

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT (UPM)

True to my Country...True to my People

MANIFESTO



Wajir Road, Opposite Simba Motors-Mombasa Island

P.O. Box 90374 (80100) Mombasa

Website: www.upmpartykenya.or.ke

Email: info@upmpartykenya.or.ke

upmpartykenya@gmail.com

Tel: +254 710 539 068

+254 725 243 410

“Entrenching Democratic structures and systems that guarantee all constitutional freedoms, security, justice, and unity for a prosperous and stable nation based on the tenets of rule of law, human rights, transparency, accountability and public participation”

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	3
Historical background	6
Vision	7
Mission	7
Core values	7
Ideology	7
Preamble	8
Introduction	9
1. Finance	11
2. Agricultural transformation and inclusive growth	11
3. Trade and Industry	15
4. Housing and Settlement	17
5. Healthcare and Sanitation	19
6. Digital Superhighway & Creative Economy	24
7. Creative Economy	25
8. Infrastructure	27
9. Electricity	28
10. Manufacturing	31
11. The services economy	33
12. Sports and culture	36
13. Environment & climate change	37
14. Education	39
15. Women Agenda	40
16. The Youth Agenda	42
17. Social Protection	42
18. Governance	45

19. Foreign, Regional Integration & Domestic Policy	49
20. Communication strategy	51

Foreword

Why it is necessary to have United Patriotic Movement?

The challenges we face today as a country are mainly as results of the choices we make as Kenyans during elections. Without entrenching strong governance institutions that are answerable to the electorates, it becomes impossible to foster democratic structures and systems that guarantee all constitutional freedoms, security, justice, and unity, based on the tenets of the rule of law, human rights, transparency, accountability, and public participation.

United Patriotic Movement aspires to inculcate a political system that is answerable to the electorates at all levels of its leadership hierarchy, a pro change system responsive to the people's needs and aspirations at all times.

A system that will respect the judicial system, free the legislature, uphold our Bill of Rights and respect the freedom of independent institutions as enshrined in our constitution 2010.

We are asking ourselves as Kenyans, isn't it time to commit our law enforcement agencies into full independency and professionalism, aren't we able to commit ourselves into respecting the independency of the judicial system, can't we fully commit ourselves as a country to ending political prosecutions, abductions, forced disappearances and political witch-hunt .

Our economy and development are under threat due to poor Governance, poor leadership, mismanagement of public funds and corruption at all levels. Time has come for elected leaders to be held responsible and accountable for the poor state our economy and rampant corruption. Governance is a system controlled by team work. It could easily be assumed that the team carries the blame when in reality this system turns out to be an individual personality. United Patriotic Movement aspires to change all this by bringing into play professionalism in matters of state and public service and institutionalization of state organs to achieve maximized returns on investments at all times.

The constitution provides for empowerment of the judiciary and the criminal justice system so that they can perform their duties and functions independently. As united patriotic movement, we intend to make sure that at no time shall this Institutions functions and duties be Interfered with by any other arm of the government, or be used for political expedition against political opponents and shielding allies, business associates and family members. The culpability for crimes will never ever again depend on what side of the political divide one is on at a point in time, and can be changed just simply by one crossing over to the correct side.

As a political party and an incoming government, United Patriotic Movement will at all times promote and protect the independence of constitutional bodies ,empowering them to achieve their goals and objectives as provided for in the constitution of Kenya 2010.

As a political party, our main mission in socio political leadership aims at institutionalizing politics, which means to end personalization of political power and governance hence ending the culture of one individual thinking and reasoning on behalf of all Kenyans; making decisions without involving other stakeholders and encouraging impunity. This is an absolutely critical element of our transition to constitutional democracy and rule of law. A constitution is the foundational institution of a nation. A constitution is only as good as the political culture. Constitutionalism is the best way to anchor and steer a country's Leadership. As a political party, we steer clear from entrenching the culture of regional and tribal kingpins in the quest for good governance in this country.

As a political party we believe that unity, stability and prosperity of our country lies not in the greatness of men but in the strength of our institutions. United patriotic movement (UPM) party is founded on the ideology that the national aspirations - justice, peace, freedom, prosperity that we pray for, as we sing our national anthem, is a covenant that binds us to political inclusion and economic empowerment of all Kenyans.

As a people, we are tired of the culture of political tribal chieftaincy, being divided on tribal lines, Sole proprietorship of political spaces. We believe that the people of Kenya need strong national democratic political institutions of which united patriotic movement stands out as such an institution. An outfit that enables Kenyans to participate fully in decision-making, to hold leaders accountable and, above all, give everyone an equal chance to lead based only on their ability and desire to serve, irrespective of their tribe, gender, physical disability or social background.

United patriotic movement is well aware that every year, 800,000 young Kenyans are joining workforce after completing school, college and university. The corporate sector is only able to employ approximately 50,000 Kenyans. Another 100,000 to 150,000 fortunate ones are able to find stable jobs in successful small businesses. Over half a million swell the ranks of frustrated young people eking precarious livelihoods as hawkers, casual labourers and subsistence farmers who hardly produce enough to meet their needs. The number of struggling Kenyans now exceeds 10 million, more than half the country's workforce. Kenyan citizens are Kenya's most important human resource. If half of them are not productive, then it stands to reason that the economy will be like an engine firing only half the cylinders.

As a party, we are much aware that the modern, urban industrial business sector cannot be depended on formal employment. Much of the growing work force and limited capital will require that most jobs be created in agriculture and the informal sector. We need to change our model so that we can save millions of Kenyans who would be unemployed in the years to come as per the current situation. We have also known that the limited capital available will be

best be invested in creating jobs in agriculture and in the informal sector for the many, and prosperity for all.

UPM commits itself to promote more investment in youth skills acquisition, sports and talent development to compliment what agriculture and informal sector will add on modern urban industrial sector.

There is a clarion call loud in the air; you are being called to choose between two roads; one leading to constitutional democracy, institutionalized politics and opening the doors of opportunity to the many. The other road takes us back to the culture of lies, deceit, disregard to constitutionalism, personalization of power, economic damnation and hopelessness among the citizenry. United Patriotic Movement chooses the first road.

The people hold the power to decide their own destiny;
UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT

Monicah Shilisia Muchite
Party Leader- UPM

True to my country.....True to my people.

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT MANIFESTO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Political change agitation in Post-independent Kenya started in 1990 spearhead by Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) being a pressure group advocating for a return to multi-party democracy in Kenya. The popularity of this movement proved to the world that political change in Kenyan Governance systems was a matter of life and death. The movement forced KANU government to accept the near impossible, repeal of section 2(a) of the then constitution, allowing Multi-party democracy in Kenya politics. The much anticipated reforms path had started, the birth of second liberation of our land was being undertaken, but sadly the unity that consolidated all forces that were against dictatorship fell under the threat of rivalry for the party leadership that was FORD. Splits emerged weakening the party. FORD founder members including the late Kenneth Matiba and Martin Shikuku formed FORD ASILI, while the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and other founder members formed FORD-KENYA.

The emergence of Democratic Party under the late President Emilio Mwai Kibaki made the opposing forces against the government of President Moi extremely fragmented to measure up, necessitating him to retain his position in the subsequent elections that followed.

More setbacks were experienced. In 1992, Masinde Muliro passed away. He was the voice of reason and a unifying factor, if unity was to be found at all. Mzee Jaramogi followed in 1994, Oneko in 2007, George Captain in 1999, and Michael Wamalwa in 2003. They left behind a strong legacy of reformist. History will point out that a few captains left behind to champion the same only brought disappointment and drove the citizenry to hopelessness especially after the demise of Wamalwa Kijana and Emilio Mwai Kibaki.

In 2024, Kenyans were surprised when a movement led by Generation Z took to the streets demanding the withdrawal of the Finance bill 2024-2025 and more actionable reforms in the government of President William Ruto. The youth who staged countrywide demonstrations won the hearts of many Kenyans for their selflessness, bravery and fearlessness. The tribe less and leaderless movement achieved much, forcing the government to swallow its pride and withdraw the bill. The cabinet was dissolved, many heads rolled, and for once, Kenyans stopped thinking alongside their tribes and party affiliations, focusing on the issues bedeviling the country; the economy driven wayward, corruption, nepotism, deceit, lies, political persecution and so forth.

By the time Kenyan youth invaded the streets in most parts of the country in major protests that occurred simultaneously, the unfolding situation was a replica of what had previously led to the founding of FORD as a pressure group in 1990 and thereabout, which came out clearly as over taxation, mismanagement, corruption, looting of state resources and high headedness of the administration among other vices.

Then came the entry of the opposition into government popularly known as “broad based Government”. The people of Kenya have realized that for accountability, the opposition, lobby groups and non-governmental institutions must check the government’s excesses. The entry of the opposition into the government simply implied that the people had been left on their own since the oppositions role in governance had been compromised; leaving the nation at the mercy of the ruling coalition. Its worthy noting that lobby groups and non – governmental institutions are currently sound asleep as far as checking the government’s excesses is concerned in this decade.

United patriotic Movement comes into existence at such a time when Kenyans need a political institution that is responsive and answerable to the People, transparent and accountable to the people, thus our slogan of **“True to my country……. True to my people”**

We hereby embark on the path of either single handedly or with other equal minded political parties in Pre-election coalition pacts to attain leadership of this Country in order to bring a better leadership to the deserving citizens of Kenya in a democratic manner as enshrined in our constitution 2010.

Vision:

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT (UPM) envisages a free; secure, just, all inclusive, Prosperous United and a Stable Country

Mission:

Our mission is to promote Economic development and equitable distribution of National resources

Core values:

We believe in:

- *Justice for all*
- *Democracy/negotiated or shared Democracy*
- *Transparency*
- *Accountability*
- *Good governance*
- *Co-Existence/Tolerance*
- *Integrity*
- *Commitment*
- *Sincerity*
- *Dialogue*

Ideology:

United Patriotic Movement believes in Socio Democracy and its latter version of shared or negotiated Democracy, and its Tenets of: - Democracy, broad based taxation, collective civil

rights, private enterprise, Subsidized education, health care, child care and social security for all citizens, the rule of law and constitutionalism in all matter's governance.

Preamble:

United patriotic movement recognizes the heroic struggles of freedom fighters to liberate our land and people from the oppressive rule of the colonial government.

We hail the subsequent liberation struggles all along aimed at setting our people free from misrule of our own subsequent governments, by which constitutionalism has been the subject and good governance at stake.

We acknowledge selflessness, fearlessness and bravery of our younger sons and daughters the Gen Zs, for strongly coming up to remind us that Kenya is for us all and must be defended at all costs by constitutional means for posterity. Our intention for good governance is hereby expressed and will be realized through implementation of the understated sector programs.

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT MANIFESTO

INTRODUCTION

In August 2027, Kenyans will take to the ballot in a General Election. As United Patriotic Movement, we commit to give Kenyans among other things, the aspired independent judiciary, freeing the same and all other constitutional bodies from the shackles of the Executive as envisioned in the constitution of Kenya 2010.

We as a Party recognize the role of devolution in our governance as envisioned in our 2010 Constitution. We have witnessed how Devolved political accountability has been more responsive to people's needs compared to the Centralized administrative structures of yester years.

Reflecting on our journey as a country, we as Kenyans now know exactly the route we must take as a nation to arrive safely to the destination we aspire and deserve. A free, fair and Just nation, a united, peaceful and prosperous society, see more clearly where we are on the journey to the nation that we would like to be and deserve. Our aspiration is a united, peaceful, free, just and prosperous nation that we pray for every time we sing our national anthem. United Patriotic Movement aspires to render state capture a thing of the past, weeding out conflict of interest in state operations, and decentralizing both economic and political power.

Sixty years after political independence, Kenyans are still fighting for same freedom that our forefathers yearned and sacrificed for. The colonial State structure of racial domination and political repression were not dismantled. Instead, they were copied and pasted by those who inherited the position of power and privileges previously occupied by the white settlers for their own Selfish Interests. The story is not new, Political betrayals, fallouts, tribal discrimination , corruption, looting of public coffers, mismanagement of the nation, and hopelessness as a result, eventually bore another political struggle ,which to date is recurrent on generational basis.

The above-mentioned struggles last for a period of time, until that particular team ascends to power after which they forget the main objective as to why they got there in the first place. In 1992, Kenyans secured a new political dispensation and began to roll back the structures of political oppression, but it took 18 years before Kenyans would secure the constitutional dispensation that was frustrated shortly after independence.

As is evident today in all these struggles, there is one domain that has remained outside the purview of political action, and that is economic power. The colonial structures of domination and political repression were not ends in themselves. Everything was done so that they could be the only ones with economic muscles in other words, economic domination. When they took over, some of our founding fathers found the opportunities for self-enrichment too much to resist, a finding that was captured in the Ndegwa Commission Report of 1971:

“The achievement of independence in Kenya has brought with it great opportunities for individual advancement both so as to maintain careers and in less than orthodox ways. It is understandable that public servant should have taken their opportunities like other citizens, but if the benefits in some cases seem out of proportion with other Kenyans, it is inevitable that questions be asked as to how this came about.”

Today, Kenyans are compelled to defend our constitutional dispensation from the similar forces that subverted the Independence Constitution, and for the same reasons to preserve State Capture and its counterpart who wish to perfect economic dominance. The economic crisis that we are in today has nothing to do with shortage of resources, but mismanagement of the same. Mismanagement has brought us to the point of No more jobs for the citizenry, other than the political elites and their relatives in the public service or the small corporate economy. This means no absorbing the hundreds of thousands of irrepressible young educated Kenyans with middle class aspirations. It is no longer possible to extinguish their aspirations by ‘failing’ them in examinations, neither can we continue to throw crumbs at them such as *kazi kwa vijana*, exporting a few nurses overseas and such, expecting that it will stem the tide, as we continue with business as usual. Sooner or later, the dam is bound to break as recently witnessed in the Gen-Zs outrage of June to August 2024.

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT MANIFESTO

1. Finance

Financial resources are essential for development and recurrent expenditures. United Patriotic Movement (UPM) will institute prudent tax systems and expenditure for revenue to spur growth.

This will be achieved through:

Short-term implementation strategies

- Levying of simple flexible low rate taxes with broad based structures
- Collection of import duty in foreign currency
- High penalty for defaulters
- Zero tolerance to corruption

Medium term implementation strategies

- Re-invention of the Revenue Authority for administrative efficiency in tax collection
- Attractive and Stimulus policies for local and foreign investments
- Stagnated policies for domestic and international borrowing

Long-term implementation strategies

- Selective international economic cooperation
- Review of regional protocols on customs duty to widen tax net

2. Agricultural Transformation and Inclusive Growth

Agriculture is the backbone of our economy, contributing half of Kenya's GDP, a quarter directly and another quarter in directly. Two-thirds of Kenyans derive either all or part of their incomes from agriculture.

Agriculture well developed translates to food security which is a serious concern for our Nation and highly undermined by high population growth, rampant poverty, the HIV /AIDS Pandemic, Poor Markets for farm produce and the threat of competition from Regional Markets.

As the foundation of the economy, many of the challenges that we are experiencing can be traced to agriculture, either directly or indirectly. The role of agriculture to the cost of living is related since Food accounts for 54 per cent of household expenditures, but the poor spend 60

per cent or more. Agricultural productivity has not kept up with population growth, resulting in higher dependence on food imports.

In a few years now, food imports have increased from 10 to 17 per cent. In the world markets, we are increasingly being exposed to global price shocks. This calls for a purposeful increased investment in agricultural production as a nation to spur up our economic recovery. This can easily be directed to seven predicted factors. Quick turnaround; first, agriculture offers the quickest payback period for investments. This is because, in many cases, there is no new capital investment required. Increasing production only requires addressing the cost, quality and availability of inputs (animal feeds, seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc) and providing farmers with the working capital to buy adequate supply of the inputs as well as other direct production expenses such as ploughing of land and labour.

Looking at the case of the dairy sector, the biggest challenge that farmers face is the cost of animal feeds. We know that nutrition impacts on milk production in a matter of weeks. With a dairy herd estimated at 2.2 million lactating cows in Kenya, an increase in average productivity by 0.5kg per cow translates to 401 million kilograms of milk with a farm gate value of KShs 16 billion at KShs 40 a kilogram.

We propose to propose an estimated total cost of 10 billion as working capital for our dairy farmers, which would boost production and impact positively on the cost of living in Kenya. The cost of living that we are experiencing can only be resolved by raising agricultural productivity. The battle is between farmers targeting high income returns and consumers who want low prices, which drive us to focus on reducing the costs of farm inputs while increasing its availability.

We need to focus on every possible way of providing access to affordable inputs, including fertilizer and certified seeds, the farmer will earn more and subsequently reduce the six million bags imported annually and lower the cost to the consumer.

Cost of living: Food accounts for 54 per cent of household expenditures but poor households spend more than 60 per cent. Agriculture has the highest employment multiplier effect i.e. agricultural growth creates more jobs in other sectors than any other, owing to its strong forward and backward linkages to other sectors of the economy.

Foreign exchange: As noted, our dependence on food imports has grown considerably in recent years. Edible oils, palm oil primarily, is our second largest import after petroleum, on which we are spending Sh60 billion a year before the recent price surge, which pushed the import bill to over KSh 90 billion.

Our rice deficit is about 600,000MT, costing Sh25 billion about the same as our coffee export earnings. Three food commodities; edible oils, wheat and rice are consuming an equivalent of 25 per cent of our goods' export earnings. We have the capacity to produce a bigger share of

our consumption of edible oils and rice competitively. Agriculture is also the sector that we are most globally competitive in, both in traditional exports such as tea, coffee, cut flowers and vegetables as well as emerging export crops such as avocado and macadamia nuts.

Coffee production has fallen to below 40,000MT from a peak of 130,000MT, against an estimated potential of 200,000MT, which translates to a potential increase in coffee export earnings five-fold. We have several export crops that have collapsed notably pyrethrum, cashew nuts and bixa. Kenya was once the world's leading producer of pyrethrum, with over 90 per cent of world market share. All efforts are going to be made in order to revamp this collapsed in order to stabilize and maximize our earnings as a country from Agriculture thus improving our livelihoods.

Jobs: highest employment multiplier is Agriculture, i.e., agricultural growth creates More jobs in other sectors than any other sector, owing to its strong forward and backward linkages to other sectors of the economy. A Research conducted by Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) shows that four of the five value chains with the highest Job creating impact is agricultural. These are livestock (cattle, sheep and goats), hotels and restaurants, poultry, vegetables and rice incomes. As noted, two thirds of Kenyans derive all or part of their incomes from agriculture.

Thus agriculture-led growth will put more money in people's pockets directly than any other sector. This also means that agricultural income has the highest income multiplier effect, that is, when farmers have money, they buy consumer goods and services from other sectors. Moreover, given the large share of food in household expenditures, savings on food costs have a very large multiplier effect on other sectors. A ten per cent reduction in cost of food for a middle class household, with a monthly food budget of Sh20, 000, translates to a saving of Sh24, 000 a year. Nationally, the food expenditure of Sh3 trillion translates to a saving of Sh300 billion that households will spend on other goods and services, equivalent to an economic stimulus of ten per cent of the budget, or 2.5 per cent of GDP.

Ending poverty: Extreme poverty and vulnerability is also an agricultural phenomenon. An estimated two million households, one in six, are food poor. That means they are unable to meet the body's food requirements every day.

The vast majority of these are farmers. They have land but lack the resources to raise productivity to meet their subsistence needs. United patriotic movement believes that support to farmers to raise productivity would not only enable them to feed themselves, but also generate a surplus that contributes to national food security and the economy ,keeping the country secure from hunger.

Industrialization: Our manufacturing sector is largely agriculture-based, with food processing and beverage manufacturing contributing 40 per cent and 48 per cent of manufacturing employment and GDP respectively. When non-food agro-processing is added, agro-processing becomes more than half of the manufacturing sector.

Moreover, the manufacturing that is not agro-based is highly dependent on imported raw materials such as metals, chemicals and plastics. As noted, agriculture is our most globally competitive sector. Adding value to our agricultural exports is a more viable route to grow our manufactured exports than industries that are heavily dependent on both imported Machinery and raw materials, and which our only value addition is labour.

The United Patriotic Movement Commitment

We shall strive to transform this sector and build long-term stocks of quality food reserves on regional basis to deal with threats of famine. Our food and cash crop production strategy will also address food scarcity in the region and elsewhere

United Patriotic Movement will put in place more informed, well balanced policies that ensure the sustainability of farm enterprises and emergence of transparent and more practicable markets that are competitive enough for all the players in the sector. We will advocate for diversification of agricultural production and seek more development funds in other agricultural sectors that have not been receiving attention in that field. We shall transform systems of quality and quantity production in agriculture, Livestock and fisheries through:

Short-term implementation strategies

- Specialized means based on scientific classification of soils to re-determine crop suitability.
- Using certified quality seeds and other farm inputs
- Widespread use of professional extension services
- Fair market systems
- Dispersed and serviceable storage facilities for cash and subsistence produce
- Improved transport and communication networks
- Electrification of rural areas to attract investment
- Survey of export markets for sectoral produce to earn foreign exchange
- The transformation of the Agricultural, Livestock and Fisheries policies into a major poverty alleviation strategy in the country.
- Provide adequate affordable working capital to farmers through well-structured farmers organizations;

Medium term implementation strategies

- Transformation of all agro-based firms into support /conveying systems for agriculture, livestock, and fisheries industries.
- Streamlining of land distribution policy to balance settlements and natural habitats.
- Amelioration of negative impacts of regional cooperation on the sector
- Boost tea value chain (blending & branding).
- Deploy modern agricultural risk management instruments that ensure farming is profitable and income is predictable, such as was provided for scheduled crops by the Guaranteed Minimum Returns (GMR) Scheme in the 1970s. These instruments include crop and livestock insurance schemes, commodity market instruments such as forward contracts, futures contracts and price stabilization schemes.
- Transform over two million poor farmers from food deficit to surplus producers through input finance and intensive agricultural extension support, with a target to generate a minimum productivity target of Sh50,000 revenue an acre
- Raise productivity of key value food chains and other value chains (maize 8-15 bags an acre, dairy 2.5kg- 7.5kg a cow a day, beef carcass weight from 110kg - 150kg);
- Reduce dependence on basic food imports by 30 per cent (domestic oil crops production from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, rice from 18 per cent to 40 per cent);

Long-term implementation strategies

- Revamp underperforming and collapsed export crops while expanding emerging ones (coffee, cashew nuts, pyrethrum, avocado, macadamia nuts);

3. TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Trade and Industry are important activities for realizing economic growth and poverty eradication. Quality control is essential for production of high value and attractive goods. Industrial growth and expanded commercial activities earns revenue and deals with unemployment.

Good laws harmonize labor relations and strengthen the industry. Bottlenecks will be eliminated at borders to strengthen regional trade. We shall improve on principles and protocols for Regional, Continental and International trade for Commercial advancement to stimulate economic growth.

The Party shall increase the volume of exports through:

Short-term

- Aggressive search for export markets for finished products via E-commerce
- Strengthened quality control for standards of local products
- Outlaw and Imposition of high penalties on counterfeit goods
- Reduced costs of investment
- Cultivation of good relations with neighboring countries
- Increased production and distribution of power at low cost
- Creating positive platform for health dialogue between workers and employers
- Rebuilding. Expanding and maintain super-infrastructure
- Lowering the cost of telecommunications business
- Top up of Enterprise fund to expand credit for commerce and rural industrialization
- Revival/modernize collapsed industries
- Set up of County Enterprise and Skills Training Institutes to capacity build prospective investors
- Mainstreaming the Mining Industry

Medium term implementation strategies:

- Addressing of negative effects of Liberalization in the industry

Transforming the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Economy

The MSME economy contributes 85 per cent of non-farm jobs which today translates to 15 million out of 18 million workforce. Presently, it is absorbing nine out of 10 of the young people joining the workforce, 750,000 on average, while the formal wage corporate economy barely absorbs 50,000. KNBS data shows that when properly established, MSMEs contribute very significantly to the economy, generating an operating surplus a worker of over Sh50,000 a month, adding up to Sh600,000 a year. However, an estimated 10 million informal MSME operators and workers generate less than Sh 5,000 income a month on average, which is below the living wage for one person. This is a reflection of the hostile environment that they operate in, criminalization of their enterprises (e.g., hawkers), as well as disguised unemployment. These 10 million people, who represent half of Kenya's workforce, are the country's most underutilized resource. Our estimates show that if these workers were as productive as those in established SMEs, they would be generating Sh6 trillion a year, which is 60 per cent of GDP i.e., the economy would be 60 per cent larger.

The United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short-term implementation strategies:

- End criminalization of this trading practice: UPM will spearhead the enactment laws and by-laws to enable such practices to take place in a proper organized manner , with the right trading licenses and provision of a trading locations being an entitlement to

every citizen who applies. This can be achieved while working in close cooperation and consultation with County governments to provide designated streets trading Areas for designated number of urban residents, with a view to increasing average daily income of informal traders over and above what they currently earn.

- Regressive taxation: Bureaucracy and regulatory compliance costs. We will review and rationalize all business licenses, and bind them to one document and avail it online for easy access, cap total licenses at 1.5 per cent of turnover.
- Access to finance: We intend to commit enough resources every year to provide MSMEs with 100 per cent access to affordable finance through SACCOs, venture capital, equity funds and long-term debt for start-ups and growth-oriented SMEs;

Medium term implementation strategies:

- Infrastructure & Capacity Building: We will establish MSME Business Development Centre in every ward, and an industrial park and business incubation Centre in every TVET institution.

4. Housing and Settlement

Urban housing

Descent shelter is a basic right enshrined in our Constitution as one of the basic social and economic rights. It is the right to “accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation” (Art. 43(b)). The requirement for new urban housing is estimated at 250,000 units a year, against a production of 50,000 units, translating to a deficit of 200,000 units. The cumulative deficit is estimated at two million units. As a result, more than 60 per cent of urban Kenyans live in slums and other low-quality housing without adequate sanitation, undermining their dignity and exposing them to health hazards. This is also a reflection of the bias toward supper income housing. Of the 50,000 units built every year, only 2 per cent (1,000 units) are classified as affordable housing. Moreover, our rapid urbanization rate at 4.4 per cent, equivalent to 500,000 new city dwellers a year, means that housing supply is a moving target. Urgent intervention measures are required to transform urban centers into descent cities and mega cities.

The United Patriotic Movement Commitment

United Patriotic Movement housing commitment is to turn the housing challenge into an economic opportunity. Next to agriculture, we see housing production as the sector that will create quality jobs for over 100,000 young people graduating from TVETs every year directly in the construction sector and indirectly through the production of building products. We will:

Short- term implementation strategies:

- Increase supply of new housing to 250,000 per annum and percentage of affordable housing supply from 2 per cent to 50 per cent. We will achieve this by structuring

affordable long-term housing finance schemes, including a National Housing Fund and Cooperative Social Housing Schemes, that will guarantee off take of houses from developers.

- Grow the number of mortgages from 30,000 to 1,000,000 by enabling low-cost mortgages of Sh10,000 and below;
- Strengthen Jua Kali industry capacity to produce high quality construction products.
- Give developers incentives to build more affordable housing.

Medium term implementation strategies:

- Arrangement to lower cost of building materials
- Legislation to make it compulsory the observation of basic laws on safety, water, and energy conservation in construction of buildings.
- Partner with relevant ministries and development partners to provide modern infrastructure in rural and urban housing.
- Floating sufficient loans for housing development in the capital market.

Rural housing and settlement

The right to own a decent house as enshrined in the constitution is not limited to urban settlements. Indeed, the vast majority of Kenyans live in their own rural homes. That said, rural Kenya also has its fair share of land and settlement challenges, including landlessness, insecure land tenure, notably the historical squatter problem in the Coast region. Population pressure on land resources is manifested by fragmentation, encroachment of forests and other ecologically sensitive areas and human-wildlife conflict.

This is despite Kenya having considerable unused and underutilized agricultural land. Over the years, administrative solutions such as limits on land subdivision, as well as ceilings on land ownership and taxing of idle land, have been mooted. United patriotic movement is persuaded that such measures should be a last resort and more friendly solutions should be sought and applied.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term implementation strategies:

- United patriotic movement commits to establish a Settlement Fund similar to the one that was used to acquire land from settler farmers after independence;
- Observation of national policy on land acquisition /disposal and development
- Avail to the public proved plans for a wide range of cheap decent structures and standards for deviation for rural housing development.

Medium term implementation strategies:

- To stop land fragmentation, the land purchased by the scheme will be subject to land use planning where beneficiaries will own transferable residential plots in planned settlement, and right to lease non-transferable agricultural land
- Liaising with city and county governments to draft attractive policies for rural housing development.

5. Healthcare and sanitation

Healthcare is a vital component of the country's development. A healthy population is wealth for a country. A good healthcare system is something all countries struggle to achieve, including wealthy countries.

United Patriotic Movement is fully aware that though resources matter, the qualitative Aspects of the system matter more for health outcomes. This borders on developing the human aspect of our healthcare providers equipping and skilling them by periodic quality trainings often, providing them with state of the art equipment and tools for their work, looking into proper remunerations for them, making sure that medicine and other required consumables are available, proper physical structures ideal for healthcare provision , developing a conducive working environment for the healthcare workers in their work places, and such are the undertakings our party wishes to promote in the healthcare sector . Our country still has to do more in order to start moving in the right direction and avoid strikes and other squabbles between the healthcare providers and their employer. We still need to be more creative, deliberate and ambitious in how we use the substantial resources spent on healthcare to address old and emerging challenges.

Healthcare Being a service product, United Patriotic Movement will focus more on developing the service care giver, enhancing his capacity in skills, enhancing his wellbeing in proper remunerations and compensations for his services, and providing them with the best equipment, tools and drugs and other consumables necessary for the best services expected from them, not forgetting building and developing the best modern physical structures necessary for healthcare in our part of the world

Presently, 36 per cent of Kenyans are at risk of being impoverished by the financial burden of catastrophic illness. There is also the question of financing programmes that are currently heavily donor-dependent and yet not properly planned for transition to domestic financing even as donors make plans to transition out. The HIV, TB, malaria, family planning, immunization, and nutrition programmes are key donor-funded and the gains already realized must be guarded jealously.

Kenya is currently spending Sh550 billion a year, financed by government (63 per cent), by households “out of pocket” (27 per cent) and the balance of 10 per cent also financed by households through insurance schemes. The out-of-pocket share translates to Sh150 billion per year, which is a big burden to households. This is the reason that one in three families is at risk of falling into poverty because of the financial burden of catastrophic illness. The number is growing daily as the non-communicable disease burden grows.

Over the last decade, considerable progress made in enrolling Kenyans in NHIF, has seen insurance penetration double from 10 per cent of the population in 2003 to 20 per cent in 2018. That said, the penetration is uneven with Nairobi at over 40 per cent, while Wajir is still below 1 per cent. This increase in contributions was achieved partly by increased enrolment and partly by change of contribution structure from a flat rate of Sh300 a month to a graduated contribution ranging from Sh150 to Sh1,700 a person. But the NHIF still falls far short of the social health insurance scheme that ought to be, both in its design as well as operational performance. These shortcomings include:

- As a party, we stand to advocate for and promote quick and affordable access to maternal and child health care as a must
- Both public and private health providers must offer quality services. Counterfeit drugs must be outlawed.
- Scheme of service for medical staff and healthcare givers must be improved to boost morale and enhance professionalism and ethics, while the physical structures of our health facilities are modernized.
- Use ministry of health to set quality controls in pharmaceutical industry, the procurement of medical supplies for hospitals and the out turn of professional and ethical personnel
- Maternity and child care units are separated from general hospitals to curb spread of contagious diseases from in/out patients.
- Support faith based hospitals on population density and poverty index
- decentralize National referral centers to counties thereby reducing congestion
- Compel county governments to provide medical services
- Create separate and specialized evacuation services with ground, water, and airlift equipment.
- Provide free vaccines to all and anti-retrovirals to HIV / AIDS Patients.
- Shift towards curative at the expense of preventive care, with the share of inpatient expenditure increasing from 23 per cent to 29 per cent over the last decade (2010 - 2020), while the preventive care spending declining from 24 to 12 per cent. The shift from cheap to expensive is a systemic problem with insurance financed healthcare systems.
- The operational capacity has not grown in tandem with the enrolment, leading to inefficiency, high administrative costs, and poor responsiveness to its customers and service providers.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

We are committed and determined to realize the constitutional right to health in the shortest time possible by delivering a Universal Health Coverage (UHC) system built on three pillars as follows:

Short-term implementation strategies:

- Ensure Social Health Authority (SHA) provides better coverage to all of Kenyans.
- Employ, adopt community health workers and regularize them into the system under employment terms, form part of the Primary Health Care system;
- Expedite employment of 20,000 healthcare workers- doctors, nurses, clinical officers, laboratory technologists, physiotherapists, among others, to bridge the gap according to WHO recommendations of 23 HC per 10,000 population;
- Set up an emergency medical treatment fund to cater for emergency, cancer treatment and referrals;
- Lower the cost of treatment, [drugs, consultation, laboratory services, imaging services].
- Strengthen supply chain management system (KEMSA) to ensure efficiency and accountability in the medical supplies to all health facilities.
- Integrate Information Communication and Technology systems to enhance telemedicine and health management information systems. Immediately Operationalize a National Health Information System for Electronic Health Records (EHR) to standardize and ensure the portability of patient data

Medium term strategies

- Create a national kitty with enough resources for co-funding the strategic programs for HIV, tuberculosis, blood transfusion, malaria, family planning and reproductive health;
- Sport out funds for healthcare from facility improvement funds to allocations from the Treasury in collaboration with county governments;

Implementation and Reforms

Primary Healthcare System

Our healthcare system consists of public, private and faith-based providers, and each of them plays a critical role. The current system puts public money into public institution only, meaning that people who are not insured have to pay out-of-pocket for primary health services at faith-based and private providers, often because the public health facilities are not responsive. We intend to give Kenyans choices while using tax payer's money for the best value. We propose delinking financing of primary healthcare from public facilities by establishing stakeholder managed Primary Health Care (PHC) Funds as strategic purchasers at each "Level 4" facility.

Health Commodity Supply

United Patriotic Movement will establish a stakeholder-managed national procurement scheme (along the lines of the petroleum products procurement) to leverage on bulk purchase and ensure transparency and accountability in the public procurement process. KEMSA scandals must end.

Pharmaceuticals and consumable medical supplies account for an estimated 20 per cent of total health expenditures, which translates to a domestic market worth Sh110 billion. Pharmaceutical imports in 2020 were Sh76 billion (70 per cent of the Sh110 billion estimated market), meaning that when other imported supplies are factored in, domestic production supplies are less than 20 per cent. Domestic pharmaceutical manufacturers have the capacity to manufacture a bigger share competitively, but are hampered by the high cost of doing business and a hash tax regime (to the extent of shifting manufacturing to neighboring EAC countries and exporting to Kenya).

We will:

- Work with the pharmaceutical industry to address the tax regime and cost of doing business;
- Leverage on UHC to identify and scale up manufacturing of essential supplies we can do competitively;
- Leverage on our human per capita to work towards a regional pharmaceutical manufacturing hub.

Human Resources

Our health professionals feel shortchanged by devolution of health services. They are of the view that they and health services in general, would be better served by a Centralized system similar to that of teachers, noting that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) is entrenched in the Constitution.

They have proposed a similar Health Service Commission that should also be entrenched in the constitution. But County Governments consider it very important that the health professionals should be accountable to them. Moreover, the centralized system that preceded devolution was associated with very inequitable distribution of health professionals because they could influence their posting to favorable locations. Many of the historically marginalized counties did not have a single specialist. Both positions have merit. In fact, county governments acknowledge that they do not have the resources to sponsor doctors for further education, or money to pay both the doctor on study leave and the replacement. They also acknowledge that the county health services need specialists. United Patriotic Movement, believes that this

conundrum is solvable. What it requires is goodwill and honest mediators. We will be that honest mediator. We pledge to work together with the health workers and County Governments to find a solution that will serve the sector better. Community health is the bedrock of preventive healthcare. Doctors estimate that 70 per cent of cases seen in our hospitals are preventable. It is estimated that kshs 1 invested in community health has a return of Kshs 9 saved in curative health costs. United Patriotic Movement is committed to ensuring that our primary healthcare has, at the very bottom, a well-resourced community health system. Consequently, United Patriotic Movement will contribute to the stipends paid to community health workers by county governments on a matching basis.

Health Information Technology

We will leverage on information technology to drive responsiveness, efficiency, seamlessness between providers, transparency and fraud prevention. We will procure, as soon as practically possible, a state-of-the-art health integrated information management system that will enable every Kenyan to own and control access to their health records and provide them with all the information they need to access health services on their phones.

Social Health Authority

Contribution structure

The monthly contribution rate for employees under SHA will be 2.75% of their gross monthly income with no maximum cap.

Employers will face heightened reporting requirements under the SHA framework, necessitating the need for regular audits and compliance checks. Therefore employers must regularly update the SHA employer portal with accurate employee details and contributions, placing greater emphasis on recordkeeping and timely remittances.

Employers who fail to remit contributions on or before the due date will be liable to a penalty of two percent of the outstanding amount for each period the contribution remains unpaid, in addition to the total annual contribution, any employer who fails to pay contributions as required or makes authorized deductions from employees will be liable to a fine not exceeding 2million, imprisonment for upto three years or both.

As social health insurance fund takes root embracing this change will be pivotal in achieving the vision of universal healthcare coverage in Kenya.

Enrolment

We recognize that even though enrolment to SHA is now mandatory by law, still there are practical challenges of enrolling self-employed Kenyans who are the majority. A number of initiatives will be deployed to make enrolment easier for self-employment Kenyans, including:

- Leveraging on the proposed Primary Healthcare Funds as platforms for community-based group schemes.
- Leverage on the farmer organization initiative and other funds to set up occupational schemes for trades such as, boda boda and market women saccos.
- Affordable and flexible premium financing schemes such as, contributions financed quarterly in advance, while contributors repay the loans weekly or other interval aligned with their income streams.

Governance

Insurance is a business built entirely on trust. For the SHA to fulfill the mandate of the social health insurer we need, it must enjoy the confidence of all its stakeholders, in particular contributors and health service providers that it serves directly. We recognize that at present, the NHIF falls considerably short. United Patriotic Movement is committed to implementing the reforms required so as to build this trust as recommended by stakeholders. Consideration will be given to unbundling the SHA along the lines of the pension fund system. This would entail separation of the Fund management, claims, administration and regulatory functions.

6. DIGITAL SUPERHIGHWAY & CREATIVE ECONOMY

As a country, we stand heavily invested in ICT infrastructure and services over the last two decades. We have done Infrastructure including six submarine fiber-optic cables offering broadband connectivity, 9000km of terrestrial fiber-optic cable connecting virtually all county headquarters, and Geographical and population mobile broadband coverage of 56 per cent of the 96 per cent respectively.

Our Mobile telephone penetration and innovation has enabled Kenya to increase from a quarter to over 80 per cent of the population in less than two decades, making Kenya one of the world's leading users of mobile payments.

In the crisis such as was witnessed in the Covid 19 case, mobile cash platforms and the technology demonstrated just how critical digital penetration is in terms of business continuity, as it enabled many essential services to proceed with minimum interruption during the lockdowns. Important economic benefits expected such as business process outsourcing (BPO) still has to Materials as is the case in other developed countries as this was believed to become a leading export and job creating sector. Kenya was ranked together with The Philippines,

which exports \$30 billion and employs an estimated 1.3 million people. The industry has yet to take off.

The case of Konza Technopolis which has been in the works for two decades and seems no closer to becoming a reality than it was a decade ago when completed will play an important role as digital superhighway critically enabling us to make tremendous achievement in the other four pillars of Health, Agriculture, MSME and Financing as well in enhancing revenue collection via automation of VAT systems. It will ameliorate challenges related to information asymmetry in market access and risk management. It also comes in handy in minimizing barriers to entry for new financial providers that are critical in downscaling access to the Funding schemes via Government risk mitigation mechanism through provision of Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) system for all participants.

Areas such as public procurement where digital transformation could have delivered huge gains are yet to be realized.

United Patriotic Movement commitment

Short-term implementation strategies:

- Universal broadband availability throughout the country in the shortest time possible. We shall continue increasing and fast-tracking broadband connectivity across the country by completing the construction of national fibre optic connectivity network to cover the entire country.
- Enhance government service delivery through digitization and automation of all government critical processes and make available 80 per cent of government services online;
- Establish Africa Regional Hub and promote development of software for export;
- The implementation of the Digital Master Plan will adhere to environmental agreements in which Kenya is a signatory;
- Reduce the cost of calls and data to allow affordability especially to the youth for entertainment, information and business;
- Establish a Presidential Advisory Council on Science and Technology Policy that will ensure a whole of government approach to technological development and use and build necessary capacities across government;

Medium term implementation strategies;

- The administration will strengthen Konza Technopolis to bring together industry, academic institutions and other innovators to co-invest in emerging technologies to create high-quality jobs that leverage on artificial intelligence, robotics and other technologies and thus enhance our regional and global competitiveness

7. Creative Economy

Kenya has a highly talented youth on a diverse spectrum of creative work, including music, theatre, graphic design, digital animation, fashion and craft, among others. The digital revolution, buttressed by Kenya's good connectivity has opened up opportunities for this sector to be a significant economic actor in its own right.

Additionally, the creative industry can add value to Kenya's exports such as fashion, leather products and craft industries. A visit to the now ubiquitous "Maasai markets" will demonstrate potential that requires only very little support to grow into a significant craft export industry.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term implementation strategies;

- Work with stakeholders to expand the space for creativity, including freedom of expression and protection of intellectual property rights;
- Mainstream arts and culture infrastructure (theatres, music halls, art galleries) into the infrastructure development programme, and identified dedicated streams of resources for their development.

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Work with stakeholders to identify the incentives, capacity building and other support required from the State to scale up cultural production and the creative economy;
- Mainstream the creative economy in Brand Kenya and commercial diplomacy, including appointing accomplished Kenyan artistes and creative sector personalities as cultural ambassadors.

Arts and Craft

- Develop a Government Powered Arts and Crafts industry Information Portal. The portal will help in listing different players in the Industry and market their products;
- Promoting arts and crafts galleries leveraging on existing public entities and institutions, including our embassies abroad.

Film

Short term implementation strategies:

- Pass the Creative Economy Bill that will enable establishment of a Film Fund;
- Mandate the Film Fund to facilitate access to modern equipment and entire film production infrastructure available for local film makers on a hire and lease basis;
- Review the inter-county licensing regime with a view to developing a single permit;

Medium term implementation strategies:

- Establish a green channel immigration scheme and protocol service for international film makers
- Benchmark on competing film destination for international film makers in Africa and offer comparable or better incentives;
- Establish a film ecosystem that convenes all stakeholders tasked with revitalizing growth of the sector.

Music

- a) **Entrepreneurship:** To ensure players are able to turn talents into business, free investment and basic training skills leveraging on the available funds.
- b) **Enforcement of Copyright Laws:** Government to lead an awareness campaign on copyright laws and the enforcement mechanisms as a way of ensuring knowledge about the issue and increase earnings by artists
- c) **Mobile tunes:** Streamline the benefits that accrue to the artists from the skiza tunes and other revenue streams.

8. Infrastructure

Water

Water is a constitutional right (Article 43), and the most important enabler of agriculture. Two-thirds of Kenya's agricultural land requires irrigation, against only 4 per cent that is irrigated. Irrigation is the single most important game changer in agriculture. Current policy is centered on domestic use and large dams.

The key issue is financing value for money.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

United Patriotic Movement is convinced that universal access to safe water can be achieved in a span of 5 years with a serious commitment and political goodwill. We can do this by:

Short-term implementation strategies;

- Redirecting our focus from large dams to household/community water projects, with emphasis on harvesting and recycling.
- Adopt PPP model (using IPP model); where large reservoirs are necessary

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Develop aquifers using PPP model in places like Turkana, apply modern technologies on desalination and others (potential to irrigate a million acres of land).
- Deploy climate smart agriculture technologies (micro-irrigation, precision irrigation, Hydro and aquaponics technologies).
- Redesigning and construction of drainage systems for easy and hygienic flow of all surface and underground waste matter.
- Processing and re-cycling all forms of waste matter
- Establishment of a permanent land, water, and environment commission to conserve and replenish Environment.

Roads

Roads are arguably our country's most important infrastructure. The Government has pursued an ambitious road building programme that has doubled our tarmacked roads. This has been achieved by adopting the Low Volume Sealed Roads (LVSR) programme resulting in 6000km completed with another 3800km under construction. Hitherto all tarmacked roads were built to the standard irrespective of volume of traffic. The adoption of the LVSR standard has reduced cost of tarmacking low traffic roads substantially. Be that as it may, the need for roads remains immense.

One third of the country's 63,575km of classified roads is in need of rehabilitation or reconstruction. It is readily apparent that the financial constraints we face require very prudent use of resources.

United Patriotic Movement commitment

- Complete all roads under construction.
- Prioritize upgrading and maintenance of rural access roads as well as the improvement of roads infrastructure in urban informal settlement and critical national and regional trunk roads that have the highest immediate economic impact.
- Guarantee equitable resource distribution for roads in every region of our country.

9. Electricity

Regardless of the fact that Electricity is a vital economic and social service critical to production, essential services such as health, security and quality of life of citizens depend heavily on it. The irony is that our Electricity is highly expensive and unreliable, yet we are blessed with a considerable Geothermal, Solar, Wind, and Water and our generation capacity has increased considerably in recent years.

One of the key contributors to both the cost and quality of power is the aging transmission and distribution network. The investment required to upgrade the network is considerable, more so in the difficult financial situation the country is in, but it is imperative.

Cheap clean power can be a strong value proposition for attracting energy-intensive production for the global market in Kenya.

The previous administration set out an ambitious electrification programme that aimed to achieve universal access to electricity in the shortest time possible. Much progress has been made with total electricity connections increasing from 3 million to over 8 million today. This rapid pace of connectivity was achieved primarily by changing the business model of KPLC, which hitherto required new customers to pay a hefty deposit that many people could not afford. As a result, many transformers had a lot of excess capacity. The Last Mile Connectivity programme changed this to connecting people first and recovering the connection charges from the customer's monthly bills. The connectivity drive has come with some challenges. Consumption has not risen as expected, while the operational costs have increased, and this has affected Kenya Power's financial performance. Partly as a result of these challenges, Kenya Power's responsiveness to consumers has deteriorated.

This is against the backdrop of a disruptive technology landscape that portends transformation of the electricity industry perhaps on the same scale as the mobile phone revolution has disrupted fixed line telephony.

This includes rapidly declining costs of renewable power which, as noted, Kenya has in plenty. The cost of utility scale power storage is also declining sharply, which is helping to overcome the limitations of intermittence of solar and wind power. On the consumer side, stand-alone Solar power and micro-grids are increasingly cost-effective alternatives to grid power for domestic and even commercial consumers. Transportation is going to be a big consumer of electricity as electric vehicles replace fossil fuel ones.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Turn around Kenya Power. We will delink Government development initiatives, leaving Kenya Power to operate on commercial principles. A policy, regulatory and financing framework for off-grid community-owned development projects (mini and micro-grids) will be instituted.

Improve reliability; bring down the cost of electricity. We will institute a three-point plan to bring down the cost of power namely;

Short term implementation strategies;

- Source more resources needed to revamp and upgrade the transmission and distribution network countrywide.

- Fast-track geothermal resources development.
- Maximize the Development of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) storage facility in Mombasa, with a view to phasing out Heavy Fuel Oil (HFO) from the power generation portfolio. This will also contribute to meeting Kenya’s emission reduction commitments.
- Enforce transparency and public accountability of the electricity sector. Require the Energy Regulatory Commission (ERC) to publish quarterly system, financial and operational performance reports.
- Put measure to make Kenya power a zero tolerance zone to corruption.
- Streamline procurement processes in Kenya power and make them competitive.

Strengthen Consumer Protection

The ERC has the mandate to deal with consumer protection issues, but the resort to litigation in the courts and protests (such as the # Switch Off KPLC campaign) suggest that this is not working as well as it should. Inadequate consumer protection is a cross-cutting issue. The mobile phone industry also has its fair share of consumer protection issues. Predatory lending by the mobile money platforms industry, which strangles telecoms and finance, is another case. It seems to be the case in general that, when regulatory functions are bundled together, consumer protection gets the short shrift. Consideration will be given to the establishment of a single Consumer Protection Oversight Agency for all utilities and regulated industries.

In the short term, United Patriotic Movement commits to institute an independent inquiry to review all the matters currently being litigated by consumers with a view to arriving at a quick and satisfactory resolution that can also inform the necessary reforms.

E-Mobility

United Patriotic Movement will:

Short-term implementation strategies;

- Continue expanding electric vehicle (EV) charging infrastructure in all urban areas and along the highways

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Provide financial and tax incentives for public service vehicles and commercial transporters to convert to electric vehicles.

Long- term implementation strategies;

- Leverage the financial support that will be provided to the *boda boda* sector, through the special set aside funds in that sector, to develop the nascent electrical vehicle (EV) and motorcycle assembly industry.

Petroleum

Petroleum, which is Kenya's single largest import, will remain an important fuel for several decades. Price volatility is a challenge for consumers and economic stability. It has been observed rightly that tax is a major factor in the high cost of petroleum products.

Recent fuel price escalation is a combination of two factors, global price shock and failure of the price stabilization mechanism, the latter on account of fiscal distress. Global prices are out of our control. As noted, Kenya is well-endowed with cheap renewable power resources.

Accelerating transition to electric vehicles is a win-win proposition in terms of contributing to Kenyans emission reduction commitment, cheaper transport, and leveraging on the large local and regional motorcycle market (~500,000 units a year) to build an electric vehicle industry.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short- term implementation strategies;

- Set up a legal framework to ring-fence the Fuel Stabilization Fund.

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Leverage the financial support that will be provided to the boda boda sector through special set aside Fund to develop the nascent EV motorcycle assembly industry.
- Create incentives for adoption of electric mass transit systems in all cities and towns.

10. Manufacturing

Our manufacturing sector is struggling and headed in the wrong direction. At a time when we should be industrializing, the manufacturing share of the economy is declining. It has fallen from 9.3 per cent to 7.6 per cent in five years (2016-2020). Paradoxically, manufacturing has borne the brunt of the infrastructure investment drive that is meant to spur industrialization in crowding out from the credit market by government, and lately, by the external debt service pressure on foreign exchange that has seen the government resort to rationing foreign exchange for the first time since the market was liberalized in 1993.

Investors in the manufacturing industry are already fleeing Kenya, the current tax regime is impacting negatively on the costs of doing business on this manufactures. Our Neighbours now prove to be a better landing spot for them. This spells doom to the manufacturing industry in our country.

United Patriotic Movement is committed to help our manufacturers weather this storm, by creating a better working environment and a review of the punitive taxes that have been introduced polluting the industry. Our economic turn-around strategy outlined in this manifesto is meant to put the challenges behind us as quickly as possible. That said, we need to have an honest conversation about our manufacturing industry. As highlighted earlier on in

this manifesto, it is inordinately capital intensive and falls short in job creation. This is a reflection of both history, that is, legacy of import substitution industrialization policies of the 1960s and 1970s as well as geography, namely, landlocked hinterland countries that have provided a captive market for capital intensive manufactured products based on imported raw materials.

United patriotic movement is confident that transformation of our manufacturing is a win for the industry, for the people and for the government. The value chain approach that we have adopted enables us to analyze our economy from a competitiveness angle and to address the bottlenecks that impede the growth of our manufacturing in a deliberate manner. The value chains highlighted below are examples of this approach and are, by no means, the only ones. Other value chains elsewhere in this manifesto include edible oil processing, dairy, electric motorcycle/vehicle and plastic waste.

Leather. Kenya has a big potential to develop its leather sector. Currently it is a kshs 15 billion Industry creating 17,000 jobs (7,000 formal, 10,000 informal), while it is potentially a kshs 120 billion industry that can create 100,000 jobs. But the key challenges are low recovery and poor quality of hides and skins, and lack of skills. Hides recovery and quality improvement can be addressed through the provision of feedlot. We can leverage on public procurement to build capacity.

There is a potential market in uniformed services and schools. Therefore, United Patriotic Movement commits to set up leather industry clusters in Athi River, Narok, Isiolo and Wajir and secure Linkages with and technical support from overseas markets.

Building products. They are already one of Kenya's leading manufactured exports to neighbouring countries (mabati, building steel, etc). There is potential to leverage on housing programmes to scale up and broaden the range of products. Establishing standards will enable Jua Kali to produce mass fittings such as, windows and doors.

Pharmaceuticals and medical supplies: Pharmaceuticals and consumable medical supplies account for an estimated 20 per cent of total health expenditures currently at kshs 550 billion, which translates to a domestic market worth kshs 110 billion. Pharmaceutical imports in 2020 were at kshs 76 billion (70 per cent of the kshs 110 billion estimated market), meaning that when other imported supplies are factored in, domestic production is less than 20 per cent. Domestic pharmaceutical manufacturers have the capacity to manufacture bigger share competitively, but are hampered by high cost of doing business and a punitive tax regime (to the extent of shifting manufacturing to neighboring EAC countries and exporting to Kenya).

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term implementation strategies;

- Work with the pharmaceutical industry to address the tax regime and cost of doing business;

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Leverage on UHC to identify and scale up manufacturing of essential supplies we can do competitively;
- Leverage on our human per capita to work towards a regional pharmaceutical manufacturing hub.

Garments and textiles: This is a huge entry industry for export-led industrialization that has propelled South East Asia. We have pursued this strategy since the early 1990s, with limited success. Although garment exports are now our third largest component at kshs 60 billion and employing 50,000 people, it pales in significance compared to Bangladesh's kshs 4.2 trillion exports and employing 4 million people, and accounting for over 90 per cent of exports.

Notably, the Bangladeshi industry is less than a decade older than ours. The difference is the cost of labour. Shop floor wage in Bangladesh is \$80 (kshs 9600 a month), while ours is more than double, even though productivity is the same output per worker at \$10,000 (kshs 1.2 million) a year. This is partly because of the comparative advantage. Bangladesh is labour rich/resource poor, with a population density of 1,265 people per sq.km, 13 times that of Kenya (94 people /sq.km). Bangladesh also has high agricultural productivity which makes food cheap and, in effect, low cost of living, hence Bangladeshi workers spend much less on food than in Kenya.

This applies to South Asia generally, as well as the Asian Tigers in the 1960s and 1970s. But this is not the only model.

Turkey with a minimum wage of \$500 (kshs 60,000) before currency collapse, is also globally competitive with exports of \$12 billion a year. The difference is that the Bangladeshi industry serves mass market generic garments, while Turkey specializes in the fashion industry. Kenya is stuck between the two: Wages are too high for the mass market, and industry is not sophisticated enough for the fashion market.

The original terms of African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) required Kenya to integrate the garment export industry backwards, that is, to use locally manufactured textiles made with locally grown cotton. To date, Kenya has been unable to meet its quota. The industry is still importing over 90 per cent of the raw materials from Asia.

Since raw material, primarily fabric and yarn, is two-thirds of cost/value, current export level translates to a \$300 million (kshs 300 billion) market. If we are to meet this market, simplistic interventions such as banning mitumba (second-hand clothes) will not solve the problem. We must be able to produce and convert cotton into fabric competitively. Much hope is pegged on BT cotton. Pilot projects over the last two years show good results with irrigation, but high vulnerability to drought. The United patriotic movement will work with the apparel export industry to develop a viable cotton raw material supply chain.

11. The Services Economy

Financial Services

High level of financial inclusion driven by Mobile money platforms has become a double-edged sword for enabling predatory lending. Other challenges facing financial services include lack of formal credit at the bottom of the pyramid (in part because of Credit Reference Bureau (CRB) listing by predatory lenders, crowding out credit for the private sector by the government. The brunt is borne by MSMEs due to failure of deposit taking microfinance banks to reach those at the bottom of the pyramid as it was intended.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term implementation strategies;

- Deploy a credible macro-economic framework and growth strategy to strengthen external creditworthiness, enabling government to borrow cheaply externally and end crowding out of private sector from the domestic credit market;
- Leverage on Kenya's well-advanced SACCO system to develop a tier three financial system that will facilitate disbursement of affordable credit through a special Fund to cushion those affected by the current predatory lending interest rates e.g. market traders, boda boda etc.

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Develop and deploy a robust financial services, consumer protection policy and legal framework that will protect Kenyans from predatory lenders.

Tourism

The significance of tourism Industry in our economy can never be underestimated. Tourism is a historically important sector for the economy, in terms of foreign exchange earnings. However, Kenya has always gotten it wrong and always underperformed in this sector. With a reputation, as one of the world's premier tourism destinations compared to other countries with a similar international profile, the same is not reflected in its contribution to the economy in terms of visitor numbers and growth of GDP.

We are still an attractive destination for international tourist and conference seekers. In Africa, using 2018 data, Kenya was ranked ninth with 1.9 million visitors a year behind Egypt, Morocco, South Africa and Tunisia with over 8 million visitors, while Cote de'voire, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Algeria which receive between two and three million visitors a year respectively. Outside Africa, Kenya's global positioning and reputation may be compared to Thailand. Ten per cent smaller than Kenya, and more densely populated (70 million people), Thailand receives 40 million tourists a year. What is the challenge? The main reason why Kenya's tourism is so far below potential is because of our focus on exclusive "high end"

tourism which makes it an expensive destination. To illustrate this, “5 star” hotels and game lodges will typically cost \$50,000 (kshs 6 million) a room in investment. In effect, a 100-room hotel operating at an average of 40 per cent capacity and assuming 15 per cent cost of capital would need to charge \$50 (kshs 6000) a room a night just to cover the cost of capital. It would mean charging at least \$80 (kshs 9,600) to break even. Combined with the fact that Kenya is a long-haul destination from source, these prices put Kenya out of reach of most budget travelers. Yet tourists don’t come to Kenya to enjoy hotel rooms. Kenya is now increasingly famous for exclusive establishments that host five to 10 guests or less and charge upwards of \$3,000 (kshs 360,000) a night, of which very little trickles down to the economy. In this sense, tourism is our ultimate trickle-down industry. We have to decide whether we want our tourism industry to make huge profits for a few or jobs for the many.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Long term implementation strategies;

- Nurture a tourism ecosystem that supports independent travel particularly for young people, including quality and secure budget hotels and bed and breakfast facilities, affordable budget air travel to all parts of the country and safe road travel.
- Assured national security
- Improved management of the sector
- Conservation and protection of the existing potential national parks and game reserves
- Outlawing poaching
- Resolutions of conflicts between wildlife and humans.
- Upgraded infrastructure to and at all destinations
- More investment to expand the industry.

Medium term implementation strategies;

- Development of external marketing strategy for the industry
- Diversify Kenya’s tourism by promoting niche market products, notably adventure, sport, conference and cultural tourism;
- Conservation and showcasing of positive cultural heritage

Long term implementation strategies;

- Community partnership to expand tourism
- Diversify source markets to include African markets.

Aviation

Aviation is a strategic industry for our economy. It is vital for the tourism industry, for exports of fresh produce and maintenance of Kenya’s position as a regional hub. But the potential for the industry itself as an economic sector is also huge. Africa has 15per cent of the world’s population but only 2 per cent of air passenger traffic. Before the Covid 19 shock, Africa’s aviation market was projected to double in 20 years. Before it ran into difficulties a few years ago, Kenya Airways had demonstrated that Kenya could become a major African, and even

global aviation hub. Kenya Airways financial challenges are a reflection of internal strategic and managerial mistakes rather than the market prospects. United patriotic movement is persuaded that a national airline is a strategic asset that should not be allowed to fail. At the same time, it is not financially prudent to maintain Kenya Airways on life-support indefinitely.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

We commit to develop a turnaround strategy for Kenya Airways immediately we assume power and form the next government.

A critical plank of this strategy will be a financing plan that does not depend on operational support from the Exchequer in the near future and an ethically responsible managerial policy riding the institution of plunder, looting and corruption while entrenching professionalism.

12. Sports and Culture

We hold a very rich Culture as a sporting nation. But the sector is riddled in chaotic corruption and lack of coherent policy and wrangles, mismanagement, rampant plagiarism and piracy, which is exploiting and discouraging our talented Artists and sportsmen. A keen look at the Olympics medals table will confirm that unequivocally.

Sports are one domain that Kenya is endowed with high talents. Kenya is an international giant in middle and long distance athletics and 7s rugby, but we also feature in a wide range of sports, including football, volleyball, swimming, golf, motorsport, tennis, cycling, shooting, archery and cricket, among others.

The brand values that Kenyans participating and excelling in on the international sports arena is incalculable. But far too often, the Government lets down our sports people, in terms of facilitation and provision of adequate resources. Given the contribution of sports to Kenya's International standing, we should never see our sportspeople stranded in foreign countries, or complaining about equipment, allowances and hospitality during competition. Our international athletes should also never retire to a life of penury.

Our sporting prowess so portends tremendous opportunity to build a sports economy value chain that includes hosting of international sporting events, training facilities and manufacturing of sports apparel and equipment. For example, many Kenyans are unaware that we are one of the world's leading manufacturers of dartboards. United patriotic movement commits to ensure that sports will be adequately funded, facilitated and developed. We face extinction due to effects of drugs addiction, pornography and HIV AIDS pandemic.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term implementation strategies

- Establish a high-level expert task force to identify sustainable sources of sports funding;

- Consider the setting up of a national lottery, tax incentives for corporate sponsorship, a dedicated or ring-fenced tax and public-private partnership framework for infrastructure development.
- Leverage on our international athletics brand to develop a domestic sports apparel manufacturing cluster;
- Expand the National Youth Talent Academy (NYTA) to include all sports and simultaneously devolve it to county level and introduce County Sports Talent Academy with the capacity to systematically identify promising sporting talent and provide necessary support through sponsorship to further their skills/talent;

Medium term implementation strategies

- Review the Sports Act in line with the recommendations;
- Establish and resource adequately a dedicated function within the Tourism Promotion Council to attract international sporting events;
- Develop a Domestic film industry for employment and revenue generation
- Establish sports and recreation facilities at basic levels of administration
- Introduce award schemes for positive culture conservation
- Create an attractive scheme for sportsmen and women

Long term implementation strategies

- Promote county leagues and inter-county sports championships that will culminate into a national annual sports extravaganza;
- Return Kenya to international football.

k

13. Environment & Climate Change

Informing the environment and climate change agenda is a commitment to reduce emissions by 32 per cent by 2030. Key issues include climate change, impact mitigation, adaptation and resilience. The constitutional mandate to ensure at least 10 per cent land area forest cover calls for ecological sustainable development. United Patriotic Movement will leverage on three aspects for solutions (people, planet, profit). The priority value chains include: Biomass energy (wood fuel), agro-Forestry and solid waste management.

Agro-Forestry

“The greatest potential to increase the tree cover beyond the 12.13 per cent is on the farm/agricultural land” (Kenya Forest Resources Assessment 2021)

“Agroforestry provides a particular example of a set of innovative practices that are designed to enhance productivity in a way that often contributes to climate change mitigation through enhanced carbon sequestration, and that can also strengthen the system’s ability to cope with adverse impacts of changing climate conditions” (Verchot et al, 2017)

Trees are valuable cash crops. Case in point is *Mukau (melia volkensii)*, a popular agroforestry tree in Ukambani that, according to a KEFRI study, is earning farmers up to kshs 1.5m per acre of woodlot (kshs 9,300 timber yield a tree net of sawing costs). Additional benefits are soil fertility and drought mitigation. Unlike other tree crops, such as, coffee or fruits, the return is available on maturity after a long gestation period (*Mukau* takes 8 - 12years). The long gestation period is a serious impediment for investors, and for smallholder farmers, particularly the poor ones in the regions with most land (such as Kitui and Tana River counties). Financial instruments that can make farmers become out growers, while at the same time securitizing their investment are available. What is needed is a policy and regulatory framework to attract climate finance funds into such ventures.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Long term implementation strategies:

- Establish more land, enough for agroforestry and woodlots in drylands

Wood fuel

Wood fuel (firewood and charcoal) accounts for 70 per cent of domestic energy (petroleum 20 percent, electricity 9 per cent and others 1 per cent). Wood fuel is primary rural domestic fuel and mostly non-commercial, while charcoal is a primary urban and peri-urban domestic fuel. Per capita consumption of charcoal is estimated at 250kg per year, making for a \$1 billion industry (kshs 120 billion at current exchange rates).

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term;

- Support scaling up of clean cooking technologies.
- Decriminalize the charcoal trade (studies estimate that bribes account for 20-30 per cent of final price).

Medium term;

- To modernize and commercialize the charcoal value chain, specifically the adoption of modern kilns.

Long term;

- Promote youth-owned and operated briquette-making enterprises where agricultural waste is available in commercially viable quantities (coffee waste, rice husks, maize cobs and coconut husks).

Solid waste

Seventy-three per cent of all plastic waste generated is uncollected. Of the 27 per cent collected, only 8 per cent is recycled. The rest is disposed in unsanitary landfills. There is a huge potential for job-creating plastic recycling value chain. Innovative Kenyan SMEs have already shown the way with fencing posts and paving blocks. Government and private sector have developed a European model called Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) based on

household level separation that is unlikely to be practical beyond the urban middle class. It cannot work in informal settlements.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term:

- Complement EPR with a community-based/owned value chain.

Medium term

- Organize waste collectors into cooperatives.

Long term

- Provide “circular economy” waste separation sites/infrastructure.

14. Education

Every Kenyan has a right to Education. Quality primary Education which is free and compulsory and a subsidized Higher Education including loans to the needy students will be the ultimate means of ensuring an equitable society. Equitable education ensures that every child has a chance to fulfill his/her potential and rise to the highest level of accomplishment, irrespective of their social background.

So far Universal primary education was perceived to have been achieved through Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003, but a lot has to be done. Primary school children are forced to pay upto and above Kshs 5000 on termly basis without proper accountability of the stated funds. For those who can't afford to raise the demanded amounts in their respective schools, are forced to drop out of school. Education outcomes remain highly inequitable. Though considerable progress has been made towards universal secondary education including the review of the Curriculum to CBC. The cost of joining a boarding secondary school is running to kshs 80, 000 and above which is expensive for ordinary Kenyans. Extensive review has to be done on our education system to make it more responsive to social needs and have more value. We will hit a balance between classics and vocational training based on global standards. Such a system will produce international scholars, besides fixing joblessness in society.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

United patriotic movement commits to address the inequities in our education system so as to level the playing ground for all children irrespective of their background. We further commit to equitable universal basic education defined as 12 years of schooling.

United Patriotic Movement Will:

Short term;

- Increase enrolment in primary and secondary
- Bridge the current teacher shortage gap of 116,000.

- Undertake to provide a budget that will enable all learning institutions to install basic utilities such as water, electricity and Internet connection.

Medium term;

- Increase classrooms
- Improve capacity of day secondary schools to guarantee access to quality education and reduce the costs. Currently, 72 per cent of learners in secondary schools are in day schools, while only 28 per cent are in boarding schools.
- Build a fully equipped Technical Training and Vocational Education Training Institution (TVET) in those constituencies that have none.
- Set up a National Open University to increase access and reduce the cost of university education while making 100 per cent transition to higher education a reality.
- Operationalize a one-year paid National Internship Programme for all students graduating from teachers, technical and medical colleges and universities, by collaborating with industry players;

Long term;

- Increase capitation per child
- Pay for in-service teacher training initiated by Government.
- Consolidate into one national kitty all bursaries meant for Education to avoid misuse and wastage with an objective of benefiting needy students in all parts of the country.
- Provide more funds to enable the Established National Skill and Funding Council that amalgamated HELB, TVET and University Funding Board to bridge the any existing resources gap.
- Provide more funding for research and development from the current 0.8 per cent to 2 per cent of GDP in accordance with the Science and Technology Innovation (ST&I) Act 2013 Additionally, encourage the private sector to contribute towards research.
- Provide adequate funds to the school feeding programme so as to boost the number of beneficiaries from two million to four million; and to Provide conditional grants to county governments to extend the programme and raise the numbers to 8 million in primary and Early Child Development (ECD) schools.
- Domesticate teacher recruitment and deployment at entry level according to the UNESCO teacher deployment practice which treats education as a cultural process conducted within a people's cultural context at the local level. All schools including in marginal areas must affirmatively have enough teachers. To deal with the challenge faced by teachers resulting from delocalization, we will replace this policy with a nationalization programme which will incentivize teachers who choose to serve in other parts of the country.
- Rationalize teacher/pupil ratio.
- Continue upgrading all learning facilities in schools.
- Schedule deployment and refreshment of all trained teachers.
- Early impartation of national values and principles on leadership and integrity to curb moral decadence and juvenile delinquency.

- Implement fully the Children’s act.
- Upgrading of nomadic schools and feeding program in pastoral areas.
- Revive upgrade spread out skills training centers and fully sponsoring students who pursue skills courses at all levels.
- Provide incentives for attracting and keeping more girls and boys in school.

15. Women Agenda

Gender parity is a national value. Participation of women in the key sectors of our economy is minimal, and a vast majority of them remain in low-income jobs or enterprises and endure poor working conditions. Women are largely excluded from participation and decision-making in our governance and political institutions; Millions of women and girls continue to suffer from sexual and gender-based violence.

Health services are inadequate, inaccessible and unaffordable to millions of women in our country. Environmental degradation impacts more women, increases their responsibilities in unpaid care work, at the farms and in the community, thereby accelerating poverty, early marriages, childhood pregnancies and other adverse consequences for women.

Substantive gains in for women in our new constitution must not just be protected, but also be seen to be enjoyed through affirmative action in all short-falls, making them cross all custom barriers and biases heroically into socio economic and political leadership.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short Term

- Provide free sanitary towels in all schools and public washrooms.
- Provide financial and capacity building support for women through a special women empowerment Fund for women-led co-operative societies, chamas, merry-go-rounds and table banking initiatives and protect them from predatory interest rates charged by unscrupulous money lenders.
- Continue pressing the affirmative action button to close the historic gap of discrimination

Medium term;

- Implement the two-thirds gender rule in elective and appointive positions in the public sector within a period of one year in office after the elections including cabinet positions for women.
- Harsh penalties for perpetrators of the gender discrimination hang over.
- Increase the number of women personnel gender desks at police stations.
- Increase funding for the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Board and fully implement the anti-FGM law.

Long term;

- Establish a social welfare fund for Kenyan women working abroad to provide a safety net for distressed diaspora citizens.
- Ensure deployment of adequate numbers of skilled community health workers on a regular stipend paid through a cost-sharing framework between the National Government and county governments.
- Ensure availability of clean, safe, environmentally-friendly and affordable cooking fuels;
- Upgrading of Educational and Med-care institutions to enhance the health, intellectual capacity and family values among women.
- Take administrative measures to ensure 100 per cent enforcement of the spousal consent legal provisions in land transactions to cushion women and children from dispossession of family land.

16. The Youth Agenda

As today's leaders, the energetic and zealous youth shall be motivated to occupy their leadership space in the society through elections and appointments.

They must fully participate in the implementation of the new constitution to be custodians of their own gains and watch dogs of national interests.

Socio political education and spiritual values shall be imparted in childhood education to maintain leadership values and integrity.

To assert constructive influence, the youth shall:

- Lead in the propagation of National values, Leadership and integrity.
- Participate in the formulation of electoral laws.
- Lead in the marketing of the Electoral code of conduct.
- Lead in campaigns against drug trafficking, addiction and HIV AIDS scourch.
- Lead in the resolution of institutional and political violence.
- Be documented as citizens and voters faster than ever before.
- Receive free medical examinations.
- Compete for elective and appointive posts.
- Use ministry of Youth Affairs to develop and enhance their national agenda.
- Participate in solution finding for unemployment.
- Access higher education loans to advance learning.
- Have a platform in the state-owned media to articulate national agenda.
- Make own proposals on distribution of youth fund for enterprise development.

17. Social Protection

Universal Pensions

National Social Security Fund (NSSF) payroll deduction system is not diverse enough in an economy where 85 per cent of workforce is not on formal payrolls. It is also low trust institution because no Kenyan expects to live on NSSF retirement benefits.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Establish a universal social security system, encompassing pension, occupational hazard and unemployment insurance.

Children

In Kenya, 26 per cent of children under five years of age (1.5 million children) are chronically malnourished. In several counties, this is over 30 per cent. Twenty-eight per cent or 707,000 children (369,310 boys and 337,690 girls) are out of pre-primary schools, with numbers highest in the ASAL counties. In some counties, up to 88 per cent of eligible children are out of school. The average pupil-to-teacher ratio in Kenya is 36 to 1, against the recommended level of 25 to 1. This varies greatly across counties, with the highest ratio being 188 pupils a teacher and lowest at 20 pupils a teacher.

The National Safety Net Programme is currently providing support to 1.4 million beneficiaries. Yet 13 million children are in need of assistance, of which 7.5 per cent are currently receiving it. This leaves more than 12 million children in need of some form of assistance. Kenya needs to spend at least Sh554 billion every year to be at par with other lower middle-income countries which spend up to 1.7 per cent of their GDP on social protection.

Kenya is ranked 49th out of 163 countries in terms of the risk to children from climate change. Close to 90 per cent of the burden of disease due to climate change is borne by children under the age of five, including malaria and dengue fever.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term

- Eradicate malnutrition within five years.
- Increase access to early stimulation and learning, and to prioritize an integrated package of services for children.

Medium term;

- Improve learning outcomes by pledging to connect all schools to the Internet.

Senior Citizens

Senior citizens are a heritage and a national data bank. Welfare schemes are required the purposes of protecting them against vagaries of old age and marginalization in their sun set season .As a country, we have about 1.8 million people over 65 years of age in a population of 55.6 million ,representing 3.8 per cent of the total population. There are slightly more men than women. About 68 per cent of older people are between the age of 65 and 75. This population

continues to grapple with lack of income, security, inadequate health services, lack of employment and a deteriorating environment.

Commitment

Short term;

- Revamp the cash transfer programmes for elderly and vulnerable households to improve operational efficiency, prompt payment accountability and coverage.
- Encourage citizens to join pension schemes as early as possible to save make adequate savings for old age.

Medium term;

- Invest in education and training for caregivers and medical staff to fill the gap of skills in the provision of specialized care for older people.
- Give preferential access to basic services.
- Pension schemes to pay monthly interest on each saving to encourage deposits

Long term;

- Revise monthly retirement benefits upward to march inflation
- Build homes for the aged in every county.
- Strive to achieve 100 per cent SHA coverage for senior citizens.

People Living With Disability

There has been untold suffering and injustices for people living with disability for a very long time. 4.6 per cent of Kenyans experience some form of disability. More disabled persons live in rural (2.6 per cent or 700,000) than in urban areas (1.4 per cent or 200,000), 15 per cent of PWDs are likely to be affected by environmental factors on a daily basis; 65 per cent of PWDs regard the environment as major problem in their daily lives; A quarter of PWDs work in family businesses, but a third do not work at all.

To support the rights of people living with disabilities, Kenya is the 27th signatory to international law on disability rights.

Inclusion in society and employment opportunities for people with disabilities requires improved access to basic education, vocational training relevant to Labour market needs and jobs suited to their skills, interests and abilities, with adaptations as needed.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term;

- Ensure 100 per cent SHA coverage for PWDs within 18 months
- Appointing people with disabilities to Ministry of Gender and the United Nations to popularize the international law on Disability Rights.
- Integrate schools to allow children with disabilities to start interacting with the general public at an early age to restore their confidence and self-esteem.

Medium term;

- Merge the National Fund for the Disabled of Kenya (NFDK) with National Council for Persons with Disabilities (NCPWD) and ensure parliamentary oversight for accountability.
- Increase capitation of pupils with disabilities by 50 per cent. Set aside 15 per cent of all public-funded bursaries for pupils with disabilities.
- Prioritize access of any special set aside funds by PWDs.
- Exempt all assistive devices from import duty and explore possibilities of partnership with domestic manufacturers to produce affordable devices.
- Enact friendly labour laws for PWDs.

Long term;

- 5 per cent of all market stalls to be allocated to PWDs.
- 5 per cent of AGPO will be reserved for PWDs with an increase in LPO financing.
- Encourage counties to waive licenses and fees of new businesses established by PWDs.

18. GOVERNANCE

Although as a country we have made progress in commitment in implementing the 2010 Constitution which has opened a new era replete with National values respect for rule of Law , devolved governance and the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms; more work still needs to be done. Many of its provisions have not been implemented, and some people in positions of authority have abused it for personal gain and to the detriment of those it is meant to protect. United Patriotic Movement believes that the Constitution is an important issue in the stability of our Nation. We are for completing the implementation of the Constitution, strengthening the rule of law, increasing access to justice, ensuring respect for human rights and respecting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal Number 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Implementation and Operationalization of Constitution by:

Short term;

- Equipping the Attorney-General's office with the resources and ability it needs to safeguard the public interest in court, legislating, negotiating international agreements, and signing of contracts. By doing so, the government will avoid needless litigation and costly fines.
- Zero tolerance to corruption.
- Addressing unemployment.
- Rapid response to natural Disasters.
- Accelerating devolution of power.
- Accelerating documentation of citizens.
- Speedy enactment of any remaining scheduled acts in annex.
- Swift resolutions of challenges in the implementation path.

- Creation of a think tank to address and resolve prevailing economic hardships to stabilize the shilling and economic integrity.
- Respect the principal of separation of powers not only for checks and balances but also for enhancement of institutional integrity.
- Secure electoral laws and processes from abuse.
- Commit more resources in development of super infrastructures.
- Secure our borders and peace building with neighboring states.
- Granting financial independence to the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) and the police to end their reliance on the Office of the President.
- Entrenching and guaranteeing independence of the Judiciary.

Medium term;

- Bolstering the financial and technical capabilities as well as the independence of all independent (Chapter 15) institutions to make sure they are capable of defending the national interest and the people's sovereignty.
- Institutionalizing human rights-based approaches to Counter-Terrorism (CT), including strengthening the Special CT Courts to ensure speedy and fair trials.

Long term;

- Strengthening the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) by opening county offices.
- Ending the weaponization and politicization of the anti-corruption efforts by allowing the relevant institutions to freely exercise the independence given to them by the Constitution;
- Promoting accountability and openness in the management of public affairs, institutionalizing open governance in all State organs and agencies, and publishing an annual State of Openness Reports.

Fundamental Rights and Administrative of Justice

- Ending all forms of extra-judicial executions by security services, and amend the National Coroners Service Act of 2017 to establish the Coroner-General's Office.
- Establishing a Special Tribunal for Gross Human Rights Violations and Enforced Disappearances (including in northern Kenya).
- Ratifying and domesticating the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances.
- Ending all unauthorized evictions and property demolitions, including those that do not follow due process, provide adequate notice, or compensate where necessary.
- Determining, within 60 days, all judgments and orders against the government, and make sure that the government abides by all court rulings.
- Ensuring equal protection for all under the law by implementing and funding the Legal Aid Act of 2016.
- Enhancing the rehabilitation and reintegration aspects of the prisons system by providing greater psycho-social support and educational and technical training opportunities;
- Implementing the Victims of Crime Act.

- Ending ethnic profiling in the issuing of identity documents. Specifically, establish an Administrative Appeals Tribunal to ensure a fair and transparent process in the registration of persons, with clear appeal procedure of not more than 14 days if a person is denied registration.
- Respecting, protecting and defending freedom of worship.
- Lifting the moratorium on registration of new religious organizations and expedite the process of registration.

Ending State Capture

- Establishing within 3 months a quasi-judicial public inquiry to establish the extent of cronyism and State Capture in the nation and make recommendations.
- Implementing Section 93a of the Companies Act 2015 and its regulations to make it easier for organizations doing business with the government to share information about their beneficial owners. This information will be publicly available.
- Strengthening Mutual Legal Assistance arrangements with partner States with respect to sharing of information and repatriation of stolen assets.

Strengthening Leadership Accountability and De-Personalizing Politics

- Hold an Annual State of the Nation Forum as an extension of the country-wide consultative economic forums that have been a core component of our campaign, as a platform for dialogue whose recommendations will inform the State of the Nation Address to Parliament, and to include appropriate monitoring and evaluation mechanisms as required by Article 132(1)(c) of the Constitution.
- Establish an engagement platform which will recognize and engage micro, small, medium and large business owners, civil society, faith-based groups, and youth leaders, women leaders, among others, to address the cohesion and inequality challenges of the country.
- Review the role of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission with a view to repealing the NCIC Act.
- Operationalize the Public Benefits Organizations Act and expand space for government-NGO partnerships and collaborations.
- To legislate an affirmative action framework to implement Article 56 of the Constitution regarding minorities and marginalized groups.

Strengthening Devolution

- Complete transfer of all functions constitutionally earmarked to counties within six months.
- Develop a framework for ensuring that State-owned firms carrying out devolved or shared functions adhere to the principles of governance and ensure that the principle of funding-follows-functions is adhered to with respect to all devolved functions.
- Improve county governments' capacity to generate their own income and reduce their over-reliance on transfers from the national government.
- Ensure that shareable revenue is transferred to counties in a timely and predictable manner and in accordance with the law.

- Transfer funds owed to the beneficiary counties and communities under the Mining Act 2016 and the Petroleum Act 2019 within six months, and work with county governments to increase the capacity of the communities to benefit from extractive resources.

Security and Public Service

As the Government is increasingly called upon to address complex challenges, the need for Leaders, Managers, Technical Experts and Front-line workers in the right jobs, with the right skills and at the right time has never been greater. Yet government continues to struggle to build a public service that can meet the unique demands of our time due to laborious and time-consuming hiring practices, limited salary flexibilities and promotion rules that value longevity over expertise and performance. Public managers and employees are also struggling to adapt to the rapidly changing nature of work. For all these reasons, we face a significant risk that many public institutions will not have the capacity necessary to achieve their critical missions and provide services to the public.

Many public employees are of retirement age. As they leave the public service, the result can be a major brain drain given that government struggles to quickly bring new talent on board. We are at risk of losing a generation of younger Kenyans because of inadequate hiring systems and practices. Similarly, the needs of government over the next five to 10 years will be different than that of today. But the public sector does a poor job of continuous training and developing its workforce. It also is too resistant to bringing in outside talent, especially at senior levels. That said, the unique combination of a public-spirited younger generation and a wave of retirements could provide government at all levels with an opportunity to restructure their workforce to meet modern-day needs.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term;

- Build a highly-skilled, agile and responsive public sector workforce with appropriate roles for civil servants and other service providers.

Medium term;

- Develop strategic foresight mechanisms to anticipate and address changing workforce requirements.

Long term;

- Ensure long-term institutional knowledge capacity amidst the retirement wave.
- Design new human capital systems consistent with merit-system principles, including modernizing policies and practices for recruitment, retention, training, and development.
- Promote career progression among civil servants to rise from the entry point to the highest cadre.
- Develop high moral and ethical values in the public service that can curb corruption and discourage mismanagement of the available Resources.

Security Services

The security sector is critical to long-term sustainable development and poverty alleviation by ensuring safe and fair systems to enable people to work and business to operate. Underdevelopment fuels crime and insecurity. Despite steps towards reform, many challenges still exist in effective implementation of security sector reforms as is evident in continued cases of political interference, poor leadership and dismal performance, corruption, excessive use of force and torture, extrajudicial killings and a lack of effective oversight and accountability.

Critically, independent and fair policing is vital for the protection of human rights, particularly the rights of the most vulnerable and the poor, who often suffer disproportionately from insecurity. United Patriotic Movement acknowledges that democratic policing and respect for the rule of law are necessary to improve development by ensuring safe, secure and fair environments for people to work, travel, invest, participate in national affairs and to enjoy their lives.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term;

- Establish a contributory Benevolent Fund for families of fallen and terminal ill officers, including mental health illness.
- Provide political will - Security sector reform is good for everyone and police reform efforts must not be wound back.
- Every year United Patriotic Movement will commission a review of remuneration and terms of service for all officers in the security sector to be commensurate with the cost of living.

Medium term;

- Harmonize affordable housing mortgage (similar to that of the Judiciary and Parliament)
- Introduce horizontal transfer of service to the rest of civil service.
- Provide insurance cover for loss of life for officers on duty (similar to that of the military)

Long term

- Give lower cadre officers (sergeant and below) the option of serving in their home counties or where they chose to retire from the age of 50.

19. Foreign, Regional Integration & Domestic Policy

As Africa struggles to shake off the negative effects of historic wars and conflicts, for a time, policies on the Indian Ocean and the red sea has been fueling hostilities and complicating international relations. Political upheavals in the Arab League and incessant civil strife in some neighboring countries has always disrupted our existing Domestic and Foreign policies.

The dumping of nuclear waste in our regions by developed countries who double as our development Partners, the effects of the post-election violence of 2008, the internal push and strife countrywide by Gen Z outrage of Mid 2024, the genetically modified foods in our system are still controversies to be critically relooked and a big domestic headaches for Kenya to amicably address going forward.

Our significance in world affairs is demonstrated by the fact that we are considered an anchor state in the Eastern African region. It hosts the only United Nations headquarters in the Global South (United Nation Environmental Program and Habitat), serves as a hub for international organizations, and is a key player in peace and security initiatives in the region.

United patriotic movement will ensure that the country is respected and valued abroad. It will promote friendly relations with our Neighbors, play a leading role in regional and pan-African affairs, collaborate with our international partners, and uphold our commitment to the international community.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

A creative and robust foreign policy whose pillars will be:

Economic and Commercial Diplomacy

This entails leveraging our international engagements to create opportunities for our citizens, businesses, and investors. In particular, we aim to expand the market for our products and services by taking advantage of our membership in regional organizations such as the East African Community, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTA), and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The administration will also take advantage of Kenya's status as tech powerhouse to further drive economic interest of the country.

Anchor State

United Patriotic Movement will strengthen Kenya's role as an anchor State in regional, continental, and global affairs. We will continue to lead efforts to advance regional stability and peace, aid global initiatives to counteract violent extremism and cooperate with other countries as a reliable ally or Neighbour. Deploy robust, creative and engaging foreign policy to raise Kenya's profile as a regional anchor State and amplify our partnership with the rest of the world, including Africa, China, US, Europe, UK and India, among other partners.

Global citizenship

This entails supporting the work and decisions of international Organizations that Kenya has joined or ratified. These include the African Union, the East African Community and the UN and its affiliates. Our foreign policy will be global in scope, but it will have a more pan-Africanist stance, placing more focus on causes that improve the welfare of Africans worldwide. We will not only deepen our bonds with our long-standing international and bilateral partners, but also extend our friendship to anyone with whom we share a mutually beneficial relationship.

Diaspora

United Patriotic Movement is alive to the fact that there are about three million Kenyans living in various parts of the world and constitute Kenya's diaspora community. This population continues to form an integral part of the Kenyan economy and social fabric. United Patriotic Movement therefore, intends to engage the Kenyan Diaspora in a more constructive and productive manner to unlock and unleash their full potential.

United Patriotic Movement Commitment

Short term;

- Create a Ministry for Diaspora Affairs.
- Improve delivery of government services through decentralizing services and functions of Kenyan missions abroad.
- Establish a diaspora forum which will review progress of national government services to the diaspora and make the necessary recommendations.
- Establish new and enhance trade and investment channels in order to promote further local investment by Kenyans living in the diaspora.
- Facilitate accreditation and endorsement of Kenya's qualifications and skills with those of foreign countries for easy access into higher education and foreign jobs by Kenyans living in the diaspora.
- Facilitate the portability of knowledge, skills, innovation and technical resources available in the diaspora for national development.

Medium term

- Establish a social welfare system for Kenyans living in the diaspora, by exploring and implementing the portability of social protection.
- Enhancing democratic principles and practices to respect rule of law and the will of Citizens in electoral and Governance systems
- Engage our sportsmen and women and other eminent Kenyans to promote patriotism and social cohesion in Kenya and globally.
- Promote the Kenyan brand and appoint brand ambassadors who will market Kenyan services and products and equally increase the global market share of these services and products.

Long term;

- Signing clean economic agreements with partners.
- Consolidating fundamental principles of Freedom, equity, peace, justice, and sovereignty in Global Governance systems.
- Making Kenya a safe, stable and attractive tourist destination.
- Promoting national, Continental, and International peace and Unity.
- Participating in Humanitarian interventions in Conflict and Disaster ravaged regions.

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY:

United Patriotic Movement intends to reach out to the entire country and our voters with its ideology using an integrated communication approach system. This will require putting into use all the communication channels such as organizing public rallies, holding Radio and TV Shows, use of Newspaper advertisements and coverages, engagement on socio media platforms and spaces, use of word of mouth / person to person engagement, Billboards, Placards, Banners, Brochures, Mobile Vehicles Televised Shows, Branded Marketing items and outfits such as Cups, Plates, Caps, T-shirts, Shirts, Neck ties, Scarves, Lessos, party publications among others.

END

UNITED PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT MANIFESTO