

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 2017 NASA AND JUBILEE MANIFESTOS



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INTRODUCTION

As Kenya finds itself in an election period once again, there is need to evaluate the promises issued by the two main political camps as encapsulated in their manifestos. It is because politics, politicians and their ideas have profound effects on all aspects of life in the country. The influence of politicians transcends the social, economic and political spheres of life. Additionally, the social policy could have effects on the economic sphere and vice versa. Political governance could affect the social-economic well-being of the country. These diffuse demarcations between the political, the social and the economic require us to analyze this political manifestos in their totality, rather than as the sum of their parts.

In this analysis, we apply ourselves to the costs, direct and indirect of the policy proposals enumerated in the Jubilee and NASA manifestos. We question whether the promises therein are achievable, what their impact would be, and ultimately whether they are sustainable.

MANIFESTO ANALYSIS

Social Policy

Both NASA and Jubilee have paid conspicuous attention to social policy. It is noted that as Kenyan’s undergo significant economic challenges, the coherent social policy could be used to ameliorate the effects of these challenges. Particularly, the underprivileged in various parts of the country felt, perhaps with justification priced out of important markets like health, education, and food.

However, an attempt to solve the challenges above could in themselves come at a cost. Economic sustainability, budget deficits, just to mention but a few. Our analysis of the Social policy takes into account, the direct, and indirect, and the unseen effects of social policy promise contained in the manifestos. We construe social policy to include: education, health and social protection programs aimed at vulnerable members of society.

EDUCATION

Perhaps and for good measure, education has received a lot of focus from both the Jubilee Party and the NASA coalition.

NASA Education Policy

1. Free Secondary Education

NASA has promised free secondary education within the first 90 days of their administration. The current budget allocated for free day secondary education in the 2017/2018 budget is 32.4 billion shillings. Data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics indicates that the country might have as many as nine million secondary students. Studies estimate that the cost of providing quality

secondary education to be around 500 US\$D (around 50,000 Kenya Shillings) per year per student. It thus shows that the estimated cost of NASA's proposed Free Secondary education would run to around 450 billion shillings annually, or around a quarter of this fiscal year's annual budget. Secondly, issues of the quality of the proposed free secondary education need to be addressed. This question can only be addressed based on the goals NASA's proposed free education intends to attain. For example, is it achieving a one hundred percent transition from primary school to secondary school: this in itself is a quantifiable output, or is it the provision of verifiable quality education at secondary level. The answer to this ought to be the latter. The proposal to offer free secondary education should be evaluated based on not only the numbers in question but ultimately the quality of high school graduates it produces.

The proposal to offer free Secondary education should also engender some form of inequality in education. If for example, the system would fail to meet the quality standards expected by parents, then we would see a proliferation of private secondary schools, which would only be accessible by the rich and the upper middle-class Kenyans. This scenario would have serious consequences on social mobility by relegating the children of under privileged Kenyans into an inequality trap.

2. Construction of Computer laboratories and libraries

NASA's second promise on education seems rather sustainable and thought through. It is because the policy it seeks to replace was not well thought out. NASA proposes to scrap the "Free Laptops for primary school pupils" and redirect the money towards building computer laboratories and libraries in schools. Equipping schools with computer laboratories and improving their libraries might be a cost effective way of improving literacy and bridging the digital divide. There are also more avenues of involving critical stakeholders like teachers and school management unlike the Jubilee's free Laptops project, which follows a top-heavy approach. The current Jubilee administration allocated 13.4 billion shillings in the 2017/2018 FY for the free laptops projects.

3. Employ 20,000 teachers annually and 90,000 in five years

NASA has promised to employ 20,000 teachers annually and would have employed 90,000 teachers by the end of five years. The teacher/student ratio in primary school stands at 1:42. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), whose countries enjoy some of the lowest teacher/student ratio acknowledges that, *"Reducing class size is not, on its own, a sufficient policy lever to improve the performance of education systems, and is a less efficient measure than increasing the quality of teaching."* In this regard, NASA could coordinate efforts to improve the quality of education. Besides, although the teacher to student ratio is favorable, compared to other comparator countries, regional differences abound.

4. Increase the number of special schools

NASA's fourth policy on education promises to increase the number of Special Needs schools, to at least have a special needs school in every constituency.

Jubilee Education Policy

Jubilee also makes several proposals on the Education sector. Some of them are a continuity of their 2013 manifesto while others are new. They are:

1. Work towards achieving a 100% transition from primary to secondary school.

Jubilee's first promise on education centers on access to education for all Kenyan's irrespective of their background. In making this promise, Jubilee stops short of promising blanket free secondary education for all Kenyan secondary students by qualifying that free secondary education will only be available for students in, *"public primary and public day secondary schools."* In doing so, Jubilee avoids the financing challenge that would follow offering free education to all students in public secondary schools in Kenya. However, this promise is ambiguous and is stated in very broad terms, although it starts from the premise of achieving 100% transition rates, from primary to secondary school it does not state how children of under privileged parents who qualified for boarding secondary school would access secondary education.

2. Double the funds available under the Higher Education Loans Board to provide loans and bursaries for TVET and university students.

Currently, the Higher Education Loans Board supports the education of 200,000 students in institutions of higher learning in the country. The Higher Education Loans Board receives approximately 2.1 billion shillings for further disbursement to students. However, students from tertiary institutions face challenges in accessing the loans. Disbursement of loans to tertiary institutions would be a good way to engender equity in the education as well as allowing the country to plug the technical skills gap.

3. Improving the quality of middle-level workforce to meet the needs of industry.

Jubilee promises to improve the quality and quantity of the middle-level workforce by aligning the Curriculum with the needs of industry, revitalizing Youth Polytechnics, completing the construction of the 70 TTIs already under construction and equipping and staffing all TTIs. Slow industrialization in the country has been attributed in part to a technical skills shortage. Lack of technical skills is particularly detrimental to Small and Medium Enterprises and firms that operate in the informal realm. These firms employ around 12 million Kenyans compared to 1.3 million Kenyans that work in the formal sector.

However, training workers for the needs of industry and particularly for future needs need not start at tertiary education. There is need realign the education system with an ever changing and dynamic global environment.

4. Establish Linkages between, industry and Academia.

Jubilee promises to establish formal linkages between the private sector, academia, and government; to solve real life issues including by linking research and analysis to important national issues and by harnessing expertise in our universities to support the industrialization agenda. The positive impact such arrangements can achieve has already been demonstrated in ongoing schemes where two universities are producing digital learning equipment for primary schools.

Kenya's youth face a compounding problem of unemployment and employability. Around 13 million Kenyan youth are unemployed, yet when job opportunities arise, they find the youth ill prepared and ill equipped for these jobs.

Jubilee's promise is made with this problem in mind. The challenge, though, is giving industry enough incentives to share the costs of training and up skilling Kenyan youth for future labor participation. Private institutions should be encouraged to establish, institutions of higher learning and onboard students into the workforce. However, organizations that do this should receive enough incentives either in tax subsidies or other forms of government support.

5. Establish Centers of Excellence.

Establish centers of excellence and an innovation hub to tap into the talent pool of our young people. Establish a center of excellence in the automotive sector and position the Kenya Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) at Konza Technopolis as a world class Science and Technology Research University, which will nurture a technologically advanced population.

HEALTH

Over the last few years, the health sector in the country has undergone a lot of tumults. Industrial action by health workers has had a debilitating effect on the health sector in Kenya.

Kenya's Health Sector in Perspective

Health Data Snapshot

- Life expectancy - 62.2 Years
- Infant Mortality – 35.5 per 1000 Live births
- Public Health Expenditure – 3.5 Percent of GDP
- Under Five Mortality 49.4 per 1000 live Births

In the 2017/2018 financial year, the health government allocated 60.1 billion shillings to the health budget. On average, county governments spend around 24% of their total budget on health, with health being a devolved function.

NASA Health Policy

1. Combined, NASA's first three promises on the health sector revolve around coming up with a policy governing the relationship between the National and county governments, providing regulation of doctors and standardization and resolving industrial disputes in the sector.

Smooth coordination and running of both shared and county government responsibilities are entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya (2010) and the supporting Acts of Parliaments. This proposal can be effective if NASA mainstreams and furnishes the existing laws to address challenges making coordination and mainstreaming between the two levels of governments.

The health sector could benefit from a constitutional body Commission to take charge of regulation and regularization of health worker related challenges.

2. NASA's promise three on the health sector centres on the provision of fully equipped laboratories and equipment in every ward.

Under the current leasing program for health equipment in the health sector the government around 5 Billion shillings on leasing equipment.

Verdict

The success of government policy and spending should be evaluated based on impact. In promising a well-equipped laboratory in every ward. NASA breaks from this cardinal point and assumes that mere investment in health facilities automatically translates into the provision of quality health care. However, an optimum mix of investment in physical facilities can be found where dispensaries are not only present, but are also run by well-trained healthcare professionals. Besides the running costs of increasing the numbers of dispensaries would be quite substantial.

3. NASA's fourth promise revolves around provision of universal health care.

Whereas universal health care is a constitution right, only around 20% of Kenyans have access to some form of health insurance. This means as much as 35 million Kenyans do not have access to healthcare. The challenge of providing universal health care is particularly pronounced for workers in the informal sector, the National Hospital National Insurance Fund (NHIF) does not cover 80 % of workers in the informal sector. Concerted efforts should focus on providing insurance services to workers in the informal sector. Critically, the National Hospital and Insurance fund should be reformed to be in tune with the needs and desires of the workers in the informal sector. Increasing NHIF coverage, would spur the development and growth of private health providers because of an expanded customer base, improve quality and access to health care. Economic growth would also lead to private insurance subscriptions. Currently, only around 1.5 million people have access to private health insurance.

4. The fifth promise from the NASA coalition on health care revolves around the adequate provision of primary health care.

NASA Propose to bring down the cost of drugs by promoting the importation of generic drugs in the country. Generic medicines have been shown to lower the costs of health care in countries such as South Africa. In addition to provision having policies that promote the provision of cheaper medicine, NASA could look at re-engineering public procurement process for drugs by the public sector. A report by the World Health Organization showed that although prices for drugs in public hospitals tend to be cheaper, they are generally unavailable. The WHO attributes this unavailability to rigid procurement systems for drugs in the public sector.

Jubilee Health Policy

1. Free, quality primary healthcare

The first promise in the Jubilee Manifesto concerning health is to achieve free, quality primary healthcare for all Kenyans while the third is to expand NHIF cover to all Kenyans above 70 years of age and provide insurance to families with children with disability. Expand benefit packages for all NHIF members to cover a broader set of services including emergency ambulance evacuation, heart surgeries and chronic diseases. The fourth promises a continued drive towards universal health care to cover over 22 million Kenyans by the year 2022. These three promises are complementary in achieving universal healthcare. As the incumbent, Jubilee has made effort in attaining them. For instance, the number of Kenyans registered under the NHIF scheme in 2013 was 3.7 million while it stands at 6.1 million at the end of 2016. The informal sector continues to register a higher increase in the number of Kenyans covered by NHIF as shown by the growth of 26.5 per cent increase in comparison to the formal sector that grew by 12.2 per cent between 2011/2012 and 2015/2016. To achieve the two, a total of KES 1.1 billion was allocated for the rollout of universal health coverage while 0.3 billion was allocated for the health insurance subsidy for the elderly and disabled in the 2017/2018 FY. In April 2015, member contributions to NHIF were reviewed upwards resulting in more collection to the fund. Consequently, the benefits to members rose from KES 4.8 billion to KES 10.2 billion in 2015/16. Over the last four years, an addition 3 million members are under NHIF coverage. It means the government has to invest more than the 1.1 billion allocated for universal health coverage to reach the 22 million Kenyans. This evidence points that is possible to achieve the two promises over a longer period and not within the five years as promised.

2. Expand the Linda Mama program to mission and private hospitals

The second promise is to expand the “Linda Mama” program (**free maternity program**) to mission and private hospitals and provide health cover through NHIF for all expectant mothers for a period of 12 months covering the period before and after birth. It has been one of health flagship projects for Jubilee over the last four years with considerable success. The free maternal healthcare

program has seen a rise in the number of deliveries in public healthcare facilities while reducing the maternal mortality over the last four years. KES 4.3 billion was allocated to this program in the 2017/2018 FY.

The program has been dogged by many challenges key among them being the delayed disbursement of free maternity funds to the county governments to facilitate free maternal healthcare. The healthcare facilities are overwhelmed by the large number of women turning up for the service resulting in poor quality service delivery resulting from an insufficient, overstretched human resource. Reports have also pointed out to diversion and misuse of free maternity funds, case in point the purchase of 100 “mobile metal” containers at KES 10 million each.

It would require a drastic change in policy on how the free maternity program is implemented and an improvement in the coordination between the national and county governments in service delivery. Financing deficits and models have to be reviewed.

3. Increase health facilities at the community level and scale up the Managed Equipment Program

In their fifth promise, Jubilee aims at increasing the number of health facilities at the community level, including mobile health services so that a fully equipped health centre is accessible within 5 miles of your home while the sixth promise targets at scaling up the Managed Equipment Program and establish 10 new referral hospitals. These initiatives would ensure a fast, effective diagnosis of diseases thus enabling efficient treatment and prevention of life threatening conditions. The new 10 referral hospitals would ensure specialized healthcare is available in the country and at a manageable cost. There are 290 constituencies in the country, and 1450 wards. A radius of 5miles represents approximately a single in the country.

In the 2016/2017 FY, only 5.0 billion was allocated for leasing medical equipment while none was allocating for upgrading some hospitals into referral hospitals. While it remains a long term strategy, it is unforeseeable how such a meagre budget can finance these initiatives. Additionally, it would require a considerable investment in human resource (**hiring more doctors and other healthcare workers**) for it to be successful.

4. Establish regional cold chains for drugs and vaccines

The seventh promises aims at establishing regional cold chains for drugs and vaccines to ensure safe and high quality drugs are available in the regions. Among the promises, this is one of the most viable and sustainable since they can be attained through the Kenya Medical Supply Agency (**KEMSA**) depots in the counties. It is similar to the regional blood banks that are operational in the country. For a start, KES 0.7 billion was allocated for the purchase of vaccines while KES 0.6 billion was allocated for purchasing ARVs through the National Aids Control Council (**NACC**).

5. Establish at least one specialized cancer hospital

To establish at least one specialized cancer hospital in the country to reduce the financial burden and other challenges faced by patients seeking cancer treatment. Currently, Kenyatta National Hospital is the only public healthcare offering cancer treatment. It only has three radiotherapy machines that frequently break down. Only twelve oncology specialists are registered in Kenya. Seeking cancer treatment in private facilities in the country is costly, beyond the reach of the average Kenyan.

Establishing a specialized cancer centre is a step in the right direction in addressing the plight of the cancer patients in the country. However, Jubilee has not provided a clear plan on how they intend to set up the centre. It was not factored in the budget for the 2017/2018 FY. A substantial investment is required in human resource i.e. training more oncology specialists.

6. Facilitate internet enabled communication in hospitals

Jubilee promises to provide internet enabled communication in all hospitals to enable medical personnel to seek expert guidance and support from specialists across the country and abroad. It is long overdue since we live in a digital world where communication is enhanced over the internet. No funds were set aside in the budget, but it is not a costly initiative owing to the existent infrastructure in the country. Most institutions of education and private healthcare facilities are already implementing the same program successfully. It is a tried and tested program that can easily be implemented in healthcare facilities.

This initiative would ensure efficient and expedient delivery of care devoid of delays caused while waiting for the exchange of paperwork or records. Enhanced diagnosis and characterization of disease thus improving treatment outcomes and reducing the cost of healthcare to Kenyans. Medical history of patients would easily be shared among healthcare practitioners resulting in improved individual patient care. Consultations between doctors can be done online.

7. Establish health and medical tourism

To make health and medical tourism a vibrant socio-economic sub-sector in Kenya. This initiative is aimed at improving the standards of healthcare facilities in the country and provide adequate human resource in hospitals. Consequently, the quality of service delivery to patients is enhanced. Additionally, it targets at generating revenue by attracting patients to seek for healthcare in the Kenya. As part of their healthcare package, the patients would visit tourist attraction sites at a cost. This promise is not viable at the moment as it would require a comprehensive review of the health policy in Kenya, as well as a robust development of healthcare infrastructure in the country. The country lacks sufficient human resource in the healthcare sector to facilitate medical tourism. No funds were allocated in the 2017/2018 FY to kick-start the initiative and no clear plan as been provided on how the same will be achieved.

THE YOUTH

NASA Youth Policy

1. Initiate inter-county youth exchange programs:

Important for cohesion and appreciation of county diversity.

2. Waive the requirement for compliance certificate for unemployed graduates

Essential for unemployed graduates; chances of getting employed improved. It is sustainable because graduates will be expected to repay loans once they secure employment.

3. Engage youth in horticulture value chains by training them on marketing and business skills, which are useful in supporting and creating where necessary agropreneurs initiatives:

Important in encouraging the youth to show interest, invest time and resources in the sector, creating employment and economic development. The program is sustainable provided enough resources and technical capacity are available.

4. Collaborate with county governments to devolve the Youth Enterprise Fund to the Ward level.

It aims at facilitating easy and effective access to the kitty by the youth. Sustainable and feasible when properly managed. However, this initiative runs the risk of misappropriation.

5. Negotiate with counties to establish designated car wash areas in towns/cities and grant loans to young persons from the Youth Enterprise Fund to start a car wash.

Negotiate with county governments to establish properly equipped environmental management programs for urban centers funded by loans from the Youth Enterprise Fund, run by young people. Youth will be economically empowered; reduced youth unemployment; reduced crime and drug abuse by the youth who have no income generating activities

6. Fund and develop the emerging cultural, creative and performing industries, largely spearheaded by the youth to make Kenya an African hub for theater, cuisine, music, fashion, cultural sports, radio and television, film, video games and other forms of publishing and entertainment.

It is critical in the creation and promotion of a youth specific cultural identity, national cohesion; creation of employment opportunities; reduce crime and drug and substance abuse.

7. Employ all sports persons who achieve a pre-determined minimum level of excellence in their sport in these ministries, departments, and agencies on permanent and pensionable employment and use these employees to provide training and mentorship to students in schools and colleges who aspire to become professional sportsmen.

Could assist in the promotion and development of sports talent; creation of more employment opportunities in the sports sector. However, it is not sustainable to employ individuals within Ministries based on their sports abilities/talents.

8. At least 25 per cent of grants, scholarships, and bursaries in primary and secondary schools shall be reserved for sporting students.

Create scholarships to public universities for talented sports persons who have an aptitude in academics. Rewarding sports talent will result in more youths taking up the initiative and improving the country's global position in sports. It is sustainable when backed by necessary policies and legislation.

9. Collaborate with county governments to establish sports talent development academies in every county.

Increase the number of sports and recreational facilities on all campuses of public universities. Essential in promoting young talent, a source of employment and economic empowerment. Feasible where integrated with other policies such as education to ensure talent recognition, nurturing and continuity

Jubilee Youth Policy

1. Establish a government sponsored apprenticeship program of up to 12 months for all university and TVET graduates.

Critical for youth technical training, experience gaining and exposure, and youth empowerment. The proposal is sustainable which effective and enforceable policies

2. Establish a Youth Development Council to coordinate all youth related activities; facilitate necessary training, skills building;

mentoring and link young people with emerging job opportunities through the Ajira Platform. Necessary in youth empowerment efforts, coordination and addressing concerns by the youth, especially if the Council is devolved to the county level. Feasible under proper management and coordination

3. Ensure more opportunities for employment for youth by transforming the National Youth Service to implement commercial projects in Kenya and abroad.

The Nation Youth Service, when properly administered can provide various technical training and transfer crucial skills; not clearly stipulated how the transformation of NYS will be done given the previous challenges and how it can be used to implement projects abroad

4. Expand the participation of young people in national development and guarantee that 30% of all appointments, projects, and budgets specifically target them.

The proposal can be used to create youth employment opportunities; empowerment and overall peace as the youth will be involved in income generating activities rather than criminal activities and political manipulation; requires affirmative action to be effective.

5. Encourage organizations to take on board interns by expanding the tax incentive framework.

Interns could gain work experience and potential employment opportunities; need to plan and put a framework in place for sustainability

6. Merge the Micro and Small Enterprise Authority, the Youth Enterprises Development Fund, the Women Enterprises Fund and the Uwezo Fund, establish the Biashara Bank to provide coordination in the delivery of affordable financing and support for business development.

More efficient, centralized structure of management and coordination of all government funded funds for the youth and women, could minimize duplication and wastage of resources

7. Provide structured support to the creative sectors, which have a high potential for youth employment including film, music, and fashion and bring them into the mainstream economy.

Mainstreaming some of the untapped youth dominated sectors of the economy and attracting international film makers could create more employment opportunities.

8. Protect athletes from doping by sustaining anti-doping education and sensitization campaigns through the proposed National Sports, Culture, and Arts Fund.

More youths could be involved in sporting activities, empowering them, creating employment, economic development and developing the sports sector.

9. Continue to provide and improve sports facilities. Sports infrastructure coupled with necessary policies could propel sporting and talented youths to the international sporting arena.

Construction of sporting facilities ought to be accompanied by the necessary policy initiative to facilitate assimilation of the infrastructure into sports as a facilitating tool.

10. Ensure that business is conducted freely anytime and everywhere by arresting and prosecuting all proscribed groups, organized criminal gangs, and militia and vigilante groups.

Security is a key element and a catalyst to foster and create a conducive business environment. Given the history between the police and the youth in the country, fears around extra-judicial killings, arbitrary arrest and other forms of human rights abuse, there are concerns that without proper training and policies put in place, the youth might be the target of such a policy.

**THE ELDERLY
NASA Policy on the Elderly**

1. Ensure that all senior citizens above the age of 70 years receive livable social security funds.

Functional social security funds might improve the living conditions of the elderly and alleviate poverty levels if well administered; corruption and wasteful use are addressed.

Jubilee Policy on the Elderly

1. Inua Jamii program and health insurance

Double the number of vulnerable citizens supported through the cash transfer program (Inua Jamii) from 700,000 to 1,400,000; all citizens above the age of 70 will obtain health insurance cover through the NHIF. Relevant for social protection of the elderly especially those living below poverty levels, this could lead to poverty alleviation and economic empowerment of the elderly and is viable.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

NASA Policy on Women and Children

1. Establish County Gender Development Funds under the Women Representatives in every county.

Devolving the fund is critical; however, poses challenges in administration and devolving of corruption associated with management. The fund is sustainable at the county level. There only needs to be sufficient oversight/scrutiny on the management of the funds to curb corruption and misappropriation.

2. Enact legislation to implement the two-third gender rule in governance as required by the Constitution to address the gender imbalance in all spheres of governance.

It is a critical requirement as per the Constitution. It ensures women representation and involvement in governance; politically sustainable with affirmative action at the onset, graduating to merit in electoral and public appointments.

3. Implement all of Kenya's international obligations on gender issues.

Important in aligning Kenya's obligations under domestic laws since international obligations constitute part of the Kenyan laws, according to the Constitution of Kenya 2010 8 . It is a sustainable initiative within the appointments of public servants. However, compromises, consultations and affirmative action may be required for the elective posts.

4. Identify high-risk counties regarding child abuse, drug and substance abuse, abduction, and defilement and establish safe spaces (child rescue centers) for children in these counties.

Essential for the protection of children; safeguarding and promotion of children's rights, elimination of drug abuse by minors.

5. Collaborate with county governments to expand the school feeding program.

Critical to ensuring students remain in school despite challenges arising from droughts.

6. Introduce Sub-County Integrated Social Services program for children, families, and vulnerable adults to consolidate the relevant health, education and justice systems as well as social protection.

Street Children/Families and orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) require the fund to provide for their basic needs, as well as empower them through means such as scholarships, loans, and capacity to engage in income generating activities thus empowering them economically and alleviating poverty.

Jubilee Policy on Women and Children

1. Expand the free maternity program to the mission and private hospitals; provide health cover through NHIF for all expectant mothers for 12 months covering the period before and after birth.

Extend the "Linda Mama" programs to cover both ante-natal and post-natal care for a total of one year to reduce maternal and child mortality. Government funded Health programs are critical in ensuring all members of the Society have access to affordable and quality healthcare services, especially for women and children, and this program is already running with a budget of Ksh 4.3 billion for Free Maternal Healthcare and the reallocation additional Ksh 3.4 billion as a special grant to NHIF.

2. Align the property and succession laws with the Constitution to guarantee women equal rights and close the gaps in the law to ensure protection for widows.

Women's rights are an important aspect of societal development and are entrenched in the Constitution; sustainable if supported by necessary laws. People Living with Disability (PLWD)

NASA Policy on PLWD

1. Provide tax reliefs to persons with disabilities (eliminate income tax).

More income translates to more purchasing power, the capability to afford specialized necessities that they require in their daily life; better incorporating them into normal life.

2. Establish an affirmative action framework for economic empowerment of persons living with disabilities (PLWD).

PLWD, especially those in informal employment and the unemployed will benefit from incentives such as soft loans and assistance with specialized necessities that otherwise hinder them from venturing into income generating activities.

3. Expand scholarship schemes for youth living with disability to access education and skills development.

It will ensure that youth with disability are included in the mainstream socioeconomic and political life as their counterparts without disability, promoting socioeconomic and talent development.

Jubilee Policy on PLWD

9 The National Treasury, 2017/2018 Budget Policy Statement

1. Provide dignified support to the elderly and the disabled.

The Jubilee manifesto lacks a clear stand on PLWD but commits to continue providing support for them as indicated been the case in the last four years on their scorecard

Other Special Interest Groups

NASA Policy on Other Special Interest Groups

1. Office of Victims of Extra Judicial Killing, Torture, Renditions and Enforced Disappearances.

Establish the "Office of Victims of Extra Judicial Killing, Torture, Renditions and Enforced Disappearances" to investigate all such cases and recommend appropriate measures. It is important for Transitional Justice and addressing historical injustices; and the coordination and investigation of such crimes. No specific budget has been allocated for this program. It is sustainable provided a specialized and independent department/commission is established.

2. Pay compensation awards made by courts to victims of injustices by the state.

Critical for Transitional Justice; and addressing historical injustices. Not viable without a specific budget/trust set aside to address such cases.

3. National Heroes Trust

Establish a National Heroes Trust to immortalize our freedom fighters and the heroes of our current struggles including our men and women in uniform who need our support. Important in entrenching Nationalism/Patriotism. Requires specific policies for entrenchment and continuity.

4. Enhance Kiswahili as the national and official language

Allocate adequate resources to enhance the status of Kiswahili as the national and official language. Important for Nationalism/National Unity, as well as creating a national identity.

5. Compensation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Resettle and compensate equally and fairly all internally displaced persons (IDPs) and all Kenyans who were forced by state actions or inaction to seek refuge in foreign countries. Important in restoring displaced Kenyans back to their original status as well as a justice mechanism. However, compensation should be based on other facts such as a clear and structured guideline to identify genuine IDPs and as a final resort after other efforts such as reconciliation have failed.

6. Progressively expand income transfers to the critically food poor.

Necessary to shield insecure food members of the society from the effects of droughts; and capacitate/empower the poor to afford basic necessities. Feasible on a short term basis as permanent measures to address food security are sought.

7. Roll out comprehensive nationwide police housing program through Public Private Partnerships.

Better policing; police get motivated to work; reduced corruption with the police force

8. Address the root causes of inter-ethnic/inter-clan conflict by investing in interventions that alleviate economic marginalization, scarcity of resources and lack of employment.

It will ensure equitable distribution of resources; and spur socioeconomic development; justice, tranquility, and harmony between and among ethnic groups in the country.

Jubilee Policy on Other Special Interest Groups

1. Job creation

Create 1.3 million jobs every year and work with county governments to establish at least one industry in every county. Creation of employment opportunities is a key ambition for every administration, and it stands to benefit the citizens, especially the youth, around 66%¹⁰ of whom are unemployed in Kenya. No clear strategic plan on how this will be achieved. Given the current economic growth rates of less than 6%¹¹, the 1.3 million jobs promise is unrealistic and might not be achieved.

2. Creation of a National Social Housing Development Fund

Establish a National Social Housing Development Fund and create alternative financing strategies to finance low-cost housing and the associated social and physical infrastructure. Quality and affordable housing is a key component of social development, and alternative means to provide housing is a viable way to solve the problem.

3. Carry out an audit of 6,000 buildings per year to ensure their safety and security.

Safeguarding quality and safety of the houses within the country is important in securing lives; requires clear policies and guidelines for successful implementation

4. Upgrading of slums and informal settlements

Maintain the momentum in upgrading slums and informal settlements by providing clean water and sanitation, access roads, street lights, schools and health centers as well as income generating activities. Slum upgrading is a key component of a social development program and would greatly improve the lives of slum dwellers by providing them with basic services; Ksh 0.5 billion for Slum Clinics Upgrading Programme (Portable Clinics)

5. Piped water in all households

Ensure piped water in every household in Nairobi and neighbouring counties including slums by 2020. Complete ongoing water projects in urban and rural areas and increase the number of people connected to safe piped water from 3.6 million to 9 million by 2020. Increase the proportion of people with easy access to potable water from 60% to 80% by 2020 with a focus on slums and arid areas. Provision of water is an important social development aspect as a basic need. However, this will require coordination and consultation with the county governments for successful implementation as the provision of water services is a devolved function.

6. Expand sanitation and sewerage facilities

Increase access to sanitation and sewerage by an additional 500,000 households by developing new sanitation and sewerage connections. Good sanitation, drainage, and sewerage infrastructure are critical for prevention of waterborne and other kinds of diseases, promoting hygiene, urban and rural development. Provision of these is a role of the County Governments, will require coordination and consultations in line with the requirement of the Constitution.

7. Enforce the ban on the use of polythene bags.

Polythene bags are a major cause of environmental degradation, and their use should be regulated or restricted; sustainability requires clear policies and enforcement.

8. Register all births and issue IDs to all eligible bona fide Kenyans.

Significant to issue identification for easier access to service and economic opportunities for all Kenyans.

9. Expand the Strategic Grain Reserve and enhance food security

Reduce the cost of living for Mwananchi by stabilizing the cost of food, energy, and Transport, increase food availability, subsidized seeds and fertilizers and expanding the Strategic Food Reserve program. Food security is imperative for economic developing and overall well-being of the society and the mandate of the government to ensure there is sufficient food production and supply. Feasible policies should be formulated and implemented to address the high cost of living.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Since 2002, Kenya has experienced an increase in investment in infrastructure. The country has seen projects like the African Development Bank funded Thika Road Project at the cost of 27 Billion Shillings,¹⁵ and the Standard Gauge Railway project costing 320 Billion¹⁶ shillings. Kenya is also developing the Lamu Port Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPPSET) project costing 24.5 billion USD. Additionally, in 2016 Kenya's construction industry was valued at 3.53 billion USD. It is expected to grow to 6.21 billion USD by the year 2020 However, although there have been developments on the infrastructure scene in Kenya, large areas of the country remain unnerved and underserved by the infrastructure network in the country.

NASA Infrastructure Policy

In this regard, the NASA coalition has paid attention to infrastructure. Enumerated below are their promises on infrastructure.

1. Enable completion in the generation, transmission, and distribution of electricity.

Currently, KenGen does the generation of electricity in Kenya, Kenya Electricity Transmission Company Limited (KETRACO) does transmission, and Kenya Power does the distribution. Except for the generation, the supply chain of electricity in the country is heavily state-controlled. Although the number of homes with access to the Kenyan electricity grid has increased from 21% to 46% in four years, 54 per cent of Kenyan homes remains unconnected to the electricity grid.

In this regard, the proposal to further liberalize the electricity sector, Could revitalize the energy sector and allow more room for the private sector to maneuver, thus allowing for more competition. The competition will lead to the realization of cost savings, quality, and efficiency.

2. Restructure the Energy Regulatory Commission.

NASA promises to restructure the composition of the Energy Regulatory Commission (ERC) to enhance its independence (change the mode of appointment; introduce term limits; and include more stakeholder representation).

As the apex regulatory body in the Energy Sector, the ERC plays a critical role. In this view, its mandate should be amended to allow the reversion of petroleum prices to float market prices rather than controlling the pump prices. The control of prices provides exposure for the Energy Regulatory Commission to get captured by captive interests and derailing its goals. The ERC should, therefore, concentrate on its regulatory mandate, rather than on the control of pump prices.

3. Remove import taxes on renewable energy prospecting equipment

Remove import taxes on renewable energy prospecting equipment. Remove red tape in the renewable energy investment process.

50% of Kenya's energy comes from hydro generation, 37% from fossil fuel and 15% from geothermal. It means that renewable sources of energy such as the wind and solar energy contribute less than 2% of the country's energy. This status is despite the fact that Kenya's climatic conditions would be supportive of renewable generation.

Removal of taxes for renewable energy prospecting would reduce the entry costs for renewable energy, improve Kenya's energy mix and save the country's environment.

4. Establish Science and Technology Parks (smart cities) for innovation

Work with counties to identify suitable locations for the establishment of Science and Technology Parks (smart cities) as hubs of innovations in all counties. The knowledge economy and incorporation of big data particularly for Kenya's most pernicious problems, like water, health and transportation are welcome.

Jubilee Infrastructure Policy

The Jubilee administration has paid a lot of focus on infrastructure. One of the marquee infrastructural projects by the Jubilee administration has been the standard Gauge Rail project at the cost of 320 billion Kenya shillings.

Jubilee makes the following proposals on Infrastructure:

1. Implement an integrated transport infrastructure system by linking production centers in the Northern Corridor, the Central Corridor and the LAPSSSET Corridor with cost-effective transport, logistics, energy and utility systems to ease trade and reduce production costs. Together, these corridors cover more than twenty counties and will open more than 75% of the country's land mass.
2. Construct a rail link from Lamu to Miritini, a road from Lamu to Isiolo and complete the development of the remaining 29 berths in Lamu port.
3. Complete the 7,000 kilometers of road currently under construction and work with County Governments to increase the coverage of rural access roads to enable farmers to take produce to market quickly and cheaply.
4. Construct the Mombasa-Nairobi six lane highway toll road, which together with the SGR will transform the 450 kilometers between the two cities into one large and vibrant economic zone.
5. Construct the second phase of the SGR from Nairobi to Naivasha, ensuring that at least 40% of the contract value is allocated to Kenyan companies.
6. Install streetlights in all urban centers to facilitate the 24-hour economy and ensure that by 2020 all Kenyans will be connected to electricity either from the national grid or an off-grid source.
7. Complete the development of new power plants currently under construction including the 310 MW Lake Turkana Wind Power Plant (the largest wind power plant in Africa), and the two units in Olkaria that will add another 210 MW to the grid.
8. Implement the 50% lower tariff for firms who run night shifts between 10 pm, and 6 am to stimulate the 24-hour economy and reduce energy costs for heavy users.

As previously mentioned Jubilee's pay conspicuous attention to infrastructure. The infrastructural projects highlighted for development include projects earmarked in Vision 2030. The Lamu Port and Lamu-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) project is one of those projects. The LAPSSET project is a behemoth infrastructural project without comparison. It consists of; Lamu Port with 32 berths, 1710 KMs of Standard Gauge Rail, 880 KMs of highway, a Crude Oil pipeline and an Airport.

Although the LAPSSET project has shown economic viability, registering a projected Economic Internal Rate of Return of between 17% to 23% against international best practice of acceptable industry minimum standard of 10% for infrastructure projects. However, the project faces insurmountable challenges, the estimated financial cost of the Kenyan component of the project runs up to 24.5 Billion US\$ or 2.4 Trillion Kenya shillings.

Jubilee's infrastructural projects have to be evaluated against a backdrop of the financing mechanism required to deliver to pay for the project. In the past Jubilee have taken up borrowing to fund infrastructure projects. Gross public debt increased from 44% to 52.4% percent of GDP. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that Kenya's public Debt is expected to stabilize at around 54% - 55% of GDP in 2017-2018. With this regard, desire for new infrastructure should be balanced against prudent public financial management particularly the management of public debt.

HOUSING

Over the course of the 2017 campaign, NASA's pronouncements on housing have been causing concerns. Among them are the plans to control rental prices in Nairobi. Whereas access to quality for low-income Kenyans is a cause for concern, efforts to control the rent prices could disincentivize investors and reduce the supply of new housing units.

NASA Housing Policy

NASA has promised to “- Mount a public-private partnership to scale up affordable housing developments targeting eradication of informal settlements, with a target of delivering 500,000 affordable housing units over the next five years.”

Jubilee Housing Policy

Housing

Jubilee makes the following promises on Housing:

1. Facilitate mass housing production of at least 500,000 low-cost affordable homes in 5 years across

2. Establish a National Social Housing Development Fund and create alternative financing strategies to finance low-cost housing and the associated social and physical infrastructure.

3. Carry out an audit of 6,000 buildings per year to ensure their safety and security.

4. Digitize all land registries to facilitate easier and cheaper land transactions. In addition, we will facilitate faster acquisition of free public land for developing houses.

5. Maintain the momentum in upgrading slums and informal settlements by providing clean water and sanitation, access roads, street lights, schools and health centres as well as income generating activities. This will help improve the lives of 4 million people living and working in slums and informal settlements.

6. Dramatically scale up ongoing partnerships between the government and the private sector to expand the pool of trained artisans, plumbers, masons, carpenters, electricians, roofers and painters.

Facilitate mass housing production of at least 500,000 low-cost affordable homes in 5 years across the country by working in partnership with financial institutions, private developers, manufacturers of building materials and cooperatives. We will create an attractive, state-driven framework for private companies, which is unprecedented. This will take advantage of the international and technological developments, which allow for building high-quality, affordable modular housing; create the legal and institutional framework to provide low interest, long term loans; make land for construction available; and provide tax incentives on construction. This will deliver houses faster and reduce the cost of construction by at least 50%.

The World Bank estimates that Kenya faces a deficit of 2.1 million units for low and middle-income housing. The World Bank further poses that accessibility for housing is hampered by low mortgage penetration. There are less than 25,000 outstanding mortgages in the country and mortgage debt represented less than 3.15% of GDP, substantially lower than developed societies.

The policy crux that confronts the country is how to plug this housing deficit. Jubilee proposes a state-driven, state centric approach to this question. The cost of constructing 500,000 units as promised would run to around KES 45 billion shillings per year, in Nairobi alone.

Whereas the cost state driven low-cost housing supply appears insurmountable, a policy mix, driven towards incentivizing private sector delivery. The World Bank “observes that “Explore financing solutions can play a catalytic role in stimulating the supply and demand of affordable housing, and create momentum for other underlying reforms. Such solutions have been used in other emerging markets, including the creation of Mortgage

Refinance Companies (MRCs), the provision of Housing Finance Guarantees, and developing Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) for Affordable Housing.”

The government could also consider providing private developers, long-term lease agreements to develop low-cost housing. In Nairobi, particularly the government has substantial land holding, most of the land held by government is poorly utilized and with low population density. Long term lease agreements with private developers, would allow them to make long-term investments for the provision of housing in Nairobi.

In addition, the institutions of property rights should be strengthened to eliminate to inspire confidence in investors willing to invest in low-cost housing.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrialization and the Business Environment

Kenya’s development planning happens under the auspice of the Vision 2030, as an all-encompassing development blueprint. The goal of vision 2030 is to transform the country into a middle-income country by the year 2030. Much of the impetus for economic growth envisioned in Vision 2030 anchors on industrialization as an engine for growth. In its own words, “it aims at transforming Kenya into “a newly industrializing, middle-income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment.”

However, the transformation envisioned in Vision 2030 is not yet realized. For example, in the years 2015 and 2016, growth in the manufacturing sector in the country averaged 3.3%, far behind sectors such ICT, real estate and financial services. Ideally, growth in the manufacturing sector should provide the platform upon which other sectors should grow. Additionally, Kenya’s glacial pace of growth in manufacturing is far outpaced by her Eastern African and other African peers, like Uganda, Ethiopia, and Tanzania.

NASA Industrialization and Business Environment Policy

Because of the preceding, it is no surprise that NASA pays a specific focus to industrialization in their manifesto. NASA makes the following promises on Industrialization:

1. Collaborate with counties to establish industrial parks for micro and small enterprises in every county.
2. Collaborate with counties to establish county workshops where Jua Kali entrepreneurs can lease machine time at affordable rates.
3. Provide technical support services to help entrepreneurs with design and product improvement.

4. Establish incubators to help SMEs to develop competitive products and break into the continental export markets.

On the Business Environment, NASA makes the following promises:

1. Fast-track the automation of land registries.
2. Implement the National Payment System Act.
3. Make entrepreneurship training a key component of the education system.
4. Pursue responsible external and domestic borrowing to get Kenya off the debt treadmill.
5. Surcharging officers who procure at above market prices; and blacklisting suppliers who charge the government more than other customers.
6. Empowering the Auditor-General’s office and providing it with resources to build capacity to conduct value-for-money audits on a continuous basis.
7. Set up supplier portals so that suppliers can electronically track the status of orders, delivery schedules, potential product shortages and payments received.

Although the above promises are well meaning, they do not go deep enough and neither are they a significant departure from policies already present.

Manufacturing in Kenya suffers from inherent systemic challenges that include; a suboptimal business environment, poor infrastructure and a weak rule of law system that does not provide for protection of both physical and intellectual property. For example, although the country has made strides in improving its business environment, the country is still ranked 92nd out of 190 economies in the Doing Business Report by the World Bank. Among the sticking points still yet addressed are issues like Dealing with construction permits, where Kenya ranks 152nd out of 190 countries; registering property where Kenya ranks 121 out of 190 countries and trading across borders, where Kenya ranks 105 out of 190 countries.

The Doing Business Report indicates that for NASA to have profound impact on industrialization, they need to make changes in the institutional environment rather than changes.

The other sticking point with NASA's proposed policies on industrialization is that, they are heavily state led. Policies that require substantial government involvement for their success, be it national or county government, run the risk of alienating the private sector who are the real engines of industrial growth.

On the business environment although NASA does have some good proposals on business environment reform, like "Pursuing responsible external and domestic borrowing to get Kenya off the debt treadmill." Most of the proposals they make do fall under the purview of the business environment per se, but rather fall into the domain of governance, proposals such as, "Empowering the Auditor-General's office and providing it with resources to build capacity to conduct value-for-money audits on a continuous basis," fall within the domain of public finance controls. Although the linkages between public finance and the business are diffuse, none should be misconstrued for the other.

Jubilee Industrialization and Business Environment Policy

In the next five years, we will:

1. Improve Kenya's global ranking on Doing Business Indicators from our current position of 92 to within the top 50 and further lower cost of doing business for both domestic and foreign investors.
2. Create and fully implement a robust Small and medium enterprises (SMEs) development and support programme which would formalize the large number of informal businesses and support their growth from micro to small to medium enterprises, and eventually into large firms. This would catalyze the creation of at least 1 million jobs and contribute to tax revenues.
3. By 2022, at least 1 million entrepreneurs in the jua kali sector, which forms a core pillar of economic activity in Kenya and contributes close to 25% of our GDP will have become established as formal small or large enterprises. The sector employs 11 million Kenyans, 50% of the country's workforce. Unlocking SME potential is a necessary condition for the transformation agenda.
4. Establish land banks for special economic zones, each of between 3,000 to 5,000 acres to create sufficient clustering and economic impact in the areas selected.
5. Expand our share of the US\$84 billion US textile market through the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) from the current 0.4% to 10%. This will revive our cotton sector, generate an additional KES14-20bn and create over 100,000 jobs.
6. Promote 'Buy Kenya' and 'Build Kenya' to expand production for local consumption and the upgrading of manufacturing capability. We will steer government towards goods made in Kenya by harnessing military industrial production capacity to build self-sufficiency in security consumer goods. Uniforms and shoes for the disciplined

forces will be made in Kenya. We will expand NYS production works to include a modern steel mill which will support the proposed housing construction programme.

7. Strictly enforce the 40% local content for all government projects and reserve 30% of those projects for SME's with proven capability to produce locally made goods and services.
8. Double the volume of processed agricultural exports to boost agriculture, create an additional 110,000 jobs and earn an additional KES60 billion. We will promote and export "Made in Kenya" branded tea, coffee, leather and take advantage of the strategic location of the Port of Mombasa to set up a "food hub" to process and export consumer goods to serve the growing regional market.
9. Establish a Kenya Ex-Im Bank and a Kenya Industrial and Commercial Development Bank to provide long-term credit funded by long-term bonds.

The achievement of Kenya's Vision 2030, particularly the goals encompassed under the economic pillar, relies to a large extent on a sound industrialization strategy. Jubilee makes policy promises targeted towards improving industrialization the country. Key among them include; improving Kenya's global ranking on Doing Business Indicators from our current position of 92 to within the top 50, creating a small enterprise support program, support at least 1 million jua kali and Small and Medium Enterprise traders to formalize.

LAND, AGRICULTURE, FISHING, AND ENVIRONMENT

The Jubilee Party promises that the regime will in the next five years:

1. Complete the 57-large-scale dam construction programme, support small-holder agricultural drip irrigation and work with the private sector to enhance commercial agricultural production on at least 1.2 million acres.
2. Double the fertilizer subsidy initiative, reducing the cost to farmers to less than 1,500/- expand the programme to include all crops with a resultant increase in production; support the expansion and capacity of local fertilizer manufacture.
3. Establish Centres of excellence through public-private-partnership arrangements such as a one stop shop for mechanization services for smallholder farmers, revive extension services and use ICT to educate farmers and link them to markets.
4. Work with county governments to establish at least one agricultural produce market that provides a central outlet for agricultural produce where farmers can sell directly rather than through middle men.

5. We will enhance the one-county-one-product initiative to facilitate better post-harvest management of food through food storage facilities, cold rooms and transport and distribution networks across the county.

6. Establish a Food Acquisition Programme to create demand and stable market prices for products from small-scale farmers who will be encouraged to form cooperatives in maize, wheat and potatoes. Under this programme, the government will buy 50% of its food requirements from small holder farmers.

7. Provide incentives for Integration of youth into agribusiness value chains, including market guarantees and incubation training and scholarships for youth to agribusiness.

8. Transform the strategic grain reserve (SGR) into a strategic food reserve (SFR) to include other food stuffs such as sorghum, millet, beans, peas, milk powder and canned beef.

9. We will formulate a land value index which shall be used for determining the cost of land in different parts of the country and promote the use of an Alternative Dispute

10. Resolution (ADR) framework to resolve land disputes on inheritance.

Agriculture sector as a whole is a key contributor to the economy (27% of GDP) . To this end, it is critical that the Jubilee Party has put emphasis around issues of promoting more land under irrigation, increasing food reserve; key measures that will promote other sectors such as manufacturing, improve the social development and the economy. More investments in the sector also means that the country will rely less on food importation, channeling the resources towards other development sectors.

And to protect the environment, the Jubilee Party proposes the following:

1. Maintain the use of green energy where Kenya is a world leader in its green energy mix.

The proposal is viable, especially given the current investments in wind power and geothermal.

2. Achieve 10% tree cover, improving on the current 7% cover, through growing safe trees and engaging public institutions to grow and value trees.

Tree cover is essential in the efforts to conserve the environment, promote food security as well as create employment opportunities,

3. Work with Counties to establish at least two proper waste management systems per county. Attract investors to establish waste to energy infrastructure for Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and other Counties.

Waste management is one of the main challenges that plague most of the cities and towns in Kenya and putting recycling policies in place, especially those turning waste into energy could address the challenge while also creating alternative sources of energy, economic and social development.

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Mission

To promote and widen the frontiers of social, economic, and individual freedoms within Eastern Africa through in-depth policy research and analysis

Vision:

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