



A HANDBOOK FOR YOUTH  
PARTICIPATION IN  
POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN KENYA

A HANDBOOK FOR YOUTH  
PARTICIPATION IN  
POLITICAL PARTIES  
IN KENYA

© Kristelig Folkepartis Ungdom 2016

Published by:  
Kristelig Folkepartis Ungdom  
P.O Box 478 Sentrum  
0105, Oslo, Norway

[krfu@krfu.no](mailto:krfu@krfu.no)  
[www.krfu.no](http://www.krfu.no)

Design: Olga Marie Brathaug  
Printing: 07 Media

This publication was made possible with support from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). It is part of a collaboration between National Democratic Institute and the Young Christian Democrats of Norway.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	1
ACRONYMS.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	4
FOREWORD.....	5
<b>1. THE CONTEXT, PURPOSE AND PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE HANDBOOK</b>	
1.1 Backround.....	7
1.2 The Purpose of the Handbook.....	8
1.3 Who are the potential users of this Handbook?.....	8
1.4 The development of the Handbook.....	9
<b>2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF POLITICAL PARTIES' DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA</b>	
<b>3. YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA</b>	
3.1. What does youth participation entail?.....	15
3.2 Functions of Party Youth Leagues.....	18
3.4 Youth Participation in Political Parties in Kenya.....	21
3.5 S.W.O.T. analysis of Party Youth Leagues in Kenya.....	24
3.6 Links between Youth Leagues and Other Party Organs.....	26
3.7 Inter-Party Youth Engagements.....	28
<b>4. MAKING THE FUTURE</b>	
4.1 Increasing Youth Participation in Political Parties.....	29
4.2 How will positive change come about?.....	34
4.3 Conclusion.....	35
APPENDIX A: RESOURCE MATERIALS.....	37
APPENDIX B: LEADERSHIP TRAINING WITHIN THE PARTY.....	38
APPENDIX C: POLICY DEVELOPMENT GUIDE.....	39
APPENDIX D: STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR YOUTH LEAGUES.....	42

# ACRONYMS

CMD	Centre for Multi-Party Democracy
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
FORD-K	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy -Kenya
ICT	Information, Communication Technologies
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPYF	Inter-Parties Youth Forum
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
KNC	Kenya National Congress
KPC	Kenya Peoples Congress
KPU	Kenya Peoples Union
KrF	Norwegian Christian Democrats
KrFU	Young Christian Democrats of Norway
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
NAC	National Alliance for Change
NAK	National Alliance of Kenya
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition

NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NOA	National Opposition Alliance
NPK	National Party of Kenya
NSA	National Solidarity Alliance
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PESTEL	Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Environmental and Legal
PICK	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
PNU	Party of National Unity
TNA	The National Alliance
UNDA	United National Democratic Alliance
URP	United Republican Party

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This handbook is the result of a three-year cooperation between National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Inter-Party Youth Forum (IPYF), and three Norwegian youth wings: The Young Christian Democrats (KrFU), The Young Liberals (Unge Venstre) and The Young Conservatives (Unge Høyre). Over the course of 2013-2015, young politicians from Norway and Kenya came together with the aim of strengthening the role of youth within political parties in Kenya. This cooperation has contributed to Kenyan youth wings gaining greater independence, and to increasing their capacity to represent the young electorate in Kenya. This work is by no means complete, but we hope that this will be one of the building blocks contributing to more meaningful participation of youth in political processes in Kenya.

The successful production of this handbook can be attributed to the contribution of many actors. Mr. George Okongo acted as a consultant during the process, and has compiled all the materials. The NDI Country Director, Dickson Omondi has provided leadership in the production of the handbook, while Dennis Omondi provided a constructive review of the handbook based on his knowledge and experience working with youth in political parties. Other notable NDI staff who contributed include; Ronald Ojwang, Phoebe Mungai, Benedictus Rono and Nelly Kiarie. The handbook also gained immensely from views of youth leaders in various Kenyan political parties, who gave interviews at the research stage. Last and certainly not least, a special thanks to all the members from the three Norwegian youth wings who have contributed to the useful resources presented at the end of this handbook.

Evan Wilson,  
International Advisor, KrFU

# FOREWORD

Africa is the world's youngest continent, with people under the age of 35 constituting about 65 percent of the population. In Kenya, people between the ages of 18 and 35 years account for over 30 percent of the country's population. This segment of the population continue to receive attention in analysis of national socio-political and economic affairs. It is no different for the rest of the continent. For most commentators, the situation is characterized in binary images that label youth as either an asset – “the demographic dividend”, “the continent's most valuable resource” – or a liability: a “demographic time bomb”. This handbook is a resource aimed at directing attention to the potentials of the youth in political processes in Kenya, looking specifically at their participation in political parties. Concerns over youth participation in politics in general, and in political parties in particular, are not entirely new. However, the handbook makes a good attempt to mobilize intellectual effort and practical action over a specific area of the lives and activities of the youth in Kenya.

The role of the youth in future Kenyan politics has come into sharper focus after the last general elections held in March 2013. In those elections, political party nominations included a good number of young leaders. Some youth were elected to county and national assemblies as well as the senate. This has occurred in previous elections, but notable youth victories in 2013 were Mr. Munge Kibiwott, elected Parkerra ward representative in Baringo County at 19 years of age and Mr. Boniface Kinoti who was only 26-year-old at the time of his election as member of parliament for Buuri constituency. One nominated senator was only 24 years in 2013. These elections and nominations do not, on their own, support a theory of change. But seen alongside other political trends, it appears the past is giving way to the new. For a long time, Kenyan youth did not participate in decision-making processes because of the hierarchical and patrimonial governance order in most communities. Allocation of leadership responsibilities followed age, wealth and lineage. Breaking these cultural barriers is a key achievement for the youth in Kenya in recent history. Largely due to their demographic dominance, the youth have also been able to insert themselves strongly in political and development discourse. With youth unemployment in the country at more than 75 percent, job creation is a central theme in socio-economic development today.

It did not all happen at once. Progressively, the youth have played important roles in driving political change. For example, the contribution of the student movement to the struggles for political pluralism and restoration of human rights and freedoms during the late 1980s and early 1990s is well documented. The more recent transition from the 40-year rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) also highlights the role of young people. Ahead of the 2002 polls, crowds attending rallies countrywide put pressure on the opposition leaders

to unite. Invariably, the youth were majority in these crowds going by media images and observers' accounts. As such, it is no exaggeration to say that the youth of Kenya created the pressure that led to opposition unity in 2002, which resulted in the end of the KANU regime. As "stakeholders" in the more liberal and open policy processes that followed the change of government, young people have contributed to institutional reforms in the governance, justice, law and order sector. They have done this by proactively expressing their views on some of the leading questions and dilemmas over national governance.

However, the growing strength of youth in political affairs in Kenya has neither been linear nor exponential. In 2009, a report by a non-governmental organisation - Youth Agenda - indicated that young people were responsible for more than half of all the cases of violence that followed the 2007 general elections. The report confirmed that youth participation in politics in the multi-party era was still conflated with the strong forces of ethnic adversarial relations of the national body politic. Youth involvement in political violence has been widely analysed, including the activities of gangs deployed by politicians across the country to block rivals from accessing "their" zones of influence. It raises the question: have the youth been vanguards or vandals in Kenyan political development? This is an important question. However, a forward-looking contribution would examine historical and contemporary conditions with a view to informing positive change. It should do so with clarity on the spheres of analysis and prospective change. Hopefully, this handbook is one such contribution.

# 1. THE CONTEXT, PURPOSE AND PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE HANDBOOK

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

Article 260 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) defines the youth as 'anyone who has attained 18 years of age but not yet 35 years'. In that regard, the youth account for approximately 56 percent of the voting age population in the country. About 5.9 million were registered as voters in the run-up to the 2013 general elections, which constituted about 42 percent of the total registered voters. Undoubtedly, the youth are a significant component of Kenya's political life and key actors in political choices. There are at least two ways of looking at the roles and position of the youth in political processes in Kenya. First, they constitute a significant proportion of the citizenry and a majority of voters. Political parties in government and those competing to constitute government should be persuaded to address the worries of the youth in order to retain or win power. It should be so, by the logic of numbers. Secondly, the present actions of the youth in political processes should have great implications for the state of politics in the future. The choices of the youth should be highly influential in shaping decisions of the present and the outcomes for the future.

Nonetheless, there is a general agreement that the demographic strength of the youth have not translated into their meaningful participation in political parties. The handbook specifically looks into the current state of youth participation in political parties, pointing out the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the prevailing institutional arrangements and role specifications. It also identifies improvements and alternatives to these arrangements and role specifications, for more effective youth participation in political parties. This has been achieved through a comparative analysis of the prevailing situation against established practice in other places.

Studies on youth involvement in political processes in Kenya have found lower levels of participation compared to the older populace. A study by Centre for Multi-party Democracy (CMD) in 2014 found that only 7.5 percent of the youth had consulted a political party official in their locality over any matter. Moreover, in a survey done by NDI in 2014, 67 percent of the youth responded that they were not active in political parties compared to 61 percent of the older populace. Interestingly, 17 percent of the youth were not even registered as

voters in the 2013 general elections compared to only 5 percent of the older populace according to the same survey findings.

This is a solid demonstration of a potentially strong political force contributing sub-optimally to the political direction of a country. Yet there are clear grounds and frameworks for youth participation in politics in the Constitution of Kenya (2010) and the Political Parties Act (2011). It can be argued that participation in politics and public affairs is not limited to involvement in political parties alone, however, political parties are invariably important institutions in the political organization of democratic societies.

## 1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE HANDBOOK

This handbook is intended to achieve the following objectives:

1. Document the historical context of youth involvement in political parties in Kenya;
2. Review the positioning, roles and activities of youth leagues within political parties;
3. Highlight the constraints and barriers to effective youth participation in political parties; and
4. Identify areas for enhancing youth participation in political parties as well as inter-party engagements of youth.

## 1.3 WHO ARE THE POTENTIAL USERS OF THIS HANDBOOK?

This Handbook is primarily intended to be useful to young people, trying to organize their political activities within political parties and the broader political terrains at the national level in Kenya. But the youth are not the only actors to drive change in this area. Leaders of political parties as well as general party membership may also find this Handbook useful in decision processes relating to youth participation in political parties. Similarly, activists outside political parties, pushing for the inclusion of youth in party affairs and general politics, will also benefit from the information in this Handbook. Like any other material emanating from debate and research, the Handbook will also be an invaluable resource to researchers, analysts and policymakers interested in the history and participation of youth in political parties in Kenya.

## 1.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HANDBOOK

This Handbook is the result of a 3-year program between NDI-Kenya and three Norwegian youth parties: The Young Christian Democrats (KrFU), The Young Conservatives (Unge Høyre) and the Young Liberals (Unge Venstre). The program objective was to enhance the leadership and organizational capacity of youth in political parties in Kenya. The approach for achieving this objective was two-fold: enhance the leadership capacity of youth leaders in political parties and strengthen their participation in their respective political parties. The program involved activities in training, knowledge sharing and inter-party dialogue. Materials generated by these activities, especially the barriers to effective youth participation in political parties as identified by program participants availed the initial resources for the preparation of this handbook. Supplementary information was obtained from documents on the activities of party youth leagues in other parts of the continent and around the world including those from The Christian Democratic Party of Norway (KrF). Primary data was collected through interviews with a purposively selected sample of 6 youth leaders from political parties in Kenya with youth leagues.

## 1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE HANDBOOK

This handbook is divided into four chapters followed by a resource appendix for youth leagues. The first chapter is the background section. The second elaborates on the context of political party development in Kenya, from a historical perspective. It presents a brief definition of a political party, together with significance of political parties in a democracy and gives a historical account of political parties' development in Kenya. The third part addresses the constraints and opportunities for youth participation in political parties in Kenya. It begins with a clarification of the meanings attached to 'participation' in this handbook and elaborates the concept of 'marginalization', often used in discussions of youth participation in politics. This is followed by discussions of the structural context of youth participation in political parties and a SWOT analysis of party youth leagues. The fourth chapter of the handbook envisions the future, by identifying areas for the enhancement of youth participation in political parties, looking at the opportunities in party youth leagues and reforms in overall party structures and systems. Finally, the appendix section includes resource materials and practical tools to help youth leagues with policy development, leadership training and strategic planning.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF POLITICAL PARTIES' DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

### 2.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRACIES

According to Claude Ake (2000), a political party is “an organization of people who have evolved some notion of how political society should function and who now strive to elicit a mandate from the society at large to manage the affairs of society in accordance with this notion”. Political parties as vehicles for acquisition and retention of power are a major part of a democratic society. In democratic societies, political power over state apparatus is competed for, contested and/ or negotiated. Generally, political parties represent specialised interests. But they have to appeal to the wider society in their search for power. This is particularly true in situations where parties have strong ideological and policy bases and where the differences in ideological and policy standpoints of parties is clear. In this Handbook, the observation is made that Kenyan political parties do not exhibit strong differences along those lines. Nonetheless, political parties in Kenya still play a big role in interest aggregation, bringing together persons with common political interests, even when such interests are limited to the acquisition and exercise of power.

Other than the pursuit of political power and aggregation of political interests, political parties act as nurseries for the development of political leadership in the country. This is partly the reason for the premium attached to youth participation in political parties. However, the role of parties in mobilization of the citizenry to participate in politics is not restricted to mobilization of youth. Parties also mobilize other citizens to participate in politics. In Kenya, such mobilization has been on the basis of ethnic blocs. Political parties thus tend to have distinct political bases in a singular or set of ethnic communities. This phenomenon tends to undermine the performance of political parties on the demand side for accountability of public officials. The people of Kenya exercise their sovereignty in two ways, first by representation through their duly elected members of parliament and second, directly by themselves. Parliament is expected to demand accountability of the executive arm of government and ensure such accountability on behalf of the people of Kenya. But ethnic alignments of parliamentary parties and parliamentarians makes it

difficult for the legislature to effectively carry out this responsibility. According to the Registrar of Political Parties, there are currently 62 registered political parties in Kenya.

None of the registered political parties in Kenya have an explicit political platform on generational change. Furthermore, there is no political party with a singular or major agenda for youth participation in politics. However, all the parties tend to place the youth at the centre of their strategies and plans for national development, at least on paper. In spite of the common understanding, the parties seem to view the youth as recipients of development rather than key players in the design and implementation of development strategies. Political competition between the parties is not on the basis of how much they integrate the youth in their structures and activities. It is about what the parties intend to 'give' to the youth. Perhaps, this has to do with the historical development of political parties in the country.

## 2.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA

Political parties in Kenya, especially in recent history, have developed mainly as vehicles for the contest of power by various elite groups, interested in the benefits accruing to individuals and communities from the control of the state. It appears, independence as self-rule and democracy as a reform to state development, have had a double-edged effect on the country's politics. In the first place, they opened up spaces for participation and decision-making for a wider section of citizens. At the same time, they have led to the establishment of an elite that draws legitimacy from 'democratic' elections but rules in its own interests. This situation is a distortion of the principle of government by the people since representation is not effective. The resulting arrangement is government with the consent of the people, rather than government by the people. Some views attribute this state of politics to the effects of colonialism and the remnants of the colonial state that did not recognize the citizenship rights of the people of Kenya. The important point here is the dysfunctional system of representation and the tendency to treat leaders' interests as the interests of their ethno-regional communities. This has been exemplified since the early political party activities in the post-independence period to date.

When KADU was dissolved in 1964 and its members joined KANU- the oldest political party in Kenya, for "national unity", the objective to create a monolithic national political elite did not succeed. Factions emerged within KANU, causing a split in 1966 with the formation of KPU. The KPU was banned in 1969, making Kenya a de facto single party state. The country became a de jure single party state in 1982 after introduction of section 2(a) of the constitution prohibiting the establishment of other political parties, other than KANU. These

twists and turns in this part of Kenya's political history have largely been linked to choices by individual leaders acting in self-interest, and the personality conflicts that followed. Upon the repeal of section 2(a) and the return of multi-party politics in 1991, a number of political parties were registered, notably DP, FORD, KENDA, KSC, KNC and PICK. But KANU retained its domination of the political landscape, albeit by undermining and suppressing opposition parties' activities. President Moi used regional point persons as interlocutors between the party and ethnic communities, sometimes using short-term appointments to the vice-presidency to retain the support of individual leaders. KANU's main strategy was to retain its rural support base by exploiting rural poverty and peasant struggles, offering handouts to the people.

Partly due to KANU's infiltration as well as personality clashes, opposition parties began to split ahead of the 1992 general elections. FORD, the largest opposition grouping split into FORD-Kenya and FORD-Asili of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Kenneth Matiba respectively. Later on, Ford-People was formed. After losing the 1992 elections to KANU, opposition parties came to the realization that alliances were necessary to galvanize opposition power against KANU in subsequent polls. Some of the early opposition alliances were UNDA after 1992, NOA formed in 1995 by moderate faction of the opposition and (NSA as the alliance of radical opposition parties. Later, NAC was formed, comprising DP, Ford-K and NPK. Kenya Peoples Coalition (KPC) was formed by parties that had distanced themselves from NAC under leadership of FORD-People. Closer to the 2002 general elections NAK was born out of NAC after changing the name of the NPK to NAK. Ultimately, NARC was formed after LDP cross-over to NAK with a section of KANU leaders. NARC won the 2002 general elections with the support of civil society groups in a broad national alliance against KANU. In successive party mutations after 2002, ODM, PNU, TNA and URP among other parties have been formed. ODM and PNU shared power from 2008 to 2013 when the Jubilee Alliance of TNA and URP took over.

### 2.3 IDEOLOGY IN POLITICAL PARTIES' ACTIVITIES IN KENYA

An ideology is a body of internalised ideas, beliefs and practices that lie at the core of the national spirit. It is a systematic body of ideas. A political party's ideology tells us how it perceives reality, the assumptions it makes about political power, its views on what makes power legitimate and what it thinks about who should wield power. In most cases, political ideologies are linked to mode of production and distribution/allocation of output. Liberalism, Socialism and Communism are some of the oldest political ideologies across the globe.

In the Kenyan context, political parties generally root for collective development of and co-operation between communities. For these parties, the state still has to play a big role in development to safeguard the public good. These

are the hallmarks of social democracy/socialism. So, it may be taken that most political parties in Kenya have a social democratic orientation. However, some of the parties appear more open to processes of political change than others. In that sense, some parties are more liberal while others quite conservative. But all political parties in Kenya have to contend with the socio-political and economic realities of globalization and liberalized markets. Globalization and liberalization are major planks of the ideological orientation of parties in the country, making up a mix of social democracy in the context of globalization and liberalization. It may be what has come to be known as 'globalization with a human face'.

Still, various pointers to ideological orientations have been found in the key policies that parties stand for. KADU under the leadership of Ronald Ngala in the first election after independence was strong in the push for Majimboism; some kind of federalist system that would divide Kenya into three or so semi-autonomous regions. Nevertheless, the party was subsumed into KANU with the merger of 1964. Some parties have had summative slogans that clearly indicate ideological leanings. For example, KPU slogan 'land to the tiller' showed socialist thinking with regard to the production process, different from capitalism that regards land as a key factor of production to be held by the capitalists, while peasants provide labour. KANU's Sessional paper number 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its applications to planning in Kenya was clear on the issues of equality, social justice, human dignity and self-esteem and nation-building. But this document was championed by only a section of the party leadership. It was not, strictly speaking, a collective position of the party. President Kenyatta's push for Harambee also represents a form of ideological leaning towards socialist development paradigms. The idea was to realize development by pooling together the disparate potentials and capacities of individuals and groups towards the collective good in national and regional development.

At the start of president Moi's turn, the party adopted the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity, which depicted equality among people and a string bond of nationhood. In fact, the strong belief in the equality of persons and a social market economy brings Nyayoism quite close to the Christian Democratic ideologies of Europe. However, Nyayoism was only a slogan. Whether or not the party followed up the philosophy in the practice of governance is a different matter. Throughout Moi's presidency and into the post-KANU era, the political elite have shown deep interests in wealth accumulation as a basis for political establishment. There is a strong belief that only the rich have a fair chance to contest power at various levels of representation. However, there have been disapproving results in some cases. The present ideological positioning of parties in Kenya seem to be united in socialist development under globalization and liberalization, but divided between parties' openness to changes at the core of the governance frameworks in the country. While there are no major differences between parties' positions on nation-building

and nationhood, it appears differences exist on the question of centralization or devolution of power. Ultimately in this context, ideology mostly serves the interest of the ruling class, by rationalizing the relations of production and distribution that they prefer from time to time. Party positions change rather rapidly at different times of political competition. It raises the question as to whether an ideology may very well be short-lived. This Handbook will not delve further into that discussion, having raised the major issues in party ideological positioning in Kenya.

# 3. YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA

## Meaning, Enablers and Inhibitors

### 3.1. WHAT DOES YOUTH PARTICIPATION ENTAIL?

The simplest definition of 'participation' is taking part or getting involved in something. However, the term takes a more concrete meaning in political terms, especially in debates about youth participation in politics and political parties. In this context, participation entails giving voice and tangible roles for a definite contribution to political processes and outcomes.

Participation = Voice + Roles

In Kenya, the youth are often put together with other sections of society, notably women, viewed as 'marginalized' from political processes and political institutions. Article 260 of the constitution of Kenya (2010) defines a 'marginalized group' as:

*"a group of people, who, because of laws or practices before, on or after the effective date, were or are disadvantaged by discrimination on one or more of the grounds in Article 27(4)"*

Grounds for discrimination in Article 27(4): race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.

This publication does not build a case for marginalization as the major reason for low levels of youth participation in political parties. It draws from the perspectives expressed by leaders of party youth leagues, clearly pointing to deliberate marginalization of the youth by senior party cadres. The constitution recognizes this situation and provides for affirmative action for youth participation in politics, in article 55, stating that:

The State shall take measures, including affirmative action programmes, to ensure that the youth— have opportunities to associate, be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life;

Despite these provisions of the law, two things stand out in regular political life:

- First, public debates in the country tend to emphasize the marginalization of women, people with disabilities and minority ethnic communities more than the youth. The subject comes up many times in relation to appointments, nominations and election into public offices, including political parties; and
- Second, political parties assign roles to the youth, but do not provide opportunities for youth voices to be heard in decision processes. Below are some of the roles that youth have traditionally taken up within political parties in Kenya. These roles, on their own, do not amount to participation.

### **Traditional Roles of Youth within Political Parties in Kenya**

Involvement in militant party activities, such as providing militant security or neutralizing militant attacks;

Being consulted on 'youth matters' or for 'youth-related' decisions once in a while;

Instrumental engagement in event management and other task accomplishment from time to time;

Offering personal assistance to leading personalities in the party;

Managing online platforms and social media functions of the party, especially if it amounts to only putting out views of other personalities/organs of the party;

Gathering political intelligence for a repository within the party used by decision-makers;

Contributing finances to party.

### 3.2 FUNCTIONS OF PARTY YOUTH LEAGUES

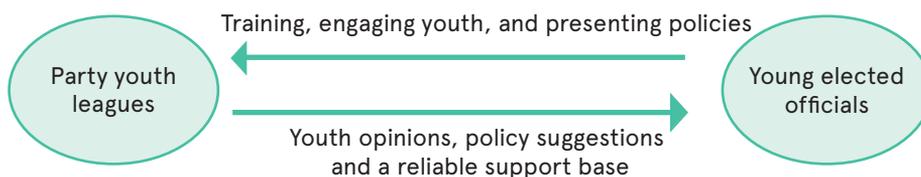
Some of the statements that youth leagues in Kenyan political parties have formulated for their objectives and functions are presented below:

Ensure that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the mother party and to the life of the nation
Champion the general interest and rights of the Kenyan Youth
Support and reinforce the mother party in the attainment of its goals and aspirations
Rally the youth to support and unite behind the party
Take appropriate measures to promote youth participation in political party as outlined in the Political Parties Act
Promote among youth the spirit of international solidarity, peace and friendship with other nations
Promote gender equality in the spheres of life, especially amongst the youth
Promote unity and patriotism among the youth
To ensure that the input of all youth within the party are protected and secured and ensure their full involvement in governance of the party
Realize full participation in all decision making processes with a view of developing mother party and society
Play an important role in the party politics that contributes to the growth of national economy and society

The objectives of youth leagues are not only diverse, but also represent the concerns of the youth with political processes within the parties as well as general socio-political issues at the national level. There is an objective to impact the international scene, but the prime objective is to promote youth involvement in political parties. This is plausible, since that should be the primary aim of party youth leagues. However, it will provide good motivation for the youth in political parties if their objectives clearly stated that they seek influence and impact. That is the essence of having a voice on party matters. Voice that does not have influence cannot possibly lead to impact.

Voice → Influence → Impact

There is a key objective of party youth leagues, implied but not expressly stated in the views above. Party youth leagues act as arenas for leadership training and development. They produce persons who move on to occupy key political offices, especially parliaments. The relationship between party youth leagues and such young leaders is one of mutual support. Young political leaders who come to office through party youth leagues are potential assets for the leagues' objective to influence and impact politics. Similarly, the young leaders rely on the youth leagues as support bases. The details of this relationship may be illustrated thus:



Operationally, objectives on their own do not inspire action and results, leading to impact. Such objectives need to be converted into actionable programmes and strategic work plans that entail activities under specific projects.

Objectives Programmes → Projects → Activities

In 2014, the Inter-Party Youth Forum of Kenya developed a strategic plan to translate their objectives into concrete activities. Tools like these may be developed and utilized at the party level as well. The ANC youth league, for example, has operational manuals for activities at national and sub-national levels. The manuals explain the objectives and structure of the youth league, including portfolios and duties as well as a program of action. Kenyan youth leagues require such levels of institutional development in order to translate objectives to programs, projects and activities.

### 3.3 THE LEGAL ANCHORAGE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) provides the legal frameworks for socio-political and economic processes in the country. Several enabling legislations have been enacted through Acts of Parliament to expound on various constitutional provisions. Article 91 of the constitution lays out the basic requirements for political parties. Among other requirements, the political parties need to:

*"... respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process, including minorities and marginalised groups..."*

The Political Parties Act (2011), as an enabling legislation of Article 91 provides for the conditions for full registration of political parties. One of the conditions is that provisionally registered political parties shall be qualified to be fully registered if, among other things:

*"...the composition of its governing body reflects regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance and representation of minorities and marginalised groups..."*

There is no explicit mention of youth participation in political parties. Even article 55 on affirmative action quoted earlier only addresses youth participation in political spheres in general. However, the law recognizes that marginalized groups have to be particularly brought into the mainstream party processes. Youth in political parties in Kenya remain marginalized. They should find accommodation in express provisions against marginalization. The development of a political case to demonstrate the marginalization of youth in political parties goes beyond the existence or non-existence of a youth league in the party structures. Participation is more than numerical count of representative slots offered for the youth in various party organs. Article 97 (1) of the constitution provides that:

*The National Assembly consists of (among others) twelve members nominated by parliamentary political parties according to their proportion of members of the National Assembly in accordance with Article 90, to represent special interests including the youth, persons with disabilities and workers;*

Representation of special interest groups, including the youth, is also provided for in the county assemblies under Article 177 (1) (c) of the constitution. For the Senate, Article 98(1) (c) provides that there will be two youth representatives in the Senate; one man and one woman.

Instead of taking count of youth leagues and youth representatives in parliament, a deep understanding of the structural context within political parties and their decision processes in the parties as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the youth leagues will bring us close to a full appreciation of how the youth remain marginalized despite a progressive legal framework.

### 3.4 YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA

The political context in which the youth seek to actively participate in political parties' affairs has been described in the preceding sections. It is now necessary to consider the internal context, within political parties, including parties' organs/structure and decision processes.

#### a. Typical Political Party Organs in Kenya

Political parties in Kenya have more or less similar structures, comprising the following organs:

- National Delegates Congress/Convention (NDC)
- National Governing Council (NGC)
- National Executive Committee (NEC)
- National Secretariat (NS)
- Party Parliamentary Group (PPG)
- Caucus of Governors (COG)
- Party Women League (WL)
- **Party Youth League (YL)**
- National Elections Board (NEB)
- Party County Assembly Group (PCAG)
- Branch Executive Committee (BEC)
- Sub-Branch Executive Committee (SBEC)
- Location/Ward Committee

The NDC is the ultimate decision-making organ of major political parties in Kenya. Decisions may be made by other top party organs such as the NGC and NEC, but the most crucial ones have to be ratified at NDC. It is also the NDC that approves party constitution and other key internal procedures for critical exercises, such as elections. Party officials are also elected at the NDC. The NGC and NEC are top decision-making organs that meet more regularly than the NDC. Depending on the weights attached to individual decisions, they may be made at either NDC or NEC.

The distinct feature of the general party structures is that nearly all the political parties, with the exception of TNA, have Youth Leagues as organs of the party. In most of the parties, between one and three representatives of the Youth League sit at higher level party organs, namely the NGC and NEC. Youth participation at the NDC achieved by offering one slot for the youth among the delegate teams at the branches. As such, youth delegates at the NDC, at minimum, will equate the number of party branches. This is still a relatively low number compared to total number of delegates for the parties. Some parties also have youth departments/directorates at the secretariat, headed by directors or coordinators, who are part of the secretariat teams. These structures represent a mixed treatment of youth placement in party organs. On the one hand, political parties wish to give pride of place to youth and youth affairs. On the other hand, the parties are inclined to conventional party structures that only provide demarcated and limiting spaces for the youth. As already shown, there are examples to borrow from, but attention must be paid to the legal and organizational frameworks in which youth participation in political parties is situated.

**b. Decision Processes and Dynamics in Political Parties**

Decision processes and outcomes in political parties may be compared across parties or within same party along the following lines:

Undesirable	Desirable
Decision Processes	
Highly centralized process	Decentralized processes, possibly devolved as the country's political system
Highly informal	Formal, with sense of order, in line with party procedures
Decisions	
Weak in evidence base	Evidence-based, where necessary
Personal rather than collective interest	Collective party and/or national interest
Inconsistent with party own regulations and procedures	Procedural and valid
Short-term	Long-term
Flexible rather than firm	Concrete and firm
Multiple rather than single decisions, hence confusing	Single (where appropriate) and straight forward

For the most part, political party decisions in Kenya are highly informal and centralized. The outcomes, to a large degree, are weak, not only in evidence base, but also on the other assessments of decision outcomes. Decisions that are not procedurally made ignore organs of the party. In most cases, the youth league is overlooked. An informal decision process does not even provide opportunity for review and possible adjustment. Similarly, when parties act in the self-interest of individual leaders, the youth do not find opportunity to insert their interests and agenda in such decision processes. The situation is more complicated when there is no clear single decision reached on an issue or where erratic decisions keep changing. In this environment, youth leagues need certain competencies, not only to withstand the conditions but push for positive change.

### 3.5 S.W.O.T. ANALYSIS OF PARTY YOUTH LEAGUES IN KENYA

The previous sections have conducted political, social and legal dimensions of youth participation in political parties in Kenya. The analysis falls short of a complete PESTEL analysis for the lack of the three other elements. Data on economic, technological and environmental dimensions of youth participation in political parties in Kenya is hardly available. But a SWOT analysis, examining youth leagues as organizational units for youth participation in political parties, is still necessary. Party youth leagues in Kenya differ in many ways, including in their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. There are general strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that cut across the parties.

#### **a. Strengths of Party Youth Leagues in Kenya**

- Substantive membership;
- Significant levels of political awareness among members;
- Recognition and support by mother parties;

#### **b. Weaknesses of Party Youth Leagues in Kenya**

- Poor organizational capacities;
- Poor financing;
- Limited autonomy from mother parties;
- Lack of shared political goals among leaders and members, that is differences in political goals and interests that undermine homogeneity; and
- Lack of leadership mentorship and transition arrangements.

#### **c. Opportunities for Party Youth Leagues**

- High numbers of youth who are potential members of party youth leagues;
- Increasing interest in young people by key political players;
- State funding of political parties;
- Available funding from international development partners;
- The increasing use of information technologies in political processes; and

- Constitutional and legal frameworks that promote inclusive governance and mainstreaming of erstwhile marginalized groups in political processes.

**d. Threats to Party Youth Leagues**

- Short lifespan of political parties;
- Exclusion of youth leagues from key party processes and activities;
- Lack of enthusiasm for youth leadership development among senior party leaders;
- Confusion over delineation of the youth age bracket in political parties;
- An overreliance on party and donors for resources;
- Preoccupation with livelihoods, causing increasing political apathy among youth in Kenya; and
- Depletion of leadership as youth leaders transit to party roles without befitting replacement.

Clearly, there are immense opportunities for party youth leagues in Kenya. Nevertheless, significant weaknesses and threats also exist, mainly related to the overall political context in which youth leagues operate, specifically the relationship between the youth leagues and their mother parties.

### 3.6 LINKS BETWEEN YOUTH LEAGUES AND OTHER PARTY ORGANS

The youth leagues exist as semi-autonomous entities and linked to the mother parties. On paper, Youth leagues enjoy the full status of a legal persona, with perpetual succession and power to acquire, to hold and alienate property. However, the reality is that youth leagues do not enjoy the full implications of this status. They do not, for example, own property in their names. In fact, party youth leagues in Kenya do not even maintain own bank accounts. They receive funds from external sources through mother party bank accounts. When programs of the youth leagues are funded by the mother party, such resources are availed to the youth leagues through main party administrative systems.

With regard to ideology, youth leagues take up the ideological orientations of mother parties, almost without any variations. Indeed, some youth leagues act as publicity machinery to propagate and spread party ideology. Recalling earlier exposures to the ideological orientation of political parties in Kenya, there is little to say about ideological differences between parties. On the other hand, the youth leagues differ in their modes of engagement with the parties. In some cases, the youth leagues develop own programmes and plans, which they present to their mother party for approval and funding. In other cases, the plans and programmes of the youth leagues are integrated into the work plans of the mother parties. Yet other parties do not have the separations between the main party and youth league. In these parties, the youth are involved directly in main party activities as a critical constituency, integrated into party organs and leadership.

Where youth leagues exist as distinct outfits within the political party, they mostly adopt similar structures like the mother party, from top to lowest levels of administration, thus: national congress, national governing council, national executive council, county executive committee, constituency executive committee, ward executive committee, location executive committee up to the sub-location committee. The secretariats of youth leagues are often accommodated within the secretariats of mother parties. Again, the elaborate youth league structures are rarely operational in reality. In most cases, the active structure is the national secretariat of the youth league. Hardly any parties hold national youth conventions on a regular basis. One party youth leader expressed a more adverse view on the relationship between the youth league and mother party:

*“The youth leagues are in the periphery or informally dealt with, without any structures” – Party Youth League leader*

Another youth leader was almost adversarial:

*“To the mother party leaders, if a youthful leader is competent, frustrate him and reduce him to idleness” – Party Youth Leader, Kenya*

This second quote reflects competition between the youthful leaders and senior leaders that may be harmful to party goals. It points to serious limitations of political parties in allocating values governing the relationships between leaders within the parties, particularly across generations. In the final analysis, a strong argument may be made for implementation of the semi-autonomous status of party youth leagues. Although the more paramount question is related to the capacities and value systems within the political parties themselves. Similarly, autonomy will only improve the workings of party youth leagues if it strengthens institutional capacities and value systems of the youth leagues. This relationship works both ways. Well-developed value systems and institutional capacities will also build the potentials for autonomous existence.

(Semi)autonomy ↔ value systems + institutional capacities

As long as this relationship does not work, it will be prudent to ask the question: are party youth leagues really necessary? And, a more exploratory question: what are the other possible forms of youth organization within political parties? The answers lie in the fields of institutional innovation. Until such innovations produce alternative institutional arrangements for youth participation in political parties, youth leagues remain dominant as an institutional choice. Beyond that, there are only nascent attempts to enable inter-party youth interactions in Kenya.

### 3.7 INTER-PARTY YOUTH ENGAGEMENTS

The main forum that exists for inter-party youth engagements in Kenya today is the Inter-Party Youth Forum (IPYF), partly supported by NDI. There are no clearly identifiable drivers of this initiative, in terms of shared interests across youth leagues. But youth leaders highly appreciate its value and the contribution that the forum makes towards improving their own leadership skills and exposures.

*“Political parties youth leagues only engage with each other where there is a third party bringing them together”*

But the problem of value allocation within the parties return even in the case of inter-party youth activities. Rivalry between parties, misapplied in relationship management, leads some political leaders to frown at inter-party youth interactions:

*“If you are seen together, you are called a mole” – Party Youth Leader, Kenya*

That means inter-party youth interactions have intrinsic value. But challenges abound, from negative political perceptions and bad judgement to limited opportunities for such interactions. Inter-party youth engagements can only be initiated and sustained by strong youth leagues at the party level.

## 4. MAKING THE FUTURE

### Political and Organizational Reforms of Political Parties and Youth Leagues

This part of the Handbook follows the diagnosis done in the previous part and offers suggestions towards positive change. The goal is to enhance youth participation in political parties in Kenya. Enhanced youth participation should result in government policies and opposition proposals that are more responsive to the needs of the youth, who are majority of citizens. It should also generate ideas for solutions to problems faced by other sections of society other than the youth. Political parties and the youth leagues within them will have to undergo significant changes in institutional structures and cultures in order to champion this change process.

#### 4.1 INCREASING YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Addressing the challenges to effective youth participation in political parties will require three levels of action:

- Political reforms within political parties;
- Organizational reforms within political parties; and
- Organizational and thematic capacity development of youth leagues.

##### a. Political Reforms within Political Parties

The major political reforms required in political parties, for enhanced youth participation relate to:

**Recognition of the youth** as a critical constituency in party membership. With this recognition, political parties will assign more substantive responsibilities to the youth among their members, beyond field mobilization for party events. The youth have requisite knowledge, skills and experience to make tangible contributions to party affairs.

**Political leadership development** by mentorship and nurturing young leaders within political parties

If parties instituted sustainable processes of developing leaders for the future, from among the young party members, it will be a natural way to integrate the youth into party, not just as active members, but also as current and future leaders.

A structured process of nurturing leaders in political parties for current and future roles

#### **Developing a long-term political agenda for political parties**

Kenyan political parties tend to have very short-term political agendas, clearly articulated around election time but getting blurry soon after the polls, especially if they do not win. Sometimes, even parties that have won elections do not remain consistent in political agenda. It makes long-term political engagement by various groups in the parties, including the youth, very difficult.

Keep the political agenda of political parties consistent over the long-term

#### **Establish broad 'ownership' of political parties, beyond individual founders**

Political parties in Kenya operate more or less as properties of individuals, usually the party leader, who also runs for the presidency on the party ticket. This phenomenon limits opportunities for all forms of participation in party affairs, let alone youth participation

Bring personal rule in political parties to an end

**b. Organizational Reforms within Political Parties**

There are a myriad of reforms necessary for the improvement of functions and performance of political parties in Kenya. The primary concern in this Handbook is with those reforms that may enhance youth participation in political parties. The proposals cover two major areas, namely representative structures and interactive dialogue.

**Representative structures**

- Inclusive party organs
- Specialized units, like youth leagues
- structures than run to the grass roots

**Interactive Dialogue**

- Open and accessible party systems
- Established communication channels and facilities
- Linkages with social and political systems outside party
- Interlinked party organs

**MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION**

### c. Organizational and Thematic Capacity Development of Party Youth Leagues

From the onset, youth leagues within political parties have to be accorded considerable autonomy and legal identities. Some of the party youth leagues in Kenya exist as full legal persona under the law but they do not enjoy the rights to hold and alienate property in reality. All property and finances are held by the mother party. Party youth leagues do not even have own bank accounts. Resource allocations to the youth leagues are administered by the party finance staff. Organizational development of party youth leagues will start by their own proper establishment as institutions relatively semi-autonomous from the mother political parties. Such an institutional base will need to be fortified by the following general capacity development strategies:

#### Organizational Capacity Development of Youth Wings

Recruitment for youth leagues to increase membership numbers;

Incentives for active participation to maintain vibrancy of the youth leagues;

Use of (ICT to popularize youth leagues' agenda and positions within the mother parties and among actors outside the parties

Retention of attention on youth leagues by setting relevant agenda and maintaining communication within and outside the party; and

Staying relevant and strategic by choosing topical issues for youth leagues' contribution. In as much as possible, youth leagues should strive to set the agenda inside mother parties and for the general political establishment. The agenda and goal setting processes within youth leagues need to be elaborate and rigorous; and

Building capacities of youth league members to participate in political and policy debates - training, exposure and leadership development;

## Thematic Capacity Development for Party Youth Leagues

### Political skills

- Campaign planning
- Speech preparation and delivery
- Political mobilization of youth and other sections of population (gathering youth and non-youth majorities to win political contests)
- Debating and persuasion
- Media engagement
- Network building and management

Annex 1 provides leadership development training guidelines for party youth leagues

### Policy and advocacy competencies

- Problem identification and agenda setting;
- Evaluation of alternatives - research and analysis;
- Policy dialogue and interfacing between various actors/interest groups;
- Muddling through the webs of stakeholders to push youth agenda;
- Communication of core policy messages, main arguments to targeted audience using appropriate channels;
- Lobbying for party backing where necessary;
- Alliance building and management and
- Policy review and evaluation

Annex 2 provides a policy development guide with some examples

### Organizational Culture for Youth Leagues

- Conflict resolution and disciplinary mechanisms;
- Strict disciplinary and code of conduct;
- Clear strategic planning and programming;
- Integrity;
- Genuine co-operation and strong group cohesion; and
- Dialogue and communication
- Leadership development
- Engaging and retaining members

Annex 3 provides guidelines for strategic planning for party youth leagues

## 4.2 HOW WILL POSITIVE CHANGE COME ABOUT?

**Constant struggle for party youth leagues:** For the party youth leagues to gain status and recognition that they currently enjoy, it has taken political struggles by the youth. Obstacles to the full development of youth leagues and the attainment of voice by the youth in political parties will have to be progressively brought down. It will take time, good strategies and determination, like some kind of a protracted struggle. However, this struggle is not to be framed in adversity against any groups within the parties. It is a struggle to stay the cause and take the right channels for influence and impact in pursuit of the objectives of the youth;

**Institutional Innovation by political parties:** In responding to the youth drive for meaningful participation and voice, political parties will need to craft institutional frameworks and procedures that afford the youth these opportunities, while at the same time retaining elements of positive conservatism within political parties. It is a balance between a retention of party identities and features at the core of party existence and life, on the one hand, and crafting systems that make such parties work for the interests of youthful members on the other hand; and

**Popular interest in the roles of youth in politics:** Politics tends to turn into tides that propel themselves. Political leaders respond to popular demands in order to gain or retain political support. A national appreciation of the importance of youth participation in politics and political parties will have 'knock-on effect' on processes within parties and the broader context of politics. If laws are to be passed or amended, for example, public pressure or popular discourses will push politicians to do so.

### 4.3 CONCLUSION

This handbook makes several observations and raises points worthy of uptake into regular practice of politics, especially by leaders of party youth leagues in Kenya. Most of the youth are not interested in politics and do not involve themselves in political parties. Yet political parties are major organizations for political life in a democracy. It is a matter of grave concern since the youth constitute 56% of the population that has attained voting age and 42% of registered voters in the last general elections. As a majority of citizens, the youth ought to pay keen attention to political processes and policy choices made by political actors in and out of government. Therefore, it is worthwhile to enquire into the reasons for low levels of youth participation in political parties.

Political parties in Kenya have had a long history of development, with substantive improvements to fairly well developed institutions at present. However, they still have significant weaknesses. One of those weaknesses is the blurry ideological standpoints of the parties. Without clear ideological bases, parties are limited in their capacities for popular mobilization and policy articulation. More importantly, there are no parties openly committed to generational change or youth political participation as a plank of party ideology or political principles. However, the weaknesses of political parties do not provide us with full explanations for low levels of youth participation in these parties.

We need to understand that youth participation means more than just getting involved in roles in the party. It entails the attainment of a 'voice' to have influence and impact. This is lacking in Kenya's political parties. Granted that there has been youth participation within political parties in the country for a long time, but it is the nature of this participation that we need to question. It does not give voice, therefore fails to deliver on influence and impact of the youth in the political sphere. It is still accurate to characterize the youth as marginalized in politics, although public discourses on marginalization pay more attention to women, PWDs and minority ethnic communities than the youth. Apparently, a good legal framework alone is not sufficient to guarantee meaningful youth participation in political parties.

For the youth to participate effectively in political parties, they have to organize themselves into organizational units within those parties dedicated to promoting youth participation. The objectives and functions of such units have to be clearly defined and their strategy, programs and activities well thought-out and articulated. Currently, the common organizational formation is youth leagues within political parties. Institutional innovation may create new organizational forms in the future. What is required now is a clear understanding of the political, social and economic context in which youth leagues operate. A SWOT analysis of the youth leagues is important towards concrete proposals

for organizational reforms. It has been found that youth leagues perceive their functions too narrowly, moreover, they are ill prepared to deliver results within these functions. Nonetheless, immense opportunities exist for the impact of youth to be felt in political parties.

Political party leaders have to change their attitudes towards youth participation in party processes. The parties also need to strengthen the representation and dialogue frameworks, to be inclusive and interactive. At the same time, organizational and capacity development of youth leagues will have to be carried out. In particular, youth leaders have to be imparted with political and managerial skills necessary for their roles. In the end, positive change will be realized when the responsibility to deliver it is not left entirely in the hands of the youth, but shared across critical groups in society, including political parties and the citizenry.

## APPENDIX A: RESOURCE MATERIALS

Ake C. (2000). *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. CODESRIA, Dakar, Senegal.

ARRF and HBF (2010). *Civil Society and Governance in Kenya since 2002: Between Transition and Crisis*. ARRF, Nairobi.

Bujra A & Adejumobi S. (Eds.). *Leadership, Civil Society and Democratization in Africa: Case Studies from Eastern Africa*. DPMF, Addis Ababa.

Bujra A. (Ed.) (2010). *Democratic Transition in Kenya*. DPMF, ACEG, Nairobi.

Bujra A. (Ed.) (2011). *Political Culture, Governance and the State in Africa*. DPMF, Nairobi.

Chege M, Kabeberi N. & Mukele G (2007). *Electoral System and Multipartyism in Kenya*. ARRF, Nairobi.

CODESRIA (2012). *Africa and the Challenges of the 21st Century*. CODESRIA, Dakar, Senegal.

Government of Kenya, 2011. *The Political Parties Act, 2011*.

HBF (2003). *Women in Politics: Challenges of democratic transition in Kenya*. HBF, Nairobi.

Mute, L et al (eds.) (2002). *Building an Open Society: The Politics of Transition in Kenya*. CLARIPRESS, Nairobi.

NDI and KrF (2013). *A guide to political party management in Kenya*. Kristelig Folkeparti. Oslo, Norway.

Rutten, M, Mazrui, A & Grignon, F. (eds.) (2001). *Out for the Count: The 1997 general elections and prospects for democracy in Kenya*. Fountain Publishers, Kampala, Uganda.

*The Africa National Congress (ANC) Youth League Constitution*.

*The ANC Youth League Branch Manual*.

*The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*.

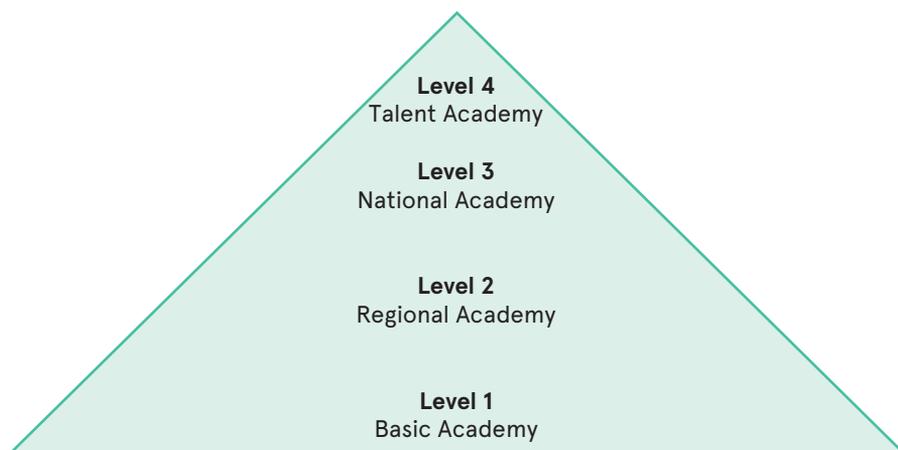
*The Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) Youth League Constitution*.

Wanyande, P, Chweya, L & Omosa, M. (eds.) (2007). *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*. UoN Press, Nairobi.

## APPENDIX B: LEADERSHIP TRAINING WITHIN THE PARTY

One of the main functions of a youth wing is to be an arena for young politicians to develop leadership skills. Very often, youth wings can consist of hundreds or even thousands of members spread throughout the country. If a youth wing is to keep track of new political talent and offer their members adequate training opportunities they will need to take a systematic approach to leadership development in their organization. One such way to do so is by dividing leadership training up into different levels within the organization.

### Pyramid of training



**Level 1 Basic Academy:** An Introduction course for new members, usually within local branches. There is no need to have a limit on the number of participants.

**Level 2 Regional Academy:** Held annually over one weekend for the most active participants at the regional level. This course is more in-depth training on the polices of your youth wing

**Level 3 National Academy:** Held annually for only 10 participants who are highly active at the national level within the youth wing. This course should have a strong focus on capacity building and leadership training.

**Level 4 Talent Academy:** Held annually for 3 individuals. The selection process should be competitive to ensure that participants are of a high level. For one week participants work with members of parliament and other high-level staff in the mother party.

## APPENDIX C: POLICY DEVELOPMENT GUIDE

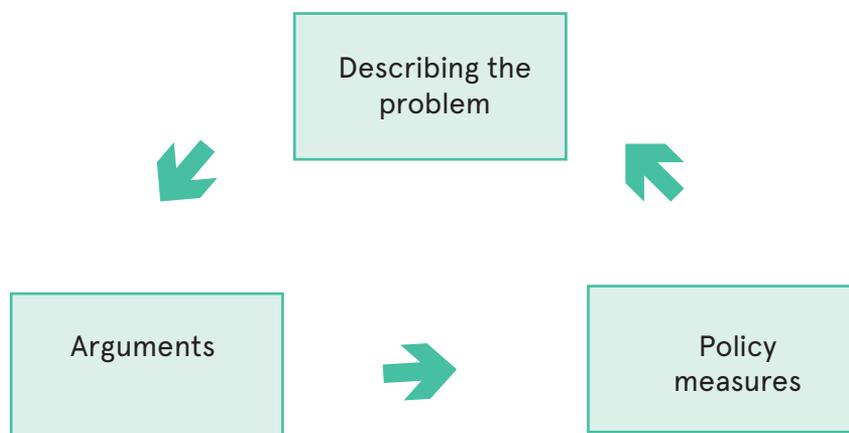
### Who makes policy today?

- Main political parties
- Labour unions
- Interest groups and lobbying firms

### Who should create policy?

*“Young people are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and more fit for new projects than for settled business”*  
- Francis Bacon

### Policy Development Cycle



**a. Describing the problem**

- What is the situation today? For instance: Youth unemployment or security issues
- What is the problem with the status quo? Describing the problem is helpful when: *creating policy or communicating policy*

*Creating policy*

Problem: 1/3 students in drop out of high school

Why? Reason 1      Reason 2      Reason 3

*Communicating policy*

- REMEMBER: You are creating policy in order to solve a problem
- You can only solve a problem if people know there is a problem

**b. Policy Measures**

- How should we solve the problem?
- One must formulate concrete policy
- Clear headline: XX
- Problem: XX
- Solutions: XX

What about ideology? When developing policy, there are questions you must ask yourself:

- Is this a problem that the government should be responsible for solving?
- Is this a problem the government should spend taxpayer's money on?
- Will solving the problem a certain way violate other values that we care about?
- Example: Teaching children to read early vs. the rights parents have to raise their children

**c. Arguments**

- Problem description à Policy suggestions à Arguments
- Understanding, discovering, and developing arguments for particular situations.

### Chart of Communication

POLICY	CORE MESSAGE	MAIN ARGUMENTS	PARTY BACKING	TARGETED AUDIENCE	APPROPRIATE CHANNELS
What is the policy?	What is the main message of the policy?	List up to, but not more than, 3 main arguments.	Where does the policy originate from?	Who would be interested in this policy?  Who do you want to target?	What channels are available to you?  How do you best reach the target audience?

#### How to communicate

- Internal party channels
- Conversations
- Media
- Social media
- Demonstrations

#### Policy Example

**Hypothetical problem:** 20 % of Kenyan students graduate from secondary school without being able to write and read sufficiently.

**Reason 1:** Students play games and use Facebook instead of listening to the teacher

**Solution 1:** Students should use less computers in the classroom

**Solution 2:** Teachers must learn how to use digital tools when teaching their students.

#### The arguments for these solutions are:

- 65 % of students in Kenya report that using computers in the classroom distracts them from learning
- A high portion of teachers report that they do not know how to integrate digital tools in the learning process

## APPENDIX D: STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR YOUTH LEAGUES

Whether planning a new campaign, a youth conference or a new recruitment program, youth wings will undoubtedly need to engage in strategic planning to achieve the goals they make for themselves. This process can be summed up with the following three tasks:

1. **Setting Goals**
2. **Making a strategy**
3. **Implementing the strategy**

### 1. Setting Goals (SMART criteria)

Set **Specific** Goals: Your goal must be clear and well defined. Vague or generalized goals are unhelpful because they do not provide sufficient direction. Remember, you need goals to show you the way. Make it as easy as you can to get where you want to go by defining precisely where you want to end up.

#### Set **Measurable** Goals

Include precise amounts, dates, or other quantities in the measurement of your goals so you can monitor the degree of success. If your goal is simply defined as "To reduce expenses", how will you know when you have been successful? In one month's time if you have seen a 1 percent reduction, or in two years' time when you have a 10 percent reduction? Without a way to measure your success, you miss out on the celebration that comes with knowing you have actually achieved something.

#### Set **Attainable** Goals

Make sure that it is possible to achieve the goals you have set. If you set a goal that you have no hope of achieving, you will only demoralize yourself and erode your confidence.

However, resist the urge to set goals that are too easy. Accomplishing a goal that you didn't have to work hard for can be anticlimactic at best, and can also make you fear setting future goals that carry a risk of non-achievement. By setting realistic yet challenging goals, you hit the balance you need. These are the types of goals that require you to "raise the bar" and they bring the greatest personal satisfaction.

### Set **Relevant** Goals

Goals should be relevant to the direction you want your life and career to take. By keeping goals aligned with this, you will develop the focus you need to get ahead and do what you want. Set widely scattered and inconsistent goals and you will waste your time – and your life – away.

### Set **Time-Bound** Goals

You goals must have a deadline. Again, this means that you know when you can celebrate success. When you are working on a deadline, your sense of urgency increases and achievement will come that much quicker.

## 2. Make a strategy

From an organizational standpoint, strategies will very often be in the form of an action plan. Some things that leaders should consider when developing an action plan are the following:

What tasks need to be done to reach your goals?

Develop a detailed plan for fulfilling the objective

What individuals or groups in the organization will be involved in the implementation of the plan?

Set a deadline for each step

Who will be responsible for what phases of the action plan?

Start with the goal that the youth wing considers the most important

The following is an example of an organizational action plan for a youth wing:

What	When	Who	Status
6000 paying members by December 2015	Autumn	George	Complete
Implement member follow-up, and prizes for those who pay in the 1st quarter 2015	All year	Mathilde	Ongoing
Complete a survey among all new members about follow-up after membership	Spring	Tom	Incomplete
Create member survey 2015	Spring	Mathilde	Incomplete
Appoint a group of 6-8 to work with organizational development	Spring	Evan	Complete
Organization-group will send a report to the central board by November	Autumn	George	Complete
Create contact persons from the central board to leaders in the county	Spring	Susan	Ongoing

### 3. Implementing the strategy

Implementation of organizational strategies can be challenging and will require great commitment on the part of the leadership. Often times we will ask ourselves, “why am I doing this?”, and we should remember to look back on a few important incentives for why we got in this business in the first place. Motivation is often separated between external and internal factors, and below is a list of some of these factors followed by a checklist for leaders to remember when aiming to motivate others.

External Motivation	Internal Motivation
Salary	Autonomy
Promotion	Personal Development
Sanctions (avoid these!)	Social Environments
Force	

Motivators Checklist
Create awareness
Clarify expectations, set goals!
Be clear that actions of individuals are a piece of the greater whole
Ensure that everyone succeeds at something
Show interest for tasks, but more importantly individuals
Highlight events, milestones and results





## MOVING TOWARDS MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION

This handbook is intended to be a resource for all young people engaged in politics in Kenya. It provides an overview of youth participation in political parties in Kenya, and identifies the challenges and opportunities that they face in the political arena. It also suggests steps that youth can take to strengthen their position in political processes in the future. The last section of the handbook provides some useful resources that can be used within youth leagues to strengthen their organizations and sharpen their political skills.

A collaboration between National Democratic Institute and The Young Christian Democrats of Norway