's civic efficacy, community resilience, sustainable development, and equitable society, as well as proposing innovative solutions, driving social progress, and inspiring transformative change by utilizing innovative research, policy, and advocacy actions.

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International Republican Institute(IRI):

The International Republican Institute advances democracy and freedom. IRI links people with their governments, guides politicians to be responsive to citizens, and motivates people to engage in the political process.

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