



Kenya Vision 2030

A CRITICAL REVIEW
BY KENYA'S YOUTH

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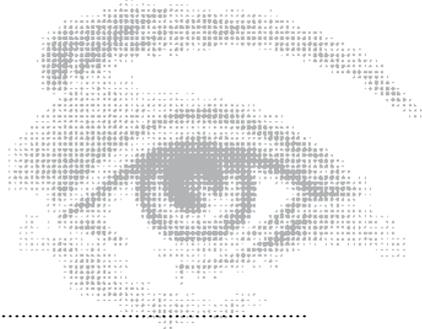


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Abbreviations

BPO	Business Process Outsourcing
ERSWEC	Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment creation
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
GCG	Grand Coalition Government
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOK	Government of Kenya
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KNDR	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
KV2030	Kenya Vision 2030
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MPND&V2030	Ministry of Planning, National Development and Vision 2030
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NESC	National Economic and Social Council
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIMES	National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PEV	Post Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity
PPP	Public Private Partnership
R&D	Research and Development
RBM	Results-Based Management
STI	Science Technology and Innovation
UN	United Nations
VDS	Vision Delivery Secretariat
YAA	Youth Agenda

Acknowledgements



This publication is as a result of consultations and discussions by young people. It involved interrogating the Vision 2030 prepared by government and released in 2008 to act as the guide for Kenya's long term development upto the year 2030. The interrogation was carried out because young people will live with the effects of the vision for the longest period of time and thus should appraise to ensure that the document meets their aspirations. It is part of the efforts led by Youth Agenda of ensuring that young people are at the forefront of recreating Kenya.

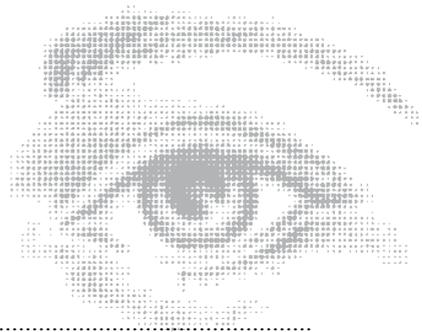
We wish to thank the youth consultative team that met and discussed critical perspectives and made recommendations on the Vision 2030 Blueprint. Their views formed the information from which this publication was prepared. Our sincere appreciation to Abraham Rugo assisted by Ms Atieno Ndomo who facilitated the consultative meeting and provide rich input and critique.

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This publication is dedicated to all young men and women as well as those who support and facilitate their work and endeavors to bring about social change in Kenya, particularly through initiatives towards empowering the youth to participate actively in public affairs.

Foreword



The Kenyan Government, through its National Economic and Social Council (NESC), made a decision to develop Vision 2030, as a guiding template for the country's development over the next two and a half decades. The work towards Vision 2030 commenced in 2005, however the public consultations started in October 2006. When launching the Vision, President Mwai Kibaki stated that the Vision was developed 'in order to build on the momentum of growth... so far achieved following our implementation of the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation'. The Vision is meant to ensure that the momentum in growth achieved since 2003 is sustained and built upon, to ensure that the targeted sustained growth rate of 10% annually is achieved. Its express aim is to catapult the country to a middle income status by 2030. However, just before its finalisation the country experienced a post-election violence that halted, even if only temporarily, the economic growth the country had experienced since 2003. This is the background against which the launch of the vision 2030 is to be seen. PEV also raised other socio-economic and political challenges including lack of national cohesion in the country.

The first five years of the plan are captured in a Medium-term Plan, the first year of which consists of a Transitional Plan, expected to help spur economic growth in response to poor performance in 2008. The President also noted that the Medium Term Plan would address many areas relevant to recovery after PEV, including: security; peace building; conflict management; revitalization of productive sectors – agriculture, tourism and business; and infrastructure development. The plan will be implemented through three pillars: an economic pillar designed to accelerate economic growth to 10%; a social pillar designed to achieve just, equitable and cohesive social development; and a political pillar which will reinforce an accountable democratic political system.

The launch of the publication was expected to mark a great milestone in the country's development history. However, the finalization of the document coincided with the 2007 General elections which resulted in a post-election violence. The violence shook some of the fundamentals on which the drafting of the Vision 2030 was based. It required several amendments to be made to the document before launch. Following its launch, The Youth Agenda (YAA) in conjunction with

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) held a consultative meeting on 17th -19th April 2009 to interrogate the vision and offer young people an opportunity to determine the role they could play in its implementation. The meeting was motivated by three main concerns; the overwhelming lack of information regarding the Vision 2030 across the country as Kenyans and the youth who will live it; the need to promote informed dialogue, deliberations and consensus building on the Vision 2030, as well as the need to promote a better understanding of the Kenya's development plan - Vision 2030 among a great number of Kenyan public and in so doing encourage public leaders to honor and account for the commitments made as a way of promoting a culture of accountability in the management of public affairs.

This publication summarizes the thoughts of young people who interrogated the document and is produced as a contribution to debate on the document and engagement with the process of its implementation. The publication, while lauding the preparation of Vision 2030 calls for addressing several gaps in its design so as to ensure it really helps the country to progress economically, socially and politically and achieve middle income status by 2030.

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1.0 Introduction



On June 10, 2008 Kenya launched its long term development blueprint, Kenya Vision 2030 (KV2030) and its first implementation plan, the Medium Term Plan 2008-2012. KV2030 envisages a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life for citizens. It succeeded the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment creation (2003-2007) (ERSWEC). Commonly known as the ERS, this earlier plan was the master plan for reviving the economy that was implemented by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government after taking over from KANU in December 2002. NARC inherited a struggling economy and a poorly governed country following the 40 year rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Its efforts to revive the economy saw an economic growth rise from a mere 0.6 % in 2002 to 7.1 % in 2007. The process of developing the vision 2030 was launched in 2005, during the third year of the NARC Administration.

The Vision 2030 is Kenya's first all inclusive long term development blue print. Previously Kenya has had two long term policies and several 5-year development plans designed to guide planning and investment for development. The first was Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Kenya, and the second was Sessional Paper No.1 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth. These plans attempted to confront the country's most entrenched problems by charting a vision of how development would tackle them.

Other long term plans that Kenya has committed to include *The UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*, *Industrialization by 2020*, *Education for all by 2015* and National Water Master Plan of 1974 for potable water, at a reasonable distance, to all households by the year 2000. The latter plan was never achieved while the progress towards the former on industrialization and education is unpromising due to delays on funding and the slow pace of reforms towards a conducive environment for growth of industrialization. As for the MDGs, various aspects have been achieved, although at a slow rate. The dismal performance in attaining the targets in the above mentioned plans has cast doubt on the viability of Vision 2030 given the fact that it has been developed in a similar political and socio-economic context.

The youth in Kenya have not been left out of the debate on the feasibility of Vision 2030. Furthermore, they are conscious that the implementation of this policy will have considerable implications on their lives. Taking the median age of the youth (those aged 15-30 years) in Kenya as 22.5 years, it's worth noting that the median age of this group in 2030 will be 43.5 years. These persons will be at the prime of their active life and it's imperative that they play a key role in shaping the world they desire to live in.

This publication is based on the inputs derived and consolidated from various consultations with groups of youth leaders in an effort by the youth in Kenya to share with other citizens their understanding and concerns on the Vision 2030. These consultations revealed significant areas of concern that require attention. They include: The key assumptions made in the development of the vision; the conspicuous absence of a cultural pillar (also outlining shared national values); the limited popular participation in the Vision's formulation and subsequent poor communication which has resulted in lack of awareness amongst citizens; transitional challenges that may see the vision abandoned by successive governments; the limited capacity of the Vision Delivery Secretariat (VDS) to ensure that all ministries and government agencies adhere to and implement the Vision and implement their ends; and, the assumptions underlying the targets set by the Vision.

2.0 Background and Rationale of Vision 2030



2.1 Background

In spite of being the largest economy in Eastern Africa, with relatively advanced agricultural and industrial sectors and substantial foreign exchange earnings from agricultural exports and tourism, Kenya is a low-income country, with a per capita income averaging about US\$360. But more importantly Kenya is also the most unequal nation in the region and amongst the most unequal in the world. Thus whereas Kenya rates very poorly in most economic and social indices the problem is compounded by massive income and geographic inequalities. The richest 20 percent take 61 percent of rural and 51 percent of urban incomes while the bottom 20 percent of the rural population receive only 3.5 percent of rural income. The bottom 20 percent in urban areas receive just 5.4 percent of income. These disparities have widened since 1982 and the implementation of IMF structural adjustment programmes. More than 50 percent of Kenya's poor live on less than \$1 per day. In spite of an impressive economic growth which stands at 6.1%. Belying this impressive growth is the problem of economic and social inequality that Vision 2030 seeks to unravel.

With the end of the 5 year term of the NARC government that implemented the Economic Recovery Strategy(ERS), there was a great discontent in that while the country had performed relatively well at the economic front and make progress in terms of political and civil rights, it has fared less better in the promotion of economic and social rights. The defining issues of the country's socio-economic and political environment over this period were and not limited to failure to complete constitutional reforms, failure of the war on corruption, social and geographical inequality; vigilant civil society, rehabilitation of the economy, restoration of the rule of the law, increased insecurity, reduction of poverty, and empowerment of the electorate.

This is the government that attempted to subvert the transitional justice agenda (with the passage of the Miscellaneous Amendments Bill 2007 in September 2007 which among other things seek to grant blanket amnesty to economic crimes offenders and the human rights violators upto 2003); the failure of two attempts to revive the constitutional review process after the rejection of the Kilifi draft at the referendum in 2005; the collapse of the fight against corruption; and shooting down

of the Affirmative Action Bill by parliament in 2007 . The disputed presidential election results in December 2007, an unprecedented wave of violence that erupted in several parts of the country thereafter left a lot to be desired of the Kenya political leadership.

Of particular interest to the young people, the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process acknowledged the urgency and importance of addressing youth unemployment. This is because it threatens social and political stability and the very foundation upon which a nation is built. Youth unemployment was identified as one of the key factors behind the post-election violence. As such, prioritising addressing youth unemployment is critical to consolidating national stability and generational posterity. Job creation has not kept pace with the number of youth entering the market from schools and other training institutions every year. Further, efforts that seek to address unemployment among the youth narrowly focuses on entrepreneurship without regard to the fact that not all youth are well organised to access the funds for entrepreneurship. It is in their interest and hope that Vision 2030 will be their savior and that they can excel before 2030

2.2 Why Vision 2030?

Vision, 2030 which is the government strategy for moving Kenya from a developing country to a newly industrialized country, was founded on the tenets that seek to address the challenges faced by Kenya and many other African countries. The quest has been that of following the footsteps of Asian Tigers like Malaysia, countries that enjoyed the same status as Kenya in the early years after independence but that have made tremendous progress since then while Kenya's development has been on the decline.

Kenya has suffered from economic disparity that necessitate a macroeconomic stability for long-term development: Vision 2030 was anchored on this foundation to ensure that there are low inflation levels, strictly limited public sector deficits, a stable exchange rate and low interest rates. In so doing the country will create and sustain confidence among local and foreign investors. This is critical in that the investments under vision 2030 are expected to draw heavily from the Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). This underscores the need to create policies and systems that guarantees better returns on investment which in essence sustains the PPPs.

Special attention has been given to investment in the arid and semi-arid districts, communities with high incidence of poverty, unemployed youth, women, and all vulnerable groups. National poverty incidence stood at 46 % of total population in 2006 (KIHBS Report). It is currently estimated to be over 50%. The inequality gap has been increasing and that has meant that the poor and

vulnerable continue to languish. Thus KV2030 seeks to create economic redistribution mechanisms that will ensure the reduction of the existing incomes inequality gaps.

Governance reforms now commonly referred to as the reform agenda are also key. The envisioned reforms were embarked on during the implementation of the ERS during the period 2003-2007. These reforms are aimed at creating a conducive environment for doing business and for the full enjoyment of individual rights that Kenyans are entitled to under the constitution. The objective is to end the endemic culture of impunity, rampant corruption and poor service delivery. Poor governance in Kenya has been blamed as a key causal factor of poor living standards among many a Kenyan.

The Vision 2030 aspires for a country firmly interconnected through a network of roads, railways, ports, airports, water ways, and telecommunications. Infrastructure is a key priority if the projects under KV2030 are to be successful. There are parts of Kenya that are considered remote and are inaccessible during rainy season. This has made them to be cut off from key public services and goods. Also investments have been hindered as the cost of doing business remains very high.

The cost of energy for example remains high in Kenya and highly dependent on hydro-generation and imported oil products. Any fluctuations in the pattern of rains and world oil prices have meant a rise in cost of energy and shortage of the same. This has in turn impacted on the countries development negatively. Several large scale manufacturing companies have preferred to move to other neighboring countries where cost of energy is lower. An example is the Unilever Company that moved its production plant to Uganda citing costs of energy. Thus, the target in KV2030 is to lower the costs of production and supply of energy, increase supply and diversify sources of energy. The latter seeks to cushion the country against shocks such as reduced hydro-electric generation due to water shortage.

KV2030 further proposes intensified application of science, technology and innovation to raise productivity and efficiency levels across the three pillars. It recognizes the critical role played by research and development (R&D) in accelerating economic development in all the newly industrializing countries of the world.

Appreciating that land is a key resource for development, the target here is to enact a National Land policy that will facilitate the process of land administration, the computerization of land registries, the establishment of a National Spatial Data Infrastructure in order to track land use patterns, and the introduction of an enhanced legal framework for faster resolution of land disputes. Kenya is alive to many land disputes that have led to bloodshed. Further, there are tracks

of fertile land that lie idle due to cases of absentee landlords and according to the Kenyan law the land cannot be utilized.

Kenya's greatest asset is its people. Its potential lies in their creativity, work ethic, education, and entrepreneurial skills among others. Thus KV2030 aims at creating a globally competitive and adaptive human resource base to meet the requirements of a rapidly industrializing economy. This will be through development of high quality pool of technical, industrial and entrepreneurial human resources.

Vision 2030 seeks to create a society free from danger and fear. This is in order to guarantee security of individuals and property. This is a key factor for a conducive environment for life and development. The Government commits to improving security in order to attract investment, lower the cost of doing business and to provide Kenyans with a more secure living and working environment. Kenyan cities have become insecure especially at night and it's time to reverse this trend.

KV2030 acknowledges that an efficient, motivated and well-trained public service is a key foundation. The focus is to build a public service that is citizen-focused, results-oriented and that meets the highest possible standards of effectiveness and efficiency. The target is to improve public service delivery. To improve economic performance Results-Based Management (RBM) strategies will be adopted in the public sector. Thus reforms aimed at address efficiency gains will be undertaken. Key areas of focus will be on change of attitude; service delivery orientation from process- to results-based; improvement of capability and capacity; performance management through reward of merit; and establishment of strategic management.

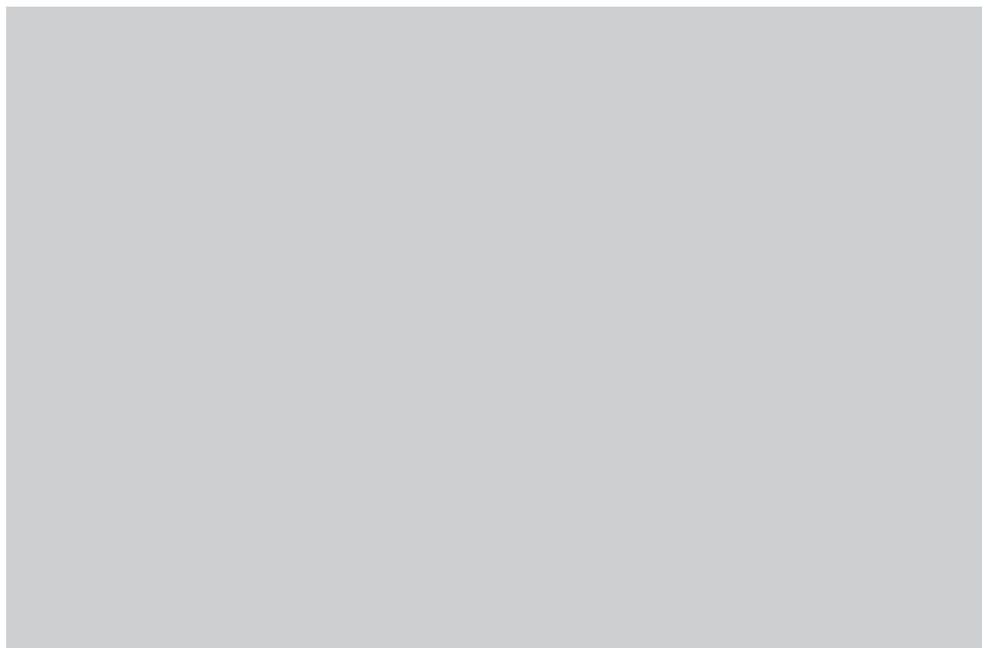
The vision delivery will be implemented by the various ministries and departments. The Vision Delivery Secretariat has been established to coordinate the implementation of the Vision. The Secretariat is established under the Ministry of State in the Office of the Prime Minister for Planning National Development and Vision 2030 (MPND&V2030) and will work closely with the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) which is a policy advisory body in the Country that is chaired by the president. Its specific mandate is to ensure timely implementation of the KV2030 projects. Given the disjointed manner in which the government ministries and agencies work, the VDS is bound to experience challenges in its coordinating mandate. However, this is likely to be cushioned by the fact that MPND&V2030 is under the office of the Prime Minister which has the mandate to coordinate and supervise implementation of government policy.

2.3 Highlights of the Vision 2030

The three KV2030 pillars are anchored on a foundation of macroeconomic stability; continuity in governance reforms; enhanced equity and wealth creation opportunities for the poor; infrastructure; energy; Science, Technology and Innovation (STI); land reforms; human resources development; security and public sector reforms. On implementation, the Vision Delivery Secretariat (VDS) will coordinate the various actors in enhancing timely implementation. The Secretariat has already been established and its first Director General is Mr. Mugo Kibati. KV2030 will be implemented through five year medium-term rolling plans. A number of flagship projects are identified in every sector for implementation within the vision period. In the foreword, the President of Kenya, H.E Mwai Kibaki, underscores that KV2030 is a vehicle for accelerating transformation of the country into a rapidly industrializing middle-income nation by 2030. He further notes that the journey to 2030 will require “sacrifice, hard work, self-discipline and determination”. The vision also outlines projects addressing the MDGs directly in key sectors such as agriculture, education, health, water and environment

The overarching vision is A globally competitive and prosperous nation with a high quality of life by 2030.

Figure 1: Pictorial Presentation of Vision 2030



Source: Kenya Vision 2030, Government of Kenya

2.3.1 Economic Pillar: Moving the Economy up the value chain

The goal for this pillar is to achieve and maintain a sustained economic growth of 10% p.a. over the next 22 years. The vision identifies six sectors that are collectively expected to deliver this growth. The strategies to be pursued in these six sectors will ensure that the Kenyan economy moves up in the value chain. The sectors are as follows:-

- 1. Tourism:** This is one of Kenya's major economic pillars, enjoying significant growth (13% p.a.) over the past few years and being the largest contributor to foreign exchange earnings (over US\$1 billion). Kenya aims to be one of the top ten long-haul tourist destinations in the world, offering high-end, diverse and distinctive visitor experience. In diversifying its offering Kenya hopes to venture in unexplored areas such as establishing a resort city in Isiolo and North Coast.
- 2. Agriculture** is the pillar of the Kenyan economy and contributes 23% of GDP. It accounts for about 75 % of employment especially in rural areas. However, productivity is significantly lower at about 2-3 times lower than international benchmarks. This is because the sector largely depends on rain and is thus subject to any slight variations. Secondly, most farmers produce only for subsistence and use traditional methods that produce very little. The Vision suggests institutional reforms and additional opportunities to unlock the potential of Kenyan land. The vision aims to promote an innovative, commercially-oriented and modern agricultural sector.
- 3. Wholesale & Retail Trade:** This constitutes a sizeable part of the economy- contributing about 30% of GDP and 50% of formal and informal employment. However, it is extremely fragmented and largely informal. Of the 97% employment created, 70% of value is informal. The vision for this sector is to raise earnings by giving the large informal sector opportunities to transform itself into a part of the formal sector that is efficient, multi- tiered, diversified in product range and innovative.
- 4. Manufacturing:** This has been stagnant at 10% of GDP over the past 30 years. There exists, however, a sizeable opportunity, in particular in domestic and regional markets and a potential to develop global niches especially in agribusiness. Kenya aims to have a robust, diversified and competitive manufacturing sector.
- 5. Business Process Outsourcing (BPO):** This is a small and nascent industry in Kenya. Plans for the country to become the top off-shoring destination in Africa are laid out in the vision. Improvement in key areas such as telecom/ energy cost and reliability and training would

carve a niche for Kenya in BPO. This is hoped to become the sector of choice for young professionals. With the laying down of the appropriate infrastructure including the fast internet connectivity through the fibre optic cable, the sector is expected to expand beyond the traditional call centres into providing business solutions and support to other countries. In so doing Kenya will be utilizing her advantages in the English and favourable time zones.

- 6. Financial Services:** This plays a critical enabling role in the economy. The vision for financial services is to create a vibrant and globally competitive financial sector promoting high-levels of savings and financing for Kenya's investment needs. There is ample room for further development across all areas – Capital markets, Banking, Informal finance, and International capital.

2.3.2 Social Pillar: Investing in the people of Kenya

The Social Pillar aspires to build a just and cohesive society that enjoys equitable social development in a clean and secure environment. Six areas comprising of about 18 sectors have been prioritized under this pillar. They are:-

- 1. Education & Training:** Kenya will provide a globally competitive and quality education, training and research. KV2030 aims at improving access and quality, equity (gender and regional representation) and the relevance of the curriculum. This will ensure the curriculum responds to Kenyans needs, encourages early specialization and improves institutional management and capacity development.
- 2. Health:** The sector will be transformed in order to provide an efficient, integrated and high quality affordable health care system. Of key importance is the improvement of access, quality, availability, equity, capacity and institutional frameworks on health. A lot of emphasis will be laid on ethics, education and professionalism in the health sector.
- 3. Water and Sanitation:** Limited and uneven water resources have made water to be very scarce in the country. The country aims to conserve water sources and enhance ways of harvesting and using rain and underground water. Areas of focus are Water Resource Management, Water Storage and Harvesting, Water Supply, Sanitation and Irrigation and Drainage.
- 4. Environment:** The aim is to create a clean, secure and sustainable environment by the year 2030. This will be through addressing issues such as: unsustainable management of natural resources (forests, wildlife, and coastal marines); degradation of the environment (air

pollution, solid and hazardous waste); climate change and desertification; and, inability to identify and develop strategic natural resources (low innovative and exploration initiatives and capacities).

5. **Housing and Urbanization:** The current demographic trends indicate that Kenya will be a predominantly urban country by 2030. The population is projected at 60 Million people in the year 2030. The vision therefore addresses key issues in housing and urbanization which are: Demand and Supply; Quality, Legal and Administrative areas; Finance, Serviced Land, infrastructure and Planning and Management. These will facilitate the development and access to affordable and adequate housing.
6. **Gender, Vulnerable groups & Youth:** The Vision outlines gender equity in power and resource distribution, improved livelihoods for all vulnerable groups and responsible, globally competitive and prosperous youth. Critical issues addressed are opportunity, empowerment, capabilities and vulnerabilities of these three categories. This would ensure improved livelihoods for vulnerable groups and responsible, globally competitive and prosperous youth.

2.3.3 Political Pillar: Moving to the Future as one Nation

The Vision targets the transformation of the country's political governance towards a democratic political system that is issue-based, people-centered, result-oriented and accountable. This will be guided by core principles of constitutional reform; sovereignty of the people; gender equality; national values, goals and ideology; A bill of rights; A viable political party system; Public participation in governance; Separation of powers; and Decentralization. This will be done in six strategic thrusts. They are:-

1. **Rule of Law:** This aims at promoting adherence to the rule of law applicable to a modern, market-based economy, in a human rights-respecting state. Legal and institutional framework to make this a reality is to be enacted before 2012. Indeed this is core because crime with impunity is the number one cause of the problems in Kenya today.
2. **Electoral and Political Processes:** This aims at ensuring genuinely competitive and issue-based politics. Kenya politics and electoral process has been the stage for many actors with no clear ideology and policy alternatives that should improve the lives of Kenyans. This would explain why many parties are organized around regional and/or ethnic basis. Key in moving towards this direction will be the full enactment of legislation covering political

parties. Non-discrimination mechanisms will be enacted to ensure inclusion of women and disadvantaged groups in the electoral and political processes.

- 3. Democracy and Public Participation:** KV2030 aims at a people-centered and politically-engaged open society. This will be through enacting and operationalizing the necessary policy, legal and institutional frameworks that enhance democratic participation. The great challenge in this is to ensure the pursuit of democratic practices such as joining political parties and voting in elections but also exercise of democratic values such as respect for differing opinions.
- 4. Transparency and Accountability:** KV2030 seeks to establish transparent, accountable, ethical and results-oriented government institutions. These will include promoting RBM within the public service and strengthening the framework for ethics and integrity. Overall parliament's legislative oversight capacity will be strengthened. This is has been found to be the missing link in public sector management in Kenya. As a result there are many cases of corruption in local and national levels.
- 5. Public Administration and Service Delivery:** The aim here is to promote policy-driven and service-focused government institutions. Inculcating a culture of performance in the public service is also targeteted. Rules and processes around the policy cycle will be strengthened.
- 6. Security, Peace-Building and Conflict Management:** This is to ensure security of all persons and property throughout the Republic. Mechanisms for public-private cooperation for security provision will be pursued. The KV2030 also proposes the inculcation of a culture of respect for the sanctity of life that retrains people from resorting to violence as a means of resolving personal and community disputes.

3.0 Vision 2030 - Re-examined



3.1 Whose Vision is it?

The youth in Kenya laud the initiative of developing a long term development blue print as contained in Vision 2030. As the first long term developments blue print for Kenya, KV2030 presents the country with a great opportunity for growth and development. In calling Kenyans to act in a business unusual manner, the vision underscores that its success will depend on a change of attitude and culture of work. KV2030 is purely a Kenyan initiative funded from the national revenues of the country. It also aims at financing the projects through locally generated financing. This will be through Public-Private Partnership (PPP).

The greatest strength of the Vision is its realization of the need for the place of foundations to facilitate, support and sustain development. This had largely been ignored in past development plans. It also appreciates that the future of Kenya is in the service sector and thus does dedicate substantial space to service related investments. Particularly it underscores the importance of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and related infrastructure in driving growth. The Vision identifies key drivers of growth instead of leaving it to chance and maps out what and where the said projects will be implemented.

However, while a cursory glance at the goals spelt out in the Vision may portray it as all inclusive and responsive, a deeper interrogation of the document reveals some flaws in its formulation and implementation strategies that if not addressed may hinder the attainment of these goals. Through the various consultative sessions, specific flaws have been identified in the document as a whole and also in the economic, social and political pillars.

The process of developing KV2030 left a lot to be desired and this may account for low engagement by the bigger populace in the country. Firstly, it was developed in the period immediately following the NARC government's constitutional referendum loss in 2005. Consequently, many citizens consider the document as partisan and associate it with the Party of National Unity (PNU). This has made it unpopular especially among persons not aligned to PNU. Whereas its endorsement

by Cabinet preceded wider consultations on it, in essence what was considered as an opportunity to get views from the public turned out to be a dissemination exercise which was conducted by the permanent secretaries in the various ministries of Government and only in provincial headquarters. It is highly unlikely that the views obtained from these meetings found pride of space in the document given the timing which was near the elections of 2007.

The level of involvement and participation was in question. Not many Kenyans including the youth were consulted and the input from the few who were consulted was heavily doctored. This, together with poor awareness creation about its content has locked out public ownership of the vision. As it is, the Vision is broadly seen as yet another political document belonging to one political party to create political mileage

It is a development plan that suffered and lacked effective Communication strategy to facilitate broad ownership and inclusion. There are scores of Kenyans who have no idea what KV2030 is all about. The KV2030 document is unavailable even in government offices and bookshops. It is thus right to note that, the nature of the process of developing KV2030 did not engender broad based participation and communication within and outside government. It is no wonder that many of the private sectors, NGOs and government ministries are not aligning their strategic plans within the country's development plan.

The Vision is premised on certain assumptions It is clear that the vision proponents expect that the country will be in a perpetual state of calm. Yet the events post the 2007 general election has significantly changed the context of development in Kenya. The violence that was triggered by the flawed presidential election of December 2007 has since changed the context of governance in Kenya. As a result the leaders of two main contending parties, H.E Mwai Kibaki of Party of National Unity (PNU) and Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Party (ODM), signed a national accord mediated by H.E Kofi Annan which established a Grand Coalition Government (GCG) on February 28 2008.

Secondly, the vision assumes that there is and there will always be the will among the political class and bureaucracy to facilitate and follow-through wide based governance reforms. This could not be further from the reality. The experience so far with the GCG has been slow pace of implementing the reforms, more so on pertinent matters that were raised as the underlying causes of the Post Election Violence (PEV 2007). The said reforms are contained in the Agenda IV of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Forum (KNDR).

Thirdly and closely related to the above two is the assumption on transitions. Kenya is alive to the fact that successive governments come up with new ways of doing things and in many times

totally disregard past initiatives. Thus, it is not a guarantee that the next government elected to power will continue to implement KV2030. This was the ensuing discourse in the run up to the 2007 elections where PNU was championing for KV2030 while the other political parties had distanced themselves from it. One wonders what would have happened in the event that PNU had lost the elections. Would KV2030 be in place? The Vision is thus vulnerable to leadership transitions and almost at the mercy of the incoming governments. This is especially so when public ownership and political consensus is not built around the document prior to its formulation, a challenge that will continue to dog the implementation of KV2030.

Fourthly and most glaring is the assumption that the Kenyan problem is largely an economic one. A look through the KV2030 document reveals that there was more emphasis in developing the economic pillar than the social and political pillar. As a matter of fact it is only for the economic pillar that the Government of Kenya (GoK) hired the renowned McKinsey & Company to develop strategies. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the initial intention was to develop an economic development strategy but this was faulted by various Kenyan professionals prompting the GoK to hire local consultants to work with Mckinsey in developing the social and political pillars. Past experience with strategies on economic growth, most recently the ERSWEC 2003-2007 shows that unless such growth strategy is preceded by institutionalization of distribution mechanisms then the outputs only benefit a few and widens the inequality gap.

Since independence, Kenya has produced many development blue prints, but whose impact has been very minimal. As a result, there is blue prints' fatigue in the country, in the face of actions that run counter to policy positions. Perhaps owing to the low level of public engagement during the Vision formulation, a lot of research and focus was placed on the economic pillar at the expense of the political and social pillars. Consequently, there is inconclusive analysis and incorporation of people's aspirations into the Vision document. This creates ownership and sustainability concerns.

The document does not specify accountability mechanisms to ensure effective implementation. Further, besides the evidence of insufficient political will to ensure implementation, the poor definition of the roles of the various government agencies such as universities and other research institutes, think tanks and other state and non state actors as well as timeframes of implementation make it seem unachievable.

Strategies in the document are poorly thought out. For instance, the proposed flagship projects for 2012 for the youth (copyright laws and tree planting) fall way below par in addressing youth issues. Such proposals suggest ill preparation for Kenyan youth to compete globally with other youth who have exposure and access to free education, business opportunities and resources such as credit.

There are insufficient or missing linkages made to other government policies and ongoing efforts such as the Metropolitan Development plan, the Youth Employment Strategy and even the National Budget- yet all these plans should complement each other. It is essential to have a harmonized and synchronized development agenda. Another important but missing linkage is the inter connection between the three pillars which ought to be mutually reinforcing.

Lastly, there is lack of adequate innovation in moving the country to middle income status. Issues like climate change that is now confronting the world receive very little attention. Promotion of national cohesion and addressing tribalism are also very flippantly treated. Youth as a key constituency is given public relations and peripheral treatment contrary to the reality that they are the majority of the population and should play the most critical role in moving the country to the next level.

3.2 Social, Economic and Political implication of Vision 2030

3.2.1 Economic

Youth note with concern that the vision fails to mention the mechanisms for equitable distribution of the country's economic gains. From the implementation of the ERS that saw the economy grow by up to 7.1 % in 2007, it was observed that due lack of adequate distribution mechanisms the impact of the growth on poverty reduction was minimal. The indicated reduction on poverty incidence to by 10% between 1999 and 2006 was only in percentage terms but in absolute the number has actually gone up from about 12 Million poor people to about 16 Million during the same period. It is not clear how the anticipated economic growth rate of 10% will impact the lives of citizens. The Vision is also quite vague on its definition of the middle income status. This could as well be a moving target. It is unclear whether it is the size of the economy or its productivity that is in focus.

Economy Transitions

The Vision advocates for a knowledge based economy, yet it has not specified the transition mechanisms from knowledge to products and services. It is also ironic that its own dissemination is extremely poor despite highlighting the need for a knowledge based economy.

Regional Integration

Kenya is a signatory to various regional and international treaties. The Vision 2030 has not factored in the implications of these regional integration as well as trade agreements, despite their importance in the context of trade and economic growth. The document takes serious issues

such as global recession, unfair terms of trade and the role of international financial institutions for granted and premises the country's growth on exportation of raw agricultural products such as coffee, tea and horticulture. Rather than expand growth opportunities, this strategy reinforces the country's vulnerability to external shocks.

Innovations and market realities

Strategies in the economic pillar should include focus on agro-processing. In addition, formalization of the retail chain especially in fresh produce should be factored in since many small scale farmers produce perishable foods such as vegetables, and are unable to access ready market. This would improve returns from agribusiness and provide an avenue for employment of young people.

Financing of Projects

Financing of KV2030 is bound to be a challenge if not well planned for on long term basis. One key measure would be to put a ceiling as to how much the government should spend on recurrent expenditures. This would include a cap on the size of government in terms of cabinet ministers and other constitutional offices as these takes a substantial amount of public funds which if saved would go to finance KV2030 projects.

3.2.2 Social

Economic Implications of the Social Pillar

This pillar puts together several sectors of social service type. They include education and training, health, water and sanitation, environment, youth, gender, vulnerable groups, housing, urbanization, social equity and poverty reduction. That the country has prioritized these sectors that remain undeveloped in the country is a most commendable effort.

Suffice it to note that this pillar puts together the consumption/expenditure end of the economy. The agenda put forth is largely from a social democratic perspective where the state provides the services to the citizenry. This is commendable. It, however calls for a large financial outlay and requires much more thought and strategies on how to raise the requisite resources. There seems to be an assumption that the economic targets will be met and the gains will in turn be used to finance these social costs. Ambiguity in this may lead to the country relying on donors thus increasing the debt burden, an outright abandoning of this aspirations or an implementation that will be far below expectations and standards. The latter two have the potential to spark civil unrest in the country. In addition the areas require much more innovative ideas and forecast of future challenges. It is difficult to envisage that a document prepared just about a year ago did not address climate change adequately in the environmental sector.

Gender, Youth and Vulnerable Groups

The document has a weak and almost non-existent gender, youth and vulnerable group's analysis. These significant demographic groups are treated as a mere 'add on'. Moreover, the lumping together of youth, gender and vulnerable groups as a sub group in the social pillar is a major flaw as each group has its own specific needs and strengths that deserve particular attention. Secondly, the document does not define vulnerable persons. It is unclear how the economy plans to harness the vast energy of the youth and compensate for the largely unpaid labor of women in the country. In addition, The Vision proposes engaging the youth in manual labor but fails to outline employment strategies for the educated and skilled unemployed youth.

The Youth feel that rather than being treated as a special items – youth, gender and vulnerable groups – they should be mainstreamed in the entire document.

Environmental Conservation

There is debate as to the rationale of considering environment as a social issue and yet most of the investments outlined in KV2030 will depend on the environment. The youth think that the environment is a key foundation and its conservation should be treated as such. There is also no clear mechanism of managing the environment in the context of industrialization. Thus important nexus between environmental sustainability and development needs to be addressed by the Vision. Climate change as a key issue requires much more critical focus.

3.2.3 Political

The governance principles spelled out in the political pillar are ideal. However, it is notable that the political pillar does not occupy the pride of space in the document. It only covers four pages of the 135 pages of the entire KV2030 document. The economic and social pillars each take about 50 pages, yet their success largely depends on good governance. While the KV2030 has idealistic principles and goals, it is not clear whether it appreciates the extent of existing inequalities and is capable of effectively addressing the same.

Poor Leadership

Standing between progress forward into reforms and the birth of a new nation built on the firm tenets of democratic government and the respect for and promotion of human rights and a fall backwards into the abyss of authoritarianism and bad governance which has characterized most of the country's 42 years of post-independence history, is a leadership distress and crisis.

Impunity is rampant and corruption is at an all time high. All this is because those in high office face no prosecution for corruption implications on them. As a result other public and private officials are engaging in corruption. Most issues of national importance including ethnic identities have been politicized and it is not easy to separate politics from the daily life of Kenyans. The aftermath of the flawed 2007 presidential election, brought to the fore how much political and ethnic intolerance exists in the country. In the PEV, over 1300 people lost their lives and about 350,000 were internally displaced from their homes. Many of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are yet to be resettled. The KNDR agenda IV is yet to be implemented fully. The debate as to how the perpetrators (those bearing the highest responsibility) of the PEV has been on and on and one can easily conclude that there is no political will to handle the issue. In a gesture that is at best an act of watering down the efforts, the cabinet decided that the matter should be handled by the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). There is public doubt as to the efficiency of this commission given the dismal treatment of the reports of past commissions by the respective government.

KV2030 will only succeed if certain matters are addressed amicably. These are:- persistence impunity over economic crimes; systematic denial of basic human rights; inaction to reverse dehumanizing poverty and inequality; and, institutionalized gender based and other forms of discrimination and exclusion brought about by poor leadership.

The policy fails to address these barriers and obstacles to requisite fundamental institutional and structural reforms in the country. Important issues related to land reform, constitutional reform, devolution of power, structure of government and inequality among others are omitted in the Political Pillar.

KV2030 further fails to recognize the role of the state in market failure and the country's leadership failure; neither does it acknowledge that these are the fundamental barriers to reforms. Instead, it impresses upon citizens to depend on the government for reforms, yet it is the same government sitting on and obstructing reforms.

The failure to address the outlined flaws will relegate Vision 2030 to the status of yet another failed development plan. Young people who hold the greatest stake in a successful development plan desire to be part and parcel of the implementation of an effective and responsive development strategy.

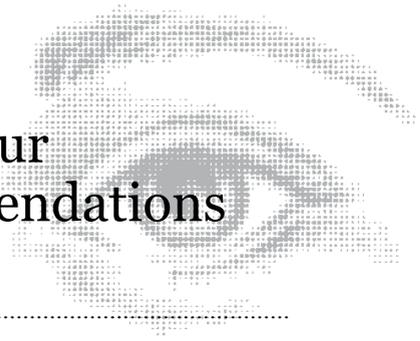
Given the pride of place that KV2030 seeks to occupy in Kenya's development landscape, one would have expected to see some salient issues included in the foundations. These include the cultural dynamics, moral, philosophical and national values that exert considerable influence

in the country's development agenda. Surprisingly these are the very items that are glaringly missing. The vision lacks a moral and philosophical foundation on which development is to be based. It further fails to address the sensitive concern of ethnicity. Failure to address regional disparities and to propose mechanisms to ensure equity in resource distribution is a key gap. The youth of Kenya are of the opinion that unless these pertinent issues are addressed then gains of the KV2030 may never be realized or may be destroyed by social unrest as befell the outputs of the ERS during the PEV 2008.

Agenda number four

The mediation agreement provided a fairly good basis for continuing working towards reconciling Kenyans, dealing with the underlying causes for the conflict and reconstructing the nation. But for it to work, it must be owned by the people. There are real dangers that as usual government and politicians may reduce this to their own affair and therefore lose this great chance of recreating the republic thus realizing the Kenya's development plan by 2030.

4.0 Regaining Confidence; Our Challenge, Our Recommendations



4.1 Our Challenge and Our Role

Given the systematic exclusion and marginalization of young people from the formulation of KV2030 and plans for its implementation, it is incumbent upon them to strategically engage with the processes and implementation plans around the policy with a view to exerting influence and bringing their perspectives to bear. Such pro active and conscious engagement would break the stereotype that youth are a dependent lot and habitual hecklers who can only be involved in sports, crime, alcohol and substance abuse.

Though the crafters of the Vision 2030 can hardly be classified as youth, the time span for the realization of the Vision dictates that those who will enjoy its realization are young people. Taking the median age of the youth (those aged 15-30 years) in Kenya as 22.5 years, it's worth noting that the median age of this group in 2030 will be 43.5 years. These persons will be at the prime of their active life and it's imperative that they play a key role in shaping the world they desire to live in. Despite this obvious reality, not many young people were consulted during its formulation and as a result, many of them are either uninformed or misinformed. This has however not locked them out of the debate on the feasibility of Vision 2030 since they are awake to the fact that the implementation of this policy will have considerable implications on their lives.

The Challenge is thus to ensure:

Public Education

KV2030 belongs to the people of Kenya and it is imperative that they be informed of what it is all about. In exercising their patriotism and rising above the common feeling of helplessness, the young people are committed to participate in public education efforts to demystify the content of the Vision 2030. This is hoped to be done in a participatory manner that will help the citizens see their role in implementing KV2030. Based on the gaps identified, young people are desirous of a process to redress these gaps and incorporate their proposals. More broadly, they are interested in reforms in other institutional policy frameworks as a mechanism for strengthening government's accountability.

Implementation of Projects

Young people will strive to participate in the implementation of flagship projects. They expect the government to design projects that will respond to the increased economic and social disparity that young people continue to face in this country. In addition focus should be placed on developing innovative business proposals that would maximize on e-commerce, marketing, tourism, Business Process Outsourcing and modernized agricultural activities. They will embrace cutting edge Science, Technology and Innovation initiatives.

Walking the Talk

The youth will uphold the principles of constitutionalism, sovereignty of the people of Kenya, gender equality, national values, human rights, public participation in governance, separation of powers and devolved governance so as to provide a conducive environment for the achievement of the Vision 2030. In addition they will actively engage in political parties and change their attitude in political engagement by focusing on issue based politics and long term strategies as well as contribute to social cohesion by building bridges across ethnic, regional and class divides. Participation in on going national processes such as the constitutional review and the Truth Justice and Reconciliation will give the youth an opportunity to air their views on obstacles that hinder their progress and the attainment of the Vision 2030.

Monitoring & Evaluation

It is crucial for young people to take part in the monitoring of the implementation of the Vision 2030 flagship projects. This can be done through participation in the **National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy** (NIMES) which will track the activities set out in the vision. The Youth Agenda and its partners should undertake an independent KV2030 Monitoring and Evaluation program. It should develop scenarios to enable youth to respond to emerging issues and facilitate interaction between youth groups and the Vision 2030 delivery secretariat.

4.2 Recommendations

Young people recognize that the economic, social and political environment has changed since the creation of the Vision 2030. The post December 2007 elections violence affected all the pillars negatively. There is less economic activity, less cohesion and people are less motivated to work. The resultant Grand Coalition Government is large and therefore more money is being channeled to government expenditure instead of development initiatives. Further, the priority accorded to the National Accord has relegated the Vision 2030. Other issues pre occupying government are: the prevailing food, energy and water crisis in the country; and, the global recession has made access to credit more stringent in the national and local levels. As a result, there is less money for development initiatives.

Despite these challenges, young people recommend certain steps to ensure progress on the Vision 2030:

Review of KV2030

There is a general consensus that the Vision 2030 should be reviewed to address the assumptions and flaws aforementioned. The flaws will be identified and solutions proposed to all the key stakeholders. A monitoring framework should be developed to ensure the vision is realized. Citizens can play a vital role in this through social audits. Such a review should consider emerging regional and global trends to enhance its relevance. National Budgets should respond to Vision 2030. Therefore young people need to engage in budget tracking.

Visionary Leadership

Critically, the attainment of Vision 2030 will require an alternative, committed and visionary leadership. The crop of political leaders that Kenya has is not committed to see the vision see the light of the day. They are selfish, greedy and are concerned with efforts that give them a mileage for their electoral campaigns hence no objectivity in the thought process. A lot of time is spent criticizing and fighting to bureaucratize the development process. The political games played in addressing Agenda 4 confirms the trends expected with Vision 2030. The champions of this change must therefore be young visionary leaders who have suffered the wrath of their fore fathers and wish to save this country.

Public Participation

Lastly, the government and the civil society should advocate increased public participation in the Vision 2030 initiative to get more public buy in to create momentum for its implementation. Like many NGOs would say, advocacy work involves but is not limited to public awareness to ensure that the community members that the government serves is aware and closely monitors the implementation of the flagship projects

Transition Mechanism

From the discussions herein it is clear that KV2030 lacks the requisite insulation from transition shocks. This is risky for a plan of its magnitude. ERS suffered this problem and hence the challenge to associate any impact in this country as was contributed by ERS a plan associated with the NARC regime. It is thus recommended that to the highest extent possible, all Development Plans such as Vision 2030 should be cushioned against leadership transition. This should be done by entrenching them in an act of parliament on planning or the expected new constitution.

Dissemination & Communication

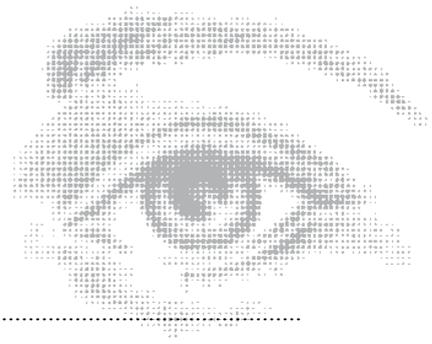
Greater public awareness on the various flagship projects should be undertaken countrywide as

a strategy of engagement, ownership and monitoring. This is key in enhancing ownership and sustainability. To further simplify the Vision 2030 for ease of reference and consumption by citizens, a youth friendly and simplified version should be developed and disseminated countrywide. The VDS should give leadership in this and apply the energy of the young people.

Recognizing that KV2030 needs to be engaged by all people of the world who may have interests in Kenya, there is need to upload it on the World Wide Web through a web portal that is easily accessible and fast in connection. The said website should be a model of the Kenya we want through KV2030.

Further dissemination should be done through the public where every public official would be mandated to inform Kenyans what the Vision is all about. It is also important the Vision be taught in the school curriculum as a compulsory non-examinable unit.

5.0 Conclusion



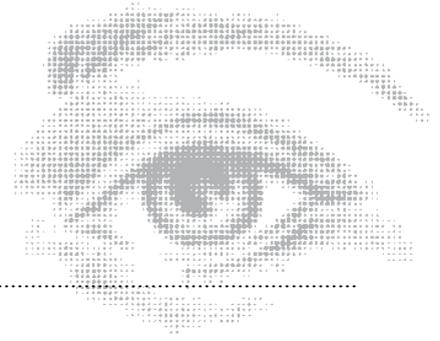
KV2030 is certainly an innovative plan that is bold but also very ambitious. It thus needs transformative leaders who are willing to do the right thing though it be unpopular. It seems like a safe document that exhibits no clear strategies of tackling the challenge of governance that has led to the failure of past plans. There seems to be a clear disconnect with the realities in present day Kenya. Further, there lacks the political will to implement the Vision 2030, and it seems as if the Vision was created as an end in itself. There is clear lack of broad ownership for the document among citizens, and the key question in many young people's minds is whether to advocate for the design of a new long term policy plan that addresses their needs as a generation, or to work to ensure amendments to the Vision 2030.

The contents as well as the flaws of KV2030 need to be debated by the public. Creation of awareness about the document should be done at three levels. Firstly, the public needs to know the content of the Vision 2030. Secondly, they should be given a chance to outline gaps and propose additions. Thirdly, they should give feedback on the implementation of the Vision 2030.

All Kenyan citizens need to engage in the fight against corruption and impunity that will hinder the implementation of the Vision 2030. They should engage in national processes such as the constitutional review and push for a youth friendly constitution. They should also be at the forefront in advocating for their needs and for the National accord to be in tandem with the vision. Additionally, young people should utilize their innovative ideas to advise the government on measures to tackle global recession and to advance towards industrialization. Only through the full and meaningful participation of the youth in all aspects of a development plan will it be effectively achieved.

With or without KV2030, the country is in dire need of change for the better. It is not enough to talk about this change – action is needed. We the young people are committed to make this happen and we will do so in honour of our motherland.

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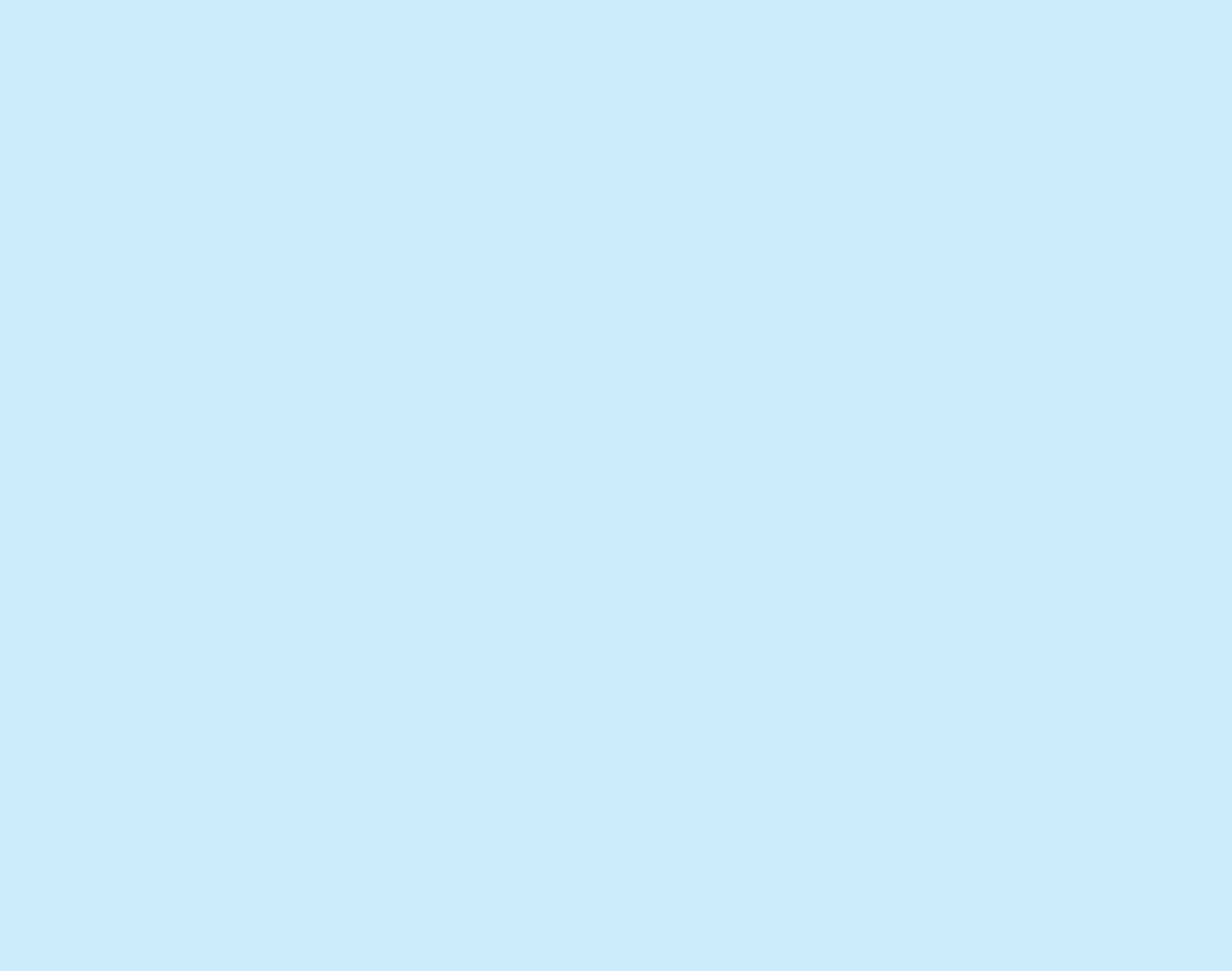


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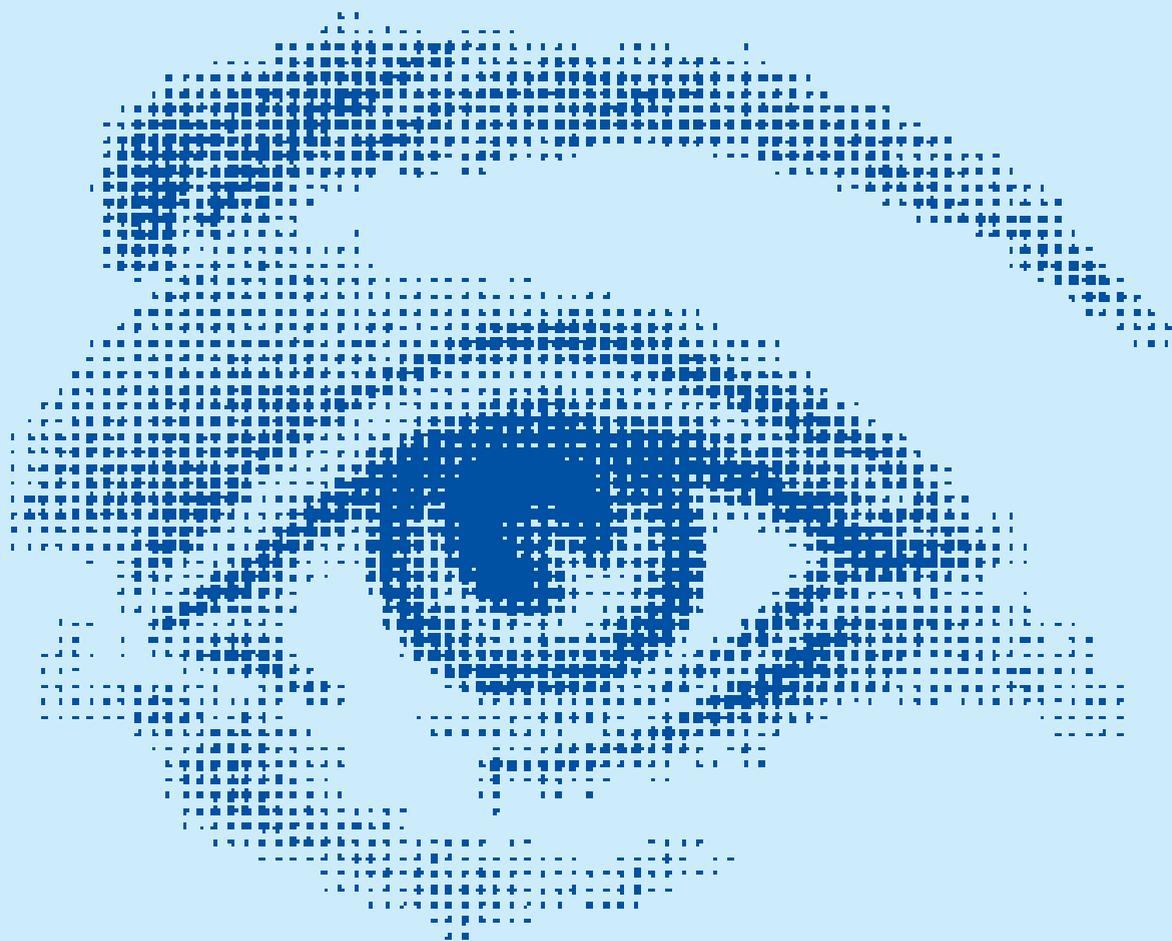
Kenya Vision 2030

A CRITICAL REVIEW
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The Youth Agenda





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