

Mobilization without Emancipation:

The Case of Kazi Kwa Vijana in Kasarani Constituency



Address: P.O. Box 44427-00100 Nairobi

Email: info@theyouthcongress.org

Website: www.theyouthcongress.org

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| CBS | Central Bureau of Statistics |
| EPZ | Export Processing Zone |
| FGD | Focused Group Discussions |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| KANU | Kenya African National Union |
| KYC | Kasarani Youth Congress |
| KKV | Kazi Kwa Vijana |
| NEMA | National Environmental Management Agent |
| ODM | Orange Democratic Movement |
| PLA | Participatory Action and Learning |
| PNU | Party of National Unity |
| SAPs | Structural Adjustment Programme |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| YDF | Youth Development Funds |

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t

This report is the result of a rigorous process undertaken by the Project and Research Team of the Youth Congress under the stewardship of Raphael Obonyo who is also the convenor and the project manager. The Youth Congress team members also include: Stanley Ogola, Sospeter Mumbi, Halima Hanii, Isaya Omwango and Tabitha Chege. The social audit team associate included David Wanyoike, Julius Otiende and Lilian Wanjiru. The audit was guided by Steve Ouma Akoth, a doctoral fellow in South Africa who traces his roots to Korogocho and whose contribution to human rights and social justice struggles are immeasurable.

Although the Youth Congress takes all responsibility for the positions stated in this report, it is the Youths in Kasarani constituency especially those engaged in Kazi Kwa Vijana that deserve applause. The youth participated in Focused Group Discussions (FGD), interviews and case study analysis as part of their own quest for accountability. We thank you all.

We are also grateful for the generous funding by Cordaid that enabled us to undertake the initiative.

The Youth Congress

The Youth Congress is a robust youth initiative that seeks to improve the position and living conditions of the youth and that of the community. The Youth congress is an embodiment of the centrality of youth leadership and participation in transformation and real development.

The Youth Congress has since its founding made significant endeavors to restore the image and dignity of the Kenyan youth through championing various youth causes that bring out the potential and vitality of youth leadership and participation. Ultimately, the Youth Congress seeks to strengthen their unity, connectivity and collective action in search of new socio, economic and political orders.

Our Vision

A society in which youth enjoy all their rights and apply their agency.

Our Mission

To provide a platform where the youth consolidate their position to improve their condition and realize their full potential.

Our Strategic Themes

- Human Rights, Governance and Justice
- Peace building and Conflict prevention and Transformation
- Talent, Capacity and Economic development
- Institutional development

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Executive Summary

The youth in Kenya constitute about 60% of the country's population. This is in the midst of declining life expectancy (now estimated to be 45 years) and diminished opportunities for social mobility. In everyday life, social formations in the country seem to gravitate towards the 'old' who are said to be 'experienced' to lead and encounter in public life. Thus general maxim goes that 'youths are the leaders of tomorrow'. While a narrow review understands this leadership as elected or public appointment, the reality of this maxim is that youths in Kenya have to wait for the never arriving tomorrow for them to take up roles in public sphere. These include social leadership, economic occupation, political leadership and other realms that influence the extent to which Kenyans enjoy their rights, dignity and livelihood.

There is no doubt that this idea that the youths should wait for tomorrow is anchored in Kenya's political society and cultural society. The political society on the one hand has produced a leadership based on patronage and a Kleptocratic bourgeoisie that perfected the art of ethnicization of politics. This ethnicized politics got resources from the cultural state- the demarcation of political boundaries of the Kenyan State based on settlements by ethnic nations. The cultural state has therefore been instrumental in providing the 'criteria' of who should be a leader and who occupies public spaces.

It is this neglect of the youths that has resulted into a crisis in Kenya. However, the youth now demand effective occupations and political sway in Kenya. Their demands move beyond the initial idea of patronage and disrupt the welfare based relationships. This was evidenced on the eve and after the December 2007 elections. This is the background on which Kazi Kwa Vijana initiative was launched in March 2009. Important to note is that the KKV programme is a stop gap measure focused on enabling youths to earn a living in lieu of a more systemic response. The Youths Congress holds the opinion that even as a stop gap measure, the KKV programme, must meet basic criteria that resonate with the right to work. The government has a cardinal responsibility in the provision of work. And in order to enable citizens to work, it must do two things. First, it must ensure that there are appropriate opportunities for vocational guidance and training programmes. Second, it must put effective policies and techniques that achieve economic and social development that bring full and productive employment.

In November and December 2009, The Youth Congress undertook a review of the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme. The review was based on the notion that youth have a right to gainful employment. The review was also interested in establishing the extent to which the state has been faithful to its own promise on this programme as articulated in the Kazi Kwa Vijana Manual that was approved by the Cabinet. Although the Kazi Kwa Vijana is a national initiative, The Youth Congress has focused (for the sake of this review) on Kasarani Constituency. This choice of location has been influenced by the niche area of the Congress and its current capacity. In the constituency the review

beams on the ten wards that are the lowest units of elective political representation in the region. As is evident from the review the Wards were also the sites where recruitments and deployment were organized under this initiative. The key findings from this review are as follows:

Right to information: As part of this review, a letter was written to the office of the Prime Minister and the various line ministries associated with the KKV in Kasarani Constituency seeking to establish the management and expenditures in Kasarani. To date these inquiries have received a mute response. It was further established that the entire programme is shrouded with non-clarity and secrecy in management of information. The information about the programme is said to be in the custody of some people 'above'. In such a situation it is practically impossible for the youths to effectively participate or hold the line ministries of the various programmes accountable.

Skewed Recruitment: The review established that there is no single method used to recruit youth into the Kazi Kwa Vijana initiative. Although in the overall the age group of those between 21-30 years constitutes the large majority (60%) of those in the programme, cronyism, political patronage and favoritism have been witnessed in recruitments and appointment of supervisors. The village chiefs, Village elders and local councilors are instrumental in these processes and in most occasions act as if they own the programme.

Ghost Workers: Owing to the skewed recruitment discussed above, the review established that there are numerous ghost workers in the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme in Kasarani Constituency. Ghost workers are individuals whose names appear on the list of employees but they never work. Some are fictional persons while others are individuals known to the officials from the line ministries. This is the mechanism that has been used by the officials from the line ministries to wring money out of the programme. It is a level of corruption which about not less than Ksh. 6 millions must have been lost in Kasarani constituency.

Satisfaction with Kazi Kwa Vijana: It is apparent from this review that the KKV programme is a singular opportunity for the youth of Kasarani Constituency. It stands out as the only intervention by the state in recent times that has curved out employment for young Kenyans. Its basis of offering employment, is an affirmative action in favor of the youths more so those between the age of 21- 26 years. For this reason, 85% of the respondents in this survey confirmed that they would recommend the KKV to other youths.

Dissatisfaction with the Kazi Kwa Vijana: There were two major areas of dissatisfaction with the programme. First is the precarious nature of the programme, where youth are employed for a period that can't provide any gainful earning. The

finding was that most youths are employed in a period that does not exceed three weeks. The payment of Ksh. 250 per day is of little use if not provided for a substantial period of time. Second is the lack of substantive training programmes within KKV. The youth remarked that the nature of employment does not develop to possible between occupations.

Patronage: In the recent past, there has been a common injunction *Kazi Kwa vijana na pesa kwa wazee*. The review established that village elders demand for bribes in return to jobs under the KKV programme. The next level is that whenever the youths are required to get working implements like spades, *pangas* and the like, the older persons rent these implements out at rates that are exorbitant when reviewed on the basis of the remunerations that is paid in the Kazi Kwa Vijana.

Recommendations

The summary of findings above suggest that while the youth accept to work under the Kazi Kwa Vijana, they would like certain reforms that would ensure that the programme is effective, responsive and accountable to them and law. The areas that require immediate actions are:

- 1) **Stop Corruption:** The Prime Minister office and the line ministers involved in Kasarani Constituency must come out clear on the issues of Ksh. 6 million that has been wringed off the Kazi Kwa Vijana. The ghost workers must be purged off the lists and official involved interdicted and charged for their corrupt practices.
- 2) **Transparent Recruitment:** The recruitment process should be open and guided by credible criteria. It can't be left to the village chiefs and civil leaders to play patronage and divide the youth further by using cronyism, ethnicity and political patronage as the basis if recruiting individuals into the KKV programme.
- 3) **Establishment of Project Management Committee:** For there to be clear chain of command, authority and accountability, the Project Management Committee which is envisaged in the Kazi Kwa Vijana project must be established. The Kazi Kwa Vijana Manual recommends that the Committee should have: *the Project Coordinator appointed by the line Ministry responsible for the particular project and should comprise technicians from, and representatives of other concerned Line Ministries, community and local youth leaders.*
- 4) **Rights at the workplace;** Kazi Kwa Vijana must be treated as any other employment. In this regard, its conditions of work should be guided by the statutes that regulate relationships and conditions of work in Kenya. Those in the programme should thus be given appropriate protective devices and safeguards on terms of employment. This should include protective devices and clear grievance handling mechanism.

- 5) **Youths Organizations and the Kazi Kwa Vijana:** The review by the Youth Congress established that the Youth Organizations were never involved at all in the recruitments or management of the KKV programme. It has been discussed here that the youth can't be treated as subjects of tomorrow. The complete emancipation of Youth in Kasarani and indeed in Kenya requires that the Kazi Kwa Vijana must be targeted towards a broader participation by the Youth. The Youth should not be mere recipients of the KKV. On the contrary, they should inform its content and influence its implementation.

Chapter One

1.0. Background and Country Context

1.1. Transition in Kenya

Kenya has been in a long and protracted transition for the last ten years. This transition, which was fermented by the National Rainbow Coalition's (NARC) 2002 victory over Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) has been frustrated by entrenched interests and what some analysts like Mutahi Ngunyi have referred to as, *'The crisis of transition without transformation'*. This is not to say that what is ailing Kenya is unclear. The ailment of Kenya predates the 2002 'velvet revolution'. It is an ailment that oscillates in the many years of mis-governance and the crisis of Kenya as a nation-state.

On the one hand is the authoritarian presidency and its Keplocratic *bourgeoisie* that have reigned since independence and have plundered Kenya. At independence the nationalist administration took over political and economic systems which were designed and skewed to serve the minority white. When he ascended to power, the first president of the new republic (Jomo Kenyatta) inherited these structures and soon after his cohorts started using their ascendancy to State power to usurp economic power from the departing colonialist for their own gains. This project was justified through what came to be called *Africanization of the economy*. The real results of this process was the creation of a class of comprador bourgeoisie who parasite on the state for their survival and accumulation of capital. Although there is nothing wrong with Africanization, the problem was that in the case of Kenya just like it has been in most countries in Africa including South Africa the discourse was abused and exploited by self seekers. The manifestations prompted Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to write his *Book Not yet Uhuru* and J.M. Kariuki a politician from Nyandarua who was brutally murdered in 1975 to claim that Kenyatta created a nation of ten millionaires and ten million beggars at a time when Kenya was growing at the rate of 7% per year. This formed the charter of Moi and Kibaki's regime.

On the other hand is the crisis of non-viability of Kenya as a state. The Kenya nation-state was cobbled together by the British in 1895. Before then, the territory now constituting Kenya was made up of what modern historians would call stateless societies. These pre-colonial societies were a separate collectivity of nations or identities. There have thus been persistent crises of responding to the increasing gap of the hyphen between the state and the nation. At the centre of this crisis is the politicization of ethnicity and ethnicization of politics.

It is important to note that the malfunctioning of the Kenyan state has not been experienced by all Kenyans at the same level. This is what Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was referring to in his argument of *Not yet Uhuru*. What he meant is that the so called *Uhuru* has been experienced by the youths, women, men, displaced persons and persons of various creeds and economic positions in Kenya in different proportions. Moreover, even the elections that were periodically sprinkled in the name of democracy have done

little to generate genuine change in the position and condition of most ordinary Kenyans. The various *levels of uhuru* give life to J.M. Kariuki's famous injunction that 'Kenyatta created a nation of ten millionaires and ten million beggars'.

1.2. Youth crisis in Kenya

Although at the time of independence the spine of national thought and planning were the youths- and indeed this was also the case at the time of the clamor for multiparty- that has been referred to as the second liberation, those who are biologically young have been edged out of the centre of national thinking and influence over the years. Today, political and economic control in Kenya is pivoted by the old who form and fortify impermeable networks of influence and control. In rare events when youth have been able to permeate these circuits of power, it has mostly been on the terms of the power yielders. It is for these reasons that although the youth have largely been victims of authoritarianism and the crisis of the Kenyan nation-state, they have been enveloped and used to maintain the gerontocratic power as seen through militias and other forms of informal repression. No doubt, there are youths who have curved their niche within this 'food chain of gerontocracy'. Noteworthy is that initiatives towards maintaining the authoritarian mis-rule in Kenya has gone hand in hand with the mobilization of youths. To exemplify, we have the Youth for KANU 92 which was an effective mechanism of political mobilization of youth. However, the bungled 2007 elections stand out as the classical case where both sides of the divide (Orange Democratic Movement- ODM and Party of National Unity-PNU) struggled to edge each other by giving promissory notes to the youths and organizing lobbies such as *vijana na kibaki*. The underlying infrastructure for these mobilizations however is the very misery and precarious position that the youths in Kenya find themselves in.

1.3. Demand for youth emancipation

Apparently, it is observed that while there has been mobilization of the youth in the last decade, this has never been accompanied by emancipation. The new renaissance evidenced by groups such as The Youth Congress however, is hinged on the possibility of realizing a new era for the youth in Kenya. It is an era where the Kenyan youths demand to be treated not as foot soldiers and moralizers' but as actors with positions. In fact activities of groups like Mungiki (which can be read as part of this renaissance) have suggested that unless the state deals with these new quests, their actions are likely to pose a threat to the existence of the very state. But whether the state deals with the issue or not, it is apparent that the youth organizing in Kenya since 2002, has tended to rapture the old patron client relationship that have long existed between the state and the marginalized young generation.

To avert the potential crisis, the state has had initiatives aimed at appeasing the youths. Most of these are targeted economic interest. Thus, Moi and KANU launched the Youths Development Funds (YDF) in 1990. As expected, this was meant to serve political exigencies. The Youths Development Funds was a ground clearing

euphemism for the Youth for KANU '92. Some of these funds were diverted from the National Social Security Fund, and the government flooded Nairobi with newly printed currency during the election campaign. It was reported by the *Daily Nation* at that time that the government nearly doubled the nation's money supply by distributing new Kenya shilling notes worth about \$1.5 billion.

On Thursday, 12th March, 2009, the Kibaki-Raila government launched the Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV) programme. This initiative must be read as part of the broader crisis that has faced Kenya over the years. At the time when the KKV was being launched, the employment rate in Kenya was at 52% and ten million Kenyans were at the risk of starvation. Besides, as most Kenyans lose jobs more than those who gain employment the wealthiest 10% of the population receive 47% of the income while the poorest 20% receive only 1.5% of the GDP. This means that the poorest 20% of the population receive just \$260 each year, or \$0.70 per day.

The post election violence demonstrated the lethal potential of these poverty and inequality. Youth engaged in protests and violence either in support of their political leadership or as part of the own protestation to years of plunder and unattained *uhuru*. In response to the crisis, the state launched the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme to avert a large crisis that is bed rocked in the ongoing renaissance of the youths. However, close analysis indicate that KKV programme was never aimed at transformation or brooder emancipation of the Youth. In this respect, The Youth Congress reviewed the KKV project on the basis of both its promise and the claims that the youths are legitimately making.

1.4. The Promise

At the point of its formulation, the Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV) programme was intended to help meet two critical needs, namely:

- Providing relief to the people at risk through gainful employment;
- Contributing to increasing food production particularly through better utilization of water resources in Kenya.

This was in the context of the dire poverty and misery affecting Kenyan masses and drought that exposed the precariousness of Kenyans reliance on rainfall water for farming. Those employed in the KKV were engaged in manual-based small projects in their own communities. In rural areas, they are expected to build water dams and irrigation, repair borehole and access roads, clear bushes, sow organic fertilizers and seeds, and plant trees. In the urban areas like Kasarani, the anticipated areas of engagement are road repairs, cleaning streets and estates and environment rehabilitation. The payments are meant to be based on minimum wages as reflected on Kenya Gazette supplement No. 30 dated 12th May 2006. Although this was a minimalists design aimed at providing for those participating in the project at the very basic, these were the minimum concerns around which the success of the KKV ought to be reviewed.

1.5. Right to work

The minimalist and the contingent nature of the project aside, its review must also be based on the perspectives of the current youth movement. Groups such as The Youth Congress have engaged with Kazi Kwa Vijana not just because of its contingent design to deal with the immediate issues of drought and acute unemployment, but as rightful claim by the youth. The Youths have rightfully argued that Kenyans have a right to work and not a duty to accept unemployment. The right to work is recognized in the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention number 122(article 1 (2)), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (article 23) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 6). This means that one has to be given an opportunity to earn a living. She (or He) must participate in productive activities and enjoy the benefits that accrue there from. This includes remuneration through which one is able to afford an adequate standard of living. The government has a cardinal responsibility in the provision of work. And in order to enable citizens to work, it must do two things. First, it must ensure that there are appropriate opportunities for vocational guidance and training programmes. Second, it must put effective policies and techniques that achieve economic and social development that bring full and productive employment. To the contrary, the government has supervised Kenyans lose their jobs over the years.

1.6. Method and Methodology

The whole of Kasarani constituency was covered by this review. This included the following wards; Kahawa West, Githurai & Kamaye, Mwiki, Kasarani, Roysambu, Mathare North, Kariobangi, Korogocho, Utalii and Babadogo. This review is therefore a reflection of the states response to its own minimum terms and based on the emancipation terms (reflected in the notion of right to work) as seen by the youth. The criteria offered by the youth are critical and seem to demand not just occupation, but also call for trainings and participation as elements of ensuring fulfillment from employment and transition from unemployment. This transformative perspective brings to question the nature of the state as witnessed in the various sites of KKV implementation. Far more important for youth's lives than their political boundaries location or the particular form of work are the sustainability and fulfilling employment.

The two elements of the review, are pursued using two interrelated strategies, Assessing achievement based on the state's own terms is undertaken based on the claim of right to information. Right to information is a constitutive/ facilitative and substantive right. For anyone to participate and hold government accountable, they need to know. The review therefore asks from the competent authorities, Information that relate to the various element of KKV. The nature of their response to these queries, are themselves treated as findings of the review. The second element (emancipation terms) is undertaken using Participatory Action and Learning (PLA). In so doing, the youths who were part of the project at various stages in their locations, were invited to

engage and review the project based on their own experience which are then read as knowledge.

Chapter Two

2.0. Kasarani and the Youth

2.1. Population

Kasarani constituency is one of the eight constituencies in Nairobi province covering an area of about 86km Sq. It has seven administrative locations namely, Roysambu, Kahawa, Githurai, Kasarani, Kariobangi, Korogocho and Ruaraka. According to the Centre Bureau of Statistics (CBS) reports on the 1999 census, Kasarani constituency is listed amongst the most populated constituencies in the country with an estimated population of about 340,000 people which is about 10% of the total population of Nairobi. Noteworthy is that the youth form the largest segment of the portion of the population in Kasarani constituency. Also important is that the youth constitute a significant proportion of the registered voters in Kasarani constituency. According to Electoral Commission of Kenya's records of 2007, Kasarani has about 130,000 registered voters.

2.2. Poverty, inequality and impoverishment

Kasarani constituency is categorized as one of the poorest constituencies in Nairobi and Kenya at large. Statistics indicate that about half of the population in Kasarani is living below the poverty line. In particular, it is estimated by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) that 47% of the total populations in Kasarani Constituency are living in abject poverty. Poverty continues to afflict a majority of the residents and especially the youth.

On the other hand the economic apartheid and inequality that is reminiscent of Nairobi is glaring in Kasarani Constituency. About 70% of the total population in Kasarani constituency constitute of a majority poor who are forced to live in about 5% of the total land in the area. The five percent include the slums like Mathare, Korogocho, and Soweto amongst others in the area. A majority of the residents crammed in the slums are poor and impoverished youth who are forced to live in deplorable and inhumane conditions and are neglected by the Government as far as service provision is concerned.

Noteworthy is that poverty and suffering experienced by the youth has been caused by the disregard of the youth and systemic misgivings that emanate from bad governance that propagate and perpetuate exclusion, marginalization, exploitation, abuse, and deprivation of the youth. There are significant gaps in youth representation. Youth in the constituency remain absent in most cadres of decision making. While the youth form the largest segment of the constituency population, their needs, concerns and contribution are always ignored. They are sidelined and excluded from decision making, policy formulation and developmental issues.

2.3. Unemployment, dependence and underdevelopment

High unemployment amongst the youth is the single most serious problem in Kasarani constituency. There is profuse waste of labour resources amongst the youth in Kasarani as most of them remain jobless. On the other hand, a majority of those who are employed can be termed as the 'working poor' as they are not in gainful employment and as such, they are not able to earn income that could catapult them above the poverty line. Such phenomenon means that the youth in the area are condemned to perpetual poverty and underdevelopment.

The implications of unemployment amongst the youth in Kasarani are enormous. Since most of the youth in Kasarani Constituency are unemployed, they are forced to engage in precarious activities for survival. Some of the activities pose immeasurable threat not only to their lives but other people's lives. This explains in part the reason as to why unemployment amongst the youth has been singled out as the cause of high insecurity, crime and drug abuse levels in Kasarani, Nairobi and Kenya at large. The nexus between economic deficiency and crime is one that cannot be ignored.

Moreover, lack of economic empowerment and independence amongst the youth in Kasarani has made them fall prey to political manipulation. Most politicians use the youth as their political pawns to protect their vested interest. This they do through propagating the culture of tokenism which is popularly known in the area as *gonywa* to mean 'release the youth' by providing something small whereby the youth are hired for as little as Kenya shillings 100 to provide protection to politicians or cause chaos. This can be explained in part by the events that characterized youth involvement in the election campaigns of 2007 and the subsequent post election violence.

2.4. Human Rights Violations, condemnation and unaccountability

The perpetuation of youth as a problem has made them an easy target for human rights abuse and public condemnation. This explains the reason as to why the youth form the largest portion of the statistics of those whose human right are abused especially by the police and the general public. In addition, the youth especially those from the urban slums in Kasarani and other areas with similar characteristics suffer immeasurable human rights abuses since they have been branded as criminals an identity and image that expose them to more suffering as it makes it permissible to authorities like police to attack and strip them of their human rights. Many young people have lost their lives in violent and inhuman ways in the hands of the police and the public. On the other hand lack of accountability, embezzlement of public funds and corruption especially by the politician, provincial administration, police and other authorities continues to impede development amongst the youth.

2.5. Youth organizing in Kasarani constituency

Despite the insurmountable challenges and myriad problems that face the youth in Kasarani Constituency, most of them remain steadfast and determined in their struggle

for better survival, recognition and transformation of their situation. There is unbelievable ambivalent engagement of youth for personal and collective development and freedom. They are making every attempt to develop coping mechanisms or what is known in the youthful lingua as *hassling*. Though not homogenous, the culture of youth in Kasarani and especially those drawn from the slums is characterized with innovation, creativity, determination and collectivity.

Contrary to the assumption that seem to underpin the conception, planning and implementation of KKV programme, Youth in Kasarani as it is all over the country are organized and organizing at their own levels to deal with all kinds of socio-economic and political challenges that affect them. In Kasarani Constituency and according to a survey conducted by The Youth Congress, there are over 500 vibrant youth organizations and organizations working on distinct issues that affect the youth in the area. Examples abound of the remarkable work and the positive impact that some of these groups have had not only in Kasarani but also at the national and international levels. The litany of remarkable youth groups/organizations in Kasarani constituency includes:

- **Miss Koch Initiative:** This is a Youth Initiative in Korogocho slums in Kasarani founded in the year 2001. Since its inception, Miss Koch has been instrumental in the search for human dignity, fundamental human rights and sustainable development especially for people who are chronically abused. It has endeavored to provide a platform for individuals, groups' and organizations to forge a collective power to confront the daunting challenges that stifle good governance, enjoyment of human rights and development.
- **Koch FM:** This is the first community owned ghetto radio in Kenya. It was founded in 2006 by the youth from Korogocho slums in Kasarani Constituency. The radio is an extra ordinary innovation by the community youth who are truly committed to provide the constituents with the requisite information that is needed for their effective participation in the socio-economic and political processes for greater achievement. The radio amplifies the voices of the people and ensures that they are clearly heard. Its editorial focus includes human rights, governance, gender, health, environment, entrepreneurship, and religion, and sports, child and youth welfare amongst others.
- **Babadogo United Sports Association (BADUSA):** This is a youth association in Babadogo ward founded in the year 1996. Their main aim of the association is to develop the talents of the youth through formation of community soccer teams, talent identification and development, and promoting life skills education unto the youths. Their mission is to organize the youth to address the inequalities that hinder their development and that of the larger society.

- **Liberty Youth Group (LYG):** This is a community based youth organization, comprising of young talented theatre artistes in Githurai Ward. The Initiative encourage and enable youth to respond to societal social ills through their work of creativity that include dancing, singing, plays, choral verses and educating the community.
- **Shirikisho Youth Group:** This is a vibrant youth group that is based in Kariobangi ward. Throughout their existence, they have endeavored to enhance the socio-economic wellbeing of youth and the residents of Kariobangi. This they have done through undertaking activities such as sports, traditional dances/performances, garbage collection, awareness and advocacy on reproductive health and against drug abuse, rape and other social ills and human rights violations.
- **Marurui United Youth Group (MUYOG):** This is a community based youth group in Roysambu ward in Kasarani Constituency. MUYOG was founded in 2002 with a mission to promote socio economic welfare of the youth. The initial activities when founded majored on sports and entertainment like activities. Currently the group engages in a myriad of programs that include environmental conservation, Information Technology and Communication, HIV/AIDs, educational and economic empowerment programmes.
- **Mathare Youth Development Organization (MAYUDO):** This is a youth organization in Mathare North in Kasarani constituency. The mission of the organization is to mobilize the youth and the general public to engage in personal and collective development. Like most youth organizations in the constituency, MAYUDO undertake programmes and activities on HIV/Aids, environmental conservation, sports, gender economic empowerment programmes like farming amongst others.

Chapter Three

3.0. The Introduction of Kazi Kwa Vijana in Kasarani

3.1. Inception

The unique manner in which KKV was hatched shaped the implementation of its contents. The KKV programme was launched by H.E the President of the Republic of Kenya Hon. Mwai Kibaki, and the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga on Thursday, 12th March, 2009. Its transformation from ministerial directive (as the PM is a senior minister) has given it multiple forms even in a constituency as small as Kasarani. In the midst of turf wars within the current government, there has been near nil efforts to transform the ministerial directive into clear programme. This is evident in the recruitment programmes in the various wards.

3.1.1 Kahawa West Ward

Kahawa west ward is part of the wider Kahawa location in Kasarani constituency. In this area, KKV was introduced on the 28th April 2009. The kind of work done here include: unblocking of drainage and road repairs and mapping of business premises. In recruiting the youths to the project, the following process was followed. Information on KKV was relayed to the residents through the churches and village elders who in turn got registered at the chief's office. In total, the project employed 300 people who worked for about five weeks. There have been numerous complains especially on none payment of at least 20 youth who were duly recruited and worked at the project;

3.1.2 Githurai

Githurai ward is part of the wider Githurai Location. In Githurai, prior to the commencement of the KKV, a public Baraza was convened at the chief's place. When a sizable number had arrived the local village chief Mr. Alvas Mutua Vata asked the youths to register their names on a sheet of paper that was provided. This process went on for about 30 minutes. Then he (the chief) gave new orders that all the youth present should start working even if they had not recorded their names. The youths were divided into the three areas as follows: Githurai 160 youths, Zimmerman 198 youths and Kamuthi 126 youths. Before departing the various groups were asked to select a supervisor. This was done by acclamation after which they were given the terms of employment orally. These were: That they would be paid on a weekly basis; that the supervisor would record the daily attendance; that each person should ensure that they had the appropriate working implements like pangas, brooms and where necessary wheelbarrows.

The kind of work that was going to be assigned was unblocking of drainage and digging of trenches and sweeping roads in particular Gumba Road, Swerere Road and Sonic road. Because the work in Kamuthi involved roadwork an engineer was present at the public meeting. The engineer later stopped coming to supervise work. After one week the engineer could not be seen and no wages had been paid. This went on for another week after which the youths organized demonstrations to the office of the

District Officer to demand their wages. This was later paid but there has been no more work since then. The KKV in the area only ran for 29 days.

3.1.3 Korogocho Ward

Korogocho Ward is part of the wider Korogocho location with about 300,000 residents. The KKV programme in this area commenced in March 2009. First round of KKV in the area was on road repairs that were being carried out by Ministry of Roads and public Works. The recruitment was at the chief's office in Korogocho where youths were required to register. It is alleged that information was not well disseminated and as such youth especially those located away from the chief's camp did not access the information. This method caused protest by the youth who were located in villages which were a bit distant from the chief's camp and felt that they were marginalized as far as dissemination of information on KKV was concerned. It is then that the KKV authorities in the area opted to use the Korogocho Resident Committee which undertaking a separate programme under the slum upgrading project. The Resident Committee is composed of youth representatives from each village in the ward. Currently, the youth representatives are the ones charged with the recruitment of the youth. However, in this first phase of KKV in Korogocho payments were never made on time leading to a demonstration by the youth to the District Officer in Kasarani after which the workers were paid.

In June 2009, work commenced on Nairobi River under the auspices of Ministry of Environment through the National Environment Management Authority. All interested candidates were invited to convene at the chief's camp in Korogocho. However, it is alleged that the chief and the village elders had their preferred recruits. Some youth claim that most of those who were recruited into the programme were either related to the chief and the village elders or gave bribes. During payments, it has been noticed that there is always extra monies which the officials from the line ministries do not seem to account for. Reports indicate that there are at least 36 ghost workers in Korogocho ward alone. Currently, KKV is still on course although the number of those employed has been reduced. Besides, people work on rotational shifts on a weekly basis.

3.1.4 Mathare Ward

Mathare North Ward is part of the wider Ruaraka Location in Kasarani constituency. The residents of Mathare North ward started following up on the Kazi Kwa Vijana project immediately after it was launched in March 2009. The respondents alleged that the City Mayor (Geoffrey Majiwa) instructed the widow of the former councilor of the area to recruit youths to work in the KKV project. They claim that the widow only appointed individuals who were known to her. Besides, these youths were taken to work in Eastleigh rather than in Mathare North as was the case in other wards. Major engagement in Eastleigh included cleaning of the road and unblocking drainage.

Thereafter, the second phase of KKV commenced whereby three youths were recruited to carry out business survey. This work was under the auspices of the Nairobi City Council. The condition for recruitment was that those interested had to have worked in the KKV before. Youth who were interviewed claim that the criteria locked out a number of deserving youth leaving room for cronyism and favoritism.

3.1.5 Utalii Ward

Utalii ward is situated in Ruaraka location in Kasarani constituency. It is alleged that information related to Kazi Kwa Vijana in Utalii ward is only known by the local councilor. As such there is very little information on KKV programme in Utalii ward. It is reported that youth recruited in Utalii ward were ferried to work in other wards. The youths claim that recruitment and implementation of KKV in Utalii ward is shrouded with secrecy which is fertile breeding ground for corruption and unaccountability.

3.1.6 Roysambu Ward

Roysambu Ward is found in Roysambu location in Kasarani constituency. The KKV programme in this area commenced in May 2009. Information about the project was conveyed to the residents through the local chief and village elders. The information required all the youths seeking employment to converge at the Chiefs office for a public Baraza. After two hours of waiting, the engineer from the ministry of roads appeared and requested to be given a list of 100 people from Marurui and another 100 from Njathaini and an additional 100 from other areas in the location. Approximately 350 youth were recruited. The section was generally random although it appeared that some people had been 'marked' and so they did not have to struggle to get the opportunities. Those enrolled were asked to report the following day with their own tools. This project only lasted for two weeks and some of the workers begun to drop out due to loss of morale since no payment nor was monitoring being carried out. Two months down the line did not elapse and the first phase of KKV was brought on halt. Reason behind, only those in ministry could clearly elaborate. Currently, only 6 members are involved in KKV under the Ministry of Environment.

3.1.7 Kariobangi Ward

Kariobangi Ward is found in Kariobangi location in Kasarani constituency. Kazi Kwa Vijana started at around May 2009 the information was passed through the area chief then to the village elders. Each elder was allocated five slots to select and bring to the work place individuals who could be employed. No criterion was given apart from the information that this was a youth's project. As a result it is alleged that so many youths who work in Kariobangi are not from the Ward. Most are relatives and individuals some of whom are above 35 years old. This was the Ward that had the highest number of reported cases of bribery. Most youths had to bribe the elders for them to get jobs. The youths worked for duration of two months and then the job was stopped phase two. The same system was used from chief to the elders then the youths, 120 youths were given the chance to work for KKV it was all about cleaning the drainage's. Phase

Three; was about cleaning the Nairobi River under NEMA, the number of youths was reduced from 120 to 75 then 15.

Youths complained about the lateness of receiving their dues which were not full as agreed, there was also a case of ghost workers who never worked but were earning salaries and there was also cases of youths buying jobs due high demand, and as it is at the moment the project KKV has stalled and the youths are jobless in the neighborhood.

3.1.8 Mwiki Ward

Mwiki Ward is found in Kasarani location in Kasarani constituency. The information concerning KKV in Mwiki ward was received from the Kasarani location area chief through sub- chiefs and village elders' .People were informed that they were supposed to attend a meeting at the chiefs' office for their names to be recorded in preparation for the start Kazi Kwa Vijana. The following day all the people met at the chiefs office, their names were written down and advised to wait for the engineer who was to come and show them what to be done and how. The engineer came late that day and allocated the people who were present each to go at their respective sub location the following morning for the commencement of said job. At sub location level where the actual job was to be done the people were told to elect any of them to act as their supervisor who will perform supervisory duties on a daily basis. Thereafter every member who was present was told about the payment of the job that was to be done and also shown the specific area one was supposed to work. This exercise went on for a period of three weeks without any payment, then people complained and finally the engineer advised the supervisor to tell the other workers that to stop working and that they will resume work after the payment of their previous work was paid.

Noteworthy is that although there is abundant evidence of self organizing by Youths in Kasarani constituency, none of these were considered when initiating the Kazi Kwa Vijana initiative in Kasarani constituency. To the contrary, the youths were made to scramble for jobs in a manner that is unorganized. This had two major effects; the first is that it disintegrated the youths further and thus availed an opportunity to those who wanted to play patronage. Second it made sure that the youths had no bases to demand for the jobs. The jobs were favors, not rights. The modus operandi was to get the jobs when they are there and stay away without asking a question when the jobs were not there.

Chapter Four

4.0. KKV and Everyday Life

4.1. Background of KKV

The impact of the KKV programme must be discussed and understood within its historical context. As has been discussed in the background section, the KKV come in the backgrounds of a plundered Kenyan state that was cartilage with tensions between the state and the nations and between various interests that were organized in the forms of generations. The Youths had for long been mobilized but their emancipation from political, economic and social misery had never been the main agenda of Kenyatta, Moi nor Kibaki's administrations. Besides the collapse of Kenya Africa National Union's (KANU) administration rendered the state protection of criminal extortion under the KANU youth wingers unavailable. Although various other extortive and quasi-informal youths establishment developed or were fermented by various politicians, there has never emerged a network with its food chain in the provincial administration like the KANU youth wingers. Although patronage that is associated with the KANU youth wingers and the gate keeping by the so called 'village elders' was reported KKV, the dynamics of this programme have been fairly different.

Biographies and testimonies collected by the Youths Congress, suggest that the KKV was an emergent programme to respond not just to drought and joblessness but the political fermentation that started to germinate from the two twin factor. It is this anger and manifestation of public dissent led by the Youths that made this subject under the euphemism of unemployment an Agenda four issue in the National Accord that restored to calm after the December 2007 post elections violence. We call unemployment euphemism because the youths of the country and many other Kenyan of working age and willing to work, had in their actions started questioning the meaning of a the state if it could not give them an opportunity of surviving at the very minimum. This was therefore more of a mechanism of restoring calm in lieu of an effective social, economic and political response. It is not any different from the intervention that informed the establishment of the Export Processing Zones in 1994. At that time, Kenya was in the cliff of yet another national revolt from thousands of Kenyan who were laid off from employment under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) and the so called 'Golden Handshake' from the government.

Today although the EPZs are associated with about 23,000 thousand jobs, they are also synonymous with the worst form of workers abuse in Kenya. This parallel demonstrated a potential of becoming a reality going by the findings generated by this review. Although the findings of this review tend to ask for retention of the programme, the respondents have castigated the major pillars of the KKV and questioned its sustainability.

4.2. Adjusting to Kazi Kwa Vijana

4.2.1. Recruitment

The National framework under which the Kazi Kwa Vijana has been established remained unclear. Housed in the Office of the Prime Minister, the programme has marked the youths as the major catchment area for employment. It suggests that the Youths should be engaged in projects aimed at infrastructure construction, conservation and other maintenance functions of government and municipalities that would have otherwise been outsourced. In short, this is a formative action towards giving the youths space to realize remuneration even though precarious and inconsistent.

Recruitment of supervisors and youth into the KKV programme in Kasarani constituency is allegedly shrouded with lots of favoritism, tribalism and corruption. According to reports gathered in this social audit, there seem to be no criterion for recruitment and as such the provincial administration through the chief and the engineers from the line ministries exercise their own discretion which in most cases is discriminatory and have negative impact on the program.

The guide manual speaks of an elaborate structure for implementing Kazi Kwa Vijana which entails, District Management Committee (whose members are District Commissioner, District Heads, Town Clerk, regional authorities and Members of Parliament. At the project levels which have largely been wards, the manual envisages a Project Management Committee whose members are listed as; Members of parliament, Technicians, Community Leaders and Youths.

But none of these have been implemented in Kasarani constituency. It seems that this is not just a concern of the Kasarani Constituency but a nationwide concern. This nationwide scale was evident in Parliament during the Prime Minister's question time on Wednesday, 25th November, 2009. Members of parliament raised their concern at the lack of involvement of local leaders. There were also allegations of misappropriations and skewed distribution of the monies amongst constituencies. In his response, the Prime Minister, Raila Odinga under whose this programme is regulated conceded that there were shortcomings. He however associated these with the fact that this was a new initiative. No specific breakdowns of the finances were availed as he stated that the KKV funds are channeled through line ministries and not by constituency. On distributions based on budget lines, he noted that about Kshs1.4 billion, or 68 percent, was paid as wages to the youth while 21 percent went into purchasing tools and equipments and seedlings, while 11 percent went into administrative costs. The Youth Congress has asked for similar financial accounting from the various line ministries involved in KKV in Kasarani to no avail.

4.2.2. Authority and Accountability

The recruitment process illustrated above forms the preface to the practice that characterizes the implementation of Kazi Kwa Vijana. There were no local management or governance structures that were established. The Youths are recruited through the provincial administration and the local councilors. In most occasions this depends on who amongst the two yields more influence. This was the case in Mathare where the spouse of the late councilor was able to take leadership in recruiting and placing the youths to work from Starehe. The Local village chiefs were in the overall most influential in selection and management of the KKV. But even the chiefs, the ability to influence was widely limited to the selection process. The review established that of all the supervisors about 80% were either relatives of associates of the local chiefs or the village elders. This is evident to how patronage and cronyism continue to have a bearing on the everyday life. That the youths are not able to compete and get guarantee of job security speaks to the precarious nature of KKV.

Besides, the supervisors have little authority or knowledge over the employees in the project. They had no information on how much money has been allocated for KKV in their Wards or how long the employments were going to last. It is the individuals from the various government departments through which the work was being implemented who were known to the community and the being solely in charge of the KKV. In Mwiki, Engineer Muhia was the most mentioned, in Kariobangi it was a one Mr. Juma. This team sought to establish details of the individuals. It was established that Muhia is an Engineer with the Ministry of Roads and Public Works stationed in Industrial area while Juma is an officer with the National Environmental Management Agency.

To establish an audit of the various interventions, letters were written to the Office of the Prime Minister, Mr. Juma at the National Environmental Management Agent, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government, Engineer Muhia and the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Roads and Public Works. However, no formal responses have been received to date.

From the nature of organizing and the responses above, it is apparent that the KKV is not designed in a manner that does strengthen citizens' right to make claims. The design is more of a welfare based framework to which the recipients are not entitled. The bureaucrats in authority are not accountable to either the framework as stipulated in the KKV Manual or the citizens. In this situation, it is difficult to establish the outcomes of the initiative. The operationalization of the KKV framework is something that can't be delayed. Evidence from other sectors suggests that when structures such as Constituency Development Funds (CDF) Committee are in place, they offer an avenue for accountability and deterrence. When talking of accountability, what we mean is that by the fact that there is such a structure, the potential violators know that they are somewhere they can be taken if they violate the benchmarks or public expectations from the interventions. Deterrence works in the sense that in even if one does not

respond to sermon by structures such as the CDF Committee, the moral and reputational risk of being discussed adversely, deters those who want to violate the initiatives. This kind of a structure has been envisaged by the KKV. In the Kazi Kwa Vijana Manual, this was approved by the cabinet to mark the inception of the project; a project management committee has been envisaged. The Manual states:

Reporting to the District Management Committee, the Project Management Committee will be chaired by the Project Coordinator appointed by the line Ministry responsible for the particular project and will comprise technicians from, and representatives of other concerned Line Ministries, community and local youth leaders.

There was no evidence of the existence of this committee. In its place, the various officials from the line ministries, seems to be working arbitrarily with no inclusive reference structure of institution of accountability. The Kasarani Youth Congress has undertaken the advocacy to ensure establishment of the Project Management Committee as one of its interventions from this audit.

4.2.3. Youth Satisfaction

The respondents to the review were selected randomly. Invitations were sent through the Kasarani Youth Congress in such a manner that each youth who have worked in the KKV initiative had the probability of being selected in the review process.

4.1.3a: Gender in KKV

Of those who responded to the review, 54% were women. It was also the observation of Kasarani Youth Congress that majority of supervisors (89%) were women. This is instructive as it most recent that young women have started taking leadership roles in the public leadership in the slum areas.

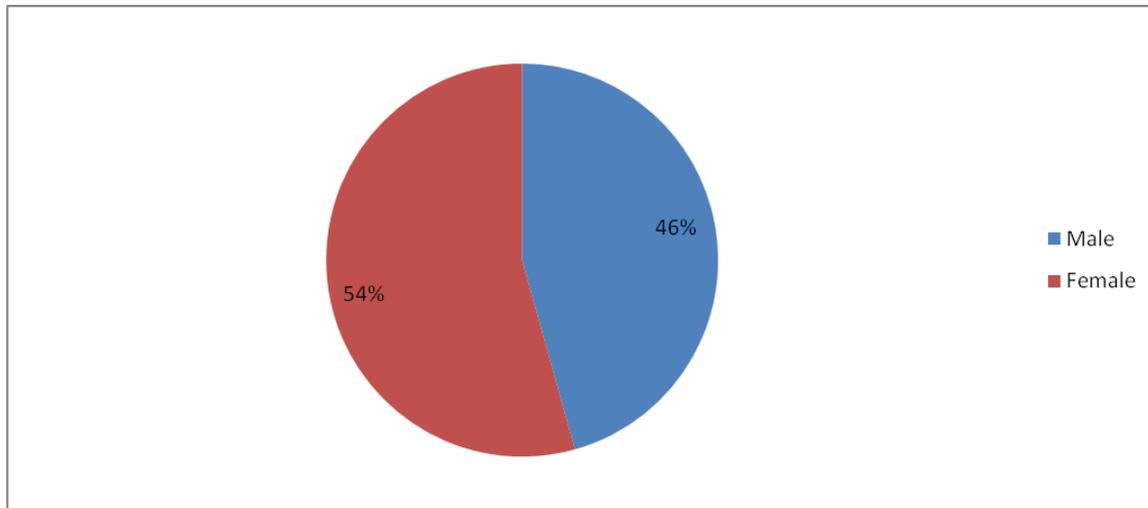


Table 1: Proportion of male to female

4.1.3b: Demographic character in KKV

The research established that 50% of the youths in KKV are between 21-26 years of age. This finding is consistent with national reports for those who have been reported to be most unemployed. The other significant age group is that between 30-32 years old. They constitute 20% of those employed. Most of the supervisors in the programme were also between this age group. It is therefore proper to conclude that the KKV has employed the correct age group.

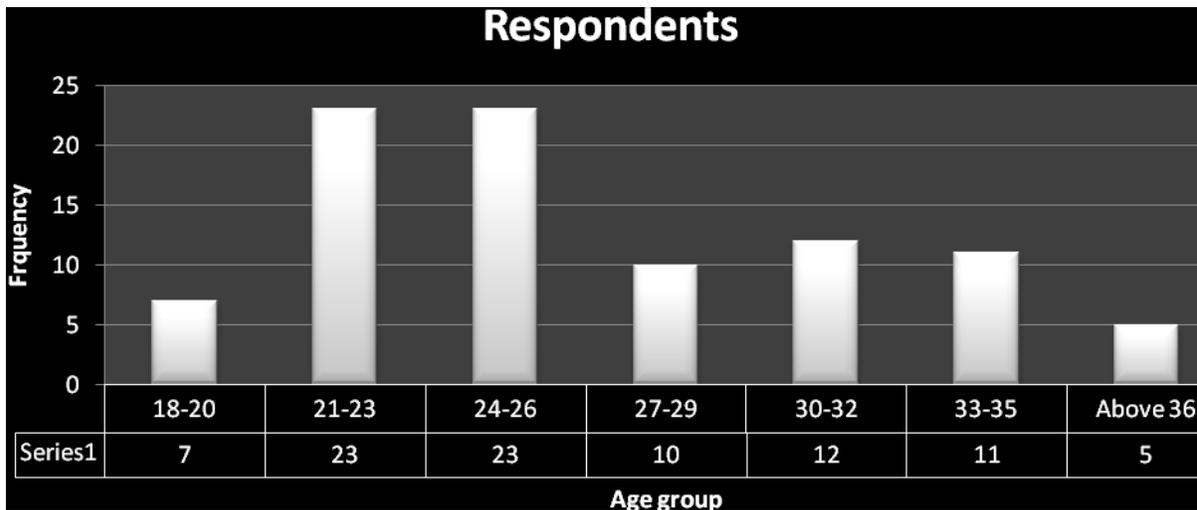


Table 2: Demographic character in KKV

4.1.3c Job Categories and occupation

As would be expected 64% of the participants in the Kazi Kwa Vijana project are involved in handwork. That is manual work that does not involve technical skills. The kind of engagement depends on the line ministry. The predominant jobs in Kasarani Constituency have been:

- Ministry of roads and public works was in charge of construction of roads, clear bushes and digging of drainages.
- Ministry of the environment under National Environmental Management Agency (NEMA) was in charge of cleaning of Nairobi River, slashing of bushes and cleaning of streets.
- Ministry of Local government under city council was in charge of, Data collection on registration of Businesses under the auspices of Nairobi City Council cleaning of streets, planting trees and flowers and opening of drainages.

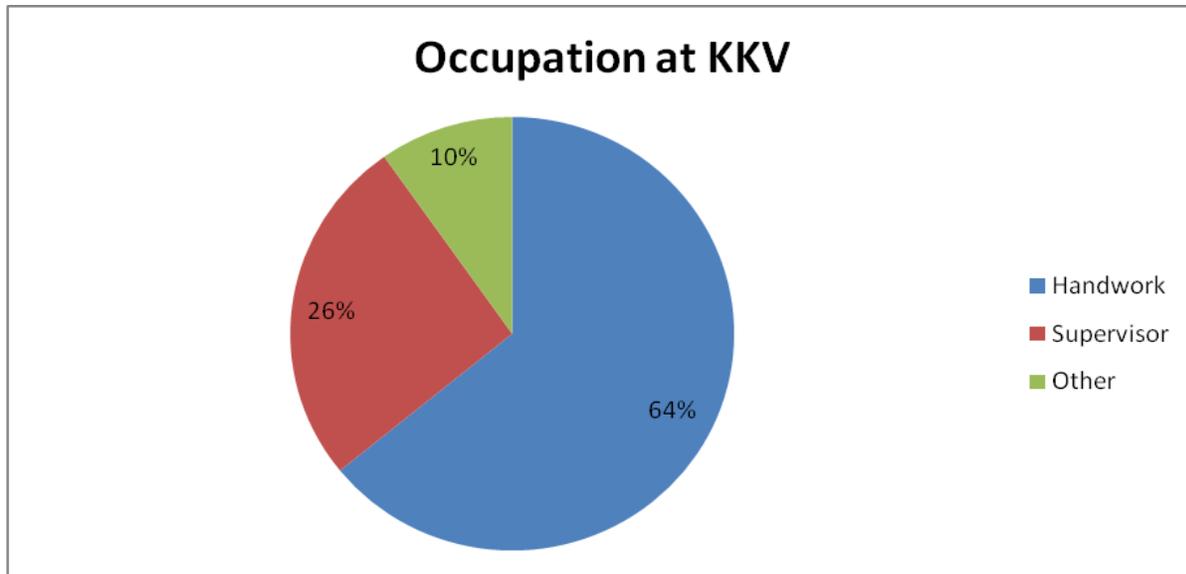


Table 3: Occupation in KKV

The numbers of supervisors are also considerably large. They constitute 26% of employees. It was established that in many occasions individuals were appointed as supervisors more on the basis of patronage rather than on needs and qualification basis.

4.1.3d Period of Engagement

Most respondents claimed that the longest that they have worked with the KKV project was up to three weeks. This attests to the precarious nature of the KKV employment. The longest that individuals have reported working for the project was up to one month. Where the engagements have gone for more than one month, the participants have been made to rotate. While this is appropriate in that it avails opportunity to many youths to gain income from the programme, the amount of income accruing from the programme is below a level that would support a household budget. Individual earn Ksh,250 Per day, working in an average of three weeks earn one Ksh, 5,250 The basic expenses for an individual without any dependants in a month are: Rent- Ksh. 3,000; Meals -Ksh 4,000 and about Ksh. 4,000 for other expenses. Such on its own the KKV is inadequate to monthly expenses.

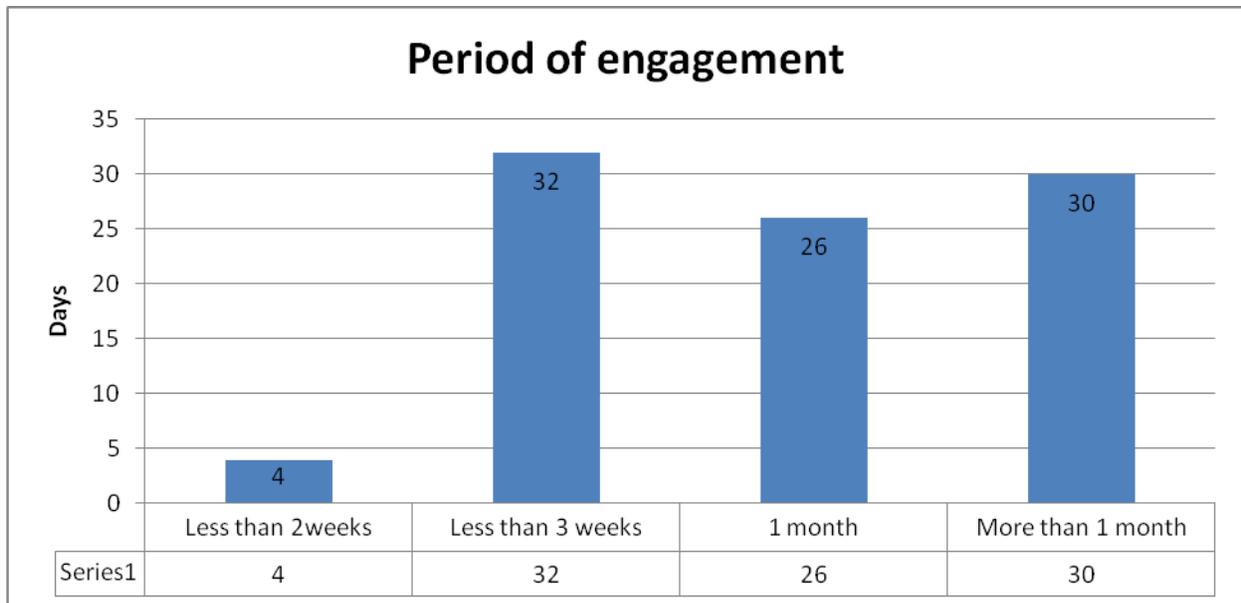


Table 4: Period of engagement in KKV

4.1.3e Remuneration

The period of work is related to the much that is earned from the KKV. It appears that most of the youths involved in the programme are unhappy with the amounts paid in the project. The Working Manual has pegged the remunerations at the level stipulated by the Kenya Gazette supplement No. 30 dated 12th May,2006 ,casual laborers working within Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu cities are entitled to a monthly rate of Kshs. 4, 638,weekly rate of Kshs.1,115.50 and daily rate of Kshs.223.10 respectively. It was reported that the general employees are paid Ksh. 250 per day while the supervisors earn Ksh. 300 Per day.

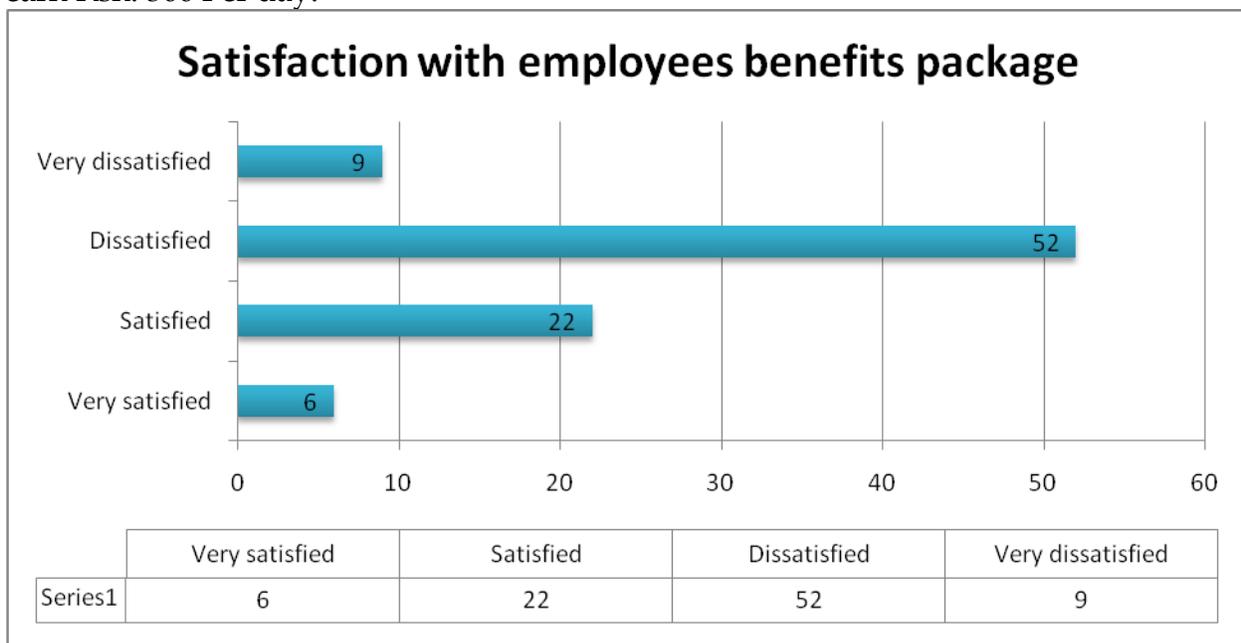


Table 5: Remuneration in KKV

Although the amount paid is consistent with what is stated in Kenya Gazette supplement No. 30, 52 % of the respondents in the review reported that they were unsatisfied with the wages from this initiative. Only 6% said they were very satisfied while 22 percent said that they were satisfied. This is telling at two levels. At one level it is related to the precarious nature of terms and period of employment. Earning Ksh. 223 per day makes no sense if it does not lead to a useful cumulative income at the end of the month. The amounts do not add up to meet the basics.

At the second level, this is a critique of the minimum wage system pursued by the Kenyan Government. The International Labour Organization(ILO) Convention no 6 amongst others is clear that the minimum wage ought to be that which allows a worker to meet the basic needs and those of his/her family and have discretionary amount for leisure. The amounts declared by the government on May 1st, cannot meet the needs of a worker leave alone their families. It is evident from the figure announced by the government that the minimum wage is calculated to cover the needs of bachelor (with no sibling or parents depending on them), on the implicit assumption that such a bachelor is employed uninterruptedly for the total number of legally workable hours in the year. In fact this wage level presupposes that such a worker is never ill or unemployed and that the worker does not live past retirement age. Labour Awareness and Resource Centre (LARC), a leading civic education centre on Labour issues in Kenya, has argued that the so called minimum wages are arbitrary figure awarded much more for the purpose of political exigency rather than with the workers' wellbeing in mind. In a country where most workers are casual or seasonal workers, the minimum wage announced on 1st May 2009, is a mere 'poverty wage' that contravenes the objectives of ILO convention of minimum wages Fixing.

4.1.3f Ghost Workers

The other disincentive in the KKV project is around the ghost worker, they are workers who exist in the payroll but do not undertake work in every day engagement of the KKV. The respondents claimed that most of these workers are reported to exist in Kasarani and Kariobangi ward. In these wards, the employees claim that the officials of the line ministries usually make payments without reference to the list by the supervisors. To the contrary, they have their own lists on which bases they make payments. The list held by the officials from the line ministries is based on the initial recruitment. In some occasions, the respondents claimed that the officials have had a habit of including additional names to the list. There are also cases in Kasarani Ward where several workers have gone unpaid with no explanation. In total the survey established that there are about 400 ghost workers in Kasarani constituency for on whose name money is claimed but no known worker gets paid. This means that if each of these workers is meant to earn Ksh. 250 per day, a total of Ksh. 100,000 is lost every day. For the last two months that KKV was implemented in the constituency therefore a total of not less than Ksh. 6 million must have gone unaccounted for.

This explains why the line ministry officials refused to divulge their payment lists to the research. Besides Ghost workers, the Youths claimed that they did not know how much was allocated for the projects that they were involved in. And one of the supervisors remarked:

The money for Kazi Kwa Vijana is usually released in the pretext that the project goes to support the Youths. But who are the youths, we never know how much has been allocated for our region. We suspect that individuals in the ministries and private developers are using our names (the youths) to reap lots of money.

While these claims remain widely anecdotal, without a Project Management Committee or a functioning District Management Committee, there is very little information or a framework for dialogue on Kazi Kwa Vijana in Kasarani Constituency.

4.1.3g Training and development

Forty three percent (43%) of the youths interviewed were not satisfied with the training and development components of the KKV programme. They claim that the nature of employment does not develop to possible between occupations. As one respondent Anthony Mwangi noted:

At the Kazi kwa vijana, you do what enables you to eat today. It is not a place to plan for a better tomorrow or a job at a higher level. Yours is to clean Nairobi River, get your earnings and move on.

The claim by Anthony were common and only 9 percent of those engaged in KKV claimed that they were very satisfied with the project in regard to it's ability to impact on skills.



Table 6: Training and development in KKV

4.1.3h Approval of Kazi Kwa Vijana

The respondents were asked whether they would recommend the Kazi Kwa Vijana for other youth. 85% of the respondents stated that they would recommend it to other youths. This is because the Kazi Kwa Vijana is the first initiative by the government in recent times aimed at providing jobs to the Youths. The youths have argued that never before has there ever existed initiatives that create jobs directly for them as the KKV does. Those who were in doubt are 8% while those who were firm that they would never recommend this project to other youths were 7%.

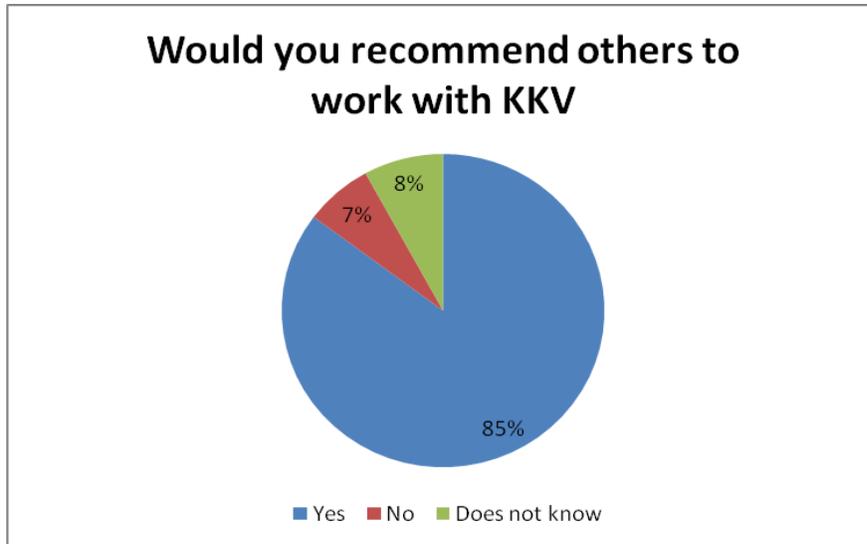


Table 7: Approval in KKV

The study established that those who expressed reluctance or doubt to recommending the project to other youths were mainly informed by the various disincentives discussed above.

4.1.3i Kwa vijana na pesa kwa wazee

But there is one item that was mentioned repeatedly which continue to be a disincentive this is patronage that has now been captured in the public by the injunction *Kazi Kwa vijana na pesa kwa wazee*. *Kazi Kwa vijana pesa Kwa wazee* is a protest of a practiced experienced extortion in the kazi Kwa vijana. It is manifested in two major ways. The first and most common is during recruitments. As noted above, the KKV project undertakes its recruitment with no reference to the existing independent youth organization or community based organization. The village elders, who are appointed by the village chief to advice him/her on village affairs, are the key people who undertake the recruitment. In most occasions, they insist in recruiting their own children or those who bribe them. In Babadogo ward for instance most village elders facilitate employments in the KKV in condition that those employed would get them a share of their remuneration. This practice of extortion is also rampant amongst councilors. In Kariobangi ward for instance, it was alleged that the area councilor only

wanted youth who support his party to be employed in the KKV program. The purpose was to use the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme as a mechanism of paying back his supporters. Thus the youths work but the elders earn and thus the now famous injunction *Kazi Kwa vijana na pesa kwa wazee*.

The second scenario related to working implements. As noted above, most of the tasks undertaken under the KKV in Kasarani Constituency involve manual assignments like cleaning of Nairobi River, slashing of bushes and cleaning of streets. Apart from the case of NEMA who have been supervising the cleaning of Nairobi River, all the other engagement require that those employed in KKV bring along their own implements. The most required of these are; wheelbarrows, brooms, spade, slashers, and *pangas*. These are implements that are really owned by young people. The study established that in most occasions, young people are made to hire these implements from the older person in their society. The rates at which these older persons hire out these implements vary between Ksh.20 and 60 per day. Thus at the end of the assignments the older persons without doing the work earn a significant proportion of money through this system. These amounts are not low. If one considers the almost maximum amount that was reported i.e., Ksh 60 per day, the hiring fee translates to about 25% of the daily income.

4.1.3j Occupational Health and Safety

During the interview, John Ocholla noted:

This kazi Kwa vijana thing is very strange. You work for a while you are told there is no more work for you. And after that you spend another one week seeing a doctor, at your own cost. There is completely no protective devices more so for those working in dusty areas like cleaning streets and clearing garbage.

Ocholla's lamentation is not an isolated case. Numerous complaints of health complications have been reported by individuals engaged in the KKV project. Most of them complain that there are no gas masks and that numerous accidents have been reported. No action has been taken in response to these accidents.

Chapter Five

5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

It is apparent from this review that the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme is a singular opportunity for the youth of Kasarani Constituency. It stands out as the only intervention by the state in recent times that has curved out employment for young Kenyans. Its basis of offering employment, is an affirmative action in favor of the youths more so those between the age of 21- 26 years. For this reason, 85% of the respondents in this survey confirmed that they would recommend the KKV to other youths.

The survey has also established that most youths in Kasarani Constituency are dissatisfied with the KKV programme as currently organized and in the manner it is being delivered. It is not consistent with the Youth's right to work and is more of a welfare intervention. In design, the programme is more of a welfare intervention that a fulfillment of state obligation in a manner that enables the citizens to hold the state accountable. In addition, there is also very scanty information on the details of the programme and it's financing. This has affected the delivery. The payments are late while the work is precarious.

5.2. Recommendations

- 1) **Stop Corruption:** The Prime Minister office and the line ministers involved in Kasarani Constituency must come out clear on the issues of Ksh. 6 million that has allegedly been wringed off the Kazi Kwa Vijana. The ghost workers must be purged off the lists and official involved interdicted and charged for their corrupt practices. This review and the kind of questions raised by Members of parliament in relationship to KKV programme on Wednesday, 25th November, 2009 attest to the kind of closed society that Kenya is. There is no detailed information about KKV anywhere. Efforts to get information from the Office of the Prime Minister which coordinate the initiative were also futile. The absence of legislation that obligates the state to make public information such as those of KKV makes it very difficult for groups like Kasarani Youth Congress to participate and hold the various competent authorities accountable. The youth congress recommends that information on Kazi Kwa Vijana be made accessible and available.
- 2) **Establishment of Project Management Committee:** For there to be clear chain of command, authority and accountability, the Project Management Committee which is envisaged in the Kazi Kwa Vijana project must be established. The Kazi Kwa Vijana Manual recommends that the Committee should have: *the Project Coordinator appointed by the line Ministry responsible for the particular project and should comprise technicians from, and representatives of other concerned Line Ministries, community and local youth leaders*

- 3) **Transparent Recruitment:** The recruitment process should be open and guided by credible criteria. It can't be left to the village chiefs and civic leaders to play patronage and divide the youth further by using cronyism, ethnicity and political patronage as the basis of recruiting individuals into the KKV programme. In addition, supervisors' role in KKV should be clearly defined and adhered to.
- 4) **Right to work and Rights at the workplace;** Kazi Kwa Vijana must be treated as any other employment. In this regard, its conditions of work should be guided by the statutes that regulate relationships and conditions of work in Kenya. Those in the programme should thus be given appropriate protective devices and safeguards on terms of employment. This should include protective devices and clear grievance handling mechanism. The current model of Kazi Kwa Vijana is also fairly episodic. The youths are never sure how long they shall remain at work and when they do, it is never clear when they shall receive their dues. This is a model of work that is unable to deliver the emancipation. For this reason, the Kasarani Youth Congress recommends that KKV shifts from its current nature of a sporadic emergency response to a systematic and sustainable employment opportunity for the youths. The youths need jobs that can enable them to plan their lives and engage in social, political and economic obligations. As part of this quest, Kasarani Youth Congress recommends that the KKV be firmly anchored in the Vision 2030.
- 5) **Youths Organizations and the Kazi Kwa Vijana:** The review by the Kasarani Youth Congress established that the Youths Organizations were never involved at all in the recruitments or management of the KKV programme. It has been discussed here that the youths can't be treated as subjects of tomorrow. The complete emancipation of Youths in Kasarani and indeed in Kenya requires that the Kazi Kwa Vijana must be targeted towards a broader participation by the Youths. The Youths should not be mere recipients of the KKV. On the contrary, they should inform and its content and influence its style of implementation.