





KENYA YOUTH MANIFESTO

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, and economic spaces in Kenya.



VISION

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

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A YOUTH MANIFESTO FOR KENYA!

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

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A YOUTH MANIFESTO FOR KENYA!

Our future is promising however, it is beset by a myriad of cultural and systemic challenges. To this end, The Kenya Youth Manifesto contains a list of recommendations that form our asks of the successive government.

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

It is time for the incoming government to commit to act on young people's demands. As political promises are being made during the upcoming Kenyan elections that will directly impact on young people's future, the key actors ought to listen to and identify 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 help them explore their potential limitlessly as we head to the next general elections and asked the youth to rank these challenges in order of priority. The result? Fundamental issues ,ideas and recommendations were raised and proposed on subjects like unemployment, training, and public participation.

Those ideas are inscribed herein, and we are now calling on the next government to study this manifesto, understand the young people's needs, commit directly to working with young people, and jointly transform their quality of life.

- 66 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 Consultation forum.
- 66 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.
 - 66 Africa's greatest resource is its youthful population
 - African Youth Charter.

1. Create at least 1,500,000 new youth employment opportunities annually. Free up 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 critical sectors with a higher job multiplier effect to create mass employment to spur growth. Enact practicable regulations on businesses.

Enhance the operationalization of the Access to Government Procurement Opportunities (AGPO) policy by removing existing bureaucracies and bottlenecks to increase market access to the youthled enterprises (there is a need for a forensic audit of the operations so far. For example, does AGPO reserve 30% of the number of tenders, or 30% of the value of tenders).

2.Involve youth in matters of agro-produce, livestock market exploitation, and value addition.

Provide youth with agricultural machinery, inputs, and equipment. Involve youth in post-harvest operations and improve the marketing of 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.

Modernize the agricultural sector by adopting climate-smart technology and innovation and enhance access to factors of production, modern technologies, and Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs).

3. Increase youth access to finance, capital, and grants.

Strengthen local level government-funded credit guarantee schemes expressly targeting the youth to ease access to finance for young people in Kenya.

Strengthen the capacity of youth in resource mobilization, financial literacy, savings, and investments through Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations (SACCOs), Chamas, producer cooperatives, and other models.

4. Provide conducive trade and business environments.

Set up the County Industrial Development Authority to oversee SMEs within the County governments based on local opportunities and needs. Reduce the cost of doing business for youth-run entities by subsidizing taxes and licensing fees for the first year of business, and mobilize resources to develop local industries.

Regulate the importation of goods and promote the consumption of locally produced goods through a coherent "buy Kenya, build Kenya "purchase policy that involves state accreditation for the informal sector.

5. Deliver inclusive, high 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, as well as for increased skills development initiatives (both 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 well-being. Sustain solid political will and commitment around robust and free Universal Health Coverage through the National Hospital Insurance Fund for the unemployed youth, and catalyze increased modern domestic and external investment towards health systems strengthening, especially at the community level.

Provide and implement an affordable and accessible high-quality health insurance scheme that will enable youth to access quality healthcare with the inclusion of mental, sexual, reproductive, and sanitation services.

7. Increase action towards achieving social protection.

Promote youth
empowerment through
creating programs like: cash
transfers, access to credit
facilities and provision of
food subsidies that can
reduce youth vulnerability to
poverty and poor living
conditions, especially among
young women and girls.

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 young single parents in taking care of their children.



CALL 1 TO NEXT GOVERNMENT

CALL 2 TO NEXT GOVERNMENT

8. Increase financial support in the sport and creative economy.

Increase and diversify funding and investment in sports and the 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 and streamline the Sports Regulations to promote the equitable participation of youth regardless of gender, ethnicity, income, disability or any other characteristic.

Establish a mechanism to train, streamline, equip, manage, and monetize the sports and creative economy by using sport for civic engagement at all levels of the community.

Streamline funding channels to ensure allocated funds successfully reach the targeted recipients.

 Increase youth representations and inclusion in government and its agencies. Formulate an allocation matrix for political party funding so that 30% of public funds are allocated to youth leagues and the implementation of capacity-building programs that specifically target youth. This initiative is to be spearheaded by The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties.

Advocate for 50% of partylist slots to be reserved for youth. Ensure that 50% of nominees for party tickets are youth. This will require the goodwill of political parties, particularly their leadership.

10. Ensure systematic coordination of the youth function.

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 the national and county levels.

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 the incorporation of high school graduates for the first six months to train them on various skills, including technical skills, 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.

Restructure regulations in political parties to accommodate and encourage participatory democracy that is upheld by merit and increases the slots of representation of youth in key decision-making organs in political parties.

Mainstream digital media is a space to enhance public participation and articulate issues.

DID YOU KNOW?

6.5%

ACCORDING TO RESEARCH FROM A
2019 SURVEY BY THE NETHERLANDS
INSTITUTE OF MULTIPARTY
DEMOCRACY AND MZALENDO TRUST,
YOUNG PEOPLE COMPRISE ONLY
6.5% OF KENYA'S PARLIAMENT BUT
29% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION.

14.2%

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

17.4

ACCORDING TO AN 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
FORMAL SECTORS.

16.9%

THE SHARE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 15
TO 34 WHO ARE 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.

12%

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OHCHR), THERE IS ONLY ONE DOCTOR FOR EVERY 33,000 PEOPLE IN THE RURAL AREAS IN KENYA 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 in Nairobi and the various regional consultative forums. These youth represented the eight regions of Kenya: Nairobi, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, Eastern, Central, Coast, and Northeastern. The young people were instrumental in championing and leading the process by airing their views, opinions, aspirations, and challenges and by providing a call to action through focus group discussions, participation in persona creation, the policymaking process, keynote speeches, panel discussions, presentations, workshops, and networking sessions that included social media mobilization and collecting input from around the country.

Secondly, we wish to thank all those involved in the workshops' presentation, facilitation, moderation, panel discussions, focus group discussions, and keynote speeches and presentations 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, the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) for giving a presentation on youth and the agribusiness value chain and for contributing immensely to the economic pillar of this manifesto, as well as to the 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 participating at the Summit and in the Technical Working Group; and to Global Opportunity Youth Network (GOYN) Mombasa for making 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 partnership to the Youth Cafe to implement the project dubbed 'Magnifying the Visibility of Youth Leaders' project. The project's ultimate output is the development of the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022.

The manifesto development was preceded by several events such as the National Summit, the eight (8) Regional Consultative 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-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 youth 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 at the regional conferences 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 the International Republican Institute(IRI).



FOREWORD

According to the International Covenant on Economic, and Social Rights, Kenya is a signatory; all human beings are entitled to social rights. Chapter 4 of the Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 provides the enjoyment of economic and social rights under Article 43 (1) (a-f) in six sectors, including health, adequate food, 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 the stages and processes of our nation's development. This has created a deliberate effort by many stakeholders to invest in young people for their improved well-being and livelihoods and the growth 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 continued 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 actively involves young people in political processes affecting their livelihoods and future prospects and expands 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 by providing an opportunity and forum for young people to articulate their concerns, aspirations, motivations, challenges and innovative solutions by making policy inputs and thereby contributing to the development of our nation. The KYM manifesto 2022 also involves critical youth leaders and political parties as part of the process and includes vital youth issues in their 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, and from diverse: backgrounds, religious faiths, beliefs and creeds, geographical regions, varying abilities and challenges, and constituting the Kenya youth Manifesto 2022 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 Kenya Youth Manifesto 2017, the National Youth Development Policy, the Medium Term Plans for Vision 2030, the Youth Agenda for Vision 2030, the East Africa Community Youth Policy, the African Youth Charter, the Kenya Youth Manifesto 2017, the Sustainable Development Goals, the 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 recognize the importance of young people's role in poverty eradication and development;

RECOGNISING

that as young people, we bear the solemn responsibility of positioning ourselves as formidable and trusted actors in the development process;

NOTING

the fundamental role played by the youth in the economic, social and political development of Kenya, the East Africa Community, the African Union, the United Nations and other key regional and global institutions; and our potential to contribute to the same with optimism of progressive ascendency into leadership;

CONCERNED

about the insufficient attention lent to youth related issues in national development policies and the lack of adequate structures for effective youth participation in the various sectors of Kenya's development;

APPALLED

by the aggravating conditions of inequality, injustice, discrimination, poverty, indignity, hardship, deprivation and exclusion of the rural and urban poor from consultative and collaborative development; majority of whom are the youth;

REDEDICATING

ourselves to the struggle for a just, accountable, transparent independent, democratic, peaceful and gender-equal society;

PLEDGING

to uphold, promote and protect our National Ethos both at peer and inter-generational levels of our society. We verily acknowledge that these National Ethos are the key pillars to good governance and sustainable development,

DETERMINED

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

WORKING

conjunctively with other youth and youth-centered institutions to zealously advocate for the expedient address of issues affecting youth from various quotas like: youth who live in poverty, minority youth, indigenous youth, youth living in rural areas, youth living in informal settlements, and variously abled youth, more prominently on the National and County development agenda by offering concrete alternative policy options;

CONFIDENT

that with organization and fortitude, we can make a difference in the lives of the current and future generations. This has been confirmed by us having consulted young people in all the eight (8) regions of Kenya, collecting their views, challenges, aspirations, and listening to their proposed solutions and recommendations to different issues; all of which have been captured in this document;

CONVINCED

that a Kenya Youth Manifesto which provides a common platform for action by all stakeholders is necessary for effective advocacy of 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

We, the Kenyan youth, commit to embracing peace, security and cohesion amongst ourselves, upholding respect for human life, respecting and observing societal norms and values, respect for people's property, and good leadership at all times. During the election period, we pledge to sensitize fellow youth both in the rural and urban areas on the need to maintain peace, be law abiding citizens, to responsibly and progressively utilize social media platforms, to collaborate with other social, political and religious institutions in preaching peace and cohesion and collaborating with law enforcement institutions in sensitization and mapping out of politically volatile areas.

In furtherance to this, we call upon male youth to encourage the society and take further steps to uphold and protect the dignity of women which is often compromised and abused in the face of political skirmishes by way of: sexual assault, cyber bullying, public ridicule and humiliation and other despicable forms of Sexual Gender Based Violence, as was witnessed in the degenerating 2007 Post-Election Violence.

In addition, we commit to collaboratively support youth candidates who will be vying for various political seats during elections by sensitizing the public on the merits of electing more youth into leadership. Moreover, we pledge to collaborate with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to conduct civic education among the youth on how to participate in elections as a voter.

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. To this effect, we shall work with political parties to serve as their community mobilizers, clerks and polling agents and observers on the election day.

We also commit to upholding, protecting and promoting young people's involvement in health and well-being by creating awareness, educating, and being active participants as community health volunteers. As such, our devotion towards advocating for youth friendly reproductive health systems remains constant and is a rallying call towards constructive engagement with both levels of government for the attainment of sustainable health care.

Finally, 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.



WHAT IS THE YOUTH MANIFESTO?

According to the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, Kenya is a signatory; all human beings are entitled to social rights. The Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 provides for the enjoyment of political, economic and social rights under Article 43 1 (a-f) on six sectors which include health, adequate food 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 the youth. It is a model that should guide political parties towards the fulfillment of elective promises and governance; offering progressive leadership that takes Kenya into its future.

WHY A YOUTH MANIFESTO?

Around the world, 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% is between 18 and 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 disadvantaged and marginalized groups, particularly young people, to avoid conflict and violence in the future, and build inclusive societies. Young people's inclusion and the addressing of disenfranchisement is, therefore, not only a socio-economic imperative but also a key to preserving stability and building peace. Securing the active participation of this demographic will contribute significantly to inclusion in the country's democratic processes, community resilience, and sustainable development agenda.

With 2022 being an election year, it is paramount to champion more youth participation in Kenya's democratic process actively. Only young people can articulate their issues of concern and further take a prominent role in securing sustainable long-term solutions. This is possible by strengthening democratic participation and citizen engagement, participating in democracy efforts, registering to vote, participating in political party leadership, and vying for elected office. This can increase the number of youth in public service and promote information sharing across youth platforms to raise awareness of the democratic processes. It will also ensure that youth play a pivotal role in implementing policies like the National Youth Development Policy, Kenya Youth Manifesto, Medium Term Plans, Vision 2030, and Sustainable Development Goals.

The Kenyan government has been making efforts 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 the enhancement and implementation of social, political and economic youth rights through affirmative action and their contribution to national development. It places an obligation on the state to take proactive measures such as affirmative action programs to ensure that young people have access to education, training, and opportunities for their association, representation, and participation in the political, social, economic, and other spheres of life. Article 100 further obligates Parliament to enact 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. Article 98 of the Constitution states that the composition of the Senate must include 47 members, two of whom 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, nor have they succeeded in giving effective youth roles in sustainable development. This hinders progress towards achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Corruption and lack of goodwill have further downgraded these initiatives, leading to the persistence of many socio-economic challenges currently facing the Kenyan youth. It is only through joint efforts with international actors that youth have been able to agitate for the improvement of governance and accountability.

Through partnership with the International Republican Institute, this project seeks to cultivate youth participation in Kenya's democracy. Furthermore, 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 maintaining 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, thereby protecting human rights for all and fostering citizen engagement which results 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-upon 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), poverty eradication (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 youth and youth-led organizations have opportunities, capacities, and benefits from an enabling environment and relevant, impactful, evidence-based programs and policies.

HOW WAS THE YOUTH MANIFESTO PREPARED?

The Kenya Youth Manifesto (KYM) 2022 is a product of concerted efforts by various stakeholders, with youth political and civic leaders from eight regions) in Kenya is 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 that the manifesto came 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 political and civic youth leaders 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 focus group discussions (FGD), created a persona of their constituents based on the four distinct age categories given (i.e., 15-18 years, 19-24 years, 25-29 years, and 30-35 years) 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 all participants. Youth persona development was important in identifying the different challenges and motivations of political leadership and their participation in elections, aspirations; politically, socially, or in any leadership position, expectations; from political leadership regarding a 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 weighed in on the issues affecting youth at economic, social, and political levels, allowing key recommendations to be drawn. They also discussed how the manifesto would be disseminated, localized, and adopted. Furthermore, they created accountability mechanisms and identified 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 further subjected to scrutiny by 240 young people from 8 regions to provide grassroots level inputs by youth who are currently not sufficiently engaged in the political process to ensure that their 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, and professional youth, among others, to give the manifesto a non-political perspective that re-examines the challenges suggested at the National Youth Summit and that recommends innovative solutions that are regional-based and homegrown.

Key Informant Interviews were conducted to address information gaps, particularly policy recommendations. A Technical Working Group comprising 22 young people from the private sector, youth-serving organizations, and NGOs was 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 randomly selected youth jury to critique the document. Before dissemination and localizations, the manifesto will be launched and presented for sign off and adoption by presidential, gubernatorial, member of parliament candidates.

HOW IS THIS YOUTH MANIFESTO ORGANIZED?

The Kenya Youth Manifesto 2022 has been prepared for and by the youth of Kenya. It seeks to place Kenyan youth issues prominently on the national development agenda in Kenya. The manifesto reflects on the views, aspirations, and perspectives of young people in Kenya and is drawn from national and international instruments such as the International Covenant on Economic, and Social Rights (to which Kenya is a signatory and which affirms that all human beings are entitled to social rights), the chapter on the Bill of Rights in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 (which provides for the enjoyment of economic and social rights under Article 43 1 (a-f) on six sectors), the East African Community Youth Policy, the African Youth Charter, and the World Programme of Action for Youth, as well as on guidelines, tools, standards, and research developed by non-governmental 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 directly impact the ability of youth to generate and benefit from income-generating streams. Social issues include those obstacles currently preventing societies from working optimally. 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, 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 sustaining youthserving 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 focus group discussions (FGD), political and civic leaders created a persona of their constituents based on the four distinct age categories given (i.e., 15-18 years, 19-24 years, 25-29 years, and 30-35 years) 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.



- Age 16 years
- Gender: Female
- · Highest level of education: Primary School (std 8)
- Religion: Christian
- Ethnicity: Kamba
- Occupation: High School student



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.

· What is this person's level of knowledge on public policies?

(Knowledgeable, knowledgeable, slightly 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 youth in their programs; hence the feeling of being ignored translates to a lack of engagement with elected representatives.

What kind of knowledge do they have concerning enhancing youth development?

Herself and most youth lack knowledge on youth development, how they can engage, and the importance of their contribution and 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 regard 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 exciting activity that prepares the youth to be future leaders and, all in all, educated on civic engagement.

c) Any other factors motivating this youth

The 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 their 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.



- Age 24 years
- Gender: Female
- Highest level of education:
 College
- Religion: Christian
- Ethnicity: Kikuyu
- Occupation: Entrepreneur (owns a wine and spirits vending business at Kiamaiko



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

 What is this person's level of knowledge of 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 regard to the following?)

a) Leadership (political/civic/institutional)

Institutional (SACCOs, want the leadership of SACCO.

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.

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 their community?), e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered.

A magnified and visible Youth leader is one with pesa mingi mfukoni



- Age 25 years
- Gender: Male
- Highest level of education:
 Form 40 Levels
- Religion: Christian
- Ethnicity: Kalenjin
- Occupation: Bodaboda

Operator



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

 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 engagementOrganisations train them

political agendas.

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

• 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,

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.

Motivations (what is this youth motivated by in regard 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 whomever 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 whomever 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 their community?), e.g., A magnified and visible Youth leader is economically empowered.

A magnified and visible Youth leader is visionary, entitled, bazuu



- Highest level of education:
 Class 8
- Religion: Christian
- Ethnicity: Luo
- Occupation: Fishmonger



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.

 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?

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 to 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 and 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 regard 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 their 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. It will strengthen these policies to favor social, economic, and political areas favorable to the youth in a bid for youth to contribute to the economic and political governance in the country.



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 that the government had aimed to create over 1 million online jobs for youth per year through the Ajira Digital Programme which was launched in November 2016 as part of Medium Term Plan 3.

The underlying issues include an unfavorable market environment, nonexistent or inadequate policy frameworks, statutory bottlenecks, skill gaps, and skill mismatches. 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.

According to KNBS 2021, self-employed and unpaid family workers declined by 4.1 percent in 2020 compared to an increase of 6.9 percent 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 ravaging effects of Covid-19, which slowed economic activities as a result of lockdown and the cessation of movements in the country and globally.



KEY QUESTIONS

- 1. What is the youth unemployment rate in today's context and beyond?
- 2. How many youth 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 and spur growth. Enact and enforce 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 for youth-led enterprises. There is also a need for a forensic audit of the operations so far (for example, does AGPO call for a reservation of 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 about 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, 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 volunteerships 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.
- 10. Provide work-based learning to help youth secure jobs and develop problem-solving skills which many education systems do not teach.



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

Poor land policies have locked out communities from owning land, a problem that is particularly acute for youth. There is also a lack of access for youth to agricultural farm inputs.

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



- 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?



- 1. Provide youth with agricultural machinery, inputs, and equipment, involve youth in post-harvest operations and increase marketing of 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 innovations (e.g., M-shamba, Digi-Farm, Twiga), enhancing access to production factors, and promoting the utilization of modern technologies and Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs).
- 3. Enable access to procurement services and to the supply chain with county governments working with MCAs.
- 4.Invest and engage youth in research, development of Agri-preneurship and food systems, and the utilization of innovative agricultural technologies.
- 5.Ensure sustainable value addition by incorporating quality standardization across the value chain through the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Trade in collaboration with international organizations such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), and World Trade Organisation (WTO).
- 6. Develop youth-specific and friendly Public-Private Partnership models to support agribusiness enterprises and youth-led value addition to improve the smallholder productivity.
- 7. Enhance access, ownership, and sustainable land use for youth in agribusiness.
- 8. Train and deploy youth as extension officers to educate other members on farming techniques and new economic fields to venture into.
- 9. Promote the full and efficient exploitation of available resources and untapped community wealth to increase economic opportunities for 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 for 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 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 access 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 youth from accessing finance products.

Formal financial service providers consider lending to youth as risky because of their perceived weak financial capacity, poor saving culture, and lack of collateral security. Since many youth lack financial discipline, the use of these loans is suboptimal, as many are diverted into consumption activities rather than productive ventures. Generally, there is poor financial literacy and discipline among Kenyan youth.

The fear of being listed by the Credit Reference Bureaus (CRBs) has kept the youth away from formal lending institutions, often opting for 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 that render them unable to pay them back. 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).



- 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?



- 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 favorable interest rates for youth-led enterprises.
- 7. Counter systematic red tape, 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 of avenues and channels for financial assistance.
- 9. Inject economic stimulus packages to youth living in areas with harsh environments, particularly arid and semi-arid ones.
- 10. Develop policies to promote and support Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises, including tariff reductions, tax and fee waivers, and subsidies.
- 11. Promote monitoring and evaluation of the funds allocated to the youth and the institutions managing them.
- 12. Review tax policies 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: ROVIDE A CONDUCIVE TRADE AND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT.

Business start-ups are occasionally constrained by the initial requirements/conditions to access finance. The need for security and collateral, as well as huge interest rates, lockout many youths from such facilities. Other statutory regulations in the form of licenses and levies further exclude 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.

The Exploratory Study of Critical Success Factors for SMEs in Kenya conducted by Douglas et al. in 2017 found that about 70% 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 risen, which is disastrous for wealth and employment creation.

Approximately 98% of the MSMEs in Kenya are informal and/or 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 modelling to young entrepreneurs?



- 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 doing business for youth-run entities by subsidizing taxes and licensing fees 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 promote 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, should provide 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 the 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

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SUB ISSUE 1: DELIVER INCLUSIVE AND HIGH-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 faced with limited post-secondary skilling opportunities. Only 14% of fourth-form graduates attain the minimum grade for university enrolment, which implies the majority of the youth either join the Technical and Vocational Education and Training ACT (TVET) or job market with no skilling (as per the Kenya Youth Development Policy (KYDP) 2019).

Unsatisfactory education and training outcomes lead to 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 who are not in education, employment, or training stood at 16.9 percent in the first quarter of 2021, decreasing from 18.1 percent 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 labor market.



- 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?



- 1.Enable equitable access to quality skills and education at all levels through dedicated national funding for Bursary Commissions and youth desks, for increased skills development (both 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 the Vocational Training Centers (VTCs) by the County Government and the National Level Technical and Vocational Centers and equip them with modern infrastructure.
- 4.Improve the recognition and promote awareness creation of technical and vocational training opportunities.
- 5. Promote data mapping of the youth skills available and of current market demand through the National Employment Authority.
- 6. Institutionalize and strengthen apprenticeship programs, especially in rural areas.
- 7. Strengthen Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) 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. In vulnerable, severe cases, the government should cover the fees.
- 10. Make Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) interest-free, to be initiated by the government through the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders like the Treasury.
- 11. Work on reducing 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 is given to learners in volatile regions through the Ministry of Interior and County Police Commanders to allow these learners to ably complete their studies and compete equally with others.
- 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 is 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 behavior, 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 a 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 to the commitment to prioritize the war against malaria by increasing funding and access to promotive and preventive health services at the community level by bridging the Ksh 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.



- 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?



- 1. Sustain solid political will and commitment to provision of free and robust Universal Health Coverage through the 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 the implementation of key health policies such as the Kenya Mental Health Policy (2015-2030), and the National Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health Policy.
- 3.Implement measures to increase access to nutrition and physical and mental well-being of young Kenyans to enhance their ability to withstand non-communicable diseases, many of which have been exacerbated by the explosion of mental health issues.
- 4.Commit to raising sufficient funding for community health services to meet the KShs 2.3 billion financial gap to integrate community health services into the broader health system.
- 5. Mainstream the use of telemedicine in providing sexual and reproductive health services and research, as well as mental health services.
- 6. Provide and implement an affordable and accessible quality health insurance scheme that will enable youth to access quality healthcare with the inclusion of mental and sexual reproductive services and promote improved sanitation.
- 7. Establish youth-friendly centers nationwide that will respond to their unique needs.
- 8. Revamp youth-centered education and information that will focus on sexual and reproductive health rights. Combat 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 (including educational and religious facilities) 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. The Demographic Health Survey of 2014 estimates a 21% Female Genital Mutilation prevalence in Kenya, with 97.5% prevalence in North-Eastern Kenya. Meanwhile, the 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 a need to strengthen cash transfer programs to reach the most urgent cases. In addition, regular review of the social protection programs is required to ensure that they are sustainable and empowering and to ensure that they benefit the vulnerable, caregivers, and the most deserving cases.



- 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?



- 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. Empower youth through programs like cash transfers and food subsidies that can reduce youth vulnerability to poverty and poor living conditions, especially among young women and girls.
- 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 the effects of early marriages on young girls, especially in the long term.
- 6.Implement an Early Childhood Development program to provide educational services to families and caregivers on issues related to social protection.
- 7. Educate teenage mothers on policies that allow for them to continue their studies after school gaps due to early pregnancies. For example, creation of Charter School to help in the achievement of this objective.
- 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. Work with the National Police Service in protecting the Youth Civic rights.
- 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, they lack a robust mechanism to monetize their talents and gifts. For example, why can't we fix our soccer sector?? 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.



- 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?



- 1. Increase and diversify investment for sports and the 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 and 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, and monetize the sports and creative economy by 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 promote the rising online content creation and influencing culture among the youth.
- 9. Increase the consumption of Kenyan creative content in local media institutions and the entertainment arena.



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 attaining 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 despite the continuous participation of young people in informal structures of political organizations.

Markedly, young leaders both nominated and elected in the national assembly and senate have been able to champion legislation that favors young people and the citizenry at large. Bills sponsored and initiated by young legislators under the <u>Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) of Kenya can be tracked through a KYPA-Bill-Tracker-Table.</u> 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 towards achieving SDG 10 on reduced inequalities and SDG 16 on the promotion of peace, justice, and strong institutions.



- 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?



- 1. Formulate an allocation matrix for political party funding so that 30% of public funds are allocated to youth leagues. Ensure that the implementation of capacity-building programs that specifically target the youth is spearheaded by The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties.
- 2.The Office of the President is 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 candidate 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 recruitmentagencies to prevent marginalization and discrimination on a tribal and nepotistic basis. Regularly take stock of public sector employment distribution by the Public Service Commission and reorganize government in a manner that reflects equity and inclusion. The same functions to be performed by the County Public Service Boards.
- 7.Create and spread awareness on accessible youth networking events and civic education programs.
- 8. Develop a vibrant parallel youth inclusive parliament/cabinet of youth from different regions and fields to continuously debate and offer suggestions to the parliament and County Assemblies on youth needs. This also enhances mentorship and exercise of oversight.
- 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 in both the national and county governments. The poor prioritization of youth issues by the government of the day can be attributed to poor coordination. Further, the youth docket being put in a ministry with functions other than youth functions hinders funding for programs and activities. Additionally, the National Youth Council, the unifying body for young people, is not adequately funded by the national government to carry out its mandate.



- 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?



- 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 to ensure 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 the full implementation of youth policies at the national and county level.
- 3.Amendment of the National Youth Council Act 2009 to establish County Youth Council. The functions of the Council in the 2019 amendment Bill are watered down and do not capture the spirit of a youth representative body therefore we recommend the incorporation of functions in the 2009 act with a few amendments.
- 4. Define the youth work profession model and work with other relevant stakeholders to establish locally relevant policies, procedures, and mechanisms to accredit youth workers.
- 5. Review the funding approach of the National Youth Council so that it can get funding directly from the exchequer. Increase the allocation of funding for youth to 35%.

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 elective positions. 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?



- 1.Create Youth Development Centers within the functions of the National Youth Service to ensure the incorporation of high school graduates for the first six months to train them on various skills (including technical skills) that will prepare them for post-high school national responsibilities.
- 2.Institute value-based mentorship programs in schools and institutions of higher learning.
- 3. Reward and celebrate values-based leadership through a National Award System.
- 4.Include and promote ethics, anti-corruption, and general civic education in the Kenyan educational curriculum at all levels of education for informed citizenship.
- 5.Invest in educational programs that empower citizens to be the champions of cohesion and national unity.
- 6. Partner with FBOs to address radicalism, violent extremism, religious harmony, and diversity/tolerance.
- 7.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, led to poor involvement of the electorate in decision making. Notably, there is a need for fast-tracking the enactment of the Public Participation Bill into an Act of Parliament. 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. Even when public participation forums do take place, 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 the above challenges are solved, there will be improved decision-making that incorporates voices from the citizenry, promotes inclusion and equity in public resource allocation, and generally promotes transparency and accountability as principles of democracy and good governance.



- 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?



- 1.Implement the 2016 Access to Information Act, Article 35 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, and Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which outline the declaration of principles on freedom of expression and access to information.
- 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 diversity of Kenya.
- 4. Restructure regulations in political parties to accommodate and encourage participatory democracy that is upheld by merit and entrenches the 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 disinheritance caused by the death of a parent or caregiver, lack of proper water and sanitation for decent housing (which is 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 were identified under the social pillar. Under economic issues, improved decisionmaking to incorporate youth civic education in patenting rights, unregulated betting, and international platforms which flood the market were identified as issues. In the North-Eastern and Central regions, the effects of climate change (particularly droughts) were cited as an economic sub-issue. In the political pillar, unique sub-issues included: the commercialization of politics in the Central region, sycophancy in politics towards youths in the Eastern region, and the actual practice of voter bribery and rigging in the Nairobi region.

Monitoring, Evaluation &Learning Framework

Monitoring, Evaluation, and framework of the KYM2022 will be designed and implemented to track the extent of uptake of the priority issues and generate 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.



KENYA YOUTH MANIFESTO

A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT



Only with the commitment of all stakeholders will the Kenya Youth Manifesto be more than astatement 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 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.

YOUNG PEOPLE

Youth participation is crucial to realising the objectives of the Kenya Youth Manifesto and 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 though it is up to the other stakeholders, who often act as gatekeepers in policy formation, to involve youth and youth organisations in the interventions that affect their lives. Empowering young people means allowing them to make informed decisions that affect their lives.

Empowerment is more than the opportunity to influence policy; it is a process of capacity building that includes and often requires access to education, employment, health, and resources. If youth are encouraged and given the tools to fully participate in society, 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 exist that are preventing effective local development and good governance.

Enhancing opportunities for youth participation builds their skills and knowledge base and also serves to better cultivate policies that affect their lives.

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 fulfillment 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 youth 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 neighborhoods 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, high 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

The 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 enhances 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 labor 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 ORGANISATIONS

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 translate 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 youth 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 labor 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.



APPENDIX 1: COMMUNICATION AND DISSEMINATION PLAN

AUDIENCE	GOALS	MEDIUMS	MATRIX/KPIS	KEY MESSAGE(S)	RETENTION
PRIMARY AUDIENCE					
SECONDARY AUDIENCE					

APPENDIX 2: YOUTH PERSONA DEVELOPMENT

The four persona groups were:



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 lack of communication and awareness of opportunities and the 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).

er 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."

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."



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 endeavors.

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 presummation 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,

WAITHERA QUOTES,

"A magnified and visible Youth leader is one with pesa mingei 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.



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/ls 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 3: 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)Kenya
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
1	Esha Mohammed	National Youth Council
2	Dannish Odongo	Political Leadership and Governance
3	Mbuki Mburu	Commitment of African Youth Advisors(CAYA), National Youth Council Youth Service Organisation (YSO) Consortium
4	Mercy Nyaga	Programme Alumni Network (PLGP)
5	Stella Mutuku	254 Youth Policy Cafe

POLITICAL ISSUES GROUP

SNO	PARTICIPANTS NAME	AFFILIATION
1	Alex Matere	Notable National Youth Leaders Caucus
2	Alice Wangare	IRI Cohort
3	Abel Ng'eny	IRI Cohort
4	Desmond Boi	Youth Senate Kenya
5	Sankale Ole Keis	Youth Senate Kenya
6	Sheila Sifuma	IRI Cohort
7	Wilkister Aduma	Run For Office

APPENDIX 4: CORE ORGANISING TEAM

SNO	NAME	AFFILIATION
1	Eric Mokebo	The Youth Cafe
2	Jerusha Achieng	The Youth Cafe
3	Julie Jepkemboi	The Youth Cafe
4	Racheal Sanga	The Youth Cafe
5	Willice Onyango	The Youth Cafe
6	Barbra Wanga	International Republican Institute
7	Cosmas Tabuche	International Republican Institute
8	Elizabeth Munge	International Republican Institute
9	Jonathan Doernhofer	International Republican Institute
10	Yomi Jacobs	International Republican Institute

APPENDIX 5: MEMBERS OF THE WRITING TASKFORCE

SNO	NAME
1	Alice Wangari
2	Bonface Munene
3	Eric Mokebo
4	Lenah Mati
5	Michael James
6	Patrick Maingi
7	Vivian Gathecha
8	Willice Onyango

APPENDIX 6: IRI COHORT MAGNIFYING VISIBILITY OF YOUTH LEADERS

SNO	NAME	SNO	NAME
1	Abdiaziz Ismail Haji	20	Georgina Nduku Ngina
2	Alex Matere	21	Hezena Lemaletian
3	Alice Wangari Gathekia	22	Ibrahim Suleiman Hassan
4	Amos Ogwankwa Matagaro	23	Janet Wanjiru Ruthuku
5	Amran Wardere	24	Joan Akinyi Opon
6	Anita Mbae	25	Julius Mutunga Nzumbi
7	Anne Ogolla	26	Liban Boru Halkano
8	Benard Ouma Agan	27	Mgeni Mboto Hassan
9	Brian Kipkirui Keter	28	Michelle Valentine Aluoch
10	Denis Marube Maina	29	Musuku David
11	Dennis Nyorani Njeru	30	Patricia Chao Mwashighadi
12	Dennis Sankale Keis	31	Philemon Kirwa Tum
13	Diana Chelagat	32	Philip Mutooni Mwangangi
14	Emilly Nafula Simiyu	33	Rose Nafula Juma
15	Emma Wangari	34	Sarah (Sasha) Wamae
16	Esha Mohammed Abdallah	35	Shaleen Nasike Atembo
17	Evans Odipo Otieno	36	Sheila Bore
18	Felix Mambo	37	Sheila Sifuma
19	Fidelis Kemboi	38	Yvonne Tonkei

NOTES

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KENYA YOUTH MANIFESTO

QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE, AGENDA NI YETU!





The Youth Cafe:

The Youth Café is a multi-award-winning, pan-African, youth organization that 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 is a non-partisan, non-profit, non-governmental organization that advances democracy and freedom worldwide. 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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