
FINAL REPORT

KISUMU COUNTY LEADERSHIP & DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE, 2013

Submitted to: TOKYO FOUNDATION

SUMMARY OF ISSUES

I BACKGROUND

Preparatory meetings

Preparatory meetings kicked off with the signing of the grant. Forum organizers met severally in Nairobi and Kisumu, both for internal consultations and in smaller meetings with decision makers in order to realize a by-in for the activity. We held meetings with representatives of the Governors' Office in Kisumu; the County Assembly members; Executive Committee as well as mobilizers. The local media and select political leaders were also met. In addition civil society leaders from the region were also targeted in the preparatory meetings. Relevant meetings in Nairobi focused on the entire conference procedures and delivery.

Mapping invitations and follow ups

The Conference Committee drew up a representative sample of the main actors in the devolved government in the County. The delegates at the meeting were therefore drawn from the seven constituencies in Kisumu so as to achieve better reach and follow up of issues discussed. Further, national actors like the Transition Authority, Commission of Allocation of Revenue (CRA), the Kenya National Commission for Human Rights and NGOs like Legal Resources Foundation were invited as well. The purpose of the latter was to enable essential community contact making as well as raise relevant literature and materials on the issue.

Finally, a deliberate sample of neighboring delegates from the Muhoroni/Nandi borders were included since issues of border conflicts, leading to intermittent ethnic skirmishes along the area has been a big challenge to social cohesion in the area (see <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-139848/chemelil-youth-killed-border-nandi> , <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jb82mbff74>).

Collaboration and Exhibitions at Conference

It became important to involve other stakeholders in bringing the conference together, especially direct national bodies involved in the implementation of the new constitution. In particular, we targeted the Transition Authority, the Commission for Revenue Allocation, the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission as well as the Kenya National commission for Human Rights.

As the meeting also focused on mapping out the development agenda of the county, development organizations and research institutions were invited to take part. This required redesigning the side events to include exhibitions. The Governance agencies described above brought diverse literature and other materials for public education at the forum while development groups like the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI), and the Lake Basin Authority, which also were present brought resources like seedlings, fertilizer innovations and related farmer inputs for public education and purchase. This was relevant because the County is highly agricultural area.

II LESSONS LEARNT

- The importance of personal contacts and networks is essential in organizing meetings of this nature. Many background meetings relied on networks of personal nature to meet with some of the decision makers.
- The centrality of collaboration with stakeholders, especially government agencies (this could ensure sustainability of outcomes; uptake of relevant recommendations and wide use of relevant government documentations)
- Volunteers: Large forums have a lot of sideline activities to deal. Logistical outlays and coordination work better with sufficient numbers of volunteers available to the organizing team for this purpose. They may be required to distribute invites, clean and secure meeting areas, provide security, assist caterers etc. This was a good practice that we found.
- Accountability: Please keep your receipts securely as soon as you are provided with them, bargain prices and write down payments. In many rural settings, supplies will have receipts without invoices.
- Media work – This depends on the obtaining local media culture. In Kenya, the Media is sensational and selective. It tends to cover politicians rather than issues, and such sensationalization characterized the media report on the Kisumu Leadership and Development Conference (see reports).

Impacts of meeting

A few more citizen groups have emerged since the Conference, in part driven by the collective advocacy of some of the participants in the August Governance Forum. We have continued to engage with them in brainstorming development options for Kisumu County as well as a framework for peaceful conflict resolution in conflict prone areas such as Muhoroni and Nyakach constituencies. The development challenges here are many and cannot disappear overnight but we continue to work with others to highlight them. See www.the-star.co.ke/news/article.../3-dead-muhoroni-bow-and-arrow-raid ; mobile.nation.co.ke/News/Three-shot-dead-in.../-/index.html; <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-137277/muhoroni-jobless-youth-take-cattle-theft-says-research>

The Conference proceedings continue to inform many social and development debates in the county as a multiple number of institutional and individual actors have been furnished with copies of resolutions (annexed to this report).

NARRATIVE REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

DAY I

The meeting began with prayer and introductions of all the various stakeholders invited. Soon after the introductions were done, Mr. Otieno Aluoka gave introductory comments in which he highlighted the main purpose of the meeting. He explained that the conference was important to track the development goals in the new Kisumu County, discuss the protection of marginalized communities and groups in the community as well as the challenges required in transforming leadership/governance in the region.

He also noted the imperative need for leaders in the region to prioritize the needs of their people and work with them to enhance devolution and realize its potential for development. He also noted how this meeting was the first of its kind to be held in the county and it would be commendable were the fruits of the meeting to be widely disseminated and implemented. He encouraged the participants to make Kisumu County a sterling example to other counties as far as devolution is concerned. To do so, all key stakeholders involved must work together, he added.

Next Mr. Olang Sana, a Senior Lecturer at Maseno University took to the stage and highlighted the uniqueness of the meeting in bringing about change in Chemelil as well as the larger Kisumu County. In this context, the important question to be answered is **whether political party manifestos are important for development**. He noted that it is vital to consider this question since Kenya is still fresh from an election and some political parties were threatened with deregistration due to their absence in most of the 47 counties forming the county.

Political parties are important in democratic countries. Although they also are in existence even in the absence of democracy in some countries, they provide an avenue of promoting certain ideologies. The main aim of political parties is to capture state power and use it. In order to do so they must have minimum values telling people who they are and why they are worth being elected to hold state offices. These values are inalienable in that they should set standards that are acceptable.

Political parties usually propel certain ideologies that are the foundation of their values. Ideology is a shared belief amongst some people on how the state should be organized that is the political ideology among many those in a political party and they get an opportunity to implement their ideology. Manifesto –a statement of the principles and goals they desire to achieve, contract between the office holders and those who will elect them.

In Kenya there were 62 parties but only few of them launched their manifesto prior to the elections. CORD¹ and JUBILEE² Coalition launched their coalition manifesto but this is a problem because it

¹ CORD or the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy is the opposition coalition of parties, which failed to win the 2013 elections. It is the dominant Coalition Party in Kisumu County because the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by Raila Odinga from the region is a member of the Coalition.

gives rise to a contradiction. The parties in the coalition seemed to present common shared values. Is this possible? From examination of the two manifestos, Olong observed that the party manifestoes seemed similar in kind, just clothed differently. They were mainly neoliberal parties; are owned by individuals – ‘members clubs’. The manifestos are not developed by party leaders; they hire experts to develop manifestos in oblivion of the needs of the people and therefore end up being unrealistic. Moreover since parties are dynamic and constantly changing, they fail to relate them to a specific agenda. (Issues elicited plenary discussions).

In other developed countries, leaders do not promise what they cannot deliver since when they fail to deliver; this becomes a serious problem due to the weight of the promises given to the people. They must give promises they can deliver. We can derive from party manifestos development to a certain extent but this highly depends on the goodwill of the person in power, such as the case of laptops for primary schools promised by the Jubilee Coalition.

PLENARY

The delegates in plenary discussed arising issues, addressing the following important questions;

Any framework guiding in framing manifestos as provide for by the constitution and the law?

Are Party manifestoes contractual?

Any redress for failing to accomplish the provided promises in the manifestos?

If the manifesto is made for the community, what involvement do they have?

What is link between party, county and country manifesto?

What is the right to recall and which would the leader be answerable to or put to task?

Redress for any members who do not agree with party manifesto?

Is it possible to amend manifesto if priorities change if it fails to be practicable- jubilee amended that its manifesto?

What is the priority giving handouts Vis-a -Vis upholding party manifesto?

Should ideology and culture change?

Is there a way to redress this situation of lack of accountability?

The Plenary discussions were heated and interesting. Participants used local examples drawing from the political campaigns to discuss the use of political party manifestoes after the elections. In

² JUBILEE Coalition is the Ruling Party Coalition in Kenya. Its main membership consists of the United Republic Party (URP) and The National Alliance (TNA) headed by Deputy President William Ruto, and the President, Uhuru Kenyatta respectively.

terms of county governance, how do the Manifestoes apply? How leaders are held accountable for promises delivered during the campaigns?

Delegates related local development gaps and political promises made in the campaigns. Much appreciation was made on the relevance of continued vigilance by citizens in keeping elected leaders aware of the campaign promises and pushing them to fulfill them. A number of the main points of these discussions are summarized in the questions captured above.

BETTY OKERO- GENDER, MINORITIES AND MARGINALIZATION

Betty Okero, the head of Western Kenya NGOs Network in Kisumu started her presentation by observing that there are certain instances that manifestos open doors for women and provide a framework or guide for women's empowerment. However at National and international level, other frameworks become available in the protection of marginalized sections of the population like Women and other minorities.

GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK

The governance framework that currently exists is based on;

- Kenya's Constitution, 2010- implementation should be more progressive
- Budget-Justice, Laws for women ,child protection
- Local Laws (County Laws)
- International Instruments
- Global Agreements- MDG's WTO and their impact on our livelihood

These frameworks form the basis for engagement as well as protection of rights that ensure that engagement and participation of women in development is enhanced. The existence of these frameworks makes it a requisite for demanding an economic, social and political right which means that institutions and individual representatives make sure that the said frameworks are protective of women participation protect and support their economic empowerment and also provide for guaranteed social protection. Of course the budget remains a most important tool for ensuring that development programs are specifically geared towards ensuring that interventions are put in place and resources allocated that go a long way in the drive towards poverty eradication/empowerment of women.

It is from these frameworks that one can demand for enhanced women's representation in decision making. With right advocacy, the frameworks provides momentum to have certain rights enshrined (economic and social), and relevant guideline provided for any development intervention. It is also from these frameworks that governments derive their powers, while the people have their rights and interests protected and guaranteed.

A discussion then ensued on Kisumu County Budget 2013/2014 and what it means for the women in the county

Any intervention should be able to achieve a reduction in challenges, an increase in opportunities beneficial for economic growth and participation of all marginalized communities and people in an equitable manner.

Betty also led the discussion on the UN Millennium Development Goals and how in policy planning, these targets can protect women. The MDG's are about rights, equitable societies, economic empowerment, designing for pro-poor policies which involve ;Land, water, technology, innovation, infrastructure, energy, credit and financial services. This is essential to economic and social development and these goals usually form the basis of the party manifestos.

INTERVENTION IN SOCIAL PROTECTION PROJECTS

- Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieving universal primary education – which has enabled more girls to go to school and less in labor
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improving maternal health
- Combating HIV/AIDS malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

All our interventions should be focused towards fulfilling the MDGs. The reason why countries sign and support these goals is because they provide a framework for reducing challenges that remain towards achieving a better life. Therefore our engagement in the budget making processes should interrogate how they will have the overall impact of addressing inequalities, reducing vulnerabilities while at the same time increasing opportunities for economic empowerment.

There is need to be more aware and to scrutinize the on goings of the county government to look at the county budget and analyze and peruse expenditure and plans of the county government. The whole aim of devolution is to bring services closer to the people and therefore the people have to take an active role in being involved in ensuring that those services are actually provided.

There is also need to readjust perception as to the change of governance; how to engage at the level of county governance and be more interactive in the role of the local level government. We need to be aware of our rights and to protect them in order to reduce impunity. Citizens must also question / be firm and realign priorities from politics to development. Finally there is need to interrogate the document and budget allocations/ engage the government, become active participants in leadership and accountability issues. This would make social protection as a right a vision for constant reinforcements.

Questions

-What has been done with the funds that have been allocated? Current expenditure 60 percent need for more money for development and need to have money for devolution starting to appreciate that which is important for you in order to provide certainty.

-Public hearing to attend with fellow women- need for ward rep to be more interactive with them and interrogate them

-Women Enterprise Fund; women have not been able to access this fund, the machine is not yet ready many months from the time it was established, how is the situation to be addressed?

Functions that have been transferred to the county government the funds that have been allocated to address those functions however the funds are insufficient how we address these issues of insufficient funds. We also need to be more proactive so that we can access these services.

Next, Honorable Gideon Ochanda, MP for Bondo Constituency – Member of the CORD Coalition and ODM - (photo below) took to the floor to speak on the party politics and dynamics that occur in the party politics relating these to the lack of development in the County. He also went on to discuss the role of the Transition Authority.



On women's economic empowerment, Hon. Ochanda commented that residents should learn how to demand and have access to loan financing. Women themselves need to understand how they should get access to the Women's Fund.

In putting the new devolved government in perspective, Hon. Ochanda cautioned delegates against over expectations regarding powers of the presidency and implications of this on the county development. He said; "We needed to slowly disinterest people in the presidency and remove the kind of expectations that we had placed on the presidency. Presidential powers needed to be spread downwards that's is what the constitution provides - the decentralization of power and that is why you can now see that you have a county rep here and if you think of it that way we really did not loose with the presidency -we actually gained six other leaders...we just lost the presidency. Nothing else. So, all is not lost given the statistics of ODM's victory in the region."

He added "So let's not count it all as losses how do we now place our fresh expectations? The expectations outside there are completely different from what our constitution actually provides, now we are in a parliament that is a big noise making institution because the plenary of parliament does not discuss substantial issues it is just a voting machine it does not interest itself with matters of public importance and implementation of government policies"

New County government: New Horizons for governance. Discussions also observed;

- Now the ministers are not expected to sit in parliament so if a member of parliament has an issue to rise with any ministry now who will he address the questions to? The chair of the department comes at a later point of time to read the response in parliament.
- The two houses of parliament do not agree. The constitution has placed the two houses at the same level. The constant squabbles between the two houses have proven to be very unproductive/ senators represent county governments while national assembly represents the people therefore there is an overlap of functions of the two houses. Therefore the budgets of each of the houses will directly affect the functions of the other house.
- Did the national executive swear to work with a constitution that they do not believe in?
- Debate on referendum on how to change our constitution and this is the beginning of the loss of the good values that this constitution has within it.
- The county budget committee is misguided on how to budget for the money that is given to them .One cannot transfer money first before they figure out what to do with the money that is why the county transition authority has been brought in because we have messed up out transition. But they were not facilitated as they were not paid on time.
- National executive that is divided and this against the spirit of the constitution and we also have a struggling county government this is a big mess.
- We are not well prepared for devolution /patch work makes no sense at this point. County governments are busy recruiting members of the county governments. However according to the constitution this function has not been transferred to them this is the function of the public service commission.
- A county under an ODM government should put forward an ODM manifesto and it should be what guides the county government and thereby informing the budget of the county. We do

not have a common thread tying the policies in terms of what they want to achieve in 10 years and tie it to vision 2030.

Issues that Hon. Ochanda noted were the lack of enabling laws to enhance devolution and there was need to make laws specific to themselves by the county assembly specific to themselves while the national assembly generates law as per the agenda provided by the executive.

For devolution to function, there is need for good will from the national political executive, need for synchronization between the various authorities and as well the need for information to come from one centre i.e. the national executive.

A clear guideline that follows from president and deputy president from the transitional authority to the grass root level, and since there is no difference of manifestos, the difference is merely semantics and there has been exclusive division of labor between the national and executive government.

However there can still be reposition of the functions from the national to the county government at the cost of the national government but above all, there has to be the effective delivery of services. Accordingly, every county government shall decentralize its functions in a way that is practicable according to Art 176 (2).

PLENARY

- ODM nominations were flawed that led to the disqualification, what way ensures that they win back the seat of former ODM governor?
- Redress the situation for lack of upholding manifesto?
- How does ODM plan to put its house in order to enhance democracy?
- Despite disbursement of funds lack of development what accountable way do we have to ensure that those funds that have been properly utilized will be disbursed?
- What is the method of amendment of constitution? Is the referendum a good thing or a bad thing or a bad thing?
- Due to duplication of roles the question of loyalty to national government comes into play? How will this be addressed?
- Due to flawed recruitment we might have people who are not committed to devolution and export labor as efforts by those who have refused to professionalize the state, how do we intend to redress this situation?
- County governments are required to come up with their own strategic plan and need to come with a clean-up exercise what are the plans of the Kisumu County in this regard?

In plenary, delegates also discussed the progress made by the country towards devolution. Hon. Ochanda helped in discussing the performance of the Transition Authority, established under the Transition to Devolved Governments Act (Cap. 265A), 2012 (TDGA, 2012) to oversee the process. It

was understood that staff and/or personnel rationalization, for instance has remained a challenge to the agency. There are further challenges in the utilization of seconded professional technical staff, especially in the domain of planning. Whereas the TA has seconded such staff to counties, the county governments continue to outsource consultancies in such fields from individuals and firms without coordination with it. The TA is also not well resourced hence its failure to demonstrate competence.



In PLENARY, other discussions revolved around the following topics;

- Participants' expectations for the National government, and what were they (If CORD won)?
- Have these expectations been met?
- Participants' expectations in Raila win?
- What is this devolution business? What is it about/ majority of us seem not to care what is going on. We still mourning Raila's loss? We lost our expectations and we lost our agenda now what do we do?

Ochanda engaged the delegates on managing their expectations. He noted that after the loss of CORD coalition in the elections, some people have no expectations in the new government because they have not taken time to understand the new system of governance and their roles.

County Ministers

Two County Executive Committee ministers also attended the Conference on its first day:

Dr. Ruth Omondi, Minister for Tourism, Trade and Heritage stated that development encompasses specific ideas such as tourism and trade which are major sectors of the economy which can be a great source of revenue if properly exploited. Tourism is really wanting in Kisumu despite the many tourist attractions, the earnings from Kisumu tourism are non-existent and it is hoped that within two years tourism should have improved due to projects to improve the tourist attraction sites in the area starting with clean-up of the lake. Trade also in sugar, rice and other sectors need also to be improved.

The Minister for Water, Prof. Abonyo addressed the various issues on access to clean and safe water that are the lakeside and stated the various efforts that have been made;

- Supplement with solar powered pumps
- Ensure every primary school has water and groups of water harvesting and underground water storage
- Feasibility studies have been conducted in relation to several projects for supplying water

DAY TWO

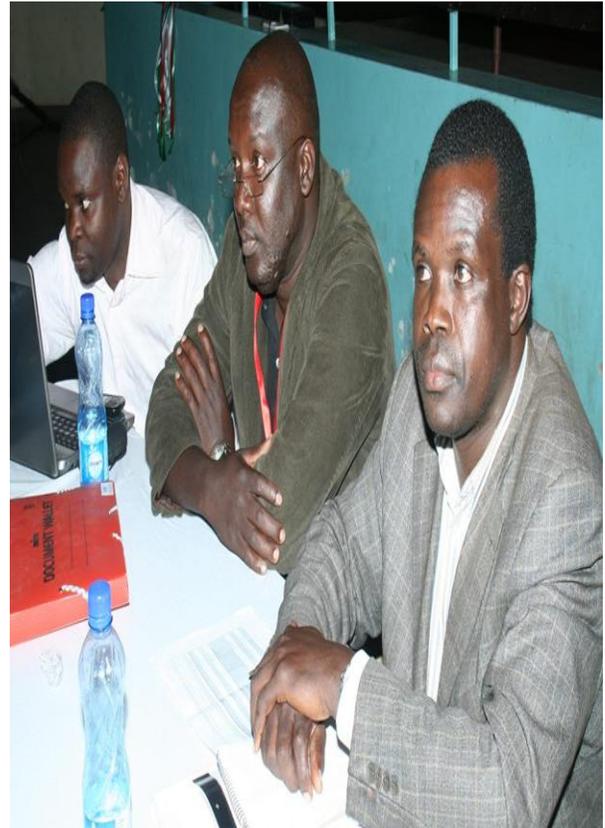
Group work involving all participants working through six thematic caucuses to identify leadership priorities for the county government was the first activity on the second day of conference. Group reports generated by the various caucuses were presented in plenary and validated.

Areas of discussions were;

- Agriculture
- Health
- Education
- Water
- Security, AND
- Roads and Infrastructure

These are all very crucial sectors for development, and the country government is centrally placed to lead the reforms for most of them in the context of devolved

government.



The reports formed basis for Conference resolutions/recommendations passed in the two days. They touched on the various thematic areas on politics, development and policy reforms required for the county government. The agreed action areas are briefly captured in this report in the annex of recommendations.

Next Churchill Suba (see picture, extreme right) took the stage. He explained the purpose and the aim of devolution; being to decentralize resources and provide development in response to historical political marginalization by the national government of certain parts of the country. He explained that devolution is the transfer of functions, decision making, power and resources from central government to other smaller governments. Previously devolution had been used synonymously to mean delegation and de-concentration. However this position is not true because devolution is the strongest form decentralization.

This is so because it involves;

- Transfer of functions such as health agriculture, county roads, slaughter house, environment have been transferred to county governments
- Resources follow functions i.e. need for resources to be able to cater for the functions
- Power to make decisions over those resources is also transferred it is the strongest form of decentralization.

Delegation- Government transfers **limited number of functions** and **certain number of resources** but there is no decision making power over those resources.

De-concentration- **functions are transferred** but no resources are transferred and no decision making power over those resources and therefore it is the weakest form of decentralization.

Objects of devolution

- To promote democratic and accountable use of power
- Foster national unity by recognizing diversity
- Give powers of self-governance to the people and enhance the participation of the people in the exercise of the powers of the state and in making decisions affecting them.
- Recognize the right of communities to manage their own affairs and further their development
- Protect and promote the interest and rights of minorities and marginalized communities
- Promote social and economic development and the provision of proximate, easily accessible services throughout Kenya.
- To ensure equitable sharing of national and local resources throughout Kenya
- To facilitate the decentralization of state organs, their functions and services, from the capital of Kenya and to enhance checks and balances and separation of powers.

The structure of devolved government

Legislative (County assembly) legislative arm of county government- senator, speaker, deputy speaker, nominated members to ensure gender parity. However there is need to elect more women in order to refrain from using resources to pay salaries through nominating women in order to ensure gender parity is maintained.

Executive- This is made up of the appointed executive cabinet

However the lack of judiciary at county level allows predictability, certainty, and consistency in law making throughout the country.

Key principle in devolution is public participation as the citizens have power to petition to recall member in county assembly s. 27. However despite this provision there are certain benchmarks that are required before one can institute such proceedings such as;

- Cannot be initiated before 24 months- to ensure stabilization and provide opportunity for him or her to perform.
- Grounds- has violated provisions of chap 6
- Has violated elections act no 24. Of 2011
- Violation of any other written law

- Go to high court to validate the veracity of the claims leveled against him
- 30 of those who registered as voters and claims must have registered as a voter and voted, only those who registered as voters at the time of election as a leader.

Requirements of county governments

- County governments are required to have competitive process of recruitment holder
- County assemblies are allowed subdivide ward to village and even further subdivide.
- There shall be council of village elders should be approved by county assembly.
- Establish a citizen forum to participate to get feedback and ideas to matters affecting the county government
- Puts up notice boards for vacancies on village, notice boards and tenders for services or goods and give feedback as to awards and recruitments.
- Provide ICT centers
- All elected leaders hold town halls to share information and one is allowed to question.
- Put a notice, people contracted to do it in order to track progress

In plenary, delegates discussed the presentations alongside group work (annexed) leading to the adoption of Conference resolutions and action points. These were mainly along sectoral development issues like Health, Water, Education, Infrastructure and Security. In-depth discussions on these topics have continued after the conference. The Action Points formed basic submission to the County's Integrated Development Plan that has been under discussion for some time. In the end, final votes of thanks were given and the conference officially closed.

Annexures

Elections and the Promise of Political Party Manifestos in Development (With Comparative Illustrations from other Countries)

A Paper Presented at the Kisumu Stakeholders' Leadership Conference on County Leadership and Development, Chemelil Conference, August 25th -27th 2013

Presenter:

Olang Sana

Lecturer - SDSS

Maseno University

Email: jsanaoke@yahoo.com

Talking Notes

Introduction

Political parties are central formations in the governance of any modern democratic state. This is because democracy in a modern state is inconceivable without open electoral competition for power by a multiplicity of political parties.

The main aim of a political party is to capture state power and to form a government. However, the culture of political parties in any country is directly related to the purposes for the existence of the State. The state exists to pursue both national and external interests. It is the national interest that will concern us today.

It is safe to assume that Post Moi Kenyan state is constituted to cultivate democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights, and economic development. A quick look at the names of registered political parties before 2013 election confirms this suspicion. This implies that political parties in many states have minimum non-negotiable core values to which they adhere.

A political party is critical in ideological formation. An ideology is basically a philosophy or a set of principles that underlie a political programme. It consists of shared beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions that cause a certain group of people to join together and develop and advocate specific political programme. An ideology is therefore a view of the world that produces consistent approaches to a range of specific political and social issues.

Related to party ideology is party manifesto. A manifesto can be defined as a statement of the goals and principles the party promises to pursue if voted into power. It is a formal document of party principles and policies.

As a contract with the voters, the manifesto spells out party's perception of the country's problems and states how the party proposes to address and help achieve the collective aspirations of the nation if elected. In general, manifesto sets out the measures which the party proposes to take in order to improve public services (development).

A credible party manifesto must also justify the party's plans, prove its commitment to them, and persuade the public that these plans are feasible. However, a party's abilities and efficacy can only be fully tested when it forms the government and attempts to implement its programme.

Kenya's Political Party Manifestos during 2013 General Election

Kenya had some 62 parties registered by June 2012. Out of this number, only a few officially launched their manifesto. As we are all aware, two leading political parties – Jubilee and CORD were a coalition of political parties. Now that were are out of the elections, it should worry us how a group of political parties formed with the agenda of capturing state power and forming a government can hurriedly agree to enter into a coalition and to subsequently come up with one

manifesto. If such kind of development were possible in mature democracies, then those parties would simply wind up and form one political entity.

Why? Because there is a confluence of beliefs and attitudes among members that form the coalition and hence it is needless to have them retain independent parties.

But we know too well what happened.

The manifestos of the few parties that took the trouble to launch them tell us that there is an aspiration among Kenyan political elites to construct a liberal democratic state. a liberal state bases its ideology on tolerance, individual liberty, human rights, democracy etc. It is an opposite of a socialist state.

Consequently, the manifestos of Kenyan political parties are not radically different. This, we can confirm by examining the manifesto of Jubilee Coalition and the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD).

CORD's Ten Point Programme as captured in its manifesto was as follows:

- Jobs
- Food security
- Security
- People led-government
- Poverty and Cost of Living
- Social Equality
- Infrastructure and Land
- Quality Education
- Health care
- One Indivisible nation

Some issues captured in Jubilee Manifesto include:

- Security
- Foreign Trade
- Sports, Art Culture
- Health care
- Education (1 teacher for 40 students)
- Youth empowerment
- jobs and enterprise
- women empowerment
- Growth and development (creating 1million jobs)
- Women empowerment
- Manufacturing
- ICT
- Tourism

- Land
- Energy
- Agriculture
- Water
- Environment
- Transport
- Road networks
- Housing
- Corruption
- Charity
- Devolution
- Boosting local economies

How then do we explain lack of correlation between party manifesto and unfulfilled promises?

Explaining the problem

- Newness of Kenyan political parties can help explain their weakness. Pioneer African political parties were ethnic entities.
- Political parties are parties of personalities. They do not espouse any ideological programme.
- Kenyan political elites develop manifestos to which they have no commitment. More often than not, presidential candidates hire experts to develop party manifestos which are intended to impress the international community and the literate public.
- Party manifestos are too ambitious and unrealistic. Consequently, the electorate does not take them seriously especially after a long experience of unfulfilled promises.
- Majority of the electorate do not care about manifestos of party programme. Some do not even care to master the name of the party especially given their mobility. All that matters is the presidential candidate and his/her ethnic identity. Under such conditions, manifestos are a waste of time.
- Mobility and shifting alliances hence citizens find it extremely difficult to associate an agenda with a particular political party.
- Kenyan political elites are well aware that the electorate cannot hold them to account for unfulfilled promises. In any event, majority of the electorate never get a copy their party's manifesto. Less than a half of the people who get copies of party manifesto spare time to read them. And a much smaller number take the manifestos seriously.
- Majority of manifestos are couched in technical English language. Lack of vernacular versions limits the participation and involvement of the lower uneducated class.
- Few political elites ever scan the international environment while developing their party manifestos. Yet the international donor community is an indispensable actor in development process.

Comparative Illustrations with political parties in other developed Counties

- Commitment to ideology
- Recruitment and party membership
- Party funding sources are not individual based
- Citizens can hold parties to account
- Parties are not ethnic based

So, can we rely on Party Manifestos as a promise for Development?

- YES, and NO!

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. WATER

Uses	Sources	Problems	Recommendations
Cooking, Irrigation, Fishing, Cooling Industries, Laundry, Drinking among others.	Rivers- Nyando, Sondu Mirio, Nyamasaria Lake Victoria Boreholes Taps Springs	Water coming from the taps and rivers is not safe because; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broken sewages mix with tap waters making it hazardous to consume the water • Pollution of the river through dumping by companies though people still continue to use 	Rules should be formulated to prevent people and companies from disposing waste into the rivers. There should also be no settlement along the river banks and lake shores. This can be done by ensuring that there is no construction within 100 meters from the river or lake.
		Inaccessibility of piped water to households	The county government should start piped water supply programs to achieve the objective of helping households to access clean water.
		High cost of water to the local mwanachi (citizens)	Provide subsidies that will help reduce water bills for the households.
		Need to travel long distances in order to access water points	Provision of piped water.
		Lack of awareness with respect to the need to keep water points safe and clean as people wash cars at the shore of the Lake.	Educate people on proper usage of water. Rules must also be put in place to regulate behaviors that result to water pollution.
		Underutilization of water bodies for irrigation purposes due to ignorance and lack of the necessary expertise	Exploitation of all potential water bodies in order to increase water supply.
		Lack of adequate forest cover hence the need to enhance it through setting aside days for tree planting	Create awareness on the essence of planting trees and conservation of forests.

2. EDUCATION

EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
Employment of teachers	Enforcement of the provision of free and compulsory national government	Provide for government bursary	Provision of village polytechnics at the ratio of one per ward
Equipment	Feeding programme should be put in place and adequately funded	Adequate staffing	Establishment of teachers training teachers college within the county
Improving the teacher pupil ratio	Girl Child education should be prioritized	Equipment	Provision of entrepreneurial skills in business training institutions
Increasing accessibility in villages	Accessibility should be increased	Provision of sanitary towels	Establishment of one public university which is to have branches in the county to enhance access
Ensuring retention of permanently employed teachers	Equipment should be provided	Increase accessibility	Provision of county bursary to all university and tertiary colleges.
Providing a feeding programme	Capacity building in ownership of the school should be done	Provision of mobile medical services to schools	
Monitoring, evaluation and inspection of the schools	Establishment of income generating projects in schools such as greenhouse projects	Enhance infrastructural development -water tanks -classes	
Funding for free and compulsory education should be sourced	Enhance academic performance of pupils to enable them transition to the next education phase.		
Provide medical services to the pupils to enable them stay in school	Establishment of adult education classes in order to create awareness for parents		

3. HEALTH

DISPENSARIES	HEALTH CENTRES	CLINICS	HEALTH INSURANCE	RAMPANT DISEASES
Limited qualified personnel	Provision of more in order for them to be available in every location	Need for more clinics in villages to improve accessibility especially for mother child healthcare	Need for sensitization on affordable health cover by NHIF for as low as Kes. 160.	Malaria-Due to available breeding grounds due to presence of water bodies
Lack of Adequate manpower	The pre-existing ones need to be upgraded, improved and adequately staffed			Diahorrea- Due to water borne diseases
Insufficient supply of drugs and equipment				Cough and Colds-
Only one referral hospital present in the county				Tuberculosis- As a result of opportunistic infections
Need for a dispensary in every location				HIV/AIDS- Rampant in the sugar belt and fisher folk with people buying sex. Need to allocate funds for intense sensitization on; -on behavior change -care for the PLWA's and OVC's
				Typhoid- As a result of pollution of the water bodies

4. ROADS & INFRASTRUCTURE

PROBLEM	EFFECTS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Poor road network	Commuters pay more for shorter distances.	Feeder roads almost are non-existent in some villages
	Lack of <i>boda boda</i> jobs during the rainy season due to impassable routes hence reducing their income.	Re-survey of all feeder roads to curb those who have encroached
	Higher costs of production due to increased transportation costs	Proper murraming and grading of feeder roads
	A barrier to security because of inaccessibility by state agents of areas affected by crime.	County Cess funds be retained and be strictly used for constructing feeder roads for cane farmers
	Increased wear and tear of vehicles and trucks due to poor road network reduce their daily income and also increased costs on fuel	Tarmacking of roads needs to be done and construction of heavy load roads needs to be done in order to last longer because of passage of trucks and lorries with huge loads of cane
	Inability to access markets	County government to formulate a working arrangement with national government to ensure roads are rehabilitated.
	Inaccessibility of tourist attraction sites e.g. Kit Mikayi lacks an appropriate road network.	Modern roads need be constructed to cater for the place to be more accessible.

5. SECURITY

Problem	Recommendations
Inability to ascertain who is responsible for security issues due to the restructuring of the security agencies	Strengthen our community policing
	Clear definition of roles of security agencies and structures from the village level to the county level and who is responsible
	The county governor should be the employer of the security agencies from the village to the county level.
	There should be a county chief commissioner who is answerable to the Governor and the Governor be the chairman of the security team which should coordinate and synchronize the security agencies to ensure effective service delivery.

6. AGRICULTURE

Problem	Recommendations
Political Interference	Revive the sugar cane industries that have collapsed
Poor management by appointing unskilled labor	Revive cotton farming at KICOMI factory
Lack of fertilizers	Educate farmers on sugar cane farming
Out growers and agricultural officers are not performing optimally	Monitoring and evaluation of the performance of the agricultural officers who should be hired based on performance contracts.
Low production due to limited technological advances	Purchase of new farm implements in order to modernize the sugar industry and reduce costs on labor and raise profits.
Lack of use of available resources which are not exploited	Exploit all the resources available in terms of land, water, manpower and revival of closed factories
Limited use of land to specific crops	Explore the possibility of other cash crops being planted on the land
Lack of proper irrigation scheme	Come up with proper irrigation
Poor management of research station	Change management of the research station
Competition between domestic and imported goods.	Local industries should be supported instead of fighting the production of domestic goods through the importation of foreign commodities.
Lack of facilities and resources needed for production.	Farmers should be supplied with fertilizers. More power must be generated to ease the manufacturing and processing of goods.
Lack of fish processing plants	The county government should make a point of constructing one to help in fish processing.

KISUMU INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN: SUBMISSION FROM THE KISUMU LEADERSHIP & DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE/CHEMELIL WARD REPRESENTATIVE

Background

The submission in this paper is a summary of long running consultations by the leadership of Chemelil Ward and its residents culminating into the hosting last month of the Kisumu Leadership and Development Conference which was held here at the same venue on 26th and 27th August in celebration of our 3 years of the new constitution. These analysis and proposals come from the deliberations. They as such follow closely on the areas of County mandate as outlined in the fourth schedule of the Constitution.

It means therefore that the integrated plan will also need to forebear the need for relevant laws and regulations that the County Assembly will consider in addition to prioritizing expansive development programs in the sub-county in order to deal with some of the development challenges discussed here.

Agricultural Sector

Agriculture is the backbone of Muhoroni Sub-County with expansive arable land consisting of relatively fertile soil. With this favorable climatic condition, areas like Chemelil produces cereals such as Maize, Sorghum, Cowpeas, and Soya beans. It also produces industrial crops mainly Sugarcane and Tobacco. Horticultural crops such as Cabbages, Kales, Tomatoes, Onions (bulbs) and Spring onions are also produced.

The region has great potentials for livestock production especially dairy cattle, zebu cattle for beef, dairy goats, sheep, pigs, and poultry. The following should be addressed by the County's Integrated Development Plan:

Key Challenges in Agricultural Sector

The following challenges face the agricultural sector of the sub county/ward:

(i) Sugarcane Sector

- Low factory performances (breakdowns, inefficiencies, poor resource backing etc.)
- Governance problems in the sector (poor farmer representation, corruption, archaic regulations and laws governing the sector etc.)
- High famer taxation
- High costs of inputs/production
- Sugar glut and illegal competition facing local millers

(ii) Subsistence and other Crop Production

- Small farm sizes averaging 2.5 acres. The farm sizes are expected to decrease further with time due to sub-division influenced by population growth, cultural practices and land sales;
- Low land productivity due to land degradation and over-use;
- High cost of farm inputs and frequent adulteration of inputs;
- Low yielding crop variety;
- Natural calamities such as drought and floods; and
- Pests and diseases.

(iii) Livestock Production

The challenges affecting livestock production in the sub county include the following:

- Insecurity and stock theft
- Inadequate veterinary services due to few veterinary personnel mainly from government, lack of private practitioners, Lack of transport for veterinary officers and inadequate distribution of veterinary personnel;
- High cost of veterinary services and drugs;
- High incidence of tick borne diseases;
- High cost of breeding stock and unavailability of breeding stock;
- Inadequate appropriate credit facilities by majority of small holders especially women;

(iv) Poultry Production

- High initial capital required to venture into commercial poultry production
- Inadequate appropriate credit facilities for farmers especially women and youth
- Poor infrastructure resulting in high production cost
- Lack of insurance scheme for poultry enterprises
- High cost of feed, poor quality of feeds
- Occasional outbreak of poultry disease
- Poor farm techniques at farm level

Possible Solutions to the challenges facing agricultural sector

(i) Sugar sector

- We need new county laws and regulations on cane zone management, marketing and distribution of sugar
- County government must support locals to own shares in the factories when they are privatized as planned by the national government
- Revive agricultural Extension services

- Enhance famers' voices and representation in the sector/Fund famers' voice groups like KESGA and farmer co-operative societies

(ii) Subsistence and other Crop production

Production of Cereals

The production levels of cereals are still low in the sub county and there is urgent need to step up production by addressing the various constraints affecting production:

- Educate farmers to adopt the latest crop production technologies;
- Avail suitable seeds for planting;
- Avail suitable and affordable fertilizers, especially DAP in time and guiding farmers in application method;
- Assist farmers in dealing with post-harvest losses; and
- Enhance agricultural extension services

Horticultural Crops

The production levels of horticultural crops are still very low compared to potential of the area. Effort need to be made to urge farmers to produce more for local consumption and export. Other initiatives of boosting production of horticultural crops include:

- Other crops such as pineapples, passion fruits, carrots, spinach, chilles, pumpkins and Irish potato can be produced in the sub-county in large volumes for local consumption and export.
- Floriculture (flower growing) is also a high potential plan for export through Kisumu International Airport and needs to be introduced.
- The field extension officers needs to be adequate and provided with the necessary facilities e.g. transport to enable them perform their duties effectively.

(iii) Livestock production

In order to boost livestock production, the following should be done:

- Improve general security in the area
- Train farmers on livestock management practices
- Establish centers for veterinary services/Promote veterinary practices
- Capacity build farmers to regularly spray their at home to control ticks.
- Establish livestock community spraying crush in every sub location
- Promote animal health by reactivating and expanding dipping breed and clinical services including monitoring and control of animal diseases.
- Promote dairy goat as an emerging source of milk.

- Establish Buck schemes for upgrading small East African goats
- Use of artificial insemination should be encouraged among the communities
- Lake Victoria Water Services Board/County government should sink dams and boreholes for farmers to water their animals.

(v) **Poultry Production**

- Promote upgrading of local chicken
- Use of artificial incubators to hatch indigenous chicken eggs
- Improved entrepreneurial skills of entrepreneurs
- Developed farmer and trade organization into efficient and well managed, members
- Facilitate provision of business development services such as market access and business management skills by all players in the value claim
- Encourage farmers to venture in hatchery business to reduce shortage of day old chicks in the sub- county

Health Sector

Health plays an important role in economic growth and development of any nation. A healthy person is more productive than a sick person. It is therefore important that the County government ensures its population is healthy.

The leading cause of morbidity in the region is malaria. This is followed by HIV and AIDS related illnesses such as respiratory infections.

Key Challenges facing the health sector

- Inadequate health facilities (physical infrastructure). Kibigori, Kopere are amongst very un-served areas.
- Inadequate medical personnel.
- Inadequate supply of drugs, vaccines and ARVs
- Inadequate equipment.
- Long distances to health facilities averaging 5 – 8 km.
- Outbreak of diseases.
- High costs of medical services in the wake of high poverty levels.

Possible solutions

- The County government must employ more health professionals (doctors, clinical officers, nurses, laboratory technicians, public health officers, nutritionists, physiotherapists, psychologists etc).

- Ensure drugs and commodities are distributed to the existing health facilities in the sub county.
- Construct more health facilities so that health care is accessible
- Upgrade Muhoroni Nyayo Hospital to a Level 5 Hospital
- Sensitize the community on preventive measures of diseases i.e. clearing bushes, draining stagnant water, erecting toilets, cleanliness/hygiene
- Sensitize community on health programmes so that they can seek or create demand or health services.
- Construct a Medical Training College in Chemelil Ward.

Education Sector (esp. ECD sector)

Education plays a pivotal role in influencing the rate of economic growth and development. Education provides knowledge and skills necessary to spur sustainable economic growth and development. In a rapidly changing world due to technological advancement, it is important for the county to provide quality education that is science-oriented in order for the population to cope with technological advancement being witnessed today.

To this end, the Kisumu County must emphasize education and develop the early childhood education sector so that it can prepare grounds for qualified human resource capable of driving rapid economic growth and development. Indeed, children joining standard one are not well prepared because not all primary schools have trained Early Childhood Development Education teachers. The stakeholders in this regard should address the following challenges.

Key Challenges facing Education sector

- Understaffing in Schools generally and particularly the ECD sector.
- Inadequate infrastructure; classrooms, playgrounds, libraries and equipment
- Poor child development; this is attributed to a number of factors such as child labour, HIV and AIDS, early marriages, drug abuse by parents.
- Scarcity of Teacher Training Colleges
- Nutrition challenges in schools

Suggested Solutions

- Provision of more ECD physical facilities such as construction of or renovation of classrooms, laboratories, libraries, office blocks, and sanitation blocks/ provide desks and chairs.
- Introduce child feeding programs in schools/Sponsor feeding programmes in schools.

- Establish ECD Teacher Training Colleges in region (including University College like GLUK to introduce the curriculum for ECD teachers' qualification).
- Build more nursery schools and ensure every primary school has a nursery school.
- Sensitize both teachers and parents to change their attitude towards each other to create a conducive environment for effective learning.
- Eliminate **child labor** in the cane sector
- Liaise with sponsors to open functional orphanages
- Sensitize the community on the legal/policy requirements of free primary education system.

Security Sector

Peace and Security are paramount to the wellbeing of a people and influences economic growth and development of a country. It is therefore important for law and order to prevail if development is to be achieved. Our situation is terrible (examples)

Key development facing security sector

- Presently we have **police division** nearby
- But there exists serious and known **crime hot spots** in our areas seriously affecting businesses and livestock farming. The sub county is losing more than 5 million shillings in stock theft each single month.
- Mobility of security is handicapped due to inadequate means of transport. Inadequate office accommodation.
- High crime rates is also due to drug and substance abuse and culture of migrant labourers, useful but not accountable, characteristic to the sugar belt

Possible Solutions to improve security

- County government to assist with additional means of transport (vehicles and motor-cycles) to improve mobility/patrols of security personnel.
- Provide modern communication equipment to police to enhance communication.
- Sensitize the public on crime prevention and control and the need to embrace and cooperate in community policing.
- Enhance patrols
- Establish anti stock theft units in Kopere and Kibigori.

Roads Sector

Road is one of the means of transport which influences economic growth and development as an efficient road network will link production areas to market centers.

Key Challenges affecting Road Sector

- Destruction of some parts of the road network/bridges by heavy rains.
- Encroachment of road reserves.
- Poor drainage system
- Sugarcane transport is a road tearing process/more support from Factories needed
- Incompetent constructors
- Corruption/road cess funds must be used more transparently

Possible Solutions

- Speedy tendering and completion of truck roads – Awasi/Ksm and Londiani-Muhoroni-Miwani-Kisumu road
- More cooperation between leaders/residents with KENHA/KURA and collaboration with them on road measures
- Improve bridges and road network
- Upgrade the current road networks to all weather conditions by better gravelling and maintenance e.g. roads in Tamu, Achego areas are deplorable
- Open up drainage systems so that rain does not wash away road networks

Water, Environment and Natural Resources Sector

Water, Environment and Natural Resources are crucial ingredients of economic growth and development. Water is used for domestic, agricultural and industrial purposes and its availability and state is important to the lives of the people and industrial growth.

Environment influences many factors including rain pattern, temperature, biodiversity and disease. Natural resources also influence economic growth and development especially if the resources are exploited for economic use but in an environmental friendly manner.

Key Challenges affecting Water, Environment and Natural Resources

- Encroachment of river banks and other catchment areas.
- Increase human activity leading to destruction of forests.
- Emissions from factories
- Inadequate sanitation.
- Pollution from use of agrochemical products e.g. fertilizer

Possible Solutions

- Improve sanitation in the homesteads/market centers
- Conserve forests and other water catchment areas.
- Ensure factories treat their effluents before discharging them into the environment. The National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) should carry out annual environmental audits of all the factories in the region to ascertain that they are not polluting the rivers.
- Educate the public on the need to treat water, conserve environment and reduce soil erosion.
- Carry out detailed geological/mineral exploration.
- Ensure that environmental clean ups are regular and structured

Tourism Sector

Tourism industry remains untapped in the sub county. We have potentials in tourist attraction in the form of historical sites which if developed could attract tourists. Cultural activities can also attract tourists.

Key challenges facing Tourism

- Undeveloped facilities such as hotels, museums, libraries, cultural activities and historical sites.
- Inadequate supply of electricity
- Poor transport and communication network
- Inadequate security

Possible solutions

- Develop hotels, museums, libraries, parks, bird sanctuaries, cultural activities and historical sites to attract tourists.
- Improve transport and communication networks to increase accessibility
- Map tourists sites and develop community marketing groups to manage them

FROM PROMISE TO REALITY- THE KISUMU COUNTY LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE:

A STAKEHOLDERS' LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON COUNTY LEADERSHIP & DEVELOPMENT:

VENUE: CHEMELIL COMPLEX

DATES: AUGUST 25TH - 27TH, 2013

Time	Activity	Responsible/Chairing
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25 TH , 2013		
17 hrs	Arrival of organisers/preparations	KLDC Organizing Committee
MONDAY, , AUGUST 26 TH , 2013		
8.00 - 8.45	Official Opening - Interlude of Entertainments /Theater Group/Artists	KLDC Organizing Committee
8.45 - 9.30	Introductions and opening remarks, objectives and expectations SLYFF Representative/If present Country Ward Representative, Hon. Joseph Arwa Osano Organizing Committee, SLYFF Alumni, Otieno Aluoka Remarks by Local County Leadership & public administration	KLDC Organizing Committee
9.30 - 10.30	After Elections: What Next - Public Expectations and Leadership Agenda after 2013 A Plenary: Guest Speaker, Hon. Gideon Ochanda, MP, Bondo Constituency	KLDC Organizing Committee
10.30 - 11.00	TEA BREAK	

11.00 – 12.00	Elections and the Promise of Political Party Manifestoes in Development (with Comparative illustrations from other countries) Olang Sana, Lecturer Maseno University	KLDC Organizing Committee
12.00 – 13.00 hrs	Plenary – Questions and Answers – Olang Sana/Osano	
13.00 – 14.00	LUNCH BREAK	
14.00 – 15.00 hrs	The Place of Social Market Economy in Implementing Political Party Manifestoes – Mr. Olang Sana, Lecturer, Maseno University -Explaining Economic Ideology in the party manifestoes -Elements of social Market Economy and social rights (Shelter, Healthcare, Solidarity, Education etc.) -Citizen Monitoring of leadership pledges in the manifestoes	KLDC Organizing Committee
15.00 – 16.00 hrs	How Devolved Government Works: Devolution, Public Participation & budgetary Priorities, 2013 of the Kisumu County Government- County Executive Committee member – Suba Mechack Churchill Followed by Plenary – Questions & Answers	KLDC Organizing Committee
16.00 hrs – 16.30 hrs	TEA BREAK	
16.30 hrs – 17.30 hrs	Sector Caucuses/Group Work Analysis for County Leadership on Priorities & Required Actions - Stakeholder Caucuses/Groups on Transport/Water/Security/Gender/Agriculture/Health/Education	
TUESDAY, , AUGUST 27TH, 2013 – COMMEMORATING 3RD YEAR OF NEW CONSTITUTION		
9.00 – 11.00	Plenary Presentations and Discussions of Group Work Reports: Identification of Leadership Priorities for the County Government – Groups work under respective Leaders Present (MPs/Country Reps etc) Social Voices and Petitions: Security/Sports/Education/Unemployment – ‘boda boda’	KLDC Organizing Committee
11.00 – 11.30	BREAK	

11.30 – 12.00	County Development in the Context of Devolved Government: Questions and Answers – Betty Okero	
12.00 – 13.00 hrs	<p style="text-align: center;">Key Note Address:</p> <p>‘Towards Participatory Governance in Kisumu: Priorities for County Government after 2013 Elections’ – Governor Jack Ranguma, Kisumu County Q & A for governor follows/ Moderators: Owino/Aluoka/Betty Book Presentation to Governor</p>	KLDC Organizing Committee
13.00 – 14.00 hrs	LUNCH BREAK	
14.00 – 15.00 hrs	‘Women and Marginalization: Agenda for Social Protection in the Kisumu Governance Framework after 2013’ - Discussant: Betty Okero, Western NGOs Network	KLDC Organizing Committee
15.00 – 16.00 hrs	Sector Caucus Meetings for Resolutions – Transport/Water/Security/Gender/Agriculture/Health/Education – Joshua Nyamori	KLDC Organizing Committee
16.00 – 17.00	Plenary Discussions and Resolutions/Way Forward	KLDC Organizing Committee
17.00 hrs	TEA BREAK & DEPARTURE	KLDC Organizing Committee