



NCCK
National Council of Churches of Kenya

THE YOUTH FRAGILITY REPORT 2021





Hear the Youth: Kenya Youth Fragility Survey Report

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PREFACE

For more than a hundred years, the NCKK has been guided by the motto “For Wananchi” (For Citizens). Towards this, the NCKK has put very specific focus on the Youth, considering this core group to be critical to the well-being of the society. It is in this regard that in 1913 the NCKK initiated a strong and successful campaign against drafting of boys to work away from their homes, and against forced labour inflicted on Kenyans by the colonists. A resolution in the 1913 meeting of the NCKK lamented the inadequate housing for the youth voluntarily residents in townships.

Continuing with the focus on the youth, the NCKK in the 1920s established the Alliance High School, which was the first post primary institution for Africans. Prior to this, in 1919, the NCKK had resolved that equal opportunities would be provided to boys and girls in all schools. The school remains to date. Also established at the time was the Alliance Women’s Industrial Home, which served as a rescue center for hundreds of women who were in crisis. Further to these, the NCKK from the beginning has considered health family life a core factor in formation and well-being of the youth.

As the decades progressed, the NCKK continued to expand the scope and reach of social services provided to the populace. This was at a time when the locals were neglected by the colonial government. It was in this context that the Urban Industrial Mission was established to reach the youth in towns to equip them with technical and social skills for life. The NCKK in the 1950s campaigned vehemently for an end of the Emergency Law declared by the government during the war for independence. The Emergency Law seriously affected the youth, many of whom were either detained or displaced from their homes.

Six years after the country attained independence, the NCKK undertook a seminal research and produced a report titled “After School What?”. The research analyzed the destiny of hundreds of thousands of youths and found that after Primary School, the majority were moving into casual labour that locked the in perpetual poverty. The NCKK therefore introduced Village Polytechnics to equip the youths with technical skills for life and livelihoods. The dream of equipping the youth for better lives continues to date despite the move by the government to take over the polytechnics in the 1970s.

The NCKK has therefore walked with the youth of this nation for more than eleven decades, and remains committed to empower them to live wholesome lives. We have tracked the burgeoning youth bulge, analysed its implications in the prevailing social-political contexts, and recognize its potential for and pitfalls. We thus undertook the Youth Fragility Survey documented in this report to concretize our understanding of the key prevailing concerns of the youth in Kenya, and their proposals on how their lives can be improved. We in this regard express our deep gratitude for all those who participated in this survey, who include Cyprian Nyamwamu, the lead consultant, and Nelly Kibet, the research assistant, all the participants in the Zoom meetings, and the NCKK staff who facilitated the process.

It is our prayer and hope that the findings documented in this report will stir the hearts and minds and actions of the decision makers in the appropriate institutions so that they listen to and involve the youth in the day to day life of the nation. We can indeed turn the Youth Bulge into a blessing and not a curse for our nation, but only if we all take deliberate measures to do what is right, not what is convenient or traditional. I commend this Survey Report to you. May you hear the plea of the youth in this country, and may you deliberately create structures that engage the youth in governance and religious life of the nation. Let us all be inspired to embrace the youth, learning from the scripture in 1 Timothy 4: 12.

Don’t let anyone look down on you because you are young, but set an example for the believers in speech, in life, in love, in faith and in purity.

Thank You

**Rev Canon Chris Kinyanjui,
General Secretary.**

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Acronyms

BBI	Building Bridges Initiative
CA	County Assembly
CMD-K	Centre for Multi-Party Democracy- Kenya
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
MCA	Member of County Assembly
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NYC	National Youth Council
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes

Executive summary to the survey

The Youth Fragility Survey was conducted in December 2020 through nine focus group discussions organized by the Regional Offices of the NCKK. Each Region mobilized fourteen to twenty young persons who are active in their communities. The Focus Group Discussions were held on a virtual platform (Zoom). A total of one hundred and sixty four (164) persons were involved in the survey. The Lead Consultant and Research Assistant used a Focus Group Discussion guide to moderate the nine sessions, and thereafter compiled this report.

In summary, the Survey generated the following findings:

1. The youth in Kenya have eight main issues of concern:
 - Poverty, which encapsulates challenges related to unemployment, underemployment, lack of opportunities, lack of support for young entrepreneurs and talented youth
 - Poor education and training
 - Crime and insecurity, which they experience as both victims and perpetrators, high-handed treatment and harassment by security agencies and government officials, and drugs and substance abuse
 - Exclusion from governance, politics and decision making processes
 - Mental health issues leading to stress, depression, suicide and murders
 - Family Life Challenges marked by moral decay, marital breakdowns, casual sex, teenage pregnancies, and illicit sexual relations
 - Sexual and Gender Based Violence including Female Genital Mutilation
 - Health related challenges especially sexually transmitted diseases
2. The Covid-19 pandemic affected the youth in specific ways, especially through harassment and extortion by the police, loss of education, job and business opportunities, and an increase in cases of under-age and unplanned pregnancies, all of which provoked a sharp rise in mental health problems
3. The youth posit that the country is generally headed in the wrong direction
4. With regard to the Building Bridges Initiative, the youth were excluded from the process. Though they aver that The Handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Rt Hon Raila Odinga facilitated return to normalcy in the country, the youth however hold that divisions along ethnic communities have not been healed
5. With regard to the anticipated referendum on the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Bill 2020 (the BBI Referendum), most of the youth indicated that they would vote against the Bill due to process and content concerns

6. Participation of youth in governance processes is below par, with an average of 4.4 on a score of 0 – 10 against 10 participation indicators
7. The factors that cause low youth participation include:
 - Youth generally lack relevant and youth-friendly information and civic education
 - Youths are generally disregarded leading to discouragement
 - Lack of well developed structures for youth engagement and participation
 - Discrimination and victimization of young people by adults and government agencies
 - Requirements for payment for clearance certificates
 - Exclusion through formal and informal barriers
 - Poverty, in the context where participation in active politics requires money
8. Majority of the youth expect the 2022 elections to be bad, marked with localized violence, claims of presidential election rigging, and because the unresolved 2017 election issues may be compounded

Building on these findings, the Youth Fragility Survey makes the following recommendations:

- That each County Government establishes an active and representative youth roundtable and youth participation structures
- That the National and County Governments work with youth structures to meaningfully include the youth in all governance and development processes
- That parents and the wider society revitalize parenting and formation so as to be relevant and effective in reaching the youth
- That political parties put in place responsive, creative and organic structures that facilitate recruitment, mentorship and capacitation of the youth to assume positions of responsibility
- That the Private Sector and Non Government Agencies engage the youth in the design and implementation of initiatives to ensure adequate capacity building resources reach them
- That institutions of learning become advocates of the youth internally and externally, and that they promote the youth as persons with views, opinions and perspective that ought to be taken into consideration
- That the Church enhances her capacity as the counsellor advocate and mentor of the youth

1. Introduction to the youth fragility survey

1.1 Defining Youth Fragility

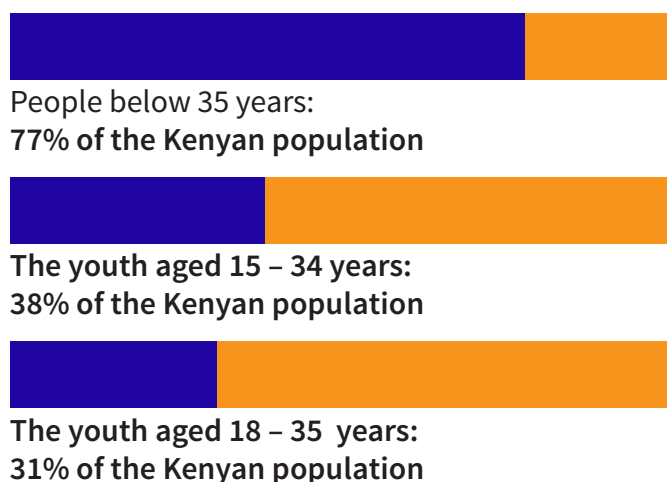
The World Bank Group in their Fragility, Conflict and Violence Report, considers four key elements when analysing Youth Fragility:



The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, aver that, “States are fragile when state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations”.²

In this survey, Youth fragility is understood to mean the social and economic vulnerability that youth face which is caused by political, economic and social factors, and which leads to their inability to engage, participate and influence favourable political, social and economic outcomes for themselves.

1.2 Background of the Survey



¹The World Bank Group's Fragility, Conflict and Violence (FCV) impact evaluation reports

²Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2007

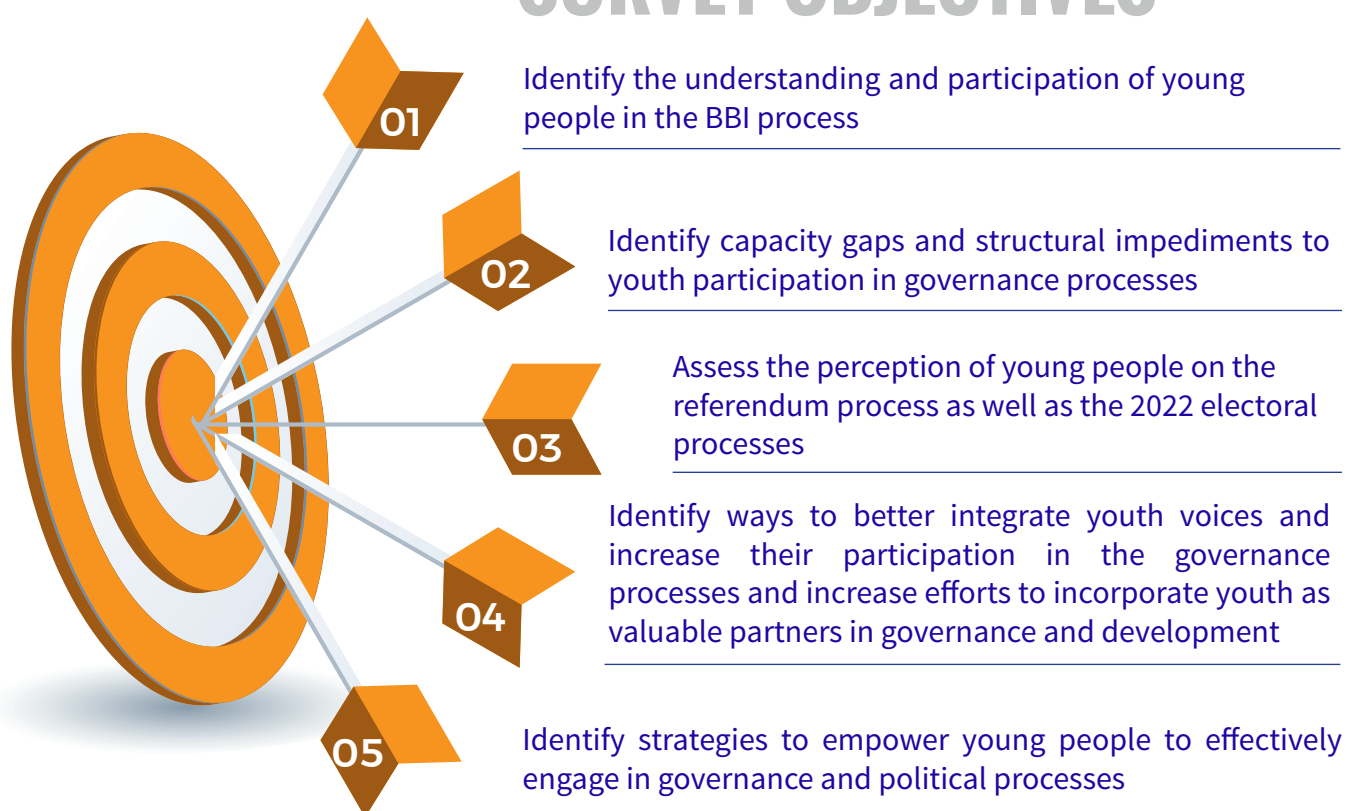
The NCKK in her planning and programming takes cognizance of the implications of this youth bulge on the socio-economic and political development of the country.

Admittedly, Kenya's youth bulge presents an opportunity for economic, social and political development while at the same time portending risks and threats to the country's social cohesion and stability if not adequately empowered and supported. It is evident that over the last decade, the youth of Kenya have been going through difficult social, economic and political times. The church generally recognizes that unless pre-emptive steps are taken, the youth bulge may become a curse instead of producing a development dividend for our country.

To establish an approach to bring out the best of the youth bulge, the NCKK has set out to build her capacity to identify knowledge, skills and participation gaps among the young people, analyze data, and utilize the findings to develop appropriate interventions and programs for the youth.

It is in this regard that the NCKK commissioned this Youth Fragility Survey set to achieve the following objectives:

YOUTH FRAGILITY SURVEY OBJECTIVES



1.3 Literature review

Youth fragility and youth involvement in governance and development processes is a major concern not only in Kenya but also in many African countries. This is because it has serious political, security, peace, economic and social implications.

The Centre for Multi-Party Democracy in Kenya (CMD-K) in the Youth Participation Charter (2015) generally notes that the youth are structurally marginalized in governance and policy making processes and institutions, including political parties. On their part, KONRAD Adenauer Foundation and NDI Kenya office generated their Policy Paper on youth participation and Engagement (2017) wherein they pointed out that the lack economic opportunities and social security is the biggest driver of vulnerability and desperation among youth in Kenya.

Upon being commissioned by the Inter Religious Forum, the Kenya Thabiti Taskforce published a report titled “The Root Causes and Implications of the Post Election Violence of 2007 / 2008”. The post election violence, triggered by a dispute on the results of the presidential poll during the 2007 General Elections, left more than 1,133 Kenyans dead while more than 800,000 were displaced. The report documented how the youth were involved as the main perpetrators of the violence against those they considered to be enemies of their political parties or ethnic communities.

In The Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper prepared by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) of Ghana, and in another book titled Political Participation in Zimbabwe edited by David Kaulem, a well-respected interfaith justice and peace scholar, it is demonstrated that lack of structures for youth engagement, weak and unstructured civic education, and general acceptance of violence as a tool for political competition has fertilized a political culture that disadvantages the youth in those countries. Similar concerns are applicable to the situation in Kenya.

1.4 The Survey Report

This report presents a background to the NCKK Youth Fragility and Governance survey that essentially locates the imperative of the youth bulge and its prospects and challenges to social, political and economic developments.

The Survey report outlines the methodology of the survey in which details of the process of gathering information and data from various youth leaders who are active in and outside the NCKK member churches. The validation meetings by the NCKK Executive Committee which provided very rich and valuable feedback are acknowledged in the methodology section.

The next section presents the findings of the survey, highlighting the analysed data based on the information received from the respondents.

The report then presents conclusions that capture the key learning points that the users of the report should not ignore even as they consider the various considerations in the report.

Finally, the Survey report makes recommendations based on the conclusions and the key findings of the report that point to what strategically could be done by various actors to ensure that the youth are re-engaged and meaningfully listened to while being made partners in the nation building enterprise.

2. Methodology

The Youth Fragility Survey was carried out in December 2020 through a series of 9 virtual Focused Group Discussions (FGD) of between fourteen and twenty-one young people. Each of the nine NCKK regions mobilized youths identified as knowledgeable about young people's concerns and aspirations, and who are working in and with communities where young people are active. The young people mobilized included those who are active members and leaders of political parties, those who are in the National Youth Council (NYC), as well as other youth interest groups in the regions.

The researchers developed a Focus Group Discussion guide which was reviewed by the NCKK Programmes Team, and which was pre-tested in the first FGD session which was patronised by youth in Western Region. Subsequently, the FGD Guide was slightly amended to enhance completeness and comprehensiveness.

Thereafter the consultants facilitated the other eight FGD sessions using the guide. In each region, the NCKK Regional Manager, played the role of moderator of the session.

The sessions were each recorded to accord the facilitators the opportunity to refer to the session in the process of collating and analysing the information. Afterwards the regional session proceedings were prepared as data for analysis which formed the basis of this survey report.

Simultaneously, a literature review was carried out to assess the material relating to youth fragility, vulnerability and participation in governance processes in Kenya and other African countries with a similar context. In the literature review, relevant and helpful information and findings were identified that are summarized in the introduction section at the beginning of this report.

Afterwards, the report was presented to the Executive Committee of the NCKK for validation and feedback. The feedback received was incorporated in this report.



9 virtual Focused Group Discussions (FGD)

14 - 21 youth per FGD

Mobilised youth included: active members and leaders of political parties, those in the National Youth Council (NYC), and other youth interest groups in the regions.

FGD Guide



Step 1:
Development and pretest of the FGD guide



Step 2:
Facilitation of the FGDs



Step 3:
Recording and collection of information from the FGDs



Step 4:
Literature review and analysis of collected data/information



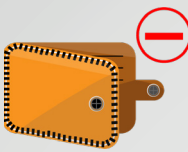






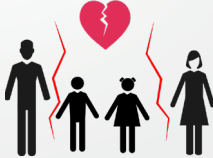


Step 5:
Presentation of findings through this report

3. Findings of the Youth Fragility Survey

The Youth Fragility Survey made several findings. In this section summarize the substantive findings under various themes.

3.1 Most pressing issues for young people across the country

The youth who participated in the Survey indicated the following to be the most pressing issues and concerns of the youth of Kenya countrywide:

 <p>Poverty, which encapsulates challenges related to unemployment, underemployment, lack of opportunities, lack of support for young entrepreneurs and talented youth</p>	 <p>Poor education and training</p>
 <p>Crime and insecurity, which they experience as both victims and perpetrators</p>	 <p>High-handed treatment and harassment by security agencies and government officials</p>
 <p>Drugs and substance abuse</p>	 <p>Exclusion from governance, politics and decision making processes</p>
 <p>Mental health issues leading to stress, depression, suicide and murders</p>	 <p>Family Life Challenges marked by moral decay, marital breakdowns, casual sex, teenage pregnancies, and illicit sexual relations (prostitution and sponsor culture)</p>
 <p>Sexual and Gender Based Violence including Female Genital Mutilation</p>	 <p>Health related challenges especially sexually transmitted diseases</p>

Issues specific to young women



The Survey enquired whether there were issues that were specific to young women, and the following were the key aspirations and concerns that were identified.

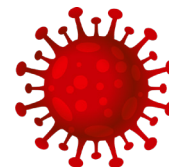
- Young women end up dropping out from schools and other learning institutions but the men who got them pregnant rarely get held accountable
- Many young women have suffered one form of GBV or another from their boyfriends and other significant others
- Due to poverty and pressure to afford a level of comfort, fun and recreational activities, young women engage in prostitution, accepting “sponsors” and the “sex for marks” engagements
- Young women experience sexual harassment when seeking employment or promotion as men demand sexual favours

Issues specific to young persons with disabilities



The Survey enquired whether there were issues that were specific to young persons with disabilities (PWD), and the following were highlighted:

- There is a stark lack of well-equipped schools / colleges for young persons with disabilities across the country. Where such institutions exist, they are few and are very costly. This means that financing education for children and youth with disabilities is a major challenge for parents.
- The various bursaries issued by government officials have not been aligned to reach the youth living with disabilities
- Discrimination / lack of suitable and employment opportunities across the country



3.2 How Covid-19 Affected the Youth

The COVID-19 pandemic evidently compounded an already bad situation for most of the young people in the country. From the accounts of the youth leaders who participated in the survey, it emerged that the authorities do not have a youth cantered or youth sensitive approach to service delivery or implementation of government policy or programs. The following specific observations and concerns were highlighted during the Survey:

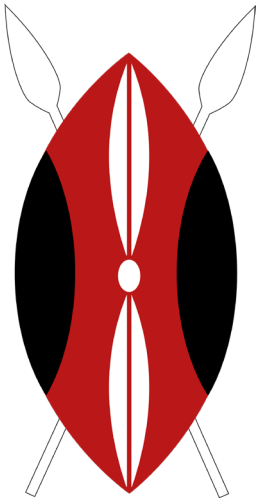
- During the COVID-19 partial lockdowns and restrictions, the youth were mostly on the receiving end of police harassment and extortion. The youth were always the ones who disproportionately suffered the police violence during that period.
- The youth were the ones most affected by school and college / university shut downs placing them in environments where they were more vulnerable than they were before the pandemic broke out. Most of the young people became more susceptible to exploitation physically and sexually as they sought to earn money for sustenance or upkeep.
- Many young people who resorted to casual labour (vibaruwa) including local motor cycle taxis (boda boda), cart pushing, farm and commercial labour supply during the COVID-19 period are at a very high risk of dropping out of schools and colleges.
- Cases of underage and unplanned pregnancies rose significantly during the pandemic period. This led to very many young women dropping out of school or college to nurse their children.
- The mental health of the youth was heavily affected due to the increasing pressure. Cases of depression were reported to have increased during the pandemic season.

The COVID-19 pandemic evidently compounded an already bad situation for most of the young people in the country. From the accounts of the youth leaders who participated in the survey, it emerged that the authorities do not have a youth cantered or youth sensitive approach to service delivery or implementation of government policy or programs. The following specific observations and concerns were highlighted during the Survey:

3.3 State of the Nation: Where the Nation is Headed

Most of the respondents (about seven out of every ten) in the survey indicated a strong conviction that the country was headed in the wrong direction. The youth believe that the economic, social and political/governance aspects of the country are not being managed well and there is decline, weakening capabilities or inability to tap the opportunities available in the various sectors of the country.

The main explainers for this view included:



- The national government leadership does not genuinely want to fight corruption which is taking away badly needed revenue that could make Kenya a more competitive economy
- The focus of the leadership is on the political issues such as the BBI and not making the lives of the people better
- The county governments do not generally have clear strategies for addressing the many concerns of most citizens around health and unemployment especially as concerns the youth
- There was a big concern that the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF) cannot be made to cover treatment for COVID-19 when it is most needed, causing it to join the other medical insurance companies that declined to pay for treatment of complications related to the disease

The COVID-19 pandemic evidently compounded an already bad situation for most of the young people in the country. From the accounts of the youth leaders who participated in the survey, it emerged that the authorities do not have a youth cantered or youth sensitive approach to service delivery or implementation of government policy or programs. The following specific observations and concerns were highlighted during the Survey:

3.4 The Youth and the BBI Process

The Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) was instituted in March 2018 following the Handshake between the President and the former Prime Minister. The Handshake was the culmination of negotiations to end months of violent clashes between police and demonstrators who were protesting the results of the presidential poll of the 2017 General Elections. A 14-member Task Force was appointed to undertake a national assessment of the nine issues identified as being of concern. In November 2020, the Task Force released a second version of their report, with an accompanying Constitution of Kenya Amendment Bill 2020. The latter detailed the proposed reforms that would require changes in the Constitution. Subsequently, the government facilitated collection of signatures to support the Bill for its presentation as an amendment through popular initiative.

The Survey sought to establish the extent to which the youth felt they were involved in the process. Participants expressed their perception that the BBI process was largely not inclusive of the youth. The youth were not only excluded from the membership of the Task Force, but were also not accorded adequate space to give their views.

On specific aspects of the BBI process, the participants responded as highlighted here below:

a. Familiarity with BBI Documents



More than 6 out of 10 reported that they were aware of the nine 9 Issues identified in the March 2018 BBI document

BBI Report 2: Most had not read BBI report 2 of October 2020

BBI Taskforce: Most reported that they did not give views to the BBI Task force but had read the BBI report 1 of November 2019.

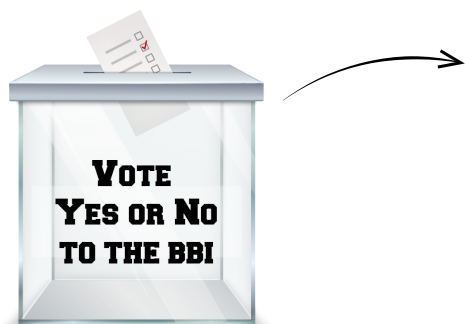
Constitution of Kenya: most had not read the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Bill 2020 published on November 25th 2020.

b. Extent of the BBI Building Bridges to National Unity



A majority of the respondents discounted the claim that the BBI process has promoted national unity and healed divisions between ethnic communities and political camps in the country. However, most respondents from Nyanza, Central and Nairobi said that BBI had helped to calm down the people and enabled to the country move forward.

c. How the youth would vote if the referendum was in December 2020



About 6 out of 10 of the respondents stated categorically that they would vote against the Constitution Amendment Bill 2020 (popularly known as the BBI Referendum Bill if the referendum were held in December 2020. The main reasons for being against the Bill were based on **process and content**.

The process concerns:

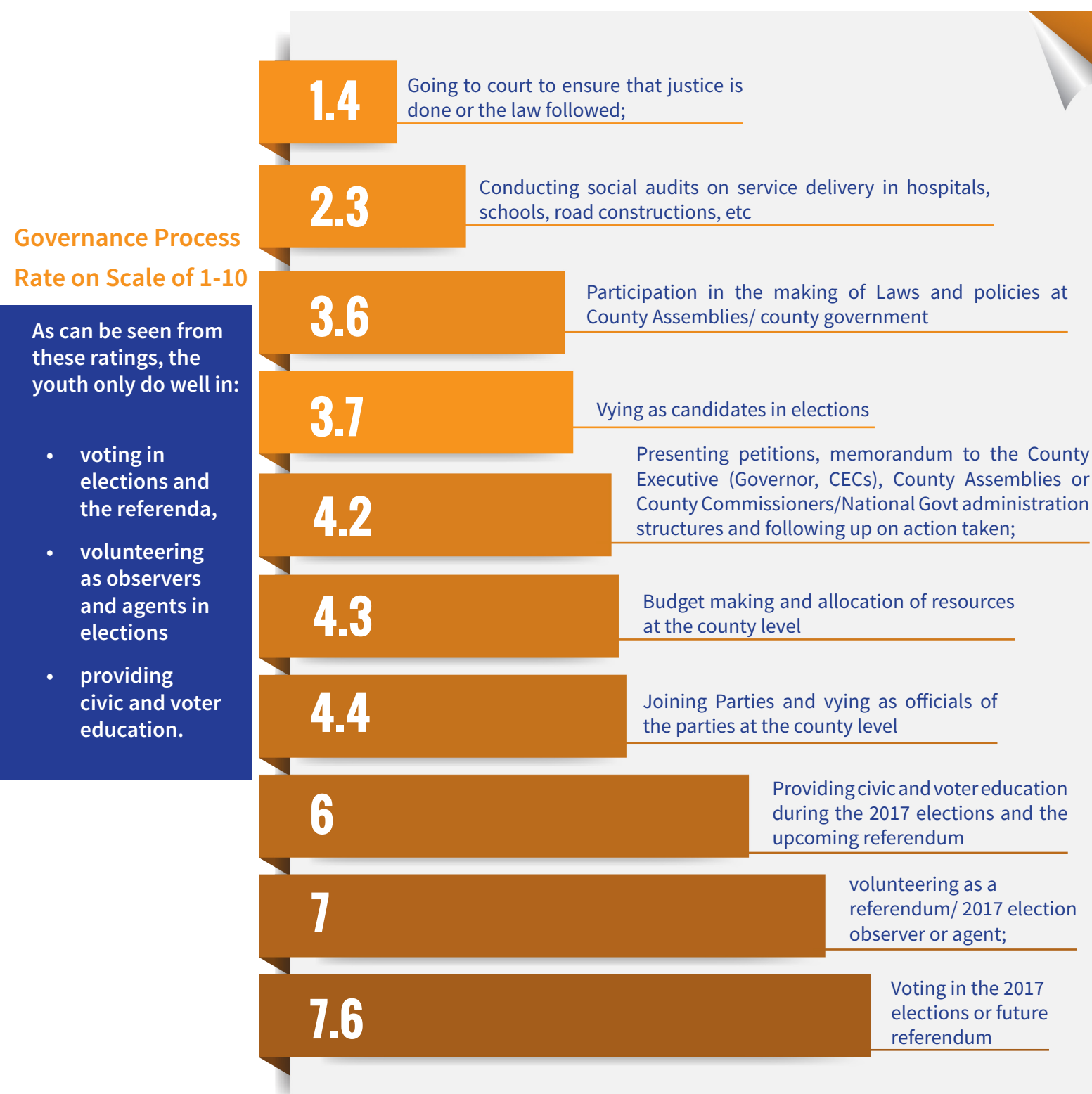
- That the youth had been sidelined in the whole exercise since the formation of the BBI Task Force that did not have a single youth on it
- How the government went about collecting the signatures to endorse the BBI Constitutional Amendment Bill
- That there was hardly any civic education going on to inform the public on the contents of the Bill

The content concerns:

- That the number of Parliamentarians proposed in the Bill would be too large against a call for punguza mzigo (make the burden lighter) by citizens across the country
- The consolidation of powers in the Presidency while taking away checks and balances
- Reduced institutional independence of the Judiciary
- Reduced presence of young people and PWDs in Senate and the National Assembly

3.5 Youth Participation in Governance Processes

The participants were asked to, on the scale of 1 to 10, rate the participation of the youth in different governance processes. The ratings were then added and the average for each process is presented below:



The youth are either not keen, do not have the time or are generally averse to the deep processes that require skills, facts, evidence and prolonged engagement with government officials. It is possible that because there is no deliberate government policy to engage the youth, they have not gained the required skills to competently engage in these governance processes including the ongoing Building Bridges Initiative.

3.6 Factors that hinder youth participation in governance

The participants in the FGDs were asked to indicate some of the reasons why the participation of youth in governance processes is so poor. The reasons highlighted were then compiled as reported below:

I	<p>Lack of relevant and user friendly information and civic education to empower the youth to participate in the various processes in the participation spectrum</p>	<p>merely posting information on newspapers, noticeboards of government offices, radio television does not necessarily spur the required or intended action from the receivers of the information. What is needed is consultation of the youth and involvement in the design of programs.³ In the case of the BBI process, the youth raised an outcry due to the fact that young people were not appointed as Members of the 14 member Task Force, and were not engaged by the County Commissioners' Offices across the country to give structured presentations to the Task Force. Further, credible civic education was not carried out to prepare the youth and citizens to participate meaningfully in the BBI processes.</p>
II	<p>The views of the youth are generally disregarded which leads to overall discouragement</p>	<p>Most of the participants in the FGDs informed the survey that young people have generally given up trying because their views generally are disregarded and they are not taken seriously. There is a general feeling among the young people that they are despised by policy and decision makers and even if they went forward to present views to these offices, there was a likelihood that their views will be ignored in the end.</p>
III	<p>Lack of well developed structures for engagement and participation</p>	<p>While the government has passed the National Youth Policy and reviewed it after several years, there is a lack of good will to strengthen the National Youth Council structures from the village to the national level as was intended. Representatives of the youth in the National Youth Council informed the survey that the body had been sabotaged by the government itself by being denied basic support and financial operational capability. Overall, the survey was informed that there does not exist in Kenya any meaningful and functional youth structures for participation. This notwithstanding, there were a few examples given of county governments that had opted to form the "Governor's Youth Roundtable". However even in those few exceptional cases, the Youth Roundtables were moribund or were ignored by the governors who had formed them in the first place.</p>
IV	<p>Discrimination and victimization of young people by adults and government agencies on the basis of their age</p>	<p>The youth feel that they are generally discriminated and targeted on the basis of their age by the elders and governmental agencies especially in politics and policy/decision making. This is tragic because in the end the youth are the majority and will bear the consequences of the policies and decisions that are made by the elder members of the society.</p> <p>This discrimination was particularly cited as regards extra-judicial killings of young suspects in urban areas and the widespread arrests and harassment by the police and members of the national government administration structure.</p>

³ The World Bank Group's Fragility, Conflict and Violence (FCV) impact evaluation reports

V	Requirement of documents and clearance certificates and experience	The survey heard that all over Kenya, young people are asked to pay for several certificates and clearances before they can qualify or be considered for employment, tenders, or access to opportunities in the economy and social sectors. The certification and clearances cost money and time to obtain. Secondly, one is required to have experience before they are considered for employment or appointment. The youth in the FGDs expressed disappointment that these requests had not been responded to effectively by the government. They urged the church to come in as a voice for the youth on this matter.
VI	Exclusion through formal and informal barriers in political parties	“There seems to be a disconnect between the youth and party politics, which could be aggravated by apathy and lack of internal party democracy. The report states that although the Kenyan youth constitute the biggest chunk of voters, they have not succeeded to harness political power within political institutions, including political parties”. ⁴
VII	Requirement of money to participate in elective politics	The political culture in Kenya generally is one where the voters expect a candidate for political office to have big amounts of money that he or she must distribute to the voters as a treat before they can consider such a candidate as a capable politician worth their votes. This culture greatly disadvantages young people below the age 35 who have not worked or run enterprises long enough to accumulate the kind of money needed to credibly contest for political office in Kenya right from the MCA level all the way to the presidency. This applies even in the offering oneself for leadership in the political parties, where it is expected that the aspirant for party office has to have enough money to “bribe” or “facilitate” the delegates in order to expect their votes. Within this political culture, the youth who do not have the money demanded by the voters and delegates to finance political operations of a campaign over a long period of time find themselves disadvantaged and unable to effectively participate in political processes.
VIII	Poverty	Young people across the board suffer from insufficient funds for start and working capital for their enterprises. Financial institutions tend to shy away from advancing credit to young entrepreneur since they in most cases do not own land or cars or property that they can offer as collateral.

⁴ Accessed <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/amp/ureport/article/2000174786/youth-to-blame-for-poor-involvement-in-politics>

3.7 The youth as victims and aggressors

The survey sought to establish how the youth view themselves in the governance processes. The respondents asserted that the youth are generally exploited not only by politicians but by other actors to be spoilers in the governance and development processes because of their vulnerable economic situation and the wrong-headed socialization. As a result, the youth are engaged as suppliers of labour in unleashing violence and other work at depressed prices in the market place.

3.8 Youth perspectives on 2022 general elections

Most of the youth respondents across the nine regions (57%) expressed fear that if all the prevailing political trends characterized by the Tanga Tanga / Kieleweke tussles, the Hustler Vs Dynasty narrative, and the BBI contestations continued unchanged, then the 2022 general elections will be bad elections most likely marked by localized violence and claims of presidential election rigging.

Some of the respondents believed that the elections will be disaster because the unresolved 2017 elections issues may be compounded, which include the IEBC, boundaries review, and elections technology.

3.9 Youth participation and engagement structures

Apart from the education and learning institutions, there are hardly any recognized structures that have been set up to mentor and support youth to participate in and raise their issues in leadership, governance and development. The exception was the National Youth Council which however has not been funded and its operations hardly took off. Lack of funding for youth initiatives was called a deception of the youth in similar lines with the “Kazi kwa vijana na pesa kwa wazee” (work is for the youth but the money is for the elders).

3.10 Strategies, programs and interventions for addressing youth Issues

Building on the information provided by the participants, the survey points to the following key strategies that should be adopted and implemented so as to address the poor participation and engagement of the youth in governance and other processes.

A robust Communication and Civic Education strategy is needed to enable the youth confidently engage in processes based on knowledge, skills and attitudes that will sustain their participation

An outreach strategy that will reach the youth at the village, Ward, Sub-County, County and National levels, in the universities and colleges, and also in schools. The country can no longer wait for the youth to come but instead needs to go to them and engage. The church particularly is called upon to move out of the churches and reach out to the youth who are at the risk of suffering social and psychological harm if not embraced and equipped to face life positively and with hope.

There is need to re-orient the Church to be responsive to the youth and to reach out to them

The national government needs to develop a Youth Employment and Economic Empowerment Marshal Plan which will address unemployment, lack of access to credit and technology, and promote market access

There is needed urgently strategies to empower young women and young persons with disabilities with focus on providing for them structures and safe spaces to express themselves

Different stakeholders need to organize peace building strategies and programs at the Ward, Sub county and County levels

There is need to expand technical education so as to equip young people with skills that will enable them take advantage of the various sectors of the economy in the country and globally



County Youth Development Policies and Programmes need to be formulated that are well resourced and sustained over a long period of time, with the youth at the center of the formulation and implementation.

Counties should put in place County Youth Roundtables, Youth Councils and youth structures and ensure that they are given the pride of place they deserve. Key in this is that the governors themselves should attend or follow through what comes from the Councils or Round-table meetings.

The country should focus on relevant and quality education, coupled with skills development and trainings for the young people, and ensuring education support for all young people, including women and young people with disabilities, in schools and colleges

3.11 Approach to youth engagement

Based on the responses by the participants in the FGDs, the Youth Fragility Survey established the need for a different approach to youth engagement and mentorship. Participants observed that the current programs are generally conceived by the administrative state whose central goal seems to be control and stabilization of society. They therefore recommended that the government should:

- **Ensure that there are well resourced and institutionalized youth-related structures that have the full support of government**

The trend since independence has been that anything that is youth oriented is underfunded or not funded at all. This has to come to an end if the youth bulge shall be made a national dividend and not a national curse.

- **Focus on the process not potential.**

Focus on process will ensure that the government consults, involves and trusts the youth. Focusing on the youth potential always causes government officials and other actors to be supply driven rather than demand driven. Program designers should be driven by demands made by the youth themselves.⁵

3.12 Key stakeholders in promoting youth engagement and involvement


The participants in the Survey were asked to identify the key institutions that would be effective stakeholders committed to strengthening youth engagement. They indicated that these institutions need to be activated and encouraged to invest in the youth. The institutions are:

01 The National government through the National government coordination offices represented by the county commissioners in each county	02 The County governments	03 Church leaders and churches	04 Youth as stakeholders through various structures
08 Various development partners	07 Schools and learning institutions	06 Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies	05 Private sector and non government agencies


⁴There have been reports in the country that some TVETs build by the national government in partnership with various donors and partners are almost empty as the youth have shunned them. This is an example of supply driven programming. May be the youth in the areas the TVETs want support to pursue other interests.

3.13 Proposed Specific Interventions for the church


Participants in the Survey recommended the following specific interventions and roles that the church can play to promote youth engagement and involvement.




Provide safe spaces for the youth to raise concerns about their needs, challenges and aspirations. Church leaders should then forward such concerns and ideas to the policy makers and other stakeholders.




Provide civic education for young people on all aspects of life including political, civic, social, moral issues and economic empowerment



Mentor young people to take up responsibilities early in life



Support young people on social issues such as marriage, parenting, social cohesion and peace



Protect the youth from government and security agencies harassment and from extra-judicial killings

4. Conclusion and recommendation

The NCKK and constituent member churches have in a timely way decided to place the social group of the youth at the center of programming and ministry so as to proactively position the nation to benefit from the youth bulge. Towards this, the NCKK organized and facilitated the Youth Fragility Survey that was conducted in December 2020. The findings of the survey are reported in the previous section. Based on these findings, the Survey reaches the following conclusions:

4.1 Recommendations

County Governments

This survey strongly recommends that the 47 County governments wake up to the central mandate of spearheading transformation placed on the counties. County Government need to consider:

- Providing civic education for the youth as required by the County Governments Act
- Recruit and train a pool of Youth Engagement and Development Officers (YEDOs) using a curriculum that is informed by the county stakeholders and the youth needs, opportunities and risks.
- This program should prepare the YEDOs as facilitators for transformation, and will be a clear statement that county governments have decided to engage the youth in a structured manner. NCKK should work with the county governments in this endeavour.
- Setting up youth participation, mentorship and engagement programs that will have social, economic and political participation and development aspects
- Developing and implementing Youth Policies
- Establishing County Youth Hub / Coordinating mechanisms that are inclusive, consultative, resourced and responsive

National Government

This survey strongly recommends that the National Government should:

- Review the National Youth Policy and to ensure that its implementation is prioritized
- Develop and implement a youth-focused strategy to spur economic productivity, creative sectors and industries, and nurturing of youth talents to enable them earn livelihoods
- Firmly stamp out ethnic and political militias
- Regulate the Boda Boda (bicycle taxis) sector
- Promote investment in the innovative and creative sectors, where youth can thrive, without abandoning the traditional economy

Political Parties

This survey recommends that political parties, which are the primary channel of political involvement and engagement, consider the following:

- Provide resourced youth engagement, mentorship and development structures and programs at the all levels
- ii) Put in place affirmative action policies that encourage and incentivize youth participation and growth within the political parties
- iii) Put in place programs and structures that place increasing levels of responsibility and trust on the youth

Parents

Recognizing the role that parenting plays in formation and culturalization of the youth, this Survey recommends the following for parents:

- Parents have to take up the task of parenting Kenyan children and youth more deliberately, and should seek to be adequately equipped with knowledge and skills for this task as a national, divine and priority
- Parents need to be equipped to manage and train children and youth to understand and exercise responsible sexuality so as to make homes safe and conducive for child development

Churches

Recognizing the potential that the church has in promoting youth engagement, this Survey recommends prioritization of youth ministry in addition to:

- Providing youth-centered counseling and pastoral services so as to incentivize the youth to come to the church, to attend seminars on sexuality, to wed in churches and to receive marital guidance and mentorship
- Providing and strengthening structures for youth development and leadership as a model to the society
- Undertaking mediation and advocacy with government and non-governmental agencies for social, economic and participation of the youth in governance and political life of the society
- Be a voice for the youth to address police harassment and to facilitate repairing of relations

Private Sector and Non Government Agencies

This Survey recommends that actors in the Private and Non Government sectors consider:

- Engaging the young people on a long term basis, not merely around elections, for effective peace building and to pre-empt the recruitment of the youth as perpetrators of violence

Institutions of Learning

This Survey recommends the following for consideration by learning institutions:

- Internally create structures and a culture of nurturing youth expression, engagement through students' representative bodies, safe spaces for debating, conflict resolution and national policy dialogue. This has been criminalized in most institutions of higher learning and it has had devastating effects on the national psyche and culture.
- Externally be the link to the private sector and social sectors for the socialization of the youth to be carriers of national values

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APPENDICES

- The Survey FGD Guide Tool
- Regional FGD Participants List

The Survey FGD Guide Tool

NCKK Youth Fragility and Governance Survey 2020)

Tool 1: FGD Guide

Target respondents: Youth active in youth issues and leadership in the Nine (9)
NCKK regions

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

Good morning/afternoon. My name is I am a research consultant for NCKK's youth fragility/governance Survey. The Survey is to help us gain more understanding of the realities of young people and utilize the findings to develop appropriate interventions and programmes for the youth.

Kindly Note that: Anything you tell us in this interview is confidential and anonymous. Nothing you say will be personally attributed to you in any reports that result from this interview. All our reports will be written in a manner that no individual comment can be attributed to a particular person. Your views/ responses will contribute significantly to enhancing NCKK's understanding and recommendations.

The discussion will take between about one hour and one and half hours.

SECTION B: DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

Instructions: Fill in this section only after you have completed the FGD session. Only single responses allowed per FGD

A1	Name of region	
A2	Time of Virtual Meeting?	
A3	Gender	Number of Males_____ Number of Females _____
A4	Day & Date of the FGD	

SECTION C: BROAD ISSUES

1. What are the six most prevalent Youth issues of concern in your region/County/Community? Identify two economic, two social / social well-being and two political;
2. How does each of these issues manifest itself? Elaborate/explain with examples.
 - Causes and parties involved
 - Locations affected, prevalence and frequency
 - Who are the most affected and most at-risk groups
 - Impact. How these issues affect the youth concerned and the community
3. How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected young people below age 35 in your region? How have the authorities responded?
4. If you were presenting these issues to the President or COG on behalf of your region, what order of priority would you give these issues from 1-5?

Issues No.	Reasons Why
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

5. Which of these statements do you most agree with?
 - a) Kenya is generally headed in the right direction
 - b) Kenya is generally headed in the wrong direction
 - c) Kenya is not headed in the right direction, nor is it headed in the wrong direction
 - d) I do not know

SECTION D: YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN BBI AND GOVERNANCE

6. Youth and the BBI Process:
 - a) How have the youths in this region participated in the BBI process since the Task Force was formed up to the current process of referendum signatures collection?
 - b) How conversant are the youth with the BBI documents?
 - I know the 9 Issues identified in the BBI document as the key issues
 - I read BBI report 1 of November 2019
 - I have read BBI report 2 of October 2020
 - I have read the Constitution of Kenya Amendment Bill 2020 published on November 25th 2020

7. Youth participation in governance processes:

7.1 On the scale of 1-10, rate the participation of the youth in the following governance processes

Governance Processes	Rate on the scale of 1-10
Participation in the making of Laws and policies at County Assemblies/county government	
Budget making and allocation of resources at the county level	
Voting in the referendum/2017 elections	
Joining Parties and vying as officials of the parties at the county level	
Vying as candidates in elections	
Conducting social audits on service delivery in hospitals, schools, road constructions, etc	
Providing civic and voter education during the 2017 elections and the upcoming referendum	
Volunteering as a referendum/ 2017 election observer or agent	
Going to court to ensure that justice is done or the law followed	
Presenting petitions, memorandum to the County Executive (Governor, CECs), County Assemblies or County Commissioners/ National Government administration structures and following up on action taken	

7.2 What makes the youth participation in governance not effective?

7.3 Are there particular ways in which the youth are a problem in the governance processes? And are they victims or aggressors, or both in those instances?

8. The perception of young people on the BBI and referendum process as well as the 2022 electoral process:

8.1 Has the BBI process helped to build bridges to national unity? If Yes, How and if No, Why Not?

8.2 If the referendum on the BBI Amendment Bill was scheduled for tomorrow, will you vote YES or NO on the referendum Bill? Kindly let us know why your stance

8.3 If all the current political trends continue:

- The 2022 general elections will be good elections
- The 2022 general elections will be bad elections
- The 2022 general elections will be a disaster for our country

9. What youth issues are specific to young women, young men, young persons with disabilities or a specific group of youth in this region?

10. Apart from the education and learning institutions, are there structures that have been set up to mentor and support youth to raise their issues in leadership, governance and development?

SECTION E: ADDRESSING THE ISSUES/PROBLEMS RAISED

11. What would you recommend as the best strategies/programs/interventions for addressing youth issues and concerns to help youth effectively participate in governance?
12. What strategies should be employed to empower young women and young persons with disabilities specifically to effectively engage in governance and political processes?
13. What needs to be done differently for the strategies to be effective and sustainable?
14. If these strategies were to be implemented, which key stakeholders should the NCCK work with to best implement the strategies? Why do you say so?
15. What specific interventions would the youth like the Church to specifically address and how?

Finally: Is there anything else you would like to add?

END OF DISCUSSION

Regional FGD Participants List

CENTRAL REGION

1. Lilian Pamita
2. Madrine Muriithi
3. Rev. Mary Wanjiku
4. Caleb Magomere
5. David Kuria
6. Grace Lorna Wambugu
7. Mary Ann
8. Martha Msoo
9. Titus Guchu
10. Nelson Maina
11. Emmanuel Saidi
12. Joseph Kang'utu
13. Jim Njagi
14. Daniel Kungu
15. Angela Wairimu
16. Braisaac Ngaru
17. Karen Kinia
18. Dancan Mburia
19. Rosemary Wanjeru
20. Enoch Kaburu
21. Isaac Waweru
22. Henry Njagi
23. Sandrah Otieno
24. Phyllis Kamau
25. Cyprian Nyamwamu
26. Paula Norah
27. Nelly Kibet

COAST REGION

1. Hashora Everlyne
2. Ambros Haro
3. Edwin Wamu
4. Eunice Omondi
5. Paul Mtundo
6. Joyce Benard
7. Geoffrey Oduor
8. Furaha K
9. David Kinyanjui
10. David Chilango Mgunya
11. Phineas Nyamai
12. Paula Norah
13. Michelle Mweni
14. Cornelius Kenga
15. Winnie Masika
16. Phyllis Kamau
17. Ali Dalu
18. Kelly Roberts Banda
19. Adir Ivo
20. Henry Njagi
21. Sandrah Otieno
22. Anthony Ngachira
23. Cyprian Nyamwamu

LOWER EASTERN REGION

1. David Kavati
2. Joshua Omondi
3. Lilian Okwiri
4. Susan Nyokau
5. Caleb M
6. Nzembi Nzioka
7. Kavita Mutua
8. Lawrence Mwendwa
9. Josphat Mwangangi
10. Rael Katumbi
11. Sandrah Otieno
12. Imelda Ncck
13. Moreen Mumbe
14. Simon Tumaina
15. Antony Kasaine
16. Phyllis Kamau
17. Rev Patrick Mailu- Dyo Makueni
18. Noel Abukutsa
19. Albert Kambo
20. David Njuguna
21. Margaret Muteti
22. Alice Mutia
23. Morris Makau
24. Henry Njagi
25. Lucy Mbugua
26. Alice Mwangi
27. Cyprian Nyamwamu
28. Paula Norah
29. Nelly Kibet

NAIROBI REGION

1. Edwin Onabo
2. Grace Ndung'u
3. Stephen Kuria
4. Beth Kiarie
5. Goa Mervyn
6. Caleb M
7. Irene Njenga
8. Job Ayubu
9. Susan Wangari
10. Susie Ibutu
11. Paula Norah
12. Leon Ambale
13. Kelly Kuria
14. Pithon Muchoki
15. Yvonne Achieng
16. Carolyn Ongalo
17. Tabitha Wairimu
18. James Gathiaka
19. Anthony Ngachira
20. Phyllis Kamau
21. Henry Njagi
22. Watson Aquilla
23. Cyprian Nyamwamu

NORTH RIFT REGION

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Chemwami Wanyama | 12. Nancy Sawe | 23. Roseline Odede |
| 2. Solomon Cheruiyot | 13. Henry Njagi | 24. Cyprian Nyamwamu |
| 3. Serah Njesh | 14. Beatrice Cherono | 25. Nelly Kibet |
| 4. Basil Ng'etich | 15. Rev Daniel Sawe - Emc | 26. Sandrah Otieno |
| 5. Cherotich Sheilah | 16. Faith Kiptoo | 27. Imelda Namayi |
| 6. Recho Tuko | 17. Jeniffer Muthaura | 28. Lucy Mbugua |
| 7. Ezekiel Waswa | 18. Grace Rugut | 29. Anthony Ngachira |
| 8. Collins Kemboi | 19. Isaac Waweru | 30. Susie Ibutu |
| 9. Mercy Cheruto | 20. Epero Kevin | 31. Paula Norah |
| 10. Vallerie Jepkoe | 21. Cephas Esurone | 32. Phyllis Kamau |
| 11. David Njuguna | 22. Cornelius Kibet | |

NYANZA REGION

1. Emmaculate Omollo
2. Zack Gaya
3. Leslie Okura
4. Jeremiah Sao
5. Caleb M
6. Job Mogendi
7. Susan Som
8. Vilda Atieno
9. Steve Juma
10. Isaiah O
11. Jeronime Akinyi
12. Omole Opinya
13. Nick Mc'ondwat
14. Mercy Odhiambo
15. Henry Njagi
16. Fatima Ondicho
17. Denis Marube
18. Alice Mwangi
19. Paula Norah
20. Sandrah Otieno
21. Nelly Kibet
22. Cyprian Nyamwamu
23. Phyllis Kamau
24. Okutoyi Carol

SOUTH RIFT REGION

1. Ngumi Grace
2. Lyndah Mwaura
3. Dan Kiplimo
4. David Njuguna
5. Joyce N. Ngige
6. Nelson G. Associates
7. Kevin Koech
8. Martin Gicharu
9. Joram Kiarie
10. Christine Kiptoo
11. Harriet Cheptoo
12. Samuel Lemurt
13. Dominic Kiprono Sang
14. Linda Mootian
15. Joyce Wanjiru
16. Susie Ibutu
17. Henry Njagi
18. Nelly Kibet
19. Cyprian Nyamwamu

UPPER EASTERN REGION

1. Susan Makena
2. Qabale Golicha Galgalo
3. Caleb M
4. Duncan Muthengi
5. Joshua Kabubu
6. Mercy Kendi
7. Morris Mwaki
8. John Kimathi
9. Fidelia Munyoki
10. Henry Njagi
11. Lucy Muthee
12. Japhet Gaichu
13. Robert Gikunda
14. Adan Ibrahim
15. Ruth Philip
16. Benson Mwingirwa
Linguli
17. Jeniffer Ciomaua
18. Nesy Magambo
19. Frasia Nyota
20. Phyllis Kamau
21. Paula Norah
22. Sandrah Otieno
23. Nelly Kibet
24. Cyprian Nyamwamu
25. Susie Ibutu

WESTERN REGION

1. Idd Yusuf
2. Paul Odongo
3. Collins Lutta
4. Douglas Adolwa
5. Isaac Marui
6. Mercy Ogwel
7. Joseph Simatwa
8. Andrew Amwayi
9. Nkata Vachi
10. Ambei Milimu
11. Maximiller Mmbone
12. Wilbroda Shinanda
13. Jack Agola
14. Vincent Mahasi
15. Noel Malenya
16. Phyllis Kamau
17. Cyprian Nyamwamu
18. Anthony Ngachira
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