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CENTRE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY  
KENYA

# Youth in Political Party Participation in Kenya

## Baseline Study

### 2015

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# Executive Summary

The TOR require a baseline survey on political parties to establish the levels of the youth's inclusion, their positions, and quality of their performance in political parties. This was to be done through primary and secondary research, collecting both qualitative and quantitative data. This report presents background information on youth and party politics, a review of the legal provisions on inclusivity focusing on the youth, then an analysis of youth participation in relation to various party functions and democratic governance.

The report ends with recommendations for adoption to aid crafting of interventions to improve the participation of young people in political parties. This would improve Kenya's democratic consolidation process.

The youth, aged between 18 and 34, are the largest sector of Kenya's population. While they constitute the majority of the electorate, their representation in formal institutions of the state and government is minimal. Their participation in political parties is also minimal. This calls for measures to be taken to empower them to play a greater role rather than just being used as voting machines during elections. If they are meaningfully and effectively involved in party politics, activities and leadership, the youth would positively impact the quality of governance and government in Kenya.

Some of the key areas of concern in this study include capacity development on a continuous basis to inculcate democratic values, norms and practices, that would change party politics in this country in the long term. More importantly, this would make youth participation in politics more meaningful and effective in a growing democracy such as Kenya. Youth involvement in policy-making and implementation is crucial to democratic development. Youth-driven interventions have been identified as key elements for the success

or better outcomes. The enhancement of the capacity of youth leagues would provide an opportunity for the youth to acquire political and managerial skills that may be helpful at higher leadership positions.

The production of this report involved desk review of relevant data from books, relevant legal documents including the Kenya Constitution 2010, research reports on political participation and party politics. Data was also sourced through interviews with a sample of party leaders and administrative officers (sampled by CMD) and focus group discussions with party youth leaders of the major political parties (list appended). The instruments used are interview guide and FGD guide, which are appended to this report.

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The youth, aged between 18 and 34, are the largest sector of Kenya's population. While they constitute the majority of the electorate, their representation in formal institutions of the state and government is minimal.

The key findings of this study include:

1. The level of compliance with the laws governing the conduct of political parties and the Constitution of Kenya (2010) in relation to Youth participation in party activities, is low. The spirit of the Constitution is to end or at least reduce the marginalization of certain sectors of our society, including the youth. Parties seem to resist quick gains in this realm and thus deliberate efforts must be made to change this situation to improve youth participation in party and national governance. As long as parties are not positively responding to the established legal requirements, and being the basic participatory institutions and democratic governance, change in Kenya's governance practices is likely to take a longer time to take effect.
  2. Parties have Youth Leagues but these are weak and poorly funded with unclear sources of finances and mandates. Efforts must be made to support party Youth leagues, which play a major role in youth empowerment through leadership training and mentorship.
  3. The youth are generally underrepresented in party leadership as well as in representative assemblies. They occupy only a few positions at the top echelons of party hierarchies. Even where they are represented, their voices are not heard because they do not constitute a cohesive group that could command greater influence and demand action from the party patriarchs and matriarchs.
  4. The youth are casualties of undemocratic practices during party nominations. They have fallen under nepotism, patronage, rigging of primaries and issues of to support electoral processes, more money and electoral process, especially to meet the exorbitant nomination fees. Such prohibiting conditions are prevalent in political parties and national electoral processes.
  5. The youth rarely contact party leadership and officials. Only a small percentage participates in intraparty consultations. They are generally apathetic and disinterested in party politics, especially during the inter-election years.
- However, this is the period when parties should consolidate themselves by involving the youth in party activities.
6. The youth participate in policy-making through representatives in the various party organs. However, their key challenge is the lack of knowledge and skills to effectively participate in the policy development and implementation processes and offer effective oversight.
  7. The youth are willing and do support party recruitment. In fact they do recruitment campaigns for acquisition of identity cards, which is the primary document for voter registration and party membership. They have indicated that they visit schools and other institutions to sensitize the youth on acquisition of identity cards and voter registration. Youth participation in the recruitment efforts is faced with challenges such as lack of finances, personalization and ethnicization of parties and lack of interest in politics (apathy and low level of political efficacy) among middle-class youth.
  8. The youth provide minimum support during intraparty campaigns and campaigns for party candidates. However, they participate fairly well in party campaigns during general elections.
  9. The youth conduct research and opinion surveys, coin party slogans, design and distribute posters and other literature, among other activities. Lack of internal democracy hinders implementation of their outputs and meaningful impacts.
  10. Political party loyalty is low among the youth due to patronage, unfair political processes, ethnic orientation and high mortality of Kenya's political parties. For instance, most youth are not registered as members of political parties and do not owe strong allegiance to any because of the belief that a new outfit is on the way and that their party of choice is about to evolve into something else. However, this belief has historical-empirical foundations.

This report came up with a number of recommendations, which are discussed later in this report. Some of the key recommendations include:

1. Political parties should ensure compliance with the law requiring them to end the marginalization of the youth in party, County and National leadership and in the management of party affairs. The thresholds carried in the letter and spirit of the law should be implemented by incorporating greater inclusivity.
2. Affirmative action to increase the number of youth in party leadership and representative assemblies and party leadership.
3. Support strong, autonomous Youth Leagues as incubators of youth leadership in the country.
4. Introduce and enhance youth mentorship programmes for youth leadership development.
5. Political parties and other stakeholders should enhance support for youth capacity building in policy-making and implementation. Issues of monitoring and evaluation to hold governments accountable should be included.
6. Parties should improve on intraparty democracy to encourage youth participation in party politics. Lack of it has led to apathy and disengagement from active political participation. Free and fair elections, transparency and accountability in managing party affairs should be key to reforming intraparty politics.

# Background

Although the Kenyan youth constitute the biggest chunk of voters, they have not succeeded to harness political power within political institutions, including political parties. Most of the youth are relegated to the youth leagues, with limited resources and authority to meaningfully influence party decisions. Most of those who make it into the party lists owe it to their closeness to power brokers and what they are able to deliver to the political party elite. As FES (2010) argues, “strengthening political leverage of the youth is intimately linked to effective reforming of the political parties.”

This is particularly in relation to their institutionalization and ensuring internal party democracy, and strengthening youth leagues and providing access to decision making. It is on this basis that this consultancy and the report are tailored to provide baseline information that could help to craft interventions geared toward improving the status of participation in political parties among Kenyans youth. This would tremendously improve on the current state of governance and leadership in the country.

## 1.1 Objectives of the Consultancy

The general objective is to undertake a baseline survey to establish the levels of the youth’s inclusion, their positions, and the quality of their leadership in political parties. Specifically, this study aims at:

1. Determine the current level of participation of the youth in party politics
2. Establish youth participation in policy-making, party recruitment, campaigns, elections and representation, intraparty democracy, the youth in party leadership and the policy-making role of the youth in political parties.
3. Establish the status and role of youth leagues
4. Reviewing constitutional and legal foundations of the youth participation in political parties and national leadership
5. Make recommendations on what should be done to improve youth participation in political parties

## 1.2 Methodology

The production of this report involved desk review of relevant data from books, journal articles, relevant legal documents including the Kenya Constitution 2010, the Political Parties act 2011 and the Elections Act, and research reports on political participation and party politics. Some quantitative data was obtained from recent surveys by AFROBAROMETER, a professional organization that regularly collects political data in Kenya. Data was also collected through interviews with a sample of party leaders and party administrative officers (sampled by CMD) and a focus group discussion with party youth leaders of the major political parties in Kenya (list appended). The instruments used are interview guide and FGD guide, which are appended to this report. Data was analyzed using excel spreadsheet to establish trends, and create tables and graphs.

# The Youth and Party Politics

Participation requires that the youth be at the centre of decision-making processes. This is critical because in a democratic system of governance, "rule by the people is the underlying and founding principle of democracy" (Kanyinga, 2014:5). Thus, participatory democracy requires "active and meaningful engagement of citizens in public affairs" (ibid.). Participation is critical in a democracy because it builds people's abilities to hold governments or governance institutions to account for their actions.

It also provides opportunities for leadership training and nurturing as well as influencing government policies at all levels. Thus, the quest to promote youth participation in political party affairs would improve their role in governance as well as promote and protect their interests in relation to 'who gets what, when and how'. Thus, all citizens, including the youth, have a right to participate meaningfully in political life through their political parties and youth associations such as youth leagues.

Youth participation in party politics is affected most fundamentally by the nature of the political system which could be open or closed. Closed systems often hinder participation of the youth, leading to agitation for change through activism/revolution as recently witnessed in the Arab world. Kenya has made strides toward democratization and providing opportunities for youth participation although the system has prevented 'institutionalization of political parties'. Political parties have taken an ethnic character and the simple majority required to win an election encourages political entrepreneurs to mobilize on the basis of ethnicity as they compete for power. Most parties "do not espouse a coherent ideology or doctrine on which to articulate interest, mobilize supporters and shape public opinion" (Kanyinga 2014:20). This calls for institutionalization of political parties, whose foundation is anchored in the Constitution and the Political Parties Act 2011 (Ibid). Besides having the law, its enforcement must be effective to realize

the desired outcomes, especially regarding participation of the youth at all levels of party politics. Due to the fact that political parties in Kenya "are institutionally weak" (Kanyinga 2014: 36) effective youth participation in party affairs remains constrained, with negative implications for democratic consolidation in Kenya.

Participation is not restricted to formal governance structures but the informal as well. Studies across the globe indicate that the participation of the youth in formal, institutional political processes is relatively low compared to the older citizens. This poses questions regarding representativeness of political systems and inclusivity (United Nations Youth, 2015). It is important to note that effective participation of the youth in governance depends on the creation of opportunities to engage meaningfully and effectively in policy and decision-making within

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**Table 1.1 Population Trends Among Kenya's Youth (1969-2009)**

Age	1969	1979	1989	1999	2009
15-19	1,104,999	1,741,845	2,378,896	3,403,178	4,169,545
20-24	878,111	1,327,404	1,702,934	2,832,918	3,775,103
25-29	760,839	1,055,712	1,629,761	2,259,503	3,201,226
30-34	580,189	818,079	1,159,424	1,685,922	2,519,506

Source: Youth Fact Book 2010 (p.4)

their parties, especially on matters that directly affect the youth. These are largely contingent upon the political, socioeconomic and cultural context, which define behavior that often disadvantages or even discriminates against the youth as they attempt to participate in party and national politics.

Kenya's Constitution (2010) defines the youth as individuals who have attained the age of eighteen but have not reached the age of thirty-five. The United-Nations, on the other hand defines youth as persons between the age of fifteen and twenty-four. Currently, 78.31% of Kenyans are below 34 years of age (Njonjo, 2010). According to him, the youth are most affected by rural-urban migration and urbanization and that most of the migrants are young adults, who would have just finished high school, though the most affected age group is 25-29, with unemployment as the key push factor. About 61% of Kenya's youth (15-34) live in rural areas and 39% in urban areas.

There are 5.9 Million voters aged 18 to 35, 25% of whom come from the Rift-valley, 15% from Central, 14% from Eastern, 13% from Nairobi , another 13% from Nyanza. Western, Coast and North Eastern share the rest. The 18-25 age cohort represents 43% of the youth vote, 26-30 year olds constitute 29%, while 31-35 year olds

account for 28% (Njonjo 2010:155). Only 10%, 8%, and 2% of the youth in these categories respectively vote. The table above shows youth population growth since 1969.

The youth are traditionally active politically in learning institutions but often disinterested in "political leadership and political institutions and are excluded from policy development" (UN Youth). This is more prevalent in a society like ours, which is patriarchal, often privileging age as synonymous with wisdom and leadership. According to the United Nations, there is evidence that participation of the youth in formal, institutional political processes is relatively low compared to older citizens the world over. This, poses challenges to democratic ethos of representativeness of the political systems that exclude the from participation and representation (UN Youth, 2015). The youth are not adequately represented in party leadership and in parliaments.

What is required is active and meaningful participation of the youth in societal and democratic activities and processes, that might enhance the culture of institutional participation. Youth organizations should be provided with opportunities, capacities, and benefit from the existing environmental context and relevant programmes and policies.

According to a UN survey in August 2012, “the main challenges for the youth were limited opportunities for effective participation in decision-making processes”. This makes the youth feel marginalized and excluded in their societies and communities. Thus, there is need for participatory structures and trust in institutions and the wider society, particularly political parties, to enhance youth participation.

To understand youth participation in political parties, our analysis should be comprehensive, focusing on “political participation and apathy, trust in institutions, support for democracy, and perception of governance and corruption among young people” (UN Youth, 2015: 6). One way of enhancing youth participation is to build their skills and capacities to participate actively in democratic practices in local, county and national levels through leadership training. Also, parties could support young people’s inclusion in decision-making at all party leadership levels., support inclusion of young people and youth-led organizations in party activities.

Effective participation in party activities would require networking among the youth. It has been revealed through various studies that youth who have more social networks are more likely to participate in a variety of social and political activities. “Political diversity in ones’ social network has the strongest positive effect on political participation, but ethno-cultural diversity also matters.” (Quintelier, Stolle and Harell, 2012:868). Participation in informal social networks and voluntary associations correlates with political mobilization and participation. Associations foster civic skills and encourage a civic spirit of voluntarism, sense of political efficacy, as well as generalized trust and other civic attitudes (Ibid:p.869). “Participation in formal associations also expands people’s informal social networks. As a result, the youth are more likely to be exposed to information about society and politics and to be the target of political recruitment” (Putnam, 200:338; Teorell 2003). Similarly, the more people discuss

Participation in informal social networks and voluntary associations correlates with political mobilization and participation. Associations foster civic skills and encourage a civic spirit of voluntarism, sense of political efficacy, as well as generalized trust and other civic attitudes (Ibid:p.869).

politics with their acquaintances and friends in informal networks, the more likely they are to participate in politics (Quintelier, Stolle and Harell, 2012: 869).

Some explanations of lower levels of political participation among the youth could emanate from the so called “life-cycle effect” (Ulter, 2011:41). This implies that younger people have not yet established themselves in a community including a career and family ties and thus do not have much at stake in public policy making (Ulter, 2011:41). However, scholars of political participation and voting behavior such as Janoski, Alford, Hicks and Schwartz (2005) offer suggestions on possible solutions to low levels of political participation among the youth: training and socialization, and altering aspects of the political process that may discourage political participation. This may include intra-party democracy, its practice or lack of it, durability of parties and perceptions of political parties, the effectiveness of parties in the allocation of values to society, youth’s perception of their political efficacy, among others. Ball (2005:259) argues that positive experience with community-based collaborations leads to greater political engagement. He further argues that the purpose is “not to politicize community engagement but to do just the opposite, to ‘communitize’

political behavior" (Ball 2005:47). He concludes that a "positive relationship can occur between the development of a sense of political efficacy and civic and political engagement".

One needs to ask the question: why is there a decline in youth participation in political parties across the world? Is the problem with the youth or with the political institutions? Examining European youth participation in politics, Berg (2005) argues that youth participation is conditioned by "the extent for which democratic institutions are open to the concerns, interests and involvement of young people, whose participation will largely depend on whether or not they see their voice sufficiently reflected in the political process and its outcomes" (Berg, 2005:7). He further argues that this is a two-way street. Democratic practice places general and specific demands both on the institutions of governance and the youth. Thus, the youth should "accept, comprehend and develop democratic institutions through their participation even if issues, processes and outcomes are not always to their liking and of immediate interest" (Berg

2005:7/8). Thus, both the political parties and the youth have responsibilities to nurture political participation in our policy.

Political participation plays an important role in shaping our institutions and embedding and legitimizing them socially. Effective engagement of the youth in political party activities would help shape democratic practice within parties. The creation and/or strengthening of youth leagues, would either positively or negatively shape parties and the youth, depending on whether or not they embrace democracy. Thus, parties as socialization agents should help promote youth participation. For this reason, every party should have a national character as prescribed by Kenyan law; have a democratically elected governing body; abide by the democratic principles of good governance, promote the practice of democracy through regular, fair and free elections within the party; respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process, including minorities and marginalized groups.

# Legal Benchmarks and Youth Participation in Party Politics

The law of this land underscores the fact that youth participation in party politics is one of the pillars of our democracy. First and foremost, Kenya's Constitution places great significance on the formation, management and organization of political parties as institutions of governance (Ongoya, p. 74).

Article 91 of the Constitution spells out expectations regarding political parties. The expectations that apply to the participation of the citizenry, including the youth include the following:

1. Every political party must have a national character as prescribed by and act of Parliament.
2. Every political party must have a democratically elected governing body.
3. Every political party must abide by the democratic principles of good governance, promote and practice democracy through regular, fair and free elections within the party.
4. Every political party must respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process including minorities and marginalized groups.
5. Every political party must respect and promote rights and fundamental freedoms and gender equality and equity.

The Constitution anticipates that party discipline and due diligence would be maintained regarding the expectations carried in the clauses above, among other constitutional and legal requirements. This regulatory regime should be enforceable by the office of the Registrar of political parties to enhance youth participation in party politics.

Similarly, the Political Parties Act 2011 sets out minimum requirements for political parties in relation to rights and modes of youth participation in party politics, including

resource-sharing. Power is considered the greatest resource in politics because it determines who gets what, when and how. The youth, therefore, must access positions of power to influence party policies and decisions, as anticipated by the framers of the Constitution. The following provisions declare these intentions:

1. The composition of the party's governing body must reflect the regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance and representation of minorities and marginalized groups;
2. Not more than two-thirds of members of the party's governing body should be of the same gender. This should also apply to the youth as a special category that requires effective representation;
3. The party has to submit a list of names, addresses and identification particulars of all its members, the location and addresses of its head offices and its branch offices. Through such data one could determine how many party members are youth and what explains such levels of participation.

The youth could be categorized as marginalized in representation in the political processes in the country, especially in leadership positions, including such positions in political parties. The Kenya Constitution, Article 260 defines the marginalized as a group of people who, because of laws or practices before, on or after the effective date (when the constitution came into force) were disadvantaged by discrimination on one or more of the following grounds: race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, color, age, disability, religion,

conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth. In this context, therefore, the youth are a marginalized group on the basis of age and/or perhaps, in some cultural settings, marital status.

Article 100 of the Constitution requires Parliament to enact legislation to promote representation in parliament or the following groups: women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities, and marginalized communities. The real challenge for our political system is in the implementation of these provisions by political institutions and leaders who are overly egoistic, with little proclivity toward the national interest as defined by the supreme law.

The Constitutional provisions stated in Article 91 are operationalized and amplified in Article 7 (2) of the Political Parties Act 2011. They are made mandatory requirements for party registration. The law requires that those occupying positions in the governing body should be people of integrity as stipulated in Chapter six of the Kenya Constitution 2010. Article 21(1) states the conditions for deregistration of a political party based on various offences including violation of rights to free and fair participation, by all members including the youth in the nomination process, that is if the party "does not promote free and fair nomination of candidates" (Article 21(1)(b)).

Schedule one of the Political Parties Act 2011 requires political parties to adhere to the following in a bid to grow an effective democracy:

1. Promote policy alternatives responding to the interests, concerns and needs of the citizens of Kenya;
2. Respect and uphold the democratic process as they compete for political power so as to implement their policies;
3. Promote consensus building in policy decision-making on issues of national importance;
4. Respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process including youth, minorities and marginalized groups;
5. Be tolerant and inclusive in all their political activities;
6. Respect, uphold and defend the Constitution of Kenya;
7. Respect, uphold and defend their respective political party constitutions, political party election rules, political party nomination rules and any other political party rules and regulations developed and agreed upon in accordance with this code of conduct;
8. Respect, uphold and promote human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness and non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized;
9. Respect, uphold and promote human rights and the rule of law;
10. Respect, uphold and promote democratic values and principles, performing inclusive participation of party members and accountable representation in governance for the development of the country;
11. Respect, uphold and promote good governance, integrity, respect, tolerance, transparency and accountability;
12. Respect, uphold and promote democratic practices through regular, free, fair and credible elections within the political party and among others have a democratically elected governing body and political party organs;
13. Respect, uphold and promote democratic practice through free, fair and credible political party nominations.

The Second Schedule of the Act spells out the requirements for setting up a governing body. Political parties are expected, among others, to determine eligibility criteria for election to the governing body; and the procedure for the election of members of the governing body

and other political party organs, including committees. It is at this point that political parties could decide on criteria that is inclusive of the youth and others, on affirmative basis.

The Act also requires parties to prepare policy documents, which would also contribute to the democratization process in the sense of adopting a participatory approach as anticipated by the framers of the Kenya Constitution 2010. Section 16 requires parties to develop policy documents on which the party will perform, including the manner and procedures in which they will be developed, approved and implemented. According to Section 17, parties should produce and regularly use policy reporting documents. Political parties should indicate the manner and procedures through which they will be developed, approved and publicized. This is expected to be embedded in democratic practice, especially involvement of party members in the process, including the youth.

According to Section 19, party nomination rules and regulations should be established, particularly with regard to elections in the party and rules governing the preparation of party lists. The question is how inclusive is the process of rule creation and with what outcomes? Are the youth included in the party lists? The Third Schedule dwells on coalition building. Some of the critical issues to be raised are: are the youth included in the crafting of criteria or formula for sharing positions in the coalition arrangements, roles and responsibilities within the coalition?

The entry point for youth involvement, according to the Elections Act, are nomination of party candidates and nomination of

party list members. Nomination of party list members is stipulated in Articles 97(1) and 98(1)(b), (c) and (d) and Article 177(1) (a), (b) and (c) of the Constitution which provide the basis for proportional representation and in accordance with Article 90 of the Constitution. A political party is required to present party lists for National Assembly, Senate, and County Assemblies to the IEBC. The lists should be submitted in order of priority and should be in accordance with the Constitution and nomination rules of the political party concerned. According to the Act, party lists should be sensitive and adhere to constitutional requirements, representing special interests such as those of the youth, workers, persons with disability, among others. The candidates shall contain alternates between male and female in the priority in which they are listed.

Article 36 (3) stipulates that party lists submitted by political parties "shall prioritize a person with disability, the youth and any other candidates representing a marginalized group." The IEBC would, within thirty days after declaration of elections results designate, from each qualifying list, the party representatives on the basis of proportional representation. The allocation would be proportional to the number of seats won by the party in accordance with the relevant Constitutional provisions. The concern for the baseline survey is to find out what the current practice is, in order to decide on what should be done to improve youth participation in party politics.

# Current Status of Youth Participation in Political Parties

## 4.1 Background to current state of affairs

Since independence, the youth have been relegated to lower levels of political influence in political parties and never featuring at key decision-making positions of parties. Only elite members of the youth were able to penetrate the party system and managed to propel themselves to national leadership by way of association. For instance, the KANU youth wing operated as "security organ for the party, working alongside the formal state security" (Kanyinga and Njoka, 2002:104). The party youth wing did not have access to policy or decision-making within the party or did its members have any right to access political power and leadership.

Youth for KANU (YK '92), for instance, was formed to drum up support for President Moi and KANU during the first multiparty elections in Kenya and this organization was disbanded immediately after the elections, which KANU won. In the subsequent elections, held in December 1997, another youth outfit was created named Jeshi la Mzee, mainly rooted in the 'city lumpen' (Kanyinga and Njoka, 2002:104). This organization deployed violence against opposition politicians and supported city politicians that were against democratic change. These organizations were formed to execute ethno-political agenda. Opposition youth also organized themselves to mobilize support for change, but did not have the fiscal muscle comparable to that of YK '92, which was bankrolled by the state. However, the opposition youth became the most reliable medium of communication and faced off with Jeshi la Mzee. "Their mobility, literacy, militancy, idleness and ability to withstand the 'terror gang' helped in this regard, but the party competition deeply ethnicized the youth and divided them along class and issue lines" (Kanyinga and Njoka, 2002:106).

Youth leagues exist in most political parties but they are yet to be fully institutionalized and strengthened to efficiently play their role in party affairs. Most party leagues are ad hoc (Kanyadudi,2010:16). Youth leagues also suffer from the mortality rate of political parties in Kenya. For instance, when a party dies or withers away, the youth organization also dies or withers. When PNU and KANU leaders formed the TNA, the youth leagues in those parties suffered a great deal. Without internal democracy and with the sanctity of money and ethnicity in our politics, youth organization would continue to be moribund. During party nominations, the youth are often "edged out by rich politicians, who use handouts and often purchase nomination papers before the actual party vote" (Kanyadudi,2010:17). Such undemocratic acts and inadequate political socialization and lack of capacity have led to apathy and low level of participation in party politics.

In this regard, there is a shrinking membership in political parties which could be an indicator of the decline of traditional involvement of the youth in politics. To what extent are democratic institutions open to the concerns, interests and involvement of the youth? A 2012 survey from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) shows that the youth is most disengaged from electoral processes and the most critical and suspicious of political institutions.

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In the subsequent elections, held in December 1997, another youth outfit was created named Jeshi la Mzee, mainly rooted in the 'city lumpen' (Kanyinga and Njoka, 2002:104).

"Youth disengagement from traditional party politics does not, however, mean that young people do not care deeply about social and economic issues" (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013). According to AfroBarometer, 2011 study, African youth's levels of political party affiliation are lower than the rest of the world. The African youth are disproportionately burdened by unemployment and underemployment, yet they constitute the largest bloc of voters.

#### 4.2 Post 2013 Elections Status

After the 2013 national elections, youth participation in politics and party politics in particular, has not been encouraging. Most youth disengaged from politics after the elections due to various constraints

discussed later in the section. According to the AFROBAROMETER Kenya survey 2013, 45% of the youth are not interested in politics, while 28% are somewhat interested and only 26% are interested. Various reasons could account for these statistics, which include political apathy and low political efficacy among the youth. This is supported by the data in table 1.2 below where about 86% of the youth neither worked for a candidate nor a political party during the national elections. About 54% of the youth are interested in politics. However, about 60% of the youth voted in the last general elections, although 55.3% did not attend campaign meetings or rallies. The number of the youth who voted is much lower than those who are 35 years and above (see tables 1.3 and 1.5 below).

**Table 1.2: Interest of Youth in Public Affairs**

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 yrs	35 - 49 yrs	50 - 64 yrs	Above 65 yrs	
Not at all interested	20.6%	26.1%	23.0%	20.2%	22.4%
Not very interested	24.5%	20.6%	20.4%	21.8%	22.8%
Somewhat interested	27.9%	25.3%	19.6%	17.7%	25.7%
Very interested	25.9%	27.6%	36.7%	39.5%	28.3%
Don't know	1.1%	.4%	.4%	.8%	.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Table 1.3: Last National Elections: Worked for Candidate or Political Party**

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 yrs	35 - 49 yrs	50 - 64 yrs	Above 65 yrs	
No	86.4%	85.4%	80.4%	89.5%	85.6%
Yes	13.2%	14.6%	19.6%	10.5%	14.2%
Don't know	.3%				.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Figure 1.1: Last National Elections: Worked for Candidate or Political Party

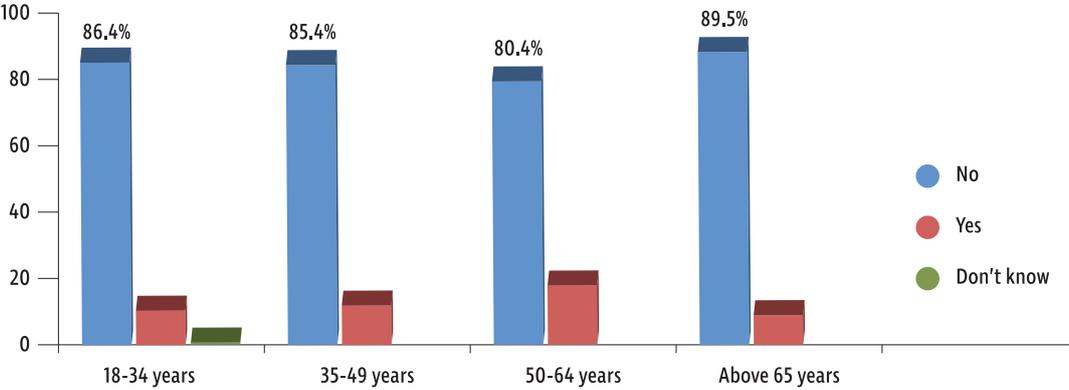


Figure 1.1 above graphically illustrates the lack of interest among the youth and even the general population to work for the party or party candidates. There seems to be a

disconnect between the youth and party politics. This could be aggravated by apathy and lack of internal party democracy.



About 54% of the youth are interested in politics. However, about 60% of the youth voted in the last general elections, although 55.3% did not attend campaign meetings or rallies. The number of the youth who voted is much lower than those who are 35 years and above



Table 1.4: Voting in the most Recent National Elections

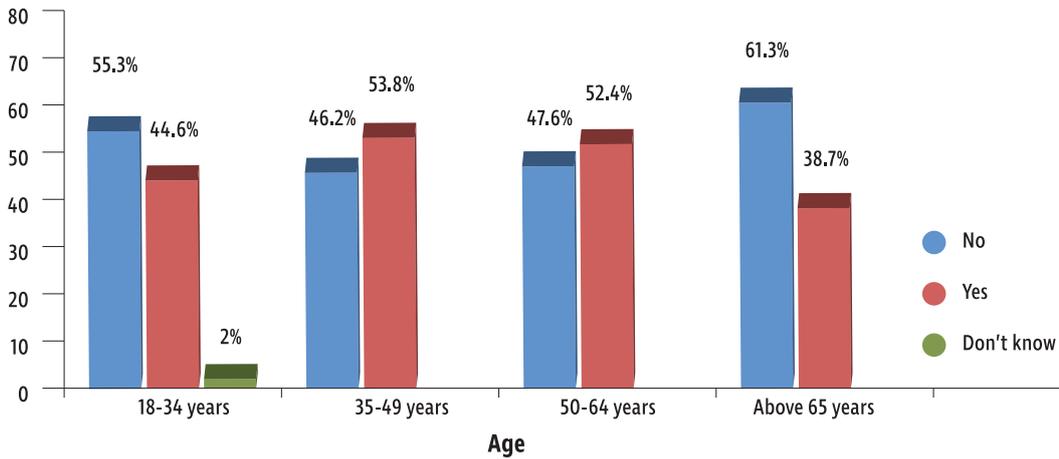
	Age				Total
	18 - 34 yrs	35 - 49 yrs	50 - 64 yrs	Above 65 yrs	
You were not registered to vote	8.6%	2.5%	1.8%		5.6%
You voted in the elections	60.6%	87.0%	90.4%	94.4%	73.3%
You decided not to vote	3.8%	3.7%	2.6%	3.2%	3.6%
You could not find the polling station	.7%	.9%	.4%	.8%	.7%
You were prevented from voting	.8%	1.5%	.4%		.9%
You did not have time to vote	2.4%	1.9%	.4%		1.9%
You did not vote as your name not in the register	.3%	.3%	.4%	.8%	.3%
Did not vote for some other reason	4.4%	2.1%	3.3%	.8%	3.4%
You were too young to vote	18.5%	.1%	.4%		10.2%
Don't know / Can't remember	.1%				.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 1.5: Last national elections: Attended a campaign meeting or rally

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 yrs	35 - 49 yrs	50 - 64 yrs	Above 65 yrs	
No	55.3%	46.2%	47.6%	61.3%	52.1%
Yes	44.6%	53.8%	52.4%	38.7%	47.8%
Don't know	.2%				.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Poor attendance of campaign meetings could be perhaps counteracted using online or social media political communication. It could be lack of political efficacy and the youth feeling that their participation is inconsequential that might explain the low participation rates.

**Figure 1.2: Last national elections: Attended a campaign meeting or rally**



**Table 1.6: Last national election: persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party**

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 yrs	35 - 49 yrs	50 - 64 yrs	Above 65 yrs	
No	71.3%	66.3%	64.4%	62.1%	68.6%
Yes	28.4%	33.6%	35.2%	37.9%	31.1%
Don't know	.3%	.1%	.4%		.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 1.6 shows that the youth are apathetic in party politics and elections. Active and effective participation will contribute positively to the democratization of our parties and overall political gain for our country. Only 28% of the youth participated in campaigns and whipping others to vote while 71% did not attempt to persuade others to vote for a candidate or party.

**Table 1.7: Last National Elections: Worked for a Candidate or Party**

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 years	35 - 49 years	50 - 64 years	Above 65 years	
No	86.4%	85.4%	80.4%	89.5%	85.6%
Yes	13.2%	14.6%	19.6%	10.5%	14.2%
Don't know	.3%				.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The data in table 1.7 above indicate a low support for party candidates by the youth in the last national elections. Only 13% of them worked for the candidate or party. The lack of political information regarding the role of parties and party members in the political process might explain this state of affairs. Socialization and sensitization of the youth on political parties and their roles in a democracy could lead to improvement of youth support and participation.

**Table 1.8 Contacted Political Party Official**

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 years	35 - 49 years	50 - 64 years	Above 65 years	
Never	92.5%	88.5%	87.0%	87.1%	90.5%
Only once	3.5%	5.2%	4.5%	4.8%	4.2%
A few times	3.1%	4.4%	5.2%	5.6%	3.8%
Often	.9%	1.8%	3.3%	2.4%	1.5%
Don't know		.1%			.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

According to the data in the table 1.8 above, 92.5% of youth have never contacted a political party official and only 7.5% have. This implies that party officials have lost touch with the youth, a situation that must be corrected. Ages 35 and above have not done better either. Party leaders must find ways of ensuring that they reconnect with their membership.

Figure 1.3 Contacted Political Party Official

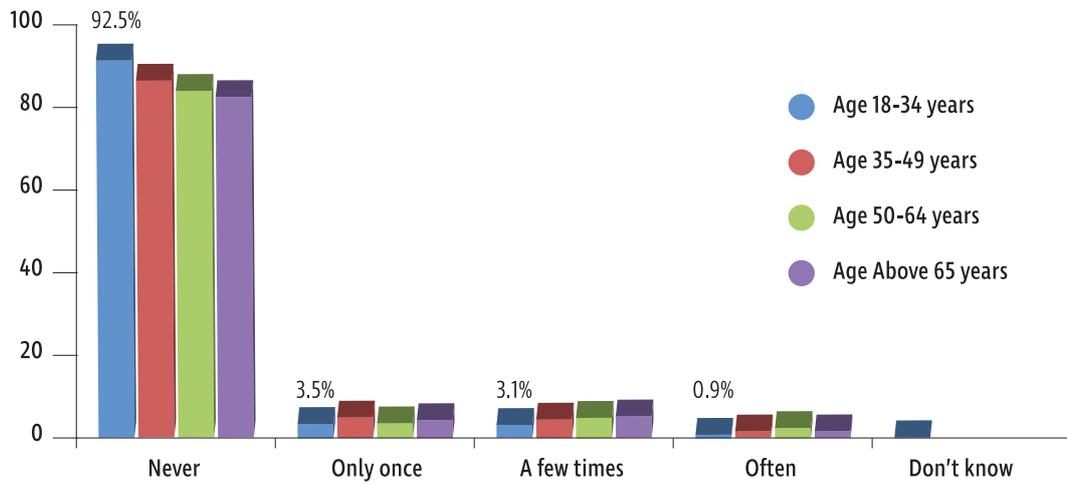


Table 1.9 Close to a political party

	Age				Total
	18 - 34 years	35 - 49 years	50 - 64 years	Above 65 years	
No, not close to any party	38.6%	37.3%	34.6%	36.3%	37.6%
Yes, feels close to a party	58.6%	57.6%	60.6%	58.9%	58.6%
Refused to answer	1.4%	2.4%	3.0%	1.6%	1.9%
Don't know	1.5%	2.7%	1.9%	3.2%	1.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

As demonstrated in table 1.9 above, there is hope that Kenya would utilize this window of opportunity now that 60% of the youth have declared that they feel being close to a political party. However, about 40% of youth have a contrary opinion. Greater involvement of the membership in party affairs might help bring about change of attitude and improved support for political parties.

# Youth Participation in Specific Party roles

## 5.1 Recruitment function

One of the key functions of political parties is recruitment of members into party ranks and County and national leadership. Kenya's political parties have varied proportions of members that are youth compared to the older population. The average youth membership in political parties in Kenya is approximately 36% as shown in table 1.10 below.

**Table 1.10 Percentage youth membership in political parties in Kenya**

Political Party	Percentage in Party Membership
KANU	10
NARC-Kenya	17
CCU	15
NARC	20
UDF	60
FORD-Kenya	40
Safina	40
URP	35
PPK	55
TNA	50
ODM	61

Source: FGD with youth leaders of political parties 2015

The youth play various roles in political parties in relation to recruitment of members. They mobilize people to join their respective parties and actively engage in popularizing the parties through sensitization campaigns and advertizing party activities, conduct recruitment drives, civic and political education and member registration. It emerged from the FGD with party youth leaders that the youth also visit schools and other institutions of higher learning to mobilize for acquisition of national identity cards. This is an important activity as most youths were disenfranchised during elections for lack of identity cards, which is a basic requirement to register as a voter and participate in elections. However, the youth are more involved in electoral campaigns and less

committed to political parties and enrolment as members.

The level of youth participation in party membership recruitment, among other activities, is influenced by various factors. The youth lack resources in terms of money, power and influence, there is personalization of political parties, ethnicity and ethnic orientation of most political parties, lack of interest in party politics by middle-class youth, lack of awareness of party membership law, weak youth leagues and lack of programmes to keep the youth in political parties, buying support rather than developing party ideologies and party loyalty, lack of commitment to recruitment of members during inter-election

years and having recruitment close to elections. These kill the morale and commitment of the youth. Some of the party leaders interviewed in this study indicated that the youth are reluctant to commit themselves to political parties because they expect instant results during general elections rather than gradually building democratic institutions such as political parties, which currently have a high mortality rate in Kenya. There are also internal party structural constraints that favor the more elderly in party politics.

Party loyalty is another important element of democratic governance which could be cultivated to counteract party hopping, which is one of the major challenges to party politics in Kenya. It is worth noting that political party loyalty is affected by the ethnic orientation of political parties, campaign financing and money in general, 'political waves' or euphoria, among other factors. Party members switch loyalties due perceived or real unfairness and discrimination of party leaders during nominations, and this sends the wrong messages to the youth and the entire electorate regarding loyalty and commitment to political parties. Party ideologies, which should be the bedrock of party loyalty, are not fully embraced by political parties, and thus undermine party loyalty. Party loyalty is often mistaken to mean loyalty to the party leader. Likewise, loyalty and commitment to the Youth League, for instance, is also assumed to mean loyalty and commitment to the protection of the party leaders as opposed to the political party and its ideals. Thus, what exists in most cases is personalized loyalty rather than loyalty to the party. The youth argue that top leaders present bad examples of party loyalty, parties are weak ideologically and that the Office of the Registrar of Political is also weak and malfunctional in enforcing the political parties laws.

In order to improve youth membership in political parties some steps could be taken, as suggested by party youth leaders. One of the options is intensification of sensitization campaigns among the youth on the importance of party membership and maintenance of party

loyalty. Equally important is political education to the youth at even earlier years of life. This should be coupled with political socialization, especially regarding parties, participation, leadership and elections, through the various media including schools, religious organizations and family. Enhancing youth programmes in parties and revamping youth leagues to anchor youth participation and loyalty is necessary. Improvement of internal party democracy would encourage the youth to join party ranks which would make ascendance to political party leadership predictable, meritocratic and popularly determined.

## 5.2 Youth Participation in Political Campaigns

The youth participate fairly well in party and national elections campaigns. They help in designing campaign posters and slogans, participate in research and collection of opinions on important political issues to support the party and its candidates. They control distribution of campaign literature and take part in caravans, which are critical components of elections in Kenya today. However, Kenyan youth argue that the greatest challenge to their efforts is lack of knowledge regarding available leadership opportunities and positions during party and national elections. Equally important is the lack of incentives for the youth to participate when the electoral atmosphere is highly charged ethnically and littered with poor leadership and sustained undemocratic behavior at party and national levels.

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Party loyalty is another important element of democratic governance which could be cultivated to counteract party hopping, which is one of the major challenges to party politics in Kenya.

### 5.3 Elections and Representation

The youth face various challenges toward effective participation in elections and the political party's representation function, according to youth leaders who participated in a FGD with the consultant in February 2015. They asserted that those interested in vying for elective positions face various bottlenecks. One of these is lack of finances. Campaigns are so expensive and this disadvantages the youth as most of them are unemployed or have just entered gainful employment and are unable to raise required fees. Control on campaign financing and spending have not been enforced in Kenya, although legislation is in place. This breeds unfair competition between the youth and older members of the body politique. The problem of intimidation and violence during campaigns scares off most young people from presenting themselves for election. The violence is often among the youth themselves, who have divergent opinions or supporting different candidates. There is also culturally-based prejudices against young women politicians. In most communities such women would be required to get married before they could vie. It is considered a taboo to stand for election while in their parents' homes. The youth likewise face discrimination on the basis of age.

The party youth leaders suggested some solutions to these challenges. These include lowering nomination fees for the youth due to financial challenges; affirmative action by setting aside positions for the youth as envisaged in the constitution; sustained political education focusing on the youth and party politics; ensuring compliance with legislation on controlling campaign spending through popular initiatives for successful implementation; institutions such as CMD to make follow-ups after elections regarding youth performance and provide support in subsequent elections by providing posters, organizational planning and logistics, etc; leadership training and nurturing of talent at an early age, perhaps through formal institutions such as schools and informal

means; capacity building for elected and nominated youth leaders; initiatives and campaigns against electoral violence must be put in place; security agencies to enforce the law to eradicate impunity and threats to violence; and the youth to evolve alternative platforms for sharing ideas and information with the electorate rather than using the traditional spaces and methods such as rallies.

### 5.4 Youth and Intra-Party Democracy

The youth play a fundamental role in enhancing intra-party democracy. They contribute ideas through various party organs in which they have representation. A few parties have mainstreamed youth representation from the ward to the national level. For example, in Ford-K and ODM, out of five party representatives at the ward level one is a youth. The youth are represented and influence decisions touching on their interests and those of the entire party membership at party headquarters. There is youth representation at the ward, constituency, county and national levels. However, they rarely demand accountability from their party leaders through grassroots party structures, due to weak accountability mechanisms within parties as well resistance of political party leaders to be held to account. Likewise, intra-party democracy faces various constraints. There are numerous claims of rigging party primaries, bribery, nepotism and discrimination, direct nominations in favor of unpopular candidates, high nomination fees

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The leaders of party Youth Leagues sit in party National Executive Council. Through the youth leagues, the youth receive leadership training, skills in political mobilization, campaign management, among others.

which disenfranchises the youth, among others. Party Elections Boards often handle such concerns through various means, including hearing petitions, reversing nominations that are blatantly fraudulent, among others. Furthermore, political parties are planning to sensitize the youth about the party policies and activities, electoral and other related laws (such as the Elections Act, Political Parties Act, electoral rules and procedures) to encourage them vie in 2017. Most of them have promised ensuring that there is no discrimination against youth, reduction of nomination fees for youth by 50% as an affirmative action, and establishing conflict resolution and mitigation committees and make them work.

### 5.5 Youth Leagues and Youth Participation

It is also important to note that most political parties in Kenya have active Youth Leagues, with membership and leadership from grassroots to the national level. The leaders of party Youth Leagues sit in party National Executive Council. Through the youth leagues, the youth receive leadership training, skills in political mobilization, campaign management, policy making, among others.

Youth Leagues, being a key structure for party youth empowerment, require sufficient funding to run their affairs effectively. Most parliamentary parties have access to public funding and this is currently being shared with the Youth Leagues. For instance, the ODM reported that 17.5% of public funding for the party goes to the Youth League. The ODM Youth League has offices at the national level. Ford-K Youth League receives between 10% and 20% of public funding from the mother party. The URP receives approximately 16%, while UDF reported that the youth league receives no funding from the mother party and that the League is "surviving by the grace of God." However, the chairman of the UDF Youth League sits in the party's dispute resolution tribunal, while for ODM all party Committees and organs have Youth League representation. In spite of these the youth

face various challenges relating to effective participation in party governance. Ethnic discrimination; nepotism and favoritism; personalization of party decisions; limited or no consultation between party leadership and party membership on salient national issues; low levels of political awareness among members, are the key bottlenecks.

The party youths suggest some remedies to these challenges. They argue that the formation of strong Youth Leagues, elected from the grassroots, would boost youth effectiveness in supporting intra-party democracy and holding party leaders to account. There should be public sensitization among the youth regarding political party law and governance structures for effective participation in party elections. There should be a structured engagement between party youth and party leaders; capacity build the youth on laws and policies that affect them to improve articulation of their interests within parties and nationally.

The recommendations made by the Kenyan youth regarding the strengthening of Youth leagues is in tandem with those of international studies by the UNDP (2011). The youth have encouraged affirmative action measures such as youth and women quotas within political parties. They also recommend that mother parties should support strong Youth Leagues that are more autonomous, but retaining a loose linkage with the mother parties. These Youth leagues, according to the UNDP report (2011) would serve four key functions, all of which could provide entry points to enhance youth political participation.

First, youth leagues are power bases for their members. They facilitate networking and the formation of personal and/or issue-based alliances. They can develop decision-making skills, political skills and viewpoints. They could be instrumental in the increased nomination of young candidates and inclusion of youth issues in party programmes. The second function is to train its members. They could organize skill-building workshops, monitoring programmes

and policy development activities. They thus need, as indicated by the youth interview data in this report, own financial basis in order to sustain these and other activities. The third function of the youth league could be to influence party policy development and leadership selection. According to the UNDP (2011) youth leagues can function as incubators for new policies and as a powerbase to organize the necessary majorities at party conventions. Leagues could organize own meetings to organize the youth to vote as a block and having a say in leadership nomination procedures. Lastly, youth leagues can extend outreach to young voters to make parties more credible to them. For election and recruitment campaigns, youth leagues will likely know the language most effective with their peers and what kinds of activities are attractive to the youth. The UNDP (2011) report further asserts that finances should be availed for reaching out to young voters and potential members of the youth league. All these are in concurrence with the suggestions made by party youth leaders in Kenya.

## 5.6 Leadership Role

Political parties are the most appropriate institutions for political socialization, leadership

training and mentorship. Thus, the youth should occupy positions at all rungs of leadership within the party, County and National arenas. Currently, most political parties in Kenya have youth representation at all levels of leadership. For instance, URP and Safina have two youths in party leadership per County, ODM has one youth leader at sub-branch and another at branch level, while the leader of the Youth League is a member of virtually all national party organs. NARC and PPK have one youth leader each at the County level. Likewise, youth representation at the national party organs is fairly good for a majority of political parties and occupy even top party positions in some parties. For instance, TNA chairman is a youth, ODM Deputy Director of Elections is a youth and the Secretary Youth Affairs is a member of NEC, in NARC the Deputy Secretary General and Vice Chairman, and Executive Director are youth, in CCU the Secretary General is a youth. Youth representation in the National Elections Board (NEB) is varied across the party spectrum. ODM has 12.5%, NARC 20%, Ford -Kenya 42%, URP and UDF 0%, while TNA has no NEB in its structures. Party youth leaders, in an interview, presented the following statistics as representation of the youth in national party leadership:

**Table 1.11 Percentage of National Party Officials that are Youth**

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Percentage of National Party Officials that are Youth</b>
Ford-Kenya	25%
URP	38%
UDF	22%
NARC	25%
ODM	18%
CCU	58%
TNA	50%
PPK	41%

Political parties have made efforts to incorporate the youth into representative bodies in the country. There are varied levels of inclusion of the youth into County and National Assemblies through party nominations. Some parties have higher numbers than others based on their performance during the 2013 general elections and their respective allotted proportions. In terms of proposed party nominees, there were variations among parties as well. However, most parties gave the youth a smaller share in the nomination lists due to their limited influence in making such determination. The key challenges facing the youth in this respect include lack of or inadequate training, lack of financial resources, disconnect between national party leaders and the party youth, and inadequate support for Youth Leagues which are expected to be incubators for youth leadership. The youth leaders suggest some of the remedies for improving youth participation in leadership. These include strengthening party Youth Leagues through training and increased funding, create forums for party youth and youthful elected and nominated leaders for mentorship and guidance, and affirmative action to increase youth nominees in proportion to party membership.

### 5.7 Policy Role of the Youth

One of the functions of political parties is to influence policy making at all levels of government. The policy process includes problem identification and agenda setting, policy formulation, decision-making, policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation and provision of feedback to the public and other stakeholders. Thus, political parties are making efforts to influence policy at every stage by mobilizing their members to provide inputs into the policy process as part of public participation provided for in our laws. Their youth should be involved in policy development at the party, county and national levels. Indeed, party organs have made efforts to incorporate the youth into key decision-making organs so that their concerns get into the policy-making arena. In some political parties (e.g. ODM, Narc-Kenya, TNA, Wiper

Democratic Movement), the youth are often directly consulted by their party leaders, although in most cases indirectly through their representatives. In others, the youth are rarely consulted and this requires redress to enhance youth participation and influence in policy-making. The youth participate in policy research and are instrumental in dissemination of results to the party youth and the rest of the membership. The youth often use social media and youth activities and events such as soccer tournaments to disseminate information to members and the rest of the public. These initiatives and approaches should be supported by political parties.

Overall, the youth leaders propose that the youth should be more autonomous in managing their affairs by having their secretariat to run the affairs of the Youth Leagues, without interference from the parent party. This would make the Youth League more effective in its nurturing and development roles, making youth's political participation more meaningful and beneficial to the democratization process in the country. There should be capacity development of the Youth Leagues, as a matter of priority, to enhance youth participation in party and national politics.

Likewise, the level of compliance with the laws governing the conduct of political parties and the Constitution of Kenya (2010) in relation to the youth's participation in party activities, is low. The letter and spirit of the Constitution is to end or at least reduce the marginalization from participation in governance of certain sectors of our society, including the youth. Political parties seem to resist quick gains in this realm and thus deliberate efforts must be made to change this situation to improve youth participation in party and national governance. As long as parties are not positively responding to the established legal requirements, and being the basic participatory institutions and democratic governance, change in Kenya's governance practices is likely to take a longer time to take effect.

# Recommendations

1. Political parties should ensure compliance with the law requiring them to end the marginalization of the youth in party, County and National leadership and in the management of party affairs. The thresholds carried in the letter and spirit of the law should be implemented by incorporating greater inclusivity.
2. Mother parties should support strong Youth Leagues that are more autonomous, but retaining a loose linkage with them. This support should include capacity development of the Youth Leagues as a matter of priority. They should provide adequate funding for reaching out to young voters and potential members of the youth league, leadership training, and for holding League elections from the grassroots to the national level. Mother parties should also support public sensitization among the youth regarding political party law and governance structures for effective participation of the youth in party elections. There should be a structured engagement between party youth and party leaders to improve articulation of their interests within parties and nationally.
3. Youth participation is conditioned by the extent to which democratic institutions are open to the concerns, interests and involvement of young people, whose participation will largely depend on whether or not they see their voices sufficiently reflected in the political process and its outcomes. Political parties should have a national character as prescribed in Kenyan law, abide by the democratic principles of good governance, promote the practice of democracy through regular, fair and free elections within the party, respect the right of all persons to participate in the political process, including minorities and marginalized groups.
4. To confront low levels of political participation among the youth, training and socialization, and altering aspects of the political process that may discourage political participation may be necessary. This may include intra-party democracy, its practice or lack of it, durability of parties and perceptions of political parties, the effectiveness of parties in the allocation of values to society and youth's perception of their political efficacy.
5. Effective participation in party activities would require networking among the youth. It has been revealed through various studies that youth who have more social networks are more likely to participate in a variety of social and political activities. Development of such networks would enhance youth participation in party politics. These could include local inter-party sharing, internationally with parties with strong youth organizations across Africa and beyond. This would require greater funding.
6. Nomination of party list members should be based on proportional representation, whereby the youth should have the biggest share being the largest sector of the population. A 50% share of nomination slots between the youth and older people. This should be reflected in the political party lists presented for National Assembly, Senate, and County Assemblies to the IEBC. The first stage is for Parliament to enact laws that would ensure a fair share of youth representation on party lists. Political parties can as well create appropriate internal legal mechanisms to make it happen.
7. Socialization and sensitization of the youth on political parties and their roles in a democracy could lead to improvement of youth support and participation at the grassroots. One of the options is intensification of civic education and sensitization campaigns among the youth on the importance of party membership and maintenance of party loyalty. Equally important is political education to the youth at even earlier years of life, through formal and informal institutions (through school curriculum, the media, among other agents of socialization).
8. Lowering nomination fees for the youth due to financial challenges, affirmative action by setting aside positions for the youth as envisaged in the constitution, ensuring compliance with legislation on controlling campaign spending through popular initiatives for successful implementation.
9. Institutions such as CMD to make follow-ups after elections regarding youth performance

and provide capacity building and support before next election. The support would be varied depending on the outcomes and lessons learned from the elections.

10. With the support of donors and other stakeholders, the youth should evolve alternative platforms for sharing ideas and information with other youth and the entire electorate rather than using the traditional spaces and methods such as rallies. In this digital era, the youth could evolve online mobilization strategies that might increase information flow, reach and political sensitization among them.
11. Create youth mentorship and guidance programmes through creation of forums for party youth and youthful elected and nominated leaders at all levels of governance.

There should be facilitation for the connection/linkage between the youth and political and community leaders.

12. Designing party programmes that reflect the priorities of the youth participating in them. This could build trust and enhance buy-in and ownership. Adoption of inclusive and participatory approaches in party planning and decision-making processes. For instance, membership recruitment strategies must incorporate the youth and youth-specific dynamics into the process.
13. Provision of facilitation and training due to lack of exposure to issues, policies, processes and laws to help the youth identify policy problems and propose solutions. This will be build their capacity in policy-making and implementation monitoring.

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## Questionnaire/Interview Guide Youth In Political Party Participation In Kenya Baseline Study

The Center for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD) has commissioned a base-line survey on youth participation in political parties in order to undertake measures to enhance the same. It is important to note that political parties are central institutions in the democratization process as well as democratic consolidation. The youth, being the majority of citizens within the voting age, constitute a critical mass that cannot be ignored by parties and the nation. Your participation in this interview will enhance the process of getting the required data to facilitate the process of enhancing youth participation in party and national politics. Your participation is highly appreciated.

### Section A: Demographic Data

1. Name of Political Party : .....
2. Name of Respondent (Optional): .....
3. Gender: Male ..... Female .....
4. Your position in the Party: .....
5. Age in years: (a) 18 – 34: .....  
(b) 35 and above: .....

### Section B: Participation in Party Leadership

6. What proportion of party membership are youth (19-34 years)?
  - a) Proportion of the male: .....
  - b) Proportion of the female: .....
7. a) How many youth are in party leadership at grassroots?.....  
b)What position(s) do they occupy? .....
8. a)How many party offices at the national level are headed by the youth?.....  
b) What position do the these youth occupy? .....
9. a) How many youth are members of the Party Elections Board? .....
- b) State how the Elections Board address youth electoral concerns  
.....  
.....
10. How many youth were on the party list for nomination in the March 2013 elections ?  
.....



- a) How many were nominated to.....  
 County Assembly.....  
 National Assembly .....  
 Senate .....

11. In what activities does your party involve the youth?

.....  
 .....

### Section C : Youth and Policy/Decision-Making

12. a) Are the youth involved in policy-making and policy articulation?

Yes ..... NO .....

b) Explain how they are involved.....

.....  
 .....

13. a) Are the party youth able to identify issues of primary concern to them?

Yes. .... NO. ....

b) If yes, what issues do they identify?

.....  
 .....

14. How does the party go about finding solutions to these concerns?

.....  
 .....

15. a) Are the youth consulted when the party makes critical/Important decisions?

Yes ..... NO .....

b) Explain how the party does this.

.....  
 .....

16. a) Are the youth able to develop strategies, activities, networks or campaigns through which to pursue their concerns/interests?

Yes ..... No. ....

b) State the commonly used mechanisms and how the youth utilize them.

.....

17. a) Does the party have mechanisms for disseminating information on important matters to the youth?

Yes. .... No .....

b) If yes, state which mechanisms and comment on their effectiveness.

.....  
.....

18. a) Are the youth involved in developing such information to ensure its appropriateness to a young audience?

Yes ..... No .....

b) Explain how and through what structures.

.....  
.....

19. What mechanism has the party created to improve youth participation in politics?

.....  
.....

20. What are the challenges facing your party in achieving adequate youth representation in party Politics?

.....  
.....  
.....

21. What are the challenges facing the youth in achieving effective participation in politics?

.....  
.....  
.....

22. What should be done to ensure adequate representation and effective participation of the youth in the democratic process in Kenya?

.....  
.....  
.....



# Appendix II

## Youth in Political Party Participation in Kenya -Baseline Study Respondents for the Interviews

Name	Party
John Wamagata	Safina
Mr. Namusyule Steve	Ford-Kenya
Omoragia John	Ford-People
Joshua Aluoch	KANU
Hon. Magerer Lagat	ODM
Joshua Kawino	ODM
Benjamin Gitoi	Forum
Wakahu David	Forum
Hon. Omingo Magara	PDP
Alice Ndirangu	Agano
Florence Jematiah	URP
Martin Gavole	LPK
Brig. Robb Henry	Wiper Democratic Movement
Mr. Taabu Daniels	Narc-Kenya
Joseph Maathai	TNA
Patience Chome	KADU-Asili
Joseph Omukanda	Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)
Petronila Were	UDF
Clementine Osodo	Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK)
Vivian Ayisi	National Vision Party

# Appendix III

## FGD Guide For Youth Participation in Party Politics in Kenya

The CMD has commissioned a base-line survey on youth participation in political parties in order to undertake measures to enhance the same. It is important to note that political parties are central institutions in the democratization process as well as democratic consolidation. The youth being the majority of citizens within the voting age, they constitute a critical mass that cannot be ignored by parties and the nation. Your participation in this FGD will enhance the process of getting the required data to facilitate the process of enhancing youth participation in party and national politics. Your participation is highly appreciated.

### 1. Membership and recruitment

What proportion of party membership are youth (18-35 years)?

What role do the youth play in party membership recruitment?

What explains the level of youth membership in political parties?

What are the attitudes of the youth to party loyalty?

What are the key challenges facing the recruitment of more youth members into political parties?

Any suggested solutions?

### 2. Mobilization and Party campaigns

What is the role of the youth in mobilizing members during intra-party elections?

What roles do the youth play in mobilizing support for the party during national elections?

Do the youth raise/contribute funds to support party candidates during national elections?

What challenges do the youth face during mobilization?

What solutions would you suggest toward enhancing youth participation in mobilization and campaigns?

### 3. Elections and Representation

What is the level of youth participation in elections (party and national)?

What is their level of representation in representative bodies (both County and National)?

What mechanisms have political parties created to improve youth participation representation in politics?

What are the key challenges facing youth participation in elections and representation?

What solutions would you suggest?

#### 4. Intra-party Democracy

What role do the youth play in enhancing intra-party democracy?

Does your party have a youth league?

What is the role of Youth Leagues in party affairs?

How are the youth involved in intra-party electoral dispute resolution?

What are the challenges facing intraparty democracy in your party and in Kenya?

What solutions would you suggest that may enhance youth participation in intra-party politics?

#### 5. Leadership role

How many youth are in party leadership at grassroots?

How many party offices at the national level are headed by the youth?

Do youth occupy leadership positions within party hierarchies?

What is the total Membership of your Party's National Executive Committee (NEC)? How many are youth?

What are the top three positions/offices held by youth at your Party's NEC

How many youth are members of the Party Elections Board?

How many youth did your party sponsor/field in last General Election on 4th March 2013 to vie for: Presidency, Member of National Assembly, Senate, Governor, County Women Representative, and Member of County Assembly?

How many youth were on the party lists for nomination in the March 2013 elections?

How many were actually nominated by your party?

What are the key challenges and solutions to enhancing youth participation and representation in party and national leadership?

#### 6. Policy-making role

Explain how the political parties involve the youth in the policy-making process.

Are the youth frequently consulted when the party makes important decisions? Explain.

How do the youth channel their concerns to party decision-making organs?

How effective are their strategies?

How does the party disseminate important information (on youth affairs) to the youth?

What role do the youth play in developing such information to ensure its appropriateness to a young audience?

Is there anything that could be done to improve the current situation?

## **7. Conclusion**

Would you consider your party to be compliant with the inclusivity provisions in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and the Political Parties Act 2011?

What should be done to ensure adequate representation and effective participation of the youth in the democratization process in Kenya?

# Appendix IV

## FGD Members for Youth Participation in Party Politics in Kenya

No	Name	Party
1	Chris Mark	NARC
2	Gideon Keter	URP
3	Vivian Ayisi	NVP
4	Bernard Wakoli	FORD-Kenya
5	Marvin Wamukota	TNA
6	Phillipe Sadj	CCU
7	Waithera Chege	NARC-Kenya
8	Benson Musungu	ODM
9	Chris Kilonzo	PDP
10	Clementine Osodo	PPK
11	Khadija Juma	UDF
12	Jackline Salome	SAFINA
13	Range Mwita	CMD-Kenya
14	Frankline Mukwanja	CMD-Kenya
15	Dr. Richard Bosire	Consultant