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### 1. DISTRICT PROFILE

Mukurwe-ini constituency is situated in Nyeri district. Nyeri District is one of 7 districts of Central Province.

## 1.1. Demographic Characteristics

District Demulation	Male	Female	Total
District Population	,	338,635	661,156
Total District Population of 18 years of Age & Below			316,586
Total District Population of 19 years of Age & Above	162,468	182,102	344,570
Population Density (persons/Km <sup>2</sup> )	197		

#### 1.2. Socio-Economic Profile

- The district has the fourth lowest absolute poverty level in the country (31.05%).
- The district is the third richest district in central province.
- The district is the second most populous district in central province and the seventh most populous district in the country.
- The district has the lowest unemployment rate in central province (5%) ranking ninth countrywide.
- The district has the second highest secondary school enrolment in the country at 46.5%.
- Nyeri district has the second largest average constituency size in central province.
- The district has six members of parliament who represent about 110,193 people each.
- The district gave the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) all the parliamentary seats at the last general elections.

Nyeri District has 6 constituencies: Tetu, Kieni, Mathira, Othaya, Mukurweini, and Nyeri Town. The District's 6 MP's, each cover on average an area of 559Km<sup>2</sup> to reach 110,193 constituents. This is an opposition stronghold. In the 1997 general elections the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) won all the parliamentary seats.

### 2. CONSTITUENCY PROFILE

### 2.1. Demographic Characteristics

Constituency Population	Total	Area Km <sup>2</sup>	Density (persons per Km²)
Constituency Population	87,447	179.5	487.2

#### 2.2. Socio-Economic Profile

The main economic activity in the constituency is agriculture. Tea and Coffee are the main cash crops. The constituency enjoys low absolute and food poverty levels. The constituency enjoys low levels of malnutrition. Infant mortality rate in the constituency is low. The constituency has a low

unemployment rate. The constituency has a high primary and secondary school enrolment rate.

## 2.3. Electioneering and Political Information

Since the reintroduction of a multiparty system in Kenya in 1991, the DP has been the most popular party in the constituency. In both the 1992 and 1997 general elections, the DP parliamentary candidate recorded a huge victory. In 2002, the National Rainbow Coalition took the seat.

## 2.4. 1992 General Election Results

1992 TOTAL REGIS	TERED VOTE	RS	31,979
CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	% OF VALID VOTES
David Muhika	DP	20,117	70.48
John Kamau	KNC	5,004	17.53
C. Githinji	FORD-A	2,517	8.82
Kabogo Kariuki	KANU	572	2.00
Benson Gichuku	FORD-K	214	0.75
Benson Gatharia	PICK	117	0.41
Total Valid Votes		28,541	100.00
Rejected Votes		84	
Total Votes Cast		28,625	
% Voter Turnout % Rejected Votes Cast		89.53	
		0.29	

## 2.5. 1997 General Election Results

1997 TOTAL REGISTER	33,419		
CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES	% OF VALID VOTES
David Muhika	DP	19,360	67.52
Godfrey Kariuki Mwangi	SAFINA	7,141	24.90
John Waweru Kamau	KANU	2,000	6.98
Frank Njururi Maiyani	SDP	172	0.60
Total Valid Votes		28,673	100.00
Rejected Votes		77	
Total Votes Cast		28,750	

% Voter Turnout	86.03
% Rejected Votes Cast	0.27

#### 2.6. Main Problems

The main problems include declining condition of the road network, inadequate Water supply, poor telephone facility supply, inadequate supply of electricity power supply, inadequate supply of health facilities and declining coffee prices.

## 3. CONSTITUTION MAKING/REVIEW PROCESS

## 3.1. Constituency Constitutional Forums (CCFs)

## 3.1.1. **Philosophy**

The Constitutional Forum (CCF) plays a very significant role in the review of the constitution. It is designated as one of the organs 'through which the review process shall be conducted' - (sec. 4(1) of the Constitution of Kenya Review Act, Cap.3A). The importance attached to the CCF arises from the recognition of the need to involve the people fully in the review of the constitution. Only through such participation of the public will the new constitution reflect the preferences, hopes and aspirations of the people. It would also increase people's knowledge of constitutional issues, and facilitate their familiarity with the provisions of the new constitution. Additionally, the process, enhances the legitimacy of the constitution among Kenyans and their sense of ownership over it. In these ways the proper implementation and safeguarding of the constitution will be facilitated.

## 3.1.2. Composition and Establishment

The 1997 Review Act had provided for district forums 'to mobilize communities at the local level for the purpose of civic education in preparation for the Commission's work and to perform such other duties as the Commission may assign' - (sec. 12A (6). The District Forums were to consist of members elected to represent locations, religious organizations, and the disabled, in addition to MPs and members of every local authority in the district. The Act contained several provisions prescribing minimum qualifications for membership and regulating the operations of the District Forums.

The Select Committee of the National Assembly, which reviewed the Act in early 2000, decided to replace the District Forums with Constituency Forums to get views 'directly from the people in the constituency without necessarily going through the rigours of an election to determine the members of the forum'. It thought that this would provide for a more popular form of participation. It recommended on the simplification of the forum to avoid elections. The Select Committee envisaged the constituency forum as and 'open forum with no specific structures', which should be 'flexible and easy to manage'. Its opinion was that the 'existing leadership comprising Members of Parliament, councilors, community based organizations, religious groups and individuals should be able to present views and opinions directly from the grassroots' ( The Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee Reviewing the Constitution of Kenya Review Act, 1997, April 2000). It removed the regulatory powers of the Commission over the forum, its role being confined to the 'facilitation' of the forum. It also changed the function of the views of from the facilitation of civic education to also include facilitation and the collection of the views of

the public on proposals to alter the constitution.

In view of the limited role of the CKRC in the establishment of the CCF's, the CKRC prepared and gazetted Guidelines for the operationalization of the constituency constitutional forums. The Guidelines stipulated that all the residents of a constituency would constitute the CCF. The CCF is described as one of the organs 'through which the review process shall be conducted' - (sec.4(1)). The CCF was thus one of the principal ways in which the views of the public were to be obtained.

In order to coordinate and facilitate the activities of the CCF, a Constituency Constitutional Committee (CCC) was to be established. The Guidelines proposed its membership to consist of 10 persons, of which three would be ex-officio: the local MP, the chair of the County Council in which the constituency is located, and the District Coordinator. The Guidelines stated that the membership would be as broad and representative of the people of the constituency as possible and recommended that at least a third of the committee should be women.

#### 3.1.3. Functions of CCF

- Facilitation of collection of the views of the public at the constituency level on proposals to alter the constitution; and
- Debate and discussion of the views of the members of the public on proposals to alter the constitution.

In performance of these functions, the CKRC was required to visit all constituencies (Sec. 18 (1)(a)).

#### 3.1.4. Functions of CCC

- The functions of the CCC were mainly facilitative and advisory, the primary aim being to enhance the effective participation in the ownership of the constitution review process by the people at the constituency level;
- The CCC was also mandated to promote, facilitate and monitor civic education at the constituency level in collaboration with the District Coordinator and civic education providers;
- Additionally, the CCC had to ensure that the constituency had access to all information relevant to the review process in coordination with District Documentation centers; and
- Finally, the CCC was also mandated with the task of dissemination of the report of the CKRC. It was to be assisted in this by the District Coordinator, who was also its accounting officer, in relation to funds that were made available to it by CKRC.

It is important to emphasize that the Guidelines were advisory, and the local community was free to modify them to suit local circumstances. For example, the size of the CCC could be increased when and if adequate representation and diversity required it.

#### 3.1.5. Date of Commencement of Work

The Constituency Constitutional Forum (CCF) was to run for an initial period commencing November 2001 up to September 2002. Accordingly, each Constituency Constitutional Committee (CCC) should have been constituted at the very latest by the end of November 2001.

The Constituency Constitutional Forum was to be operational by that time.

#### 3.2. **District Coordinators**

## 3.2.1. Mandate/Terms of Reference

- Be the local grass root representative;
- Perform the generalization activities in the district;
- Be in charge of the documentation center/s in the district, facilitate its/their respective management, ensuring they are stocked and are easily accessible to the public and also organize their safety and security;
- Gathering any relevant local information and materials for the purpose of constitution making;
- Facilitate the identification, classification and organization of the physical and electronic retrieval and dissemination of information and materials for constitution making;
- Supply such information needed by local constituency forums and committees;
- Liaise with other documentation centers nearby and others for information;
- In collaboration with constituency committees, identify and arrange venues for public hearing whenever the CKRC visits the constituencies in their area;
- Facilitate regular meetings of the constituency committees and involve local people as much as possible in discussing constitutional issues;
- Source and identify other key personnel that the CKRC may wish to consult or engage in its work;
- Identify and arrange for simultaneous local translations, sign language users, procurement and hiring of public address systems, transport and communication facilities for CKRC's meetings in the district;
- Monitor the implementation of civic education by civic education providers in the district;
- Facilitate the formation of constituency committees with guidance and assistance of CKRC;
   and
- Perform any other tasks as directed by CKRC.

## 3.2.2. Criteria for Appointment

- Diversity in the composition, taking into account ethnicity, age, religion and professional or occupational background; and
- Appointees had at least attained Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education or its equivalent.

### 4. CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education in the constituency was carried out between 24th March 2002 and 21st April 2002

#### 4.1. Phases of Civic Education

Stage 1 is the only phase that was covered. This is the stage preceded collection of views. It dealt with information, knowledge, skills and virtues that enabled Kenyans to make informed choice and present their views to CKRC.

#### 4.2. Issues & Areas covered

- Nation Hood
- Constitutionalism
- Economy And Food Security
- Management And Use Of Natural Resources
- Theory Of State Organisation
- Democracy & Governance
- Organs And Levels Of Governance

### 5. CONSTITUENCY PUBLIC HEARINGS

## 5.1. Logistical Details

## 1. Date and Number of Days for Public Hearings

- a) Date(s): 23rd and 24th April 2002
- b) Total Number of Days: 2

#### 2. Venue

- c) Number of Venues: 2
- d) Venue(s):1) Tac Hall Mukurweini
  - 2) Mihuti Church

#### 3. Panels

- a. Commissioners
  - 1. Com. Dr. Abdrizak Arale Nunow
  - 2. Com. Phoebe Asiyo
  - 3. Com. Ahmed Hassan Issak

### b. Secretariat

- 1. Jeremiah Nyegenye Programme Officer
- 2. Mary Kanyiha Assistant Programme Officer
- 3. Regina Obara Verbatim Recorder
- 4. Millcent Musyoka Sign Language Translator

#### 5.2. Attendance Details

CATEGORY	DETAILS	NUMBER
Number of People Who Presented		222
	Male	194
Sex	Female	27
	Not Stated	1
	Individual	178
Presenter Type	Institutions	43
	Not Stated	1
	Primary Level	54
	Secondary/High School Level	132
	College	19
Educational	University	12
Background	None	4
	Not Stated	1
	Other (Adult Education/Vernacular/Madrasa/Informal Education)	0
	Memoranda	182
	Oral	40
Form of	Written	0
Presentation	Oral + Memoranda	0
	Oral + Written	0
	Not Stated	0

## 5.3. Concerns and Recommendations

The following are the recommendations made by the presenters in Mukurweini Constituency. The recommendations were collated around 43 areas of concern, from the Preamble to National integrity/identity. Only areas where recommendations were made in the constituency are covered. The numbers in parentheses represent the number of times the recommendation (bulleted) was made, either orally or through written memoranda. Each count on a specific recommendation was picked from an individual, a group or an organization. Where a presenter made different recommendations on the same area of concern, each recommendation was counted separately. Where no number appears in parentheses, the recommendation was made only once.

#### 5.3.1 **PREAMBLE**

- The constitution should have a preamble (17).
- The preamble should be simple and clear.
- The preamble should express the Sovereignty of all Kenyans (6).
- The preamble should state that Kenyans are free from all forms of discrimination (5).
- The preamble should state that Kenya is composed of peoples of diverse cultures but united in common history and vision (2).
- The preamble should express the sanctity of the rule of law.
- The preamble should acknowledge Kenya's successful struggle for political independence (2).
- The preamble should state that Kenya shall always be a multi-party democracy.
- The preamble should state clearly how the people of Kenya are to be governed (3).
- The preamble should express respect to God.
- The preamble should state our common history (2).
- The preamble should state the lack of revenues for Kenyans to express their views.

#### 5.3.2 **DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY**

• There should be principles and values the state how the state is governed: these should include values like truth and transparency.

#### The constitution should:

- State gender equality and protection of the rights of the minority are elements of a just society.
- · Have statements capturing the national philosophy and guiding principles.
- State unity in our diversity.
- State that power belongs to the people and it is exercised on their behalf through representative and accountable people and constitutionalism and law should be adhered to.
- State that the constitution is supreme and this aspect shall be evident.
- Provide that the law shall apply in a non-discriminatory manner to all Kenyans (3).
- Provide that power belongs to the people, and expressed on their behalf through representative, sensitive, and accountable institution of the government (3).
- Provide that the relationships of the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive shall be based on the principle of separation of powers.
- Provide that women dress in long dresses and cover their heads.
- Reflect peace, love and kindness for visitors.
- Enforce the democratic principles in law (3).

#### 5.3.3 **CONSTITUTIONAL SUPREMACY**

The 65% majority votes required for amendment of the constitution should be replaced.

- Be amended by 80% of all members of parliament, excluding ex-official members (2).
- Be amended by 75% majority votes.
- Be amended by 65% majority votes (2).
- Be amended by 70% majority votes.

- Provide that a constitutional amendment shall only be through a public referendum.
- Provide that parliament should amend the constitution but not an issue like the presidential terms of service.
- Limit the parliament's power to amend the constitution.
- Allow no piece meal reform or amendments
- Ensure that the preamble, directive principles, and national policy should be beyond the amending power of parliament.
- Be amended through a public referendum (13).
- Be amended through a public referendum; 80% of the Kenyan electorates should be involved (2).
- Provide that the referendums be conducted by a commission vetted by the parliament (3).
- Provide that the referendum be conducted by the electoral commission (3).
- Provide for its supremacy over all other laws in the country.

#### 5.3.4 **CITIZENSHIP**

- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens people born in Kenya of parents who are Kenya citizens
   (2).
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens a person born and has lived in Kenya for ten years.
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens children born of Kenyan parents (6).
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens persons married to Kenyan citizens.
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens foreign children adopted by Kenyan citizens (3).
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens children born of Kenyan citizens outside Kenya (2).
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens children born of a Kenyan citizen irrespective of parent's sex (2).
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens foreigners and their children that have lived in Kenya for at least 15 years.
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens people born in Kenya.
- Regard as automatic Kenyan citizens children whose grandparents are Kenya citizens grandparents (2).
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired on marriage to a Kenyan citizenship irrespective of the sex of the Kenyan citizen (7).
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired on being born to Kenyan parents irrespective of country of birth.
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired through registration (3).
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired by those intending to invest in Kenya for a period of 20 years and above.
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired five years after application.
- Provide that Kenyan citizenship be acquired through registration and naturalization (2).
- Provide for the establishment of a commission to vet citizenship applications (2).
- Provide for automatic citizenship to persons who have stayed in Kenya for a continuous period of five years and above.
- Provide that spouses of Kenyan citizens, irrespective of sex, should be entitled to automatic citizenship (5).
- Provide that a child born to a Kenya parent, regardless of the parent's sex, be entitled to automatic citizenship (4).

- Provide that children born to Kenyan citizens outside Kenya be entitled to automatic citizenship (2).
- Provide that adopted foreign children by Kenyan citizens be entitled to automatic citizenship (2).
- Provide that a Kenyan citizen has the right to ownership of property anywhere in Kenya.
- Provide for the obligation of Kenyan citizens to pledge "I take oath to respect and uphold the rights of my fellow citizens".
- Provide for rights of a citizen to include basic rights, right to vote, and right to own property.
- Provide that rights of Kenyan citizens cannot be taken away under any circumstances.
- Provide that citizenship, once granted, cannot be taken away.
- Provide that every citizen irrespective of power shall adhere to the constitution (2).
- Provide that rights and obligations of a citizen be dependent on the manner in which citizenship was acquired (3).
- Provide that rights and obligations of a citizen should not be dependent on the manner in which citizenship was acquired (2).
- Provide for dual citizenship (10).
- Provide for the national identity card as documentation Kenyans should carry as evidence of citizenship (7).
- Provide for the driving license as documentation Kenyans should carry as evidence of citizenship (2).
- Provide for passports as documentation Kenyans should carry as evidence of citizenship (7).
- Provide for birth certificates as documentation Kenyan should carry as evidence of citizenship (2).
- Provide for job cards as documentation Kenyans should carry as evidence of citizenship.
- Not provide for automatic citizenship to refugees.

#### 5.3.5 **DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

- Establish the disciplined forces
- Provide for the establishment of a Defense Council to address the welfare of the armed forces.
- Provide for the establishment of a Defense Council comprised of the president, military chiefs, minister for defense, chief Justice, and one other person.
- Abolish the police department.
- Provide that a quota system shall be applied in the recruitment of armed forces and police personnel in order to ensure equitable distribution of jobs (2).
- Provide that all police forces should be under one command.
- Provide that disciplined forces shall have no active role in politics (2).
- Provide that the police training shall be extended to one year (2)
- Provide that period of the training of police officers shall be a minimum of three years.
- Provide that the minimum educational attainment for intake to police training be KCSE grade
   C.
- Provide that members of the armed forces shall apart from their regular duties be required to engage in the provision of social services and construction of public infrastructure (2).
- Provide that Defense chiefs have a minimum education qualification of a university degree.
- Provide for adequate remuneration of the members of the armed forces.

- Provide that the Police Commissioner shall have security of tenure.
- Provide that there shall be prison facilities at every divisional level.
- Provide that prisoners shall be allowed regular visits from the members of the immediate family.
- Provide that discipline of the armed forces be vetted by the parliament.
- Provide that the armed forces personnel be treated like any other public civil servant (3).
- Provide that police officers that shoot at innocent citizens should be sacked.
- Provide that the disciplined forces be disciplined through a security council made up of experts from the forces (3).
- Provide that the police abide by a code of ethics.
- Provide that police officers shall be prohibited from torturing suspects and that any police officer found guilty of such offence shall be summarily dismissed from the force and also jailed.
- Provide that members of the armed forces shall always abide by the law.
- Provide that the duties of the members of the armed forces shall be properly and clearly defined.
- Provide that police officers shall be required to produce search warrants when conducting searches.
- Provide that the president of Kenya be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (6).
- Provide that the president of Kenya shall not be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (21).
- Provide that the executive should have exclusive power to declare war.
- Provide that the parliament shall have the powers to declare war (7).
- Provide that the executive shall have no exclusive power to declare war (2).
- Provide that the defense council shall declare war.
- Provide that the executive be part of the Security Council in declaring war.
- Permit the use of extraordinary powers in emergency situations such as war, national disasters, insurrection and breakdown of public order (3).
- Not permit for the use of extraordinary powers in emergency situations such as war, national disasters, insurrection and breakdown of public order.
- Provide for the parliament to handle matters pertaining to emergency situations such as war, national disasters, insurrection, and breakdown of public order.
- Empower a parliamentary select committee to work the modalities with security committee for appropriate action.
- Give parliament power to declare a state of emergency (4).
- Provide for the security council, executive, and legislature to have the authority to invoke emergency powers.
- Provide for parliament to have a role in effecting emergency powers (2).

## 5.3.6 **POLITICAL PARTIES**

The constitution should provide for the political parties to:

- Protect the constitution from being undermined (3).
- Investigate public projects such as roads, water, housing etc. (3).
- Provide civic education (2).
- Advocate for human rights (2).
- Manage the natural resources.

- Nominate their own presidential candidates.
- Be involved in policy formulation (2).
- Pin point the short-comings in the ruling party.

- Regulate the formation, management and conduct of political parties.
- Regulate the rules and regulations to safeguard stability of the political parties.
- Provide for the registration of political parties without delay (2).
- Provide that a political party should not be registered if more than half the members are from one ethnic group.
- Provide for the registrar general to control the registration and operations of political parties.
- Provide that the political parties should have a national outlook and submit a quarterly report on finances.
- Provide for the political parties to report their annual returns to the auditor general.
- Provide broad guidelines for the formation and composition of political parties to ensure that they are not ethnic (2).
- Provide that a political party must have at least 2 million members to qualify for registration (2).
- Provide that there shall be a maximum of 2 political parties in the country (2).
- Provide that there be either three or four political parties in the country (5).
- Provide that there be a maximum of four political parties.
- Provide that there be a maximum of three political parties (7).
- Provide that political parties be minimized (4).
- Provide that there be a maximum of four parties and a minimum of two (2).
- Provide that political parties should not exceed eight (2).
- Limit the number of political parties in the country to between 3 and 5 (3).
- Provide for a system of government without political parties.
- Provide that there be a maximum of five political parties in the country (5).
- Provide that political parties should not be an issue as long as they satisfy the conditions of the registrar.
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by the state (4).
- Provide that political parties should not use state funds for campaigns.
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by its members except during elections when the government should fund them.
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by the government depending on size.
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by the government equally.
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by public coffers (5).
- Provide that political parties shall be funded by political coffers.
- Provide that political parties shall not be financed by public funds.
- Provide that political parties shall have equal share of finances from public funds.
- Provide that funding for registered political parties shall be 30% of the annual budget approved by the finance minister; the other 70% shall emanate from the political party.
- Provide that political parties shall point out the mistakes made by the state and propose solutions that shall be tabled in parliament.
- Provide that the police be accountable to the constitution and not the ruling party (2).
- Provide that no public officer shall be affiliated to a political party.
- Provide that political parties shall receive equal protection from the state (6).

- Provide that a president shall be not be a party representative (4).
- Provide that there be a clear demarcation between the ruling party and the government.
- Provide that the president of the ruling party shall be the chairman of the ruling party.
- Ensure that political parties shall receive equal treatment.
- Provide that the state and political parties should relate cordially and positively for the well being of Kenyan.

### 5.3.7 STRUCTURES AND SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT

- Retain the present system of government (2).
- Remove the present system of government.
- Provide for a presidential system of government with the president as the head of government.
- Provide for a system of government with a ceremonial president and a prime minister. The president shall be the head of state and the prime minister shall be the head of government (3).
- Provide for a system of government with a president, a vice president and a prime minister.
- Provide for a parliamentary system of government with a prime minister as the head of government.
- Provide for a parliamentary system of government with a prime minister as the head of government. The prime minister shall be nominated by the party with majority seats in parliament.
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a parliamentary system of government in which a prime minister is appointed from the majority party in parliament and president remains ceremonial (6).
- Provide that Kenya adopt a parliamentary system of government where a prime minister will be appointed from the ruling party, run the government affairs and, be accountable to the parliament (3).
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a parliamentary system of government with a prime minister (8).
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a parliamentary system of government where the president is ceremonial.
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a hybrid system of government with a prime minister and president sharing powers.
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a parliamentary system of government with the prime minister elected by the public.
- Provide that the powers of a prime minister shall be the daily running of the government.
- Provide that the powers of a prime minister shall be to head the government and represent it in government.
- Provide that the powers of a prime minister who shall appoint ministers to head government ministries (2).
- Provide that the powers of the president shall be ceremonial (2).
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a hybrid system of government where the power is shared between the president and prime minister.
- Provide for Kenya to adopt a hybrid system of government with the president, and a prime minister.
- Provide for a unitary system of government in which all the affairs of state are controlled by the central government (9).
- Provide for the Kenyan government to have national unity.

- Provide for Kenya to retain the unitary system of government. The unitary government should be blended with multi-partisan, and the president should be the head of state and government.
- Abolish the unitary system of government.
- Provide for a federal system of government (2).
- Provide for a federal system with three federal regions.
- Not provide for a federal system of government in Kenya (6).
- Provide for a federal system of government where regions will be developing themselves with their taxes, and submitting only 15% to the central government.
- Provide for federal system of government based on district levels.
- Provide for a federal system of government that will allow for freedom of movement in any part of the country.
- Give the local government leeway to implement development projects in their regions with a percentage of taxes collected in the region.
- Recognize grassroots autonomous organizations like village elders to deal with administrative issues.
- Provide for the chiefs and their assistants be elected by the public.
- Provide for the devolution of power to the district levels i.e. sub-location, location, division, and districts.
- Provide for the executive council to be free to run its own affairs.
- Provide for power to be devolved to lower levels such as districts, local authorities, and provincial. These should receive 49 of the public taxes to enable them run their affairs.
- Provide that financial offices in the regions be empowered to be centers where pension is paid.
- Provide for the parastatals to be delinked from the government as one way to revive the economy.
- Provide that the budget be planned from the grassroots levels and money allocated.
- Provide that if the president is a man, the Vice president should be a woman and vice versa.
- Provide that the president shall name his running mate as the vice (8).
- Provide that the vice president shall be elected by the public (3).
- Provide that the vice president should take over presidential functions when the president is out of the country.
- Provide that if anything happens to the president and his position becomes vacant, the vice president should take charge of the country and complete the remaining term of office.
- Provide that in the event of the death or incapacitation of the president the vice president shall assume the presidency for 90 days during which period a presidential election must be conducted.
- Provide that the Attorney General shall be appointed by parliament, and should have a fixed tenure of two terms (i.e. 10 years).

#### 5.3.8 THE LEGISLATURE

#### Parliament:

- To create and dissolve government ministries as it may deem fit.
- To vet all the presidential appointments such as the Attorney General, the Chief Justice, the Head of the Civil Service, and cabinet ministers (25).
- To vet the appointment of the members of the Electoral Commission.

- To vet constitutional commission and the judiciary (4).
- To vet the appointments of parastatal heads and members of the judiciary.
- To vet the appointments of ministers and assistant ministers (5).
- To vet all the commissioners.
- To vet appointments of heads of the various discipline forces (2).
- To vet the appointments of permanent secretaries and judges.
- To impeach a president in the event of grave misconduct.
- Debate and approve government expenditure, acquisition of external and internal loans passed by 2/3 majority, and look into matters of public interests.
- MPs shall participate at all stages of the preparation of the national budget.
- To include appointment of parastatal bodies, General, and Chief Justice (2).
- To include the appointment of an independent public service commission (3).
- To include appointment of the Vice President, and the Attorney General.
- To include appointment of parastatal bosses, judges, and permanent secretaries.
- To include demanding for accountability from commissioners (2).
- To include vetting for exports and imports (2).
- To include the appointment of Attorney General, Chief Justice, Head of Civil Service, Auditor and Controller General.
- To include appointments of all top public office holders (7).
- To include impeaching public officials on the grounds of misconduct and misuse of office (4).
- To include establishment of administrative boundaries (2).
- To include determining the number of ministries (2).
- To approve foreign relations.
- To appoint the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, who should be the Chief of General Staff.
- To include the appointment of ministers.
- To include supervision of the implementation of state projects, approve government revenue collection, and expenditure (2).
- To include vetting all presidential overseas trips.
- To have unlimited powers to control its own procedures through standing orders (7).
- To control its own calendar (14).
- Provide for the quorum of the house to change from the current 30 members to 2/3 of the members of parliament.
- Provide for the quorum of parliament to be ¼ of all the members of parliament.
- If parliament passes a vote of no confidence, the party forming the government should be re-elected.
- Provide that the president shall have a parliament calendar of events.
- Provide that members of parliament shall not absent themselves from parliament for three consecutive seating.
- Provide that parliament shall operate five days a week, and that it shall have a timetable right from the beginning of five years of its term.
- Provide that the term of parliament shall be five years and, in the event that it is dissolved before the five years are over, the term shall be stated as a full term.
- Provide that the president shall not control the parliament calendar.

#### Members of Parliament:

• Shall serve a maximum of three years.

- Be elected every four years, and serve for a maximum of two terms.
- Shall serve for a maximum of two terms of 5 years each (12).
- Being a member of parliament is a part time occupation (2).
- Being a member of parliament is a full time occupation (4).
- Shall not fail to attend at least eight parliamentary sessions without proper reason, otherwise the seat shall be declared vacant.
- The maximum number of sessions a Member of Parliament can miss in parliament is three.
- One third of the total number of MPs shall constitute a quorum for transacting a House business.

## Age for contesting elections:

- The minimum age to qualify for presidency be 45 years while the maximum be 70 years.
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be 35 years and above (3).
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be 45 years and above.
- The age for voting and contesting for parliamentary seat be as provided by the current constitution.
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be between the ages 35 and 60 years old (2).
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be between the ages 45 and 80 years old (2).
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be between the ages 30 and 50 years old.
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be between the ages 38 and 70 years old.
- To qualify for presidency, one has to be between the ages 35 and 70 years old.
- To qualify to contest a parliamentary seat, one has to be aged 40 years and above.
- To qualify to contest a parliamentary seat, one has to be between the ages 21 and 65 years old.
- To qualify to contest a parliamentary seat, one has to be aged of 30 years and above.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be aged 50 years and above.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for either parliamentary seat or presidency, one has to have reached the voting age.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be between the ages 35 and 65 years old (3).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for a parliamentary seat, one has to be between the ages 21 and 65 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for either parliamentary seat of presidency, one has to be not older than 75 years of age.
- The constitution should provide that an MP must be at least 20 years.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for parliamentary seat, one has to be at least 21 years old (3).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be between the ages 35 and 74 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be aged between 40 and 70 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one should at least be 40 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be at least 26 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be at least

- 25 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for a parliamentary seat, one has to be between the ages 18 and 35 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one has to be between the ages 35 and 55 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for presidency, one has to be aged between 45 and 60 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to contest for presidency, one should not be more than 70 years of age (2).
- The constitution should provide for a minimum age to qualify to contest for presidency.
- The constitution should provide that the English and Kiswahili language test be sufficient for parliamentary election.
- The constitution should provide that parliamentary candidates be fluent in English and Kiswahili (4).
- The constitution should provide that an MP must have a minimum education qualification of form four (3).
- The constitution should provide that an MP must have a minimum education qualification of a university degree (4).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include declaration of wealth.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include no criminal record (5).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include good conduct (5).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include that be born of Kenyan citizens.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include having a minimum education level of form four (9).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include having attained an A-Level education or its equivalent.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include having a first degree from a recognized university (9).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include being a Kenyan citizen and registered voter.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include not being bankrupt.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates that include being of sound mind (2).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualification for parliamentary candidates that include having a political science degree.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include having a stable family.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include having a minimum form four level of education with a C- or division 2 (2).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates of include having a minimum form four level of education with either a division 2 or C+.

- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include having good communication skills.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include being well educated.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include having at least the support of half the registered voters in the constituency.
- The constitution should provide for social and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates.
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates to include being God fearing.

#### Power of voters over their MPs:

- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament by collecting 1000 signatures across the constituency (3).
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament by collecting signatures of ¼ of the registered voters (3).
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament (4).
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament by collecting 5000 signatures (2).
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament by collecting the signatures of ½ the electorate.
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament by collecting signatures of 1/3 of the registered voters.
- The constitution should provide for constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament. Thereafter, a fact-finding committee should be set to determine whether the vote of no confidence is necessary.
- The constitution should provide for the constituents to recall their non-performing members of parliament. This should be done after two years of service.
- The constitution should give voters the right to recall non-performing MPs by way of petition, referendum or collection of a required number of signatures from the MPs constituency.
- The constitution should provide that members of parliament should spend at least half their time consulting the constituents and parties to promote democratic ideal of representation (2).
- The constitution should provide that members of parliament should not act on basis of instruction from constituents.

#### Salaries of Members of Parliament:

- The constitution should provide for the salaries of members of parliament to be reviewed by a board made up of professional e.g. economists, teachers, clergymen, and constituency representatives (6).
- The constitution should provide for the salaries of members of parliament to be reviewed by the Public Service Commission (3).
- The constitution should provide for a member of parliament not be entitled to pension unless has served for three terms of five years each.
- The constitution should provide for a member of parliament not be entitled to pension (3).

- The constitution should provide for the salaries and benefits of members of parliament to be similar to that of ordinary public officials (4).
- The constitution should provide for the members of parliament salary to be proportional to the people they represent.
- The constitution should provide for members of parliament to receive pension after serving five years.
- The constitution should provide for members of parliament to receive a monthly salary not exceeding Ksh. 100,000 (2).
- The constitution should provide for members of parliament not to receive a salary but allowances (2).
- The constitution should provide for members of parliament not to review their salaries (3).
- The constitution should provide to have the members of parliament salary reduced (2).
- The constitution should provide for treasury to review the salaries of members of parliament.

### Nominated Members of Parliament:

- The constitution retain the concept of nominated members of parliament but provide that they be from special interest groups e.g. minority, disabled, farmers, unions, women and youth representatives (4).
- The constitution should retain the concept of nominated members of parliament but provide that they be mainly from marginalized constituencies.
- The constitution should abolish the concept of nominated members of parliament (6).
- The constitution should retain the concept of nominated members of parliament and, in addition, provide that they be appointed as cabinet ministers.
- The constitution should retain the concept of nominated members of parliament and, in addition, increase the number for the current 12 to 60.
- The constitution should retain the concept of nominated members of parliament and, in addition, reserve it for religious bodies, members of civil groups and disciplined forces, and the youth.
- The constitution should retain the concept of nominated members of parliament and, in addition, state that they be non-partisan.
- The constitution should provide that all nominated MPs shall be representatives of professional and special interest groups.
- The constitution should provide that anybody who has unsuccessfully contested a parliamentary election shall not be eligible for nomination to parliament.
- The constitution should provide that persons with disability be nominated in parliament and special seats reserved for them.
- The constitution should provide that 4 seats be reserved in parliament for the disabled.
- The constitution should provide for special measures in which parliament reserves 50% of the seats for women.
- The constitution should provide for special measures in which parliament reserves 15% of the seats for women.
- The constitution should provide for special measures in which at least 2/3 of the nominated members of parliament and councilors are women.
- 10 seats should be reserved for youth in parliament.
- the constitution should provide that farmers, religious institutions, civil human rights groups and professionals should also be nominated in parliament.
- The constitution should provide that a youth cabinet be formed with members of 16 to 25

- years old, who are development minded.
- The youth should be represented fully in the running of the country i.e. nominated in parliament.
- The constitution should provide for gender balancing in the case of nomination of members of parliament.
- The constitution should provide for the introduction of a gender desk.
- The constitution should provide for special measures on women and their entry in parliament.
- The constitution should provide that women be given positions in every political party.
- The constitution should provide for ten women to be nominated as members of parliament.
- The constitution should not provide that women not be given special consideration in parliament.
- The constitution should provide that the voting power of the MP's be based on the number of people he represents.
- The constitution should provide that parliamentarians stay in their parties until the next election.

## Additionally:

- The constitution should provide that a parliamentary constituency shall have a minimum of 30,000 registered voters.
- The constitution should provide for a coalition government (9).
- The constitution should provide for a government of national unity (4).
- The constitution should retain the present system of government in which the dominant political party forms the government (2).
- The constitution should provide for multiparty system including the executive (4).
- The constitution should retain the current multiparty system whereby multi-party is in the legislature and one party in the executive (10).
- The constitution should provide for a two-chamber parliament. The Lower House should comprise representatives of constituencies while the Upper House should comprise representatives of districts, civil society and special interest groups (2).
- The constitution should provide for a two-chamber parliament (2).
- The constitution should provide for a uni-cameral parliament (4).
- The constitution should provide that cabinet ministers shall be answerable to parliament.
- The constitution should retain current system of removing the executive through a vote of no confidence (4).
- The constitution should provide that a bill once passed can become law without presidential assent (3).
- The constitution should provide that the president can only have the power to veto legislation passed by parliament if it is not in the interest of Kenya as a nation.
- The constitution should provide that the president has power to veto legislation passed by parliament.
- The constitution should provide for the legislature to have power to override the President's veto (4).
- The constitution should provide for the legislature to have the power to override the President's veto in circumstances of national interests like government borrowings and budget.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall not have the power to dissolve parliament (12).

- The constitution should provide for the speaker to have the power to dissolve parliament but only by veto of the parliamentarians.
- The constitution should provide for a commission to dissolve and adjourn parliament.
- The constitution should provide for parliament to dissolve itself when its time of session elapses (5).

#### 5.3.9 **THE EXECUTIVE**

#### President:

- Must be a Kenyan citizen born of parents and grandparents who are Kenyan Citizens (11).
- Must be a Kenyan by birth.
- Shall be of sound physical and mental health (12).
- Hold a university degree (25).
- Shall have a minimum of form four level of education.
- Shall have a minimum of two degrees from a recognized university.
- Shall at least be a graduate of management discipline (2).
- Shall not be above the law (3).
- Shall have no criminal record (5).
- Shall have and be of good morals (9).
- Shall be a married person (15).
- Shall be God fearing (3).
- Shall not belong to a political party.
- Shall be rich.
- Shall declare the source of his wealth and that of his immediate family.
- Shall serve a maximum two five year terms (26).
- Shall serve a maximum of five years (3).
- Shall serve a maximum of three terms of four years each.
- Shall serve a maximum of four terms of five years each.
- Shall not be the Commander in Chief of the armed forces.
- Shall not be chancellor of public universities.
- Shall appoint the Vice president.
- Shall be the head of state, represent Kenya in all international and executive functions, and lead all public holidays (6).
- Define the functions of the president.
- Shall appoint a prime minister from amongst the elected members of parliament.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he is not above the law (39).
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he shall not be involved in electoral process (4).
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he shall not appoint the Attorney General, Chief Justice, parastatal bosses, Police and Prison Commissioners, Auditor and Controller general, Ambassadors, Commissioners and Permanent Secretaries, and PC's, DC's and DO's (13).
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he shall not be a chancellor of the universities (13).
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he shall not be a chancellor of the universities but instead be a vice-chancellor.
- Limit the powers of the president (26).

- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he cannot set up commissions.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he not appoint the vice-president but let the electorate elect him.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he not sack the vice-president.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he not appoint people for various jobs apart from cabinet members, military, and police.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that administrative boundaries be created only by parliament, where economical and population data are the basis for their creation.
- Limit the powers of the president by providing that s/he shall not appoint the vice-president (2).
- Provide that the president shall appoint cabinet ministers outside parliament, and that the cabinet shall be autonomous.
- The president shall not pardon anyone (2).
- Limit the powers of the president by restricting the reshuffle of ministerial posts until after two years.
- Limit the powers of the president by restricting the reshuffle of ministerial post until after two and half years.
- Limit the powers of the president by deleting the clause "on presidential ascent" from the present constitution.
- Retain the power of the president to appoint ministers, public officers, and district and provincial administrators.
- The constitution should provide that permanent secretaries and high court judges be appointed by the public service commission.
- The constitution should provide that permanent secretaries be given powers to handle their ministries.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall have the power to appoint judges of the High Court subject to the approval of parliament.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall have the power to veto all legislation which is not in public interest.
- The constitution should provide that appointments to diplomatic service and parastatal shall be made by parliament.
- The constitution should give the president power to appoint cabinet ministers.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall be removed from office on misconduct, if guilty of an offense, tried in a court of law. Examples of reasons to remove the president are misuse of public funds, abiding to the laws of Kenya, fails to deliver (19).
- The constitution should provide that on parliament dissolving, the presidency too should be dissolved and the powers transferred to the National Assembly or Chief Justice.
- The constitution should provide that the presidency shall be rotational on the basis of gender.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall be a registered voter in a constituency.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall not nominated that who is not a member of parliament.
- The constitution should provide that parliament shall vet presidential foreign visits.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall be answerable to parliament (2).
- The constitution should provide that a presidential aspirant shall be allowed to contest in parliamentary elections.
- The constitution should provide that the president and vice-president not be members of parliament.

- The constitution should provide that the president be above party politics, not belong to any political party, and not be a member of parliament (21).
- The constitution should scrap off provincial administration and strengthen the local authorities instead (3).

### Provincial Administration:

- Retain the provincial administration (4).
- The Chief and the Assistant Chief be elected by popular vote by members of the respective administrative location (15).
- Chiefs and their assistants be elected, serve for two terms of five years each, have an age limit of between 30 and 40 years, and a minimum of O-Level of education.
- Chiefs have a minimum of O-Level education with a pass of division 3 or C, and an assistant chief have a minimum of O-Level with a pass of division 4 or D+.
- Chiefs be elected by the public, belong to no party, serve a maximum of ten years, and have a minimum of O-Level education.
- Heads of administrative areas be elected by the residents of the respective areas, and serve for a maximum of two terms of five years each.
- The provincial administration should be up to District level.
- The provincial administration be elected by the residents they are to serve (16).
- Chiefs be empowered to prosecute criminals in their areas.
- Provide that District Commissioners, Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs shall serve in their home areas (3).
- The constitution should retain the post of chiefs but scarp those of the PC, DC, and DO. The chief should be answerable to the head of civil service (3).
- The constitution should provide that chiefs and their assistants be replaced by elected council of elders who will serve a maximum of five years with minimum remuneration.
- The constitution should provide for the replacement of the provincial administration with a council of elders (3).
- The constitution should trim the chief's Act.
- The constitution should scrap the provincial commissioner's office (3).
- The constitution should scrap the provincial administration office, provide for the election of sub-locational elders in place of chief's and their assistants, and these elders should have a minimum of O-Level education.
- The constitution should scrap the provincial administration (9).
- The constitution should provide that PC'S and DC's shall be nominated by the president and approved by parliament.
- The constitution should scrap the provincial administration, and have the chief and assistant chief replaced by a council of elders, DC by county chairman, and PC by governors.
- The constitution should provide for the reduction of the provincial administration powers.
- The constitution should provide that senior employees of the provincial administration shall be elected by popular vote.
- The constitution should provide that Chiefs shall be appointed by District Commissioners.
- The constitution should provide that chiefs shall be transferable from one location to another.

#### Size of Government:

The constitution should provide that there be a Ministry of Youth that will look into youth

- issues (2)
- The constitution should provide that the office of the president shall not have more than two ministers.
- The constitution should provide the number of ministers shall be between 15 and 20, and their deputies between 15 and 20 too.
- The constitution should provide that the number of ministries be reduced to 15 and headed by one minister and one assistant minister (2).
- The constitution should provide that the office of the president shall have one ministry and the president should be the minister.
- The constitution should provide that one ministry shall be under one minister.
- The constitution should provide that there shall be a maximum 18 government ministries, headed by one minister, one assistant minister, and a permanent (2).
- The constitution should provide for the maximum number of ministries in the country.
- The constitution should provide that ministries shall not be more than 20, have one minister and at most two assistants who have all been vetted by the parliament.
- The constitution should provide that ministries shall be between 12 and 16.
- The constitution should provide that there shall be a maximum 15 government ministries.
- The constitution should provide that there shall be a maximum 13 government ministries.
- The constitution should provide that there shall be a Ministry of Defense.

#### 5.3.10 THE JUDICIARY

- The constitution should provide for a Ministry of Justice.
- The constitution should provide for an electoral court.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of marital courts.
- The constitution should provide that the Attorney General office shall be under the judiciary.
- The constitution should provide for the independence of the office of the Attorney General.
- The constitution should provide for the independence of the judiciary (19).
- The constitution should provide for the judiciary to consist of sub-ordinate courts, magistrate, Kadhi courts, High Court, and Court of Appeal.
- The constitution should provide for an ecclesiastical court. If this court is not able to solve the dispute, then the case shall be referred to the civil court.
- The constitution should discourage kangaroo courts.
- The constitution should provide for automatic bonds to people arrested for minor offenses.
- The constitution should provide for village courts under village elders.
- The constitution should provide for a corruption court.
- The constitution should retain the present judiciary structure: it is fairly adequate.
- The constitution should provide for a supreme court (9).
- The constitution should provide for a permanent constitutional court (8).
- The constitution should provide that the judicial officials shall be appointed through an established judicial service commission (8).
- The constitution should provide that the judicial officials be appointed by the Attorney General.
- The constitution should provide for parliament to appoint a judicial commission that will appoint judicial officials, and thereafter the proposed officials be vetted by parliament (7).
- The constitution should provide for the chief justice to be elected by all judges of the High Court (2).
- The constitution should provide that judges be elected a panel of members of the Law Society

- of Kenya (3).
- The constitution should provide that for the chief justice to be elected by the electorate.
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials be appointed by public service commission.
- The constitution should provide that the Chief Justice be appointed by the President.
- The constitution should demystify the judicial process.
- The constitution
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials have a minimum of a university degree in law (5).
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials be God fearing.
- The constitution should provide for a security of tenure for judges of the High Court (3).
- The constitution should provide that judges shall retire at 60 years and shall not be re-employed on contract (3).
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials shall retire at 70 years (2).
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials shall have an office tenure of between 5 to 10 years.
- The constitution should provide that contracts of all judges shall be terminated and reapply afresh through parliament together with other qualified Kenyans.
- The constitution should provide judges shall retire on attaining 75 years of age.
- The constitution should provide that judicial officials are not in one station for more than three years.
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms to discipline judges and other officials enjoying security of tenure.
- The constitution should provide that a judge accused of bribery receive the death penalty.
- The constitution should provide that a judge accused on misuse of office be removed from office and deregistered from the law society.
- The constitution should provide that the Kadhi courts be entrenched in the constitution.
- The constitution should provide for easy access to advocates and courts to all Kenyans (3).
- The constitution should provide that arrested suspects be taken to court immediately and prosecuted. The suspects should not be in police custody for more than a week (2).
- The constitution should provide that court charges are not set high (2).
- The constitution should provide for the independence of the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (2).
- The constitution should provide that lawyers replace police officers as court prosecutors.
- The constitution should provide that the state shall provide free legal services to poor litigants.
- The constitution should guarantee that the state will provide legal representation to Kenyans who cannot afford to purchase the services (8).
- The constitution should provide for the review of laws made by the Legislature so as to ensure that before it is passed as law, it is well thought out and will not contradict the supreme law of the land.
- The constitution should provide that issue on land are not handled by a council of elders in the event that a Council of Elders in set up to handle customary/cultural affairs, disputes, etc.
- The constitution should provide that there be a council of elders to settle customary/cultural affairs, disputes, etc.

## 5.3.11 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- The constitution should provide that mayors and council chairmen are elected directly by the people (26).
- The constitution should provide that council chairmen be elected by the people.
- The constitution should provide that mayors be elected by the people (2).
- The constitution should provide that the current 2 year term for mayors and council officials be increased to 5 years (9).
- The constitution should provide that mayors and council officials will serve for a maximum of two terms of five years each (8)
- The constitution should provide that the current 2 year term for mayor and council officials be increased to 4 years.
- The constitution should provide that the current 2 year term for mayors and council officials be increased to 3 years.
- The constitution should provide for the independence of local authorities (14).
- The constitution should provide for 40% of the money collected by the local authorities be used in developing the local authority's area of operation.
- The constitution should provide for a minimum education qualification of O-Levels for mayors and council officials (23).
- The constitution should provide that Mayors and Chair of County Council have a minimum education qualification of a university degree (4).
- The constitution should provide that mayors have a minimum educational qualification of a university degree, while the council officials O-Levels.
- The constitution should provide that mayors and council officials have a minimum education qualification of a diploma.
- The constitution should provide that Mayors and council officials be able to communicate in both oral and writing in English and Kiswahili (5).
- The constitution should provide for moral and ethical qualifications for local authority seats (3).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for a seat as a mayor or council seat, one should have no criminal record (2).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for a seat as a mayor or council official, one should be a Kenyan citizen and registered as a voter.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for a seat as a mayor or council official, one should be between the ages of 21 and 65 years old.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for a seat as a mayor or council official, one should be have a stable family (2).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify for a seat as a mayor or council official, one should have proven leadership skills, God fearing, and polite.
- The constitution should provide that for one to be disqualified from a seat as a mayor or council official, 500 signatures have to be collected from dissatisfied electorates (2).
- The constitution should provide for the people to have the power to recall their council officials on grounds of non-deliver of services (3).
- The constitution should provide for the people to have the power to recall their non-performing council officials by vote of no confidence from ¼ of the total registered voters in a ward.
- The constitution should provide that the remuneration of council officials be determined by the public service commission (7).
- The constitution should provide that the remuneration of council officials be in proportion to

- the people they represent, and be reviewed every five years.
- The constitution should provide for council officials to be remunerated well.
- The constitution should provide for parliament to set a committee that will oversea to the remuneration of council officials.
- The constitution should retain the nomination of councilors and allow for gender balancing.
- The constitution should retain the nomination of councilors (2).
- The constitution should abolish nomination of councilors (2).
- The constitution should provide that neither the president nor the minister of local government have the power to dissolve the council (5).
- The constitution should provide that the power to dissolve a council be with a parliamentary committee chaired by the minister of local authority.
- The constitution should provide that councils will not be dissolved unless they are not economically viable, and this should be subject to parliament approval.
- The constitution should provide that local authority licenses cover one full calendar year.
- The constitution should provide that fees and licenses charged by the local authorities are rationalized.
- The constitution should give mayors and councilors limited executive power.

### 5.3.12 THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PROCESS

- Provide for a representative form of electoral system (7).
- Provide that voting shall be by secret ballot (3).
- Provide that ballot boxes shall be transparent (7).
- Provide for the adoption of a proportional representative electoral system.
- Retain the single majority rule as a basis or winning an election (11).
- Provide for an electoral environment that is friendly for women to participate; an electoral environment outlawing harassment and use of abusive language towards women participants (3).
- Specify the election date (16).

## Presidential and Parliamentary Elections:

- Provide that for a candidate to be declared a winner of an election, s/he must garner at least 51% of the total votes cast; otherwise, the two best candidates must contest again so as to have a winner (5).
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner at least 50% of the total votes cast; otherwise, two presidential candidates with most votes must contest again within 30 days to get the winner (11).
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner at least 51% of the total votes cast; otherwise, two presidential candidates with the most votes must contest again (15).
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner votes from all over the country.
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner at least two million of the votes cast.
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner 1/5 of the total votes cast; otherwise, two presidential candidates with the most votes must contest again.
- Provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner 35% of the total votes cast.
- The constitution should provide that for a presidential candidate to be declared a winner, s/he must garner 2/3 of the total votes cast.
- Abolish the requirement that a winning president shall get 25% of the total votes cast in at least 5 provinces.
- Provide that candidates who fail to seek nomination in one party should not be allowed to switch to another party for nomination (3).
- Provide that a candidate that defects to another party be barred from nomination for five years.
- Provide that a candidate that fails to seek nomination from one party can do so in another party (3).
- Provide that an MP once elected shall not defect to another political party; otherwise, s/he loses parliamentary seat and a by-election takes place (9).
- The constitution should provide that an MP shall not defect to another party; otherwise, s/he will not contest for another five years.
- The constitution should provide that an MP shall not defect to another party; otherwise, a by-election should be called and the MP shall not be allowed to contest in it.
- The constitution should retain the rule of 25% representation in at least 5 provinces for presidential election (3).
- The constitution should provide that presidential election should account to simple majority rule on a basis of winning an election, and not 25% representation in five provinces.
- The constitution should do way with the rule on 25% representation in at least five provinces for presidential election, and provide that the president must garner 51% of the total votes cast.
- The constitution should do away with the rule on 25% representation in at least five provinces for presidential election (8).
- The constitution should do away with the rule on 25% representation in at least five provinces, and provide that a president should garner instead 50% of total votes in five provinces.

- The constitution should provide that parliamentary, and presidential elections be held separately (7).
- The constitution should provide that parliamentary and civic elections be held together, and separate from the presidential elections (15).
- The constitution should provide that presidential and parliamentary elections will not be held separately.
- The constitution should provide that civic and parliamentary elections be held separately.
- The constitution should provide for parliamentary and civic elections to be held one week before presidential elections.
- The constitution should provide for parliamentary and civic elections to be held together and before the presidential elections (2).
- The constitution should provide for civic and parliamentary elections to be held six months before the presidential elections.
- The constitution should provide that the election of the president and vice president shall be carried out after parliamentary and local government elections.
- The constitution should provide that the election of the president and the vice president shall be carried out simultaneously.
- The constitution should provide for elections to be done by secret ballot (2).
- The constitution should provide that the presidential candidates shall name their running mates (proposed vice president) who will also be elected by the people (2).
- The constitution should provide that the vice president shall be directly elected by popular vote.
- The constitution should computerize the electoral process.
- The constitution should provide that judgment of election appeals will take place within three months of the elections.
- The constitution should provide for Independent candidates for local government, parliamentary and presidential elections (4).
- The constitution should provide for independent candidates for local government, parliamentary and presidential elections, but they should have 1/10 of voters signatures of the constituents support.
- The constitution should provide for elections to be supervised by church officials.
- The constitution should provide for voter registration to be continuous (5).
- The constitution should provide that registration of voters and the voting itself shall be compulsory to those who are eligible.
- The constitution should provide for electronic voting.
- The constitution should provide that there are adequate ballot papers at the polling station.
- The constitution should provide that during the counting of votes a certificate signed and countersigned by all the agents of the candidates and witnessed by the presiding officer indicate that each agent's candidates are satisfied with the counting.
- The constitution should provide for identity cards and passport are used for voting (2).
- The constitution should provide for a continuous voter education.
- The constitution should provide for identity cards to be provided before leaving school so as to facilitate voter registration and simplify the election process.
- The constitution should provide for 30 days in which registered voters can approve or disapprove their representatives.
- The constitution should provide for prospective candidate to be Kenyan citizens.
- The constitution should provide for Kenyan citizens abroad to vote.
- The constitution should provide that every Kenyan of 18 years and above shall be entitled to

vote.

- The constitution should provide that general elections shall be conducted over a period of two to three days.
- The constitution should limit each candidate's election expenditure; this responsibility should be with the electoral commission and the high court.
- The constitution should provide that the state shall, with a limit, fund the presidential candidate.
- Presidential elections to be conducted directly (9).
- Presidential elections to be conducted from provinces.

#### Constituencies:

- The constitution should do away with the current geographical constituency system (2).
- The constitution should provide for changes in current boundaries; the boundaries should be based on population density (13).
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have at least 20,000 and maximum 40,000 voters for equal representation (3).
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should comprise of 30,000 voters (3).
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have at least 10,000 and maximum 50,000 voters for equal representation.
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have a minimum of 10,000 registered voters (2).
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have at least 50,000 and maximum 150,000 constituents.
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have at least 20,000 and maximum 35,000 registered voters.
- The constitution should provide that a constituency should have at the least 50,000 constituents.
- The constitution should provide for clear rules for the creation of parliamentary constituencies (2).

#### 2002 Elections:

- The constitution should provide for independent candidates for the 2002 elections.
- The constitution should provide for the 2002 elections to be held under a new constitution.
- The constitution should provide for the 2002 elections to be held under a new electoral commission.
- The constitution should provide for the 2002 elections to be held in December 2002.

### Electoral Commission of Kenya:

- Shall fix election dates.
- The constitution should abolish the Electoral Commission.
- The constitution should for the electoral commissioners to be elected every five years.
- The constitution should provide for the autonomy of the Electoral Commission (2).
- The constitution should for the electoral commissioners to be appointed by the parliament through the parties in parliament.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to be 7.

- The constitution should provide that to qualify to be electoral commissioner one has to be an advocate with 5 years experience as a judge.
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to be an electoral commissioner one has to have a minimum of a degree from a recognized university (2).
- The constitution should provide that to qualify to be an electoral commissioner one should have at the least a degree in sociology or law.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commission to be representative of political parties, organized civil societies, and mainstream churches. At the grass root level, proposed candidate should be chosen by the stakeholders from which the president will appoint the appropriate persons.
- The constitution should provide that a percentage of Electoral Commissioners be chosen from the religious community.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners should be elected directly.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to be appointed by the parliament (8).
- The constitution should provide for electoral commissioners to be appointed by the chairmen of the four dominant political parties.
- The constitution should provide for electoral commissioners to be representative of the civil societies and political parties in Kenya (2).
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to be appointed by the parliament, Law Society of Kenya, and other civil societies.
- The constitution should provide for political parties to nominate 1/3 of the electoral commissioners and the rest by the civil societies in Kenya.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to be appointed from all political parties taking part in the elections (2).
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to enjoy security of tenure of office (4).
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to enjoy the security of tenure of office of 5 years (3).
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to enjoy the security of tenure of office of a maximum of 2 terms of 5 years each.
- The constitution should provide for the retirement of commissioners vis-à-vis election two years before election and two years later.
- The constitution should provide for parliament to remove electoral commissioners from office.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commission to be funded from a consolidated fund (3).
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commission to be funded by treasury.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commission to be funded by the central government.
- The constitution should provide for the electoral commissioners to be between 15 and 20.

## Additionally:

- The constitution should provide that votes be counted at the polling station and the results announced immediately (29).
- The constitution should provide that votes be counted at the polling station, and special documents signed by the presiding officers and submitted to the electoral commission.
- The constitution should provide that all contesting political parties shall participate in the

printing, custody and transportation of ballot papers and boxes under the supervision of the Electoral Commission.

• The constitution should guarantee free and fair elections.

### 5.3.13 BASIC RIGHTS

- Guarantee every Kenyan, basic food, clothing and shelter.
- Guarantee the protection of the human rights of all Kenyans (12).
- Provide for the right to education, and health care as basic rights (2).
- Provide for adequate fundamental rights to the people of Kenya. All persons are equally entitled to civil, political, economic, social, cultural and development rights (4).
- Entrench social, economic, cultural, and development rights (3).
- Guarantee the freedom of worship to all Kenyans (10).
- Abolish oath taking.
- Abolish female circumcision.
- Stress on the right to live anywhere in the country (2).
- Provide for patients rights.
- Provide for the freedom of expression and association (6).
- Express that human rights are God given.
- Provide that devil worship will not be practiced in Kenya.
- Specify the God to be worship under the freedom of worship clause.
- Provide that the freedom of worship shall only be exercised to worship God.
- Provide for the freedom of movement (3).
- Provide that the right to travel outside the country is subject to the laws of the country of destination.
- Provide for laws that protect parents from abusive children who are 18 years and above.
- Provide for the protection of consumers (3)
- Provide for the freedom to choice of occupation without discrimination.
- Outlaw the death penalty and be replaced by life sentence (2).
- Outlaw the death penalty (10).
- Provide that those involved in abortion are given heavy penalty.
- Guarantee the right to a dignified life (2).
- Outlaw abortion, euthanasia or any other form of life termination.
- Not outlaw the death penalty for those who commit murder.
- Provide for clear regulations on the health status of those intending to marry.
- Provide for fathers to ensure women of child support and maintenance (2).
- Provide for an end to battering of the spouses (2).
- Guarantee the physical security for all (10).
- Provide for security, health care, water, education, shelter, food, and employment as basic rights for all Kenyans (9).
- Provide that water and shelter are basic rights.
- Provide that the government shall ensure the provision of basic rights to all Kenyans (4).
- Provide that all employed health workers shall not operate private clinics.
- Provide for laws to be enacted against offering of human sacrifice
- Guarantee safe and clean drinking water to all Kenyans (3).
- Guarantee free basic education to all Kenyans (37).

- Guarantee free and compulsory education up to university level (6).
- Provide for free and compulsory education up to secondary level (14).
- Provide free and compulsory education up to secondary level of education; thereafter, the fee charged should not be more than 10% of the total fees charged.
- Provide that the National Social Security Fund shall pay to all regardless of age on ceasing employment (2).
- Provide that for an employee to resign from his/hers position, a three months notice shall be given.
- Provide that informal businesses shall not be harassed by the council officials, and the police.
- Provide that civic education shall be widely conducted among the citizenry and shall be a continuous process (5).
- Prescribe that the constitution document shall be written in simple language to allow it to be understood by the majority of the people (4).
- Provide that it shall be incorporated into the school curriculum in order to allow it to be known by all students (3).
- Provide for equal treatment for all with regard to employment (10).
- Provide for the government to offer free medical services in public hospitals (36).
- Provide that the government shall build enough hospitals to cater to all Kenyans.
- Provide that anyone found drunk should be escorted home so as to ensure his/her security.
- Provide for the government to come up with mechanisms to reduce the high rate of unemployment in the country (3).
- Abolish the quota system of education.
- Abolish private clinics and hospital, except for those run by religious groups.
- Provide Kenyans to hold only one job so as to reduce the high rate of unemployment in the country (5).
- Provide for the regular inspection of health facilities (e.g. hospitals), and public toilets.
- Provide for the government to cater for the medical expenses of Kenyans seeking medical treatment abroad.
- Guarantee shelter for all (2).
- Enforce the issue of the police producing a warrant of arrest before arresting anyone.
- Provide against police harassment, and that the police shall provide security for all.
- Provide for proper remuneration of teachers (3).
- Provide for teachers and doctors to retire at 65 years.
- Provide for minimum pay of retirees to be Ksh. 5,000; in addition, they should be given house allowance.
- Provide for retired government workers not to be re-employed on contract.
- Provide for the unemployed to get a monthly allowance (3).
- Provide for pension to be made according to the value of the Kenyan shilling.
- Outlaw mob-justice.
- Provide for pension increment to be made every three years instead of five yeas.
- Provide for the review of the pension act. so that next of kin gets paid for a period of 15 years instead of 5 years.
- Provide for pensioners to get an increment in the pension whenever there is a salary increment (2).
- Provide for the retrenchment of employees to be stopped.
- Provide that the government shall compensate people's whose security has been infringed (2).
- Provide for review of the retirement benefits on the basis of the economic situation in the country.

- Provide for employees to be paid their house allowance on the basis of the circular issued by the public service commission.
- Provide for the government to be more sensitive to the unemployed youth (2).
- Provide for a one person-one job policy.
- Provide for the government to pay reasonable pension to retired workers.
- Provide that promotions should be on merit.
- Provide that civil servants shall retire on reaching the age of 65 years.
- Provide for proper remuneration of teachers and health personnel.
- Provide for the government to revive the agricultural sector so as to create jobs.
- Provide for the NSSF money to be refunded with interest to the owner immediately they are employed permanently.
- · Abolish forced labour and inhuman treatment.
- Provide for the government to offer jobs based on ethnic diversity.
- Provide for proper remuneration of professionals (5).
- Provide for proper remuneration of the police force.
- Provide for the police to be properly housed.
- Provide for the government to implement a national food policy.
- Provide for the health personnel to be well remunerated.
- Provide for the retirement age to be reduced to 50 years.
- Provide for payment of benefits by the national social security fund to be simplified.
- Provide for secondary and university education to be subsidized.
- Guarantee all workers to trade union representation (4).
- Not guarantee all workers right to trade union representation.
- Provide for the enforcement of the amendments made in the pensions act. in 1996, i.e. the pension increase amounts should be automatic.
- Guarantee the bill of rights for both Kenyans and visitors (2).
- Provide for trade unions to be free of political interference (2).
- Guarantee Kenyans the freedom to live anywhere as a basic need.
- Guarantee Kenyans the right to information technology as a basic need.
- Provide for the review of the freedom to worship (3).
- Provide for Kenyans to have a right to access information in the possession of the State or any other agency or organ of the State (6).
- Prescribe that reports of special commissions shall be released as soon as their task is complete.
- Provide for severe punishment for lawyers who embezzle money belonging to their clients.
- Guarantee the freedom of the press.
- Provide for the employment of all university graduates.
- Prescribe that the constitution should be translated into all local languages and widely distributed to the public.

#### 5.3.14 THE RIGHTS OF VULNERABLE GROUPS

- The constitution should guarantee gender equality (3).
- The constitution should guarantee women from any form of violence e.g. domestic violence, and sexual abuse.
- The constitution should provide that a special fund should be established to financially support women who run for political office.
- Government should give finances to people with disabilities

- Disabled people should be taken care of by the government.
- Disabled people should be catered for and given monthly allowances to meet basic needs (2)
- Disabled people should be given free education. They should be given employment on merit and treated as able people. The constitution should address the issue of accessibility of blind and lame people to different areas (2)
- People with disabilities should be provided with special facilities, free healthcare, free education in all levels (2)
- Disabled and special people should be given 5% representation in parliament.
- The constitution should provide that organizations for the disabled shall be run by the disabled.
- The constitution should provide that equipment for the disabled shall be exempt from import tax.
- The constitution should provide for government buildings structurally sensitive to the needs of the disabled.
- People with disabilities should be taken care of (2)
- Disabled people should be given opportunity to study and do jobs on their expertise.
- The constitution should prescribe the provision of sign language services for the deaf in all public places including parliament.
- The constitution should abolish discrimination on the basis of disability.
- The constitution should ensure equal access to resources to persons with disability.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of homes for orphaned children.
- The constitution should protect children from abuse (2)
- The constitution should abolish Child labour (3)
- Education for girls should be enforced in the constitution.
- The constitution should provide for the protection and care of children born out of wedlock.
- The constitution should provide for free food and education for children (2)
- Reformatory institutions should be established to cater for the welfare of street children.
- All children should have a right to a name.
- The constitution should protect the Girl Child from early forced marriages.
- The government should protect street children (2)
- Children should be provided with an appropriate family environment and alternative care.
- Those aged 80 years and above should be given allowances.
- Orphans must be supported by the government in provision for education, shelter and food.
- Mentally sick and retarded, aged, HIV and AIDS patients.
- Aids orphans should be taken care of.
- The government should cater for street families, poor families and slum dwellers.
- Freedom fighters should be recognized by the constitution (5)
- The elderly should be catered for.
- Youth affairs should be addressed in the constitution.
- The constitution should provide for state rehabilitation of street children.
- Minority community rights should be protected.
- Aged people should be given opportunity to do jobs of their expertise.
- The constitution should provide for a proper recognition of the country's heroes.
- The constitution should provide that a fund be established to cater for former freedom fighters and their families
- The poor should have access to justice.
- The constitution should provide for the protection and care of widows and widowers.
- All street families should be given identity cards and they should be taken to youth service

centers and be provided with free education.

- Mau Mau freedom fighters should be compensated.
- The constitution should guarantee the rights of all marginalized groups.
- The constitution should guarantee the rights of domestic workers
- Street children should be evacuated to a learning institution, which should be funded by donors.
- The constitution should make provision for affirmative action for women, vulnerable and marginalized communities.
- Affirmative action principle should be entrenched in the constitution. The constitution should provide for proportional representation in favour of vulnerable groups. Women should be regarded as other people.
- The constitution should provide for affirmative action in favour of the needy, aged, HIV positive and mentally sick persons.

#### 5.3.15 LAND AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

Ownership and acquisition of land:

- Local community should have the ultimate ownership of land (2)
- The individual should have ultimate land ownership (4)
- The government should have ultimate ownership of public land (3)
- For the purpose of development of social amenities in such cases landowners should be adequately and promptly compensated (2)
- The government should not have power to compulsory acquire private land (2)
- The government should have power to compulsory acquire private land.
- The state or government should acquire land if it has prospects of extracting resources or putting up a project in it.
- Any land, which was aquired illegally, e.g. forest areas meant for public purposes should be taken away without compensation (2)
- The government should redress big tracts of land that are not put to proper use, and heavily tax idle land to discourage possession.
- All idle land should be consolidated and turned to the government.
- Power to control use of land should be by the owner or occupier (2)
- The government should not have power to control use of land by the owners or occupiers (2)
- The government should reposes idle land and distribute it to the landless (2)
- Any land excised from forest areas should be reverted to the government as trust land.
- The executive should only allocate land with approval of the commission set by parliament.
- Land grabbed should be reposed by the government.
- Any land taken from public institutions should be reverted to them.
- The government should reposes any land beyond the limit for redistribution to the landless (3)
- Land owned by KARI should be protected from further grabbing by the government.
- Community land should be demarcated and their owners should be given title deeds. Every Kenyan should be given five acres of land; there should be no squatter.
- All land should revert to the government and all users become tenants.
- Land policies should be enacted to protect people from being reduced to squatters in their own country.
- No property like land should be given to anyone without the knowledge of the indigenous

people.

- The constitution should provide land for the landless (4)
- Land boundary disputes should be settled with use of land demarcation maps.
- Land allocated to an individual should not be re-located to other individuals unless by the concept of rightful owners.
- Children and spouses if alive should be present in issues of transfer and inheritance of land rights (3)
- No Kenyan should be a squatter in his land (3)
- Land should be distributed equally. Everybody in kenya should have at least two acres of land.
- Those people with large tracts of land should give to the poor. Power to allocate land should not lie on the councilors but to the local residents.
- Land should be shared equally.
- Individuals with more than 1000 acres of land, which is under utilized, should be repossessed and divided among the landless.
- Land inheritance issue should be addressed and overhauled.
- Nyayo tea zones should be given to the landless people from that area and all tribal clashes victims should be resettled and compensated.
- Every citizen should have a right to own land and the landless should be given four acres of land. Government should protect citizens from land grabbers.
- Any piece of land above 100 acres and not used productively should be subdivided among the needy citizens.
- Distribution of land should be checked.
- Resettlement of victims of ethnic violence should be done before elections. Land acquired illegally should be returned to the owners.
- The constitution should provide that persons displaced in tribal clashes and violence be resettled by the government.
- Family members should be free to agree on the sale of their land to whomever they wish.
- No land should be idle.
- Constitution should guarantee equality in land distribution. Idle land should be leased to rural and town young farmers co-operative societies. Underdeveloped idle land should be allocated to landless. Inheritance of land should be left to the clan to decide.
- Every Kenyan should own land. Those should be gotten from those with excess of 1000 acres. All people should inherit land regardless of sex, colour or religion.
- All state land should be given to the public for agricultural use.
- The constitution should abolish land ownership.
- The constitution should provide that all trust land should be vested in the local authorities and that the office of commissioner of lands should not have any jurisdiction over trust land.
- The constitution should give either partner in a marriage the right to inherit property belonging to their spouse.
- The constitution should guarantee equitable distribution of land.
- The constitution should provide for a land policy that specifically addresses the plight of squatters.
- The constitution should allocate land next to Mt. Kenya to the current inhabitants

# Land ceiling:

• There should be a ceiling on land owned by an individual. Persons holding hundreds of acres

of land should be heavily taxed. Maximum land owned by an individual should be between 50-100 acres, if more it should be given for communal work.

- There should be a restriction on land owned by an individual not more than 5000 acres and idle land should be taxed.
- The constitution should clearly spell out how much land an individual should own and taxes imposed on land lying idle.
- Every Kenyan should own only 5 acres of land and not more than 50 acres.
- An individual should own a maximum of 50 acres and a minimum of 10 acres.
- The maximum acreage of land that an individual can own is 5 acres.
- Limit of land should be 40 acres.
- Each person should own a maximum of four acres.
- The maximum land an individual can own is 30 acres.
- Each farm should be between 300 to 500 acres for ranching.
- Every Kenyan should have a minimum of three acres.
- The constitution should provide that nobody shall own more than 50 acres of land (4)
- The constitution should provide that nobody shall own more than 60 acres of land.
- The constitution should provide that nobody shall own more than 100 acres of land (3)
- The constitution should provide that nobody shall own more than 200 acres of land.
- The constitution should provide that nobody shall own more than 500 acres or land.
- The constitution should provide that private land beyond 1000 acres shall be heavily taxed by the government (2)
- The constitution should prescribe that foreigners shall be allowed to own land to encourage investment.

## Foreigners and inheritance of land:

- Non-citizens should not be allowed to own land (2)
- Foreigners should be allowed to purchase land anywhere in the country.
- Foreigners should prove the use of land and show how it can create employment.
- The constitution should provide for a simplification of the land registration regime.
- Cost of succession of land should be abolished while the right of succession maintained.
- Title deeds should be scrutinized and only given with evidence.
- Unmarried women should have the right to inherit land like men. Title deeds should be transferred after 70-100 years to another person.
- All land transaction should be left to the council of elders and all plots in places where the former colonial law known as Africa land tenure, all public plots should be under the council of elders.
- Small pieces of land should not be charged high levies.
- There should be community representation in land allocation boards
- The constitution should provide for a proper drafting of title deeds to reflect matrimonial/spousal joint ownership (4)
- Family property should be shared equally between a boy and a girl child. Issue the title deed and other documents of ownership under the husband's and wife's name.
- Title deed should bear the names of two spouses. Land should not be sold without the consent of the entire members of the family.
- Men and women should have equal access to land. Unmarried women should be given the right to own land based on individual customs.

#### Additionally:

- The constitution should abolish pre-independence land treaties and agreements involving certain communities (3)
- The constitution should abolish colonial boundaries
- Pre-independence land treaties should be reviewed to change land ownership in favour of such communities.
- The constitution should guarantee the right of any Kenyan to own land in any part of the country (18)
- Kenyans should be free to live and own property anywhere in the country (3)
- The constitution should provide equal access to land for both men and women.
- The constitution should provide that every citizen above 18 years shall be guaranteed ownership of land.
- Every citizen has the right to own land (10)
- All Kenyans should be guaranteed access to land (2).
- The constitution should establish mechanisms to ensure every Kenyan has access to land.
- The constitution should provide that the Trust Land Act be repealed.

# 5.3.16 CULTURAL, ETHNIC, REGIONAL DIVERSITY AND COMMUNAL RIGHTS

- Kenya's ethnic and cultural diversity should contribute to a national culture (3)
- The constitution should protect Kenyan traditions and customs that promote equality and fairness.
- Cultural and ethnic diversity should be protected and promoted in the constitution. (5)
- The constitution should provide for elected ethnic spokesperson
- The constitution should protect traditional customs, which may guide life in the society provided they do not harm any sector of the society. The constitution must emphasize and promote unity in diversity.
- Cultural and ethnic values need to be captured in the constitution.
- The constitution should protect men circumcision, baptism, ban female genital mutilation and dressing codes for women.
- The church of God is a distinct social group whose interests should be catered for in the constitution (2)
- There should be no discrimination against women, youth and other sections of the society.
- The constitution should provide that oath taking be forbidden. The true church of God members should be allowed and accepted in all government and private institutions with long dresses and head covers.
- The constitution should abolish Female Genital Mutilation (4)
- The constitution should provide for protection from the discriminatory aspects of culture.
- The constitution should provide that national laws, customary laws and other legal barriers should be reviewed to ensure that women are not discriminated against.
- Culture that hinder women rights should be abolished and marriage defined properly.
- There should be no discrimination in the eyes of all and equal opportunities should be given to all.
- The constitution should recognize and promote indigenous languages.

#### 5.3.17 MANAGEMENT AND USE OF NATIONAL RESOURCES

- Executive should not have power to raise and distribute financial resources and management of human resources.
- Parliament should retain the power to authorize the raising and appropriation of public finances.
- The constitution should provide that the government adheres to the budget estimated.
- The government should control public finances raised through taxes.
- All geographical regions of the country are entitled to equal development (2)
- The constitution should provide that communities be given first preference in benefiting from local natural resources.
- The constitution should provide that communities be given first preference in benefiting from local natural resources.
- National resources should be equitably distributed to all Kenyans according to the population and economic activities in the area.
- The constitution should use demand responsive approach to monitor the projects and involve the local community at the grass root level to identify the projects appropriate for them.
- The constitution should provide for equitable distribution of public finance for both men and women (2)

- Public finances should be shared equally to all public service employees but not for few people i.e. increment should be for all public service employees.
- Development projects should be equally distributed throughout the republic.
- The constitution should provide for equal distribution of natural resources in all the constituencies.
- God given wealth should be shared by all.
- The constitution should provide that grants be evenly distributed to all districts by the government.
- The constitution should enshrine mechanisms for equitable distribution of national resources.
- The constitution should provide that at the country's wealth and resources are safeguarded and utilized for the good of the people of the nation.
- National resources should be equally distributed in the provinces.
- Each area should be equally developed because all citizens pay taxes. The government should ensure that some percentage in terms of contribution to national gross is ploughed back for development to each area.
- The community should be allowed to benefit from the resources around them e.g. wildlife.
- The constitution should provide that a percentage of revenue collected from the provinces be retained by those provinces for use in development.
- Natural resources should benefit people living in that area.
- The constitution should provide that regional governments collect taxes and submit a percentage to the central government.

#### Controller and Auditor General:

- The constitution should give the offices of the Auditor General and Controller General power to prosecute. (2)
- The constitution should split the posts of the controller and auditor general to audit public revenue and expenditure and be responsible for overall control of public expenditure.
- The constitution should provide that the office of the controller and auditor general be independent, have security of tenure; have powers to prosecute those who misuse funds. The attorney general should not interfere with cases filed by the controller and auditor general on monies collected and sack corrupt officers.
- The constitution should provide that the controller and auditor general could sue people involved in misconduct in a court of law.
- The office of auditor general should have security of tenure.
- The constitution should provide that the Controller and Auditor General be answerable to parliament.
- The constitution should provide that parliament appoint the controller and auditor general (2)

#### Public Expenses:

- The constitution should provide that any person caught misusing public funds should be arrested.
- The constitution should provide that people caught embezzling public funds be sacked.
- Ministers should use cars that consume less fuel like Peugeot 504 to reduce government expenditure. National holidays should be reduced to avoid more government expenditures such as Moi day.

- The constitution should provide for adequate government auditors to check on returns annually.
- Parliament should be consulted by the government in appropriation of government revenue to ensure the fair distribution of revenue.
- The constitution should provide that people who misappropriate government funds be made to pay.
- There should be no misappropriation of government funds.
- The government should introduce continuous reporting both to the people and their elected leaders, managers in charge of funds be evaluated and public officers be accountable for misuse of funds.
- The constitution should provide that a committee be set to look into the taxes charged on the public to ensure that they serve the purpose intended.

#### Public Service:

- The constitution should provide that adequate salaries and jobs should be given as per professional qualifications (3)
- Ministers should not be MPs. (3)
- The constitution should provide that job recruitments in various ministries and co-operations must be advertised and applicants interviewed.
- The constitution should reduce the retirement age of civil servants from 55 to 50 years so as to create jobs for younger generations. Retrenchment of civil servants should be abolished. The constitution should provide that traveling allowances be considered for public service officers and retired people should be given first priority in public appointments.
- Teachers, doctors and nurses should be given salary increments.
- The constitution should provide for the creation of an enterprising working condition.
- The constitution should provide that ministers be appointed according to educational qualifications (7)
- Civil servants should be equally paid.
- The constitution should provide that jobs of permanent secretaries be awarded after advertisements in the local paper.
- All civil service jobs should be competitive and advertised in the media; these include posts of Attorney General.
- The constitution should provide that all appointments be on merit and approved by approved bodies.
- School leavers between 18 and 24 years should under go compulsory enrolment in military service.
- Police forces should be given reasonable renumeration to avoid the issue of bribery on roads.
- The constitution should provide for proper remuneration of public employees.
- The constitution should provide that recruitment to the civil service should be on merit.
- The constitution should provide that the public service not be subjected to the total control of the state leadership. It should be accountable to the state leadership. It should be accountable to the citizens through an independent public service commission.
- The public service commission should be given the mandate to draw its own terms of service. Public service commission should safeguard the independence of the civil service.
- The public service commission should have regional representation at membership level and should be gender balanced.
- The public service commission should be an independent body (2)

- The constitution should provide for the establishment of Economic Council to oversee the management of public funds.
- The constitution should provide that the government shall provide public employment to the citizenry purely on merit.
- The constitution should provide for good and reasonable remuneration for doctors and other medical personnel (2).
- The constitution should provide that government employees shall retire at 50 years.
- The constitution should make illegal all appointments made on racial, ethnic or nepotistic considerations.
- The constitution should provide for a minimum salary for government jobs.
- The constitution should provide that public office holders who misuse public money or property should be forced to pay it back with interest.
- Public office holders found to have misappropriated public funds should be prosecuted and their properties attached.
- The government should change the law relating to public service so that public office holder holds office for public interests.
- The constitution should provide that the members of the public service commission be appointed by cabinet ministers.
- Appointments of all public service commission should be vetted by parliament.
- The constitution should provide that the public service commission appoints ambassadors, high commissioners, parastatal heads who have relevant qualifications.
- The constitution should provide for a code of ethics for holders of public office (4)
- The constitution should provide for a code of ethics for public servants.
- The constitution should provide that public officers convicted of corruption be also made to repay the full amount of monies embezzled
- The constitution should provide that public officers convicted of corruption should be disqualified from holding public office
- The constitution should provide that the police perform their work effectively without bribery.
- The constitution should provide that members of the civil service should not engage in politics.
- There should be a leadership code in the constitution that all senior leaders are required to follow. Provision should be against sexists, racists, tribalists and conduct of speech. Those who break the code should be charged in regular courts.
- The constitution should provide that leaders are role models in cases of fair distribution of resources. The constitution should provide that public officers be God fearing people.
- The constitution should provide that public doctors be banned from private practice.
- The constitution should provide that a trade union leader not be a councilor, MPs or the head of state.
- Semi illiterate and illiterate political rejects should not be appointed to any post.
- The constitution should provide that the commissioners of police be the accounting office of the department, which should be an accounting office.
- The constitution should provide that public officers be required to declare their assets (2)
- The constitution should provide that the president declare his wealth (3)
- Public office bearers should make an annual declaration of wealth and indebtedness.
- Members of parliament should declare their wealth (2)
- The president should declare his wealth before elections.
- The constitution should provide that candidates declare their wealth before being cleared.
- MPs should d declare their wealth after elections

#### 5.3.18 ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES

- The constitution should provide for the protection of the environment.
- The constitution should clearly prohibit clearing of natural forests, protect water catchment areas, management of rangelands, and avoid environmental pollution and degradation.
- The constitution should provide for the protection of forests and all natural resources.
- The constitution should provide that further demarcation of state forest be stopped and the ones illegally allocated to be retrieved.
- Water flowing in the Indian Ocean and lake Victoria should be utilized in the dry areas for irrigation.
- Natural resources should be well managed to benefit all Kenyans.
- The constitution should design policies and programs aimed at improving land and water management at community level.
- The government should safeguard the natural resources and they should not be used for political or personal gain.
- The constitution should provide that the local community be empowered to enforce environmental protection laws.
- The government should control the dumping of waste products and polythene papers.
- The constitution should establish a special body to oversee the enforcement of environmental protection.
- The constitution should provide mechanism for control of dumping of waste from industries.
- Natural resources belong to all citizens. The natural environment must be protected.
- Natural resources should be owned by local authorities, 50%men and women.
- The constitution should provide that natural resources should be owned by the people of Kenya (3)
- A committee should be set up to care for natural resources, which will be answerable to the minister in charge.
- Public resources like forests should not be left to local government.
- The state should own natural resources.
- The constitution should provide that local communities be involved in the management of natural resources like forests and wildlife, communities that neighbour such resources should be direct beneficiaries of income accrued from such resources.
- The constitution should provide that the people have a right to sue anyone destroying the environment.
- The local community should be involved in the protection and management of natural resources (8)
- The local community should be given authority to control resources.
- The local communities should protect the local forest resources system.
- The community should be sensitized on their role in environmental resources management and protection.
- The constitution should provide that communities play a role in environmental resources management.
- The constitutional should provide that forests, water sources and catchment areas, minerals, wildlife and air (3)
- Water should be protected from pollution such as chemical industries. Forests should be protected tree felling should be discouraged.
- Water catchment areas should be protected.

- National forests should be preserved (2)
- The polluter pays principle should be enshrined in the constitution as a strategy for protecting the environment and natural resources.
- Natural forests should be protected; water catchment areas should not be farmed.
- Parliament should by law institute a permanent commission on environmental protection and development.
- The constitution should provide that parliament be responsible for management and protection of natural resources.
- Recognized environmental groups should be given a share in enforcing environmental protection laws.
- The environment should be taken care of by the sub-location, location, division, and district committees.
- The constitution should provide that the minister for natural resources be responsible for management and protection of natural resources.
- The government should take care of the forests, animals, and lakes.
- The government should be constitutionally obliged to protect all sources of water by putting forward condition for executive and intensive a forestation.
- The local government should be empowered to protect and manage the natural resources (3)
- The government should educate local communities to protect the natural resources.
- The constitution should provide that all laws concerning natural resources should be observed (2)
- Laws should be enforced to protect natural resources. Forests excision should be stopped by the act of parliament.
- Clear laws should be enacted on protection of natural resources.

#### 5.3.19 PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

- The constitution should provide for the participation of Non governmental organizations, religious bodies and other civil society groups in governance.
- The constitution should provide that NGO's be involved in appointments of commissions constituted to address national issues, representation by nomination in parliament, appointment in electoral commission.
- NGO's should have a role on poverty eradication and providing civic education.
- The constitution should provide that churches be allowed to advise the government.
- The constitution should protect the rights of the civil societies and let them to lawfully organize the citizens to stand against a government that oversteps the rights of the people.
- The church should be involved in major social, economical, or political reforms of a country. The church should be consulted and involved in major decision making where education matters are concerned i.e. curricula reform.
- Women should be included in all organs of government and decision making from the grass root to the national levels.
- The principle of gender balance should be adhered to in the composition of all office and governance, women should comprise of 1/3 of the total composition.
- Women should be considered in cabinets, judiciary, civil service and disciplined forces.
- The government should work with the people to identify their priorities and involve them in implementation of their programs and projects.

#### 5.3.20 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- The constitution should provide that the conduct of foreign affairs be the responsibility of only the executive.
- The constitution should provide that some international treaties, convectional, regional, and bilateral treaties have automatic effect in domestic laws.
- The constitution should provide that international covenants of human rights be promoted in the country.
- The constitution should provide that international convention of the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women should be domesticated and implemented.
- The constitution should provide that Kenya not be party to treaties that would cause the stalling of our industries.
- The constitution should provide that international conventions and agreements be avoided if
  they jeopardize the well being of the citizens. the constitution should provide that laws and
  regulations made by regional organizations that kenya belongs to should have automatic
  effect in domestic laws.

# 5.3.21 CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES

- The constitution should create a parliamentary service commission.
- CKRC should be permanent and appointed by political parties and NGOs.
- A committee should be formed to investigate foreigners willing to become citizens.
- The constitution should establish a commission to determine the market price for agricultural products like coffee.
- The constitution should set a constitution office at divisional level for people to take their views.
- The national assembly commission should be abolished and transferred to public service commission. An independent judicial commission should be set up.
- A commission should be set up by the executive to advice the president and execute wrong doers. A commission should be set to look into the issue of education in the country i.e. discipline of the teachers, and their salaries etc.
- The constitution should set up a committee to vet the appointed ministers.
- The constitution should set up a committee that looks into complaints on the police force.
- The constitution should establish a public appointment committee in parliament, which should recommend to the president the person to be appointed to public office such as commissioner of police.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of a special committee to look into the issue of land grabbing and child abuse.
- The constitution should establish the Armed forces commission that will appoint the chief of the General staff to serve in the Army, Air force, Navy, police force and prisons. A Renumeration commissision should be created to foresee county council and municipalities.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of a Public Service Commission, which should be answerable to parliament.
- An independent citizenship board should be set up to handle citizenship issues. A special commission should be set up with powers to prosecute cases of corruption. A commission should be established that would look into the work of the executive.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of a special commission to scrutinize the MPs appointed by the president and a commission should be established to scrutinize

those people who would like to be citizens. A commission should be established to look into the issue of foreign loans (4)

- A committee should be set up to look into debts in the country.
- The constitution should establish a salaries commission to harmonize the salaries of all government employees.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of an independent body, which is not under the government to deal with foreign affairs and citizenship.
- A commission should be established to advice the president on leadership appointments like heads of parastatals.
- A parliamentary commission should be established to dissolve parliament, open and set the date of elections.
- The constitution should create a Judicial Service Commission, which shall be responsible for the recruitment of judicial officers.
- The constitution should establish a commission to scrutinize all those seeking citizenship and vet presidential appointments (4)
- The constitution should create the office of an Ombudsman (6)
- The constitution shall set up an Independent Human Rights Commission to hear and act on complaints of human rights abuses (8)
- The constitution should establish a Gender commission (4)
- The constitution should establish an Anti-corruption commission (8)
- The constitution should establish a land commission (6)
- The constitution should provide that the land commission be abolished.
- The constitution should establish a special body to appoint ministers, permanent secretaries and judges.
- The constitution should create a Natural Resources Commission to manage the country's natural resources.
- The constitution should establish a committee to look into the presidential way of governance.
- The constitution should establish a publicity commission.
- The constitution should provide that the director of commissions be given security of tenure.
- The constitution should provide that the commissions establish justice and transparency in the government.
- The constitution should provide that the commissions be given power to prosecute those who pollute the environment.
- The constitution should provide that the commissions be given power to investigate violations and carry out programs to educate citizens (2)

#### 5.3.22 SUCCESSION AND TRANSFER OF POWER

- The constitution should provide that during presidential elections, the functions the president shall be performed by the Attorney General until the next president is sworn in.
- The constitution should provide that the president shall be in charge of executive powers during elections.
- The constitution should provide that during presidential elections, the functions of the president shall be performed by the speaker of the national assembly until the next president is sworn in (2)
- The constitution should provide that during presidential elections, the functions of the president shall be performed by the Chief Justice until the next president is sworn in (3)
- The constitution should provide that during an election an impartial speaker of the national

- assembly or Ombudsman should handle the executive powers.
- The constitution should provide that a neutral office or commission should assume leadership of the country during elections
- The attorney general or the speaker of the assembly should head the executive when parliament has been dissolved.
- The constitution should provide that the electoral commission should declare the results of the presidential elections.
- The constitution should provide that election results of the president be declared after collecting all the votes in all stations countrywide. All presidential candidates should be present under the chairmanship of the electoral commission to witness.
- The constitution should provide that the incoming president should assume office after two months.
- The constitution should provide that the incoming president should assume office immediately after elections (2)
- The constitution should provide that the incoming president should assume office after 60 days.
- The constitution should provide that kenya should have a calendar for the inauguration of the president as in USA.
- The constitution should provide that the chief justice should swear in the incoming president after 30 days.
- The constitution should provide that the chief justice accompanied by judges of the Supreme Court and electoral commissioners should swear in the president.
- The constitution should provide that the president should vacate the presidency seat immediately after the next president is sworn in.
- The constitution should provide that the transfer of power by the outgoing president should be done in one of the national arena like Uhuru Park, Nyayo or Kasarani stadium.
- The constitution should provide that one-week after the swearing in of the incoming president the outgoing president should transfer the instruments of power.
- The constitution should provide that a president should be pensionable if he serves two terms of five years each.
- The constitution should provide that the security of the president be withdrawn.
- The constitution should make provision for a former president in terms of security (2)
- The constitution should provide that the president is pensionable.
- The constitution should provide that presidential benefits and pensions be clearly stipulated and included in the books of law.
- The constitution should provide that welfare should be arranged by parliament appointed commission after the president has a proven record (2)
- The constitution should provide that the president be treated like any other retiree.
- The constitution should make provisions for an outgoing president in terms of immunity from legal process.
- The constitution should provide that the president be given awards of honoring an ard of state where he excelled during his tenure. He should also be given a once per year state sponsored holiday outside the country. He should also be accorded state respect in his final state.
- The constitution should provide that the president should not appoint his/her successor.
- The constitution should provide that a retired president should not engage in active politics.
- The constitution should bar all previous presidents from running for political office.
- The constitution should provide that a retired president should be entitled to a pension, housing and security.

#### 5.3.23 **WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

- The constitution should provide for right of women to inherit property.
- The constitution should provide that the clan should look into women's rights.
- The constitution should provide that there is equal representation of women on land boards.
- The constitution should provide for divorced women to be entitled to half the husband's property, and childcare.
- The constitution should provide for protection of unmarried women against all forms of gender abuse.
- If a man impregnates a woman he should pay, and other children's rights should be catered for.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of the "Affiliation Bill" (4).

#### 5.3.24 INTERNATIONAL POLICY

- The constitution should provide for foreign investors to be allowed a small percentage of repatriation of their profits.
- The constitution should provide for guidelines for the country's participation in international economic organizations.
- The constitution should provide for foreign bilateral donors to make a follow up in money given to Kenya.
- The constitution should provide for the setting of a committee that will oversee to the money that comes from donors.
- The constitution should provide for the public to be informed on the intentions of the government to borrow from international donors.
- The constitution should provide for the regulation of external borrowings (3).
- The constitution should provide for the investigation of foreign investors aspiring to invest in the country, and their products should be standardized.

#### 5.3.25 **REGIONAL POLICY**

• The constitution should provide for guidelines for the country's participation in regional economic organizations (2).

#### 5.3.26 NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

- The constitution should provide for trade licenses to be issued to traders on trading for more than six months.
- The constitution should provide that there shall be no export of Kenyan products unless they are in excess.
- The constitution should provide that taxpayer's money should not be used in reviving the ailing parastatals, but instead that the government will sell shares to the public.
- The constitution should provide for the local authorities to stop collecting revenue from kiosks built on private land; they should do so for those built on public land.
- The constitution should not provide for import licenses of locally produced products e.g. eggs, milk, sugar, rice, and maize (3).
- The constitution should encourage industrialization in the country by ensuring security, and availability of low interest rates on credit.

- The constitution should provide for manufacturers not to be licensed to distribute their products instead there should be separate licenses for manufacturers, distributors, wholesalers, and retailers.
- The constitution should provide for market days in which cheaper products are provided.
- The constitution should provide for laws against hoarding.
- The constitution should encourage hard work to ensure economic growth and poverty eradication.
- The constitution should provide for the regulation of prices of basic products (5).
- The constitution should outlaw restrictive trade practices.
- The constitution should provide for more television stations, and telephone companies in the country so as to encourage competition.
- The constitution should protect local industries (3).
- The constitution should provide for the government role in the marketing of Kenyan Products.
- The constitution should provide for an economic policy that defines the country's economic stand.
- The constitution should abolish cost sharing with regard to public service providers (2).
- The constitution should not allow for government owned property to be privatized.
- The constitution should provide for the revival of companies and parastatal bodies and stop the government from buying shares from such companies.
- The constitution should provide for energy to be provided to all.
- The constitution should provide that the government should declare an emergency crisis by on employment and poverty.
- The constitution should provide for the government to set aside land for the erection of Jua Kali shelters.
- The constitution should provide for industrialization in rural areas so as to promote rural employment.
- The constitution should provide for industrialization in provinces, and districts.
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms to reduce poverty in the country (6).
- The constitution should provide for development and maintenance of roads.
- The constitution should provide for continuous attention to the country's infrastructure development and maintenance (3).
- The constitution should provide for the provision of electricity to all (2).
- The constitution should provide for the development and maintenance of rural infrastructure so as to improve access to market and farm inputs.
- The constitution should provide for an economic policy to map out the country's economic development and growth.

#### 5.3.27 NATIONAL OTHER POLICY

#### Insurance:

- The constitution should provide for the mainstreaming of insurance law in order to prevent its exploitative aspects.
- The constitution should provide that workers shall be paid their National Social Security Fund contributions on immediately retirement.
- The constitution should provide that pensioners shall be paid a minimum of Ksh. 5000 per month.
- The constitution should provide for users of PSV vehicles to pay their own insurance covers,

- and not the PSV owners, as it is very expensive.
- The constitution should provide for the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) to include the informal sector in its cover for comprehensive national health insurance.

#### HIV/AIDS:

- The constitution should provide for the AIDS drug to be provided for free to the infected (2).
- The constitution should make the AIDS drug easily accessed by the infected.
- The constitution should provide for the prosecution of anyone who knowingly infects others with the virus that causes AIDS.
- The constitution should encourage for those infected with the AIDS causing virus to come out publicly so as to prevent new infections.
- The constitution should provide for the HIV/AIDS pandemic to be declared a national disaster.
- The constitution should provide for the HIV/AIDS pandemic to be properly addressed in the country.
- The constitution should allow for HIV infected persons to abort.

#### Security:

- The constitution should uphold public security.
- The constitution should abolish vagrancy.
- The constitution should encourage community policing by teaching patriotism in the schools.
- The constitution should provide for the police to provide security at all times, and in the event that there is insecurity, the OCS should be sued.
- The constitution should provide for organizations like the banks, schools, and factories to employ armed personnel instead of watchmen.
- The constitution should provide for the increase in number, and more effective training of the police so that they can effectively deal with the issue on public safety (2).
- The constitution should provide for people to keep weapons such as arrows for protection, and guns.
- The constitution should provide for the police force not to harass the public.
- The constitution should provide for the increase in the number of police in the rural areas.

#### Corruption:

- The constitution should discourage corruption of all forms (7).
- The constitution should discourage all forms of corruption so as to promote investor confidence and industrialization.
- The constitution should provide that all persons found either encouraging or practicing corruption shall be interdicted (2).
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms to discourage corruption in courts.
- The constitution should provide for the head of a government department to discourage corruption in the department. For example, the registrar of lands should look into corruption in the land office.
- The constitution should provide for stiff penalties for corrupt police officials.
- The constitution should provide for the prosecution of persons who misappropriate public funds, and these persons should be made to repay the misappropriated funds (5).

- The constitution should provide for the suspension of public officials accused of corruption until cleared by the courts.
- The constitution should provide for corruption courts in every division in the country.
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms of trying corrupt government officials.

#### 5.3.28 **SECTORAL POLICY**

#### Agriculture:

- The constitution should provide that farmers shall determine prices of their produce (6).
- The constitution should provide that citizens be protected from wild animals.
- The constitution should provide that the government shall guarantee a market for dairy farmers.
- The constitution should provide for the protection of farmers from importation of products that are locally produced (15).
- The constitution should provide for farmers to market their products without interference from the government e.g. by reviewing the co-operative act on agricultural products (19).
- The constitution should provide for tax free farm inputs (6).
- The constitution should provide for farmers to be paid well for their produce e.g. for their coffee produce (5).
- The constitution should provide for the government to develop a comprehensive agricultural system to support service delivery including extension and research support services (2).
- The government to fairly tax the farmers (4).
- The constitution should provide for the government to protect and support farmers e.g. ensure that they are paid promptly, and their money is not misappropriated (6).
- The constitution should provide for the review of the co-operative Act so as to reduce on the incidence of loan defaulters.
- The constitution should provide for agricultural leaders to be elected from the grass-root levels through fair and free elections (2).
- The constitution should provide for the control of irrigation.
- The constitution should provide for farmers' access to finance/loans e.g. by reviving the Agricultural Finance Corporation (3).
- The constitution should provide for the government to look into the revival of the sisal industry.
- The constitution should provide for the government to regulate storage, distribution, and flow of agricultural produce.
- The constitution should provide for a co-operative official to qualify to hold office, s/he must have a minimum of O-level education with either a division 3 or C, and they should be not more than 65 years of age.
- The constitution should provide for the review of the coffee act. and anyone found guilty of breaching it be prosecuted.

## Industrial development:

- The constitution should provide for the government to vet setting up of industries in the country.
- The constitution should not allow liberalization and globalization.
- The constitution should encourage the use of local material and products.

- The constitution should encourage the manufacturing industry in the rural areas (2).
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms to protect and promote the manufacturing industry.

#### Education:

- The constitution should provide for the Higher education loan board to be independent and offer loans to all students in the university.
- The constitution should abolish the Board of Governors in secondary schools and replace with Parents Teachers Association. The parents should be involved in the election.
- The constitution should provide for the streamlining of the education system.
- The constitution should provide for university chancellor to be professors and should be appointed by the president, vice-president, or minister for education.
- The constitution should provide for the education system to revert to the old system, the 7-4-2-3 (15).
- The constitution should provide for a stable education system.
- The constitution should provide for the adoption of the Koech report on education (3).
- The constitution should provide for a university examination body that will standardize university degrees.
- The constitution should provide for school heads not to have direct access to school funds but instead be involved indirectly by being in the investment advisory committee.
- The constitution should provide for a review of the books used in primary and secondary schools (2).
- The constitution should provide for the re-introduction of corporal punishment.
- The constitution should provide for ways in which the government can raise revenue to subsidize education.
- The constitution should provide for university students to access loans to subsidize their university education (2).
- The constitution should subsidize education at all levels (2).
- The constitution should provide for the government to subsidize university education.
- The constitution should provide for heads and principals of schools to be God fearing.
- The constitution should provide for churches not to sponsor public schools.
- The constitution should provide for the revival of development grants in all primary and secondary schools.
- The constitution should provide for churches to be involved in the appointment of the heads of schools they sponsor, and provide the spiritual guidance in the schools.
- The constitution should provide for the government to education bright students from poor families.
- The constitution should provide for the government to look into the teachers' salaries, and remunerate the teachers well (2).
- The constitution should provide for the regulation of education fees.
- The constitution should provide for the legalization of the Parents, Teachers Association (PTA). This should be devolved to the running to the schools, and be incorporated with the Board of Governors (BOG). The officials of these organizations should have an education level of form four with either a division 3 or C.
- The constitution should provide for the government to look into the plight of board of governors who should be remunerated well by the grants provided by the government.
- The constitution should encourage cost sharing in secondary schools.

- The constitution should abolish the collection of building funds from parents but have let the government provide for it.
- The constitution should abolish holiday tuition and disallow the operation of schools during school holidays.
- The constitution should do way with the quota system of university admission.
- The constitution should look into the affairs of pre-school teachers.
- The constitution should provide that students should not be sent home.
- The constitution should away with the quota system in school admission (3).
- The constitution should provide for schools to teach basic laws and examine on them.
- The constitution should disallow corporal punishment.
- The constitution should provide for the secondary school fees to be reduced to Ksh. 5000.
- The constitution should provide for the welfare of non-teaching staff to be looked into.
- The constitution should provide for the immediate employment of Kenyan citizens on completion of their studies; otherwise the government should not sponsor schools and colleges.
- The constitution should provide for a thorough review of the current system of education.
- The constitution should provide for the vice chancellors of the universities to be elected by their respective university senate.
- The constitution should provide for the government to employ teachers across the board.
- The constitution should provide for the standardization of the education standards and requirements.
- The constitution should provide for secondary education to be subsidized.

#### Health:

- The constitution should provide for free access to public health services (12).
- The constitution should provide for hospital to be under the supervision of elected persons e.g. council officials, and members of parliament.
- The constitution should provide for the training of more qualified medical personnel.
- The constitution should provide for every sub-location to have a public dispensary, every location to have a health center, and every division to have a sub-district hospital with adequate facilities.
- The constitution should provide for every constituency to have a sub-district hospital.
- The constitution should abolish clinics.
- The constitution should provide for private hospitals to be owned only by religious groups.
- The constitution should provide for all private health facilities to be closed down (2).
- The constitution should provide for the review of the public health act.
- The constitution should provide for the government to cater for the expenses of patients treated in other countries.
- The constitution should provide for the public health facilities to be adequately equipped in terms of drugs, facilities, and personnel (2).
- The constitution should provide for incentives to motive the health personnel.
- The constitution should provide for the regulation of fees charged by private health hospitals.
- The constitution should provide for the local authority funds to be used to improve the hospitals.
- The constitution should provide for diabetes and hypertension to be declared a national disaster.
- The constitution should provide for every location to have a dispensary, and every district to

- have a general hospital.
- The constitution should provide for patients to be attended to effectively.

#### Fiscal and Monetary Policy:

- The constitution should provide for government control over interest rates charged on bank loans.
- The constitution should provide that the portrait of the president shall not be on the national currency. Their place shall be taken by national symbols.
- The constitution should provide for the control of government borrowing.
- The constitution should provide for the government to respect taxpayers.
- The constitution should provide for tax collected every month to be gazetted.
- The constitution should provide for the government to manage effectively the revenue collected from taxpayers.
- The constitution should bar multiple taxation of taxpayers.
- The constitution should provide for the establishment of state management financial institutions.
- The constitution should provide for the salaries and allowances of the president and members of parliament not to be banked out of the country.
- The constitution should provide for the Kenyan currency to have a permanent "face" to minimize on currency minting which is very expensive. This permanent should be on a design relevant to the country (3).
- The constitution should provide for the currency of Kenya to bear the portrait of the first president of Kenya (2).
- The constitution should provide for the Kenyan currency to have a portrait inscribed "God Bless Kenya".
- The constitution should provide for the government to borrow only when need arises.
- The constitution should provide that all taxes to the citizens shall be approved by the parliament.
- The constitution should provide for the protection of Kenyans from exploitation by the banks.
- The constitution should provide for the governor of the central bank of Kenya to be appointed by the parliament, and should enjoy the security of tenure of a four year term.
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms to check on capital flight from the country (4).
- The constitution should encourage Kenyans with money in foreign countries to bring and invest it in the country (7).
- The constitution should provide for taxation of money deposited in foreign banks.

#### Additionally:

- The constitution should provide for the liberalization of radio waves (6).
- The constitution should provide for the government to encourage and support a vibrant informal sector.
- The constitution should provide for the government to encourage the youth into setting up micro and small business

#### 5.3.29 NATIONAL PLANNING

- The constitution should provide that any research done on Kenya should be made public and implemented.
- The constitution should provide for an average economic growth rate of 7.5% that translates to one trillion shillings within the next five years; it is estimated that this will create three million jobs in the formal and informal sector.
- The constitution should provide for a think-tank at the top level of government to identify areas that can quickly create employment without heavy investments in both urban and rural areas.

#### 5.3.30 CUSTOMARY LAW

• The constitution should provide for the Kikuyu custom with regard to land inheritance, to provide that land should be divided according to the children, and not wives at it is now.

#### 5.3.31 **STATUTORY LAW**

- The constitution should provide for laws to be enacted to protect the cash crop growers from exploitation from the government through taxes (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that protect Kenyans from police harassment and torture (7).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that prohibit Kenyans from holding more than one job at any specific time.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that allow Kenyan to have licensed guns.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that prohibit the sale of drugs and illicit brew (3).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against corrupt government officials (10).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against non-performing local authority officials.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against devil worshipping (6).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that provide for equitable distribution of natural resources in all the regions.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that require the government to compensate suspects' shot by police mistakably.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of severe penalties for any offender (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws requiring pensions act be amended to include medical allowances or free medical services and subsidized drugs.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws requiring pensions act to cover widows and widowers and their dependants.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that protect farmers from poor sales, imports, and middlemen.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against poor road construction, and bad use of roads.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against those who instigate tribal clashes (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of stiff laws against rapist, e.g. have them castrated, or serve a life sentence (3).

- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that require that major amendments should be done through a public referendum (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against forcing farmers to join a co-operative society.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws to reduce the monthly fee paid by the aggrieved party to the government from Ksh. 1,800 to Ksh. 500.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against levy collection when services are not delivered.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against people who refuse to work.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of stiff laws against robbery with violence.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against abuse of freedom of worship (4).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that limit freedom of worship to the leaving God only, and for any denomination to be registered to have a minimum of 15,000 followers.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against spousal violence.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against detention without trial; they should require that a suspect be presented in court within 24 hours of being arrested.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that allow for the suing of the government on a grievance instigated by it.
- The constitution should provide for the review of the maternity law.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of stiff laws against possession of illegal firearms (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against wearing of mini-skirts, see me through clothes, and boys/men piercing their ears and nose.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against dressing in clothes that expose the body.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that state being drunk is not an offense (2).
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that encourage the private sector to thrive.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against smoking in public.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against the public order act., chief's act., vagrancy act., and preservation of public safety act.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws that discourage Kenyans from investing in other countries.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws against those residing in Kenya illegally; they should be deported, and if they are refugees be confined to their respective camps.
- The constitution should provide for the enactment of laws for the access of P3 forms in hospitals.

#### 5.3.32 **GENDER EQUITY**

• The constitution should provide for the respect for the rule of law and equal opportunities for all irrespective of sex.

## 5.3.33 ECONOMIC/SOCIAL JUSTICE

• The constitution should provide that the government should compensate victims of crimes.

# 5.3.34 TRANSPARENCY/ACCOUNTABILITY

- The constitution should provide that the government shall use all the money its possession for the intended purposes only.
- The constitution should provide for mechanisms for transparency and accountability.

# 5.3.35 NATURAL JUSTICE/RULE OF LAW

• The constitution should provide for the strict adherence to the rule of law and it should be applied to all irrespective of status (3).

## **APPENDICES:**

# Appendix 1: Members of the Constituency Constitutional Committee

Muhika Mutahi
 J.N. mugo
 DC

- 3. Cllr Titus Maina
- 4. James Kinyua
- 5. Leah Wambui Kimaru
- 6. James Kimeu Wanjua
- 7. Erastus Karuoya
- 8. Esther Wambui Ngari
- 9. Lydia Njoki Maina
- 10. Julius maina Mwangi

# Appendix 2: Civic Education Providers

- 1. CJEPC
- 2. ECEP

# Appendix 3: Persons presenting memoranda and/or making oral submissions.

4	00400NIMOE	Cathar Marahui Naori	CDO	\	Mulanajai
1	0040ONWCE	Esther Wambui Ngari	CBO	Written	Mukurweini women
2	0007ONWCE	Jane Wanjiru Wangari	CBO	Memorandum	Mukurweini Women
3	0026ONWCE	John G Wanjara	CBO	Memorandum	Gathanjini Self Help Group
4	0027ONWCE	Joseph Maina	CBO	Memorandum	Iria Dairy group
5	0030ONWCE	Kimondo Gaitho	CBO	Memorandum	Gathima Group
c	0019ONWCE	Look Kimoru	CBO	Mamarandum	Organic Women Group Kimondo
6 7		Leah Kimaru	СВО	Memorandum	
/	0028ONWCE	Peterson M Gacobe	CBO	Memorandum	Kahuro Self Help Group Pentagon Youth
8	0046ONWCE	Pius Mathu	CBO	Written	Development
9	00420NWCE		CBO	Written	Mwireri Women Group
10	0096INWCE	Anderson Githinji Main	Individual	Memorandum	Million Women Group
11	0081INWCE	Ann Wanjugu	Individual	Written	
12	0026INWCE	Antony Mwangi Wachera		Written	
13	0042INWCE	Benard W. Mutahi	Individual	Written	
14	0117INWCE	Benson Ndirangu Kariuki		Written	
15	0109INWCE	Carol Kaguongo	Individual	Written	
16	0192INWCE	Charity Wanjiru	Individual	Oral - Phone	
17	0172INWCE	Charles Gitenga Gichuki		Oral - Public he	
18	0091INWCE	Charles Muhoria Gicheru	Individual	Written	
19	0180INWCE	CHIIRA WA MUKAMI	Individual	Written	
20	0075INWCE	Cyrus Mugwe	Individual	Written	
21	0068INWCE	Damaris Karuoya	Individual	Written	
22	0023INWCE	Daniel Kariuki Karari	Individual	Memorandum	
23	0150INWCE	David Githinji	Individual	Written	
24	0122INWCE	David Kariuki Kabaki	Individual	Written	
25	0060INWCE	David Maina	Individual	Written	
26	0130INWCE	David Mukoma Chiira	Individual	Written	
27	0139INWCE	David Wachira Theuri	Individual	Written	
28	0140INWCE	David Wachira Theuri	Individual	Written	
29	0034INWCE	Dennis Githaiga Wanjiru	Individual	Written	
30	0054INWCE	Edward Kanyuru	Individual	Memorandum	
31	0191INWCE	Edward Maina	Individual	Oral - Phone	
32	0097INWCE	Ephantus Mwangi	Individual	Written	
33	0018INWCE	Erastus Karuoya	Individual	Written	
34	0101INWCE	Erastus M Mugo	Individual	Written	
35	0022INWCE	Esther W Ngari	Individual	Memorandum	
36	0187INWCE	Eunice Wanjira	Individual	Oral - Phone	
37	0133INWCE	Eustace Mwangi Wanjau		Written	
38	0189INWCE	festus Thongoro	Individual	Oral - Phone	
39	0120INWCE	Francis Ernest Ngura	Individual	Memorandum	
40	0031INWCE	Francis Kamonji Ndirang		Written	
41	0084INWCE	Francis Kibugu	Individual	Written	
42	0169INWCE	Gatitu Gacanja Ngumo	Individual	Oral - Public he	
43	0171INWCE	George Gitata	Individual	Oral - Public he	
44	0027INWCE	George Maina Mutahi	Individual	Written	
45	0080INWCE	Germano Thumi Gathogo		Written	
46	0176INWCE	Gichuki Wambugu	Individual	Oral - Public he	
	517 SH 44 VOL	Gilbert Wahome		Jidi i dollo lie	
47	0095INWCE	Waithaka	Individual	Written	
48	0186INWCE	Githinji Chege	Individual	Oral - Public he	
49	0190INWCE	Gitutru Kanene	Individual	Oral - Phone	
	0188INWCE	Habiba Nyambura	Individual	Oral - Phone	

51 52	0099INWCE 0082INWCE	Harrison Githinji Wahom	Individual	Written Written
o∠ 53	0082INVVCE 0035INWCE	Henry Gituthu		
ე <u>ა</u> 54	0104INWCE	Henry Wariithi Hon.Muhika Mutahi	Individual Individual	Memorandum Memorandum
04	0104IINVVCE	Humprey Hungura		Memorandum
55	0006INWCE	Kariuki	Individual	Memorandum
56	0173INWCE	Ibrahim Mureithi	Individual	Oral - Public he
57	0071INWCE		Individual	Written
58	0085INWCE	Isaac Nduuru Baru	Individual	Memorandum
59	0132INWCE	Jacob K Kabao	Individual	Written
60	0123INWCE	James G Wabere	Individual	Written
61	0030INWCE	James Kebu Kibui	Individual	Memorandum
62	0076INWCE	James Kimemu Wanjau	Individual	Memorandum
63	0036INWCE		Individual	Memorandum
64	0032INWCE	James M Ndirangu	Individual	Written
65	0033INWCE	James M Ndirangu	Individual	Written
66	0194INWCE	James Maina	Individual	Memorandum
67	0098INWCE	James Maina Ndaba	Individual	Written
68	0063INWCE	James Muraya Thongoro	Individual	Written
69	0014INWCE	James Murethi Thairu	Individual	Written
70	0012INWCE	James Nyaga	Individual	Written
71	0044INWCE	James Wahome Mugo	Individual	Written
		James Waitha		
72	0028INWCE	Kahumburu	Individual	Written
73	0184INWCE	James Watanga	Individual	Oral - Phone
74	0020INWCE	Jeremiah Wachira Kaguch	Individual	Written
		Jeremiah Wachira		
75	0083INWCE	Kaguch	Individual	Written
76	0073INWCE	John Baru Mwangi	Individual	Written
77	0064INWCE	John G Wanjaria	Individual	Memorandum
78	0025INWCE	John Kinyui	Individual	Written
79	0119INWCE		Individual	Written
80	0039INWCE	John Ngunyi Gakuru	Individual	Written
81	0019INWCE	John Wanjigi Gakuru	Individual	Written
82	0040INWCE	JohnNdiritu Gakonya	Individual	Memorandum
83	0072INWCE	Johnson Githinji Githir	Individual	Written
84	0090INWCE	Johnson Wanjohi K	Individual	Written
0=	00471111405	Johnstone Kamau		NA/ City
85	0017INWCE	Gachoka	Individual	Written
86	0070INWCE	Joram K Ngumbu	Individual	Written
87	0125INWCE	Joseph Gathumbi Machari	Individual	Memorandum
88	0029INWCE		Individual	Memorandum
89	0029INVVCE 0045INWCE	Joseph Macharia Leo	Individual	Written
90	0108INWCE	Joseph Maina	Individual	Written
91	0005INWCE		Individual	Memorandum
91 92	0106INWCE	Julius Irungu	Individual	Written
92 93	0015INWCE	Julius Macharia	Individual	Written
93 94	0015INWCE	Julius Mwai	Individual	Written
<del>94</del> 95	0166INWCE	Juma Guchuki	Individual	Oral - Public he
95 96	0167INWCE	Kagwi Gathogo	Individual	Oral - Public he
90 97	0175INWCE	Kamae Muriuki	Individual	Oral - Public he
97 98	0175INWCE		Individual	Written
90 99	0093INWCE	Kanyuru Nicholas Nguru Kimaru Thairu	Individual	Written
99 100	0105INWCE	Lawrence Kabuthi	Individual	Written
IUU	0043INWCE		Individual	Memorandum

CE C	Michael Wacira Wambugu  Moses Thuo Nyingi Munene Nderitu Mutai Waruhiu Mwangi Wambugu Nelson Mwangi Nelson Riitho Maina Newton Wachira Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual	Written Memorandum Written Written Written Memorandum Written Written Written Memorandum Memorandum Oral - Public he Memorandum Oral - Public he Memorandum Written Written Written Written Written Wemorandum Written	
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CE CE CE CE CE CE CE CE CE	Mutai Waruhiu Mwangi Wambugu Nelson Mwangi Nelson Riitho Maina Newton Wachira Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual	Memorandum Oral - Public he Memorandum Written Oral - Phone Memorandum Memorandum Written Written Written	
CE	Mwangi Wambugu Nelson Mwangi Nelson Riitho Maina Newton Wachira Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual	Oral - Public he Memorandum Written Oral - Phone Memorandum Memorandum Written Written Written	
CE CE CE CE CE CE	Nelson Mwangi Nelson Riitho Maina Newton Wachira Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual	Memorandum Written Oral - Phone Memorandum Memorandum Written Written	
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CE CE CE CE CE	Newton Wachira  Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual	Oral - Phone Memorandum Memorandum Written Written	
CE CE CE CE	Ngari G K Mutuanyingi Nixon Ngumo Maina Njoroge Macharia Patrick Githumbi Patrick W. Wachira Patrick Wambugu Ngogoyo	Individual Individual Individual Individual Individual	Memorandum Memorandum Written Written	
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CE	Patrick Wanjingiri	Individual	Oral - Public he	
CE		Individual	Written	
CE	Paul Ngure Kanyotu	Individual	Oral - Public he	
CE	Penina Muthanga	Individual	Written	
CE CE	Peter Kamau Kuria	Individual	Written	
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CE	Richard Maina Theuri	Individual	Memorandum	
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CE	Rosemary Muthoni Kanyur	Individual	Memorandum	
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CE	Samuel Nyota	Individual	Written	
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154	0170INWCE	Stephen Kibaki	Individual	Oral - Public he	
155	0089INWCE	Stephen M Ndegwa	Individual	Written	
156	0010INWCE	Stephen Maina Dedan	Individual	Memorandum	
157	0069INWCE	Susan Muthoni Maingi	Individual	Written	
	0077INWCE		Individual	Written	
	0183INWCE	Timothy Thiongo	Individual	Oral - Public he	
	0038INWCE	Tiras Kubu Kimunyi	Individual	Written	
	0062INWCE	Watheche Karuiru	Individual	Written	
	0102INWCE		Individual	Written	
	0006ONWCE	Bernard K Zephania	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Kenya Association of Retired
164	0001ONWCE	Crispus Kanguru Mwangi	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Rutune Leaders Mukuruweini
	0039ONWCE	Ephantus Gathere Maina		1	
		<u> </u>		Memorandum	Mutitu Village
	0029ONWCE	Jackson Chege	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Group of Hawkers
167	0009ONWCE	Patrick Gateru	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Njiru-ini Sub-Location
168	0012ONWCE	Peter Murimi	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Kimondo Parish St. Teresa Se Thangathi Catholia
169	0037ONWCE	Aloise Mburu Mutahi	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Youth-Kim
	0021ONWCE	Ann Wanja	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Catholic Women Ass.
	0031ONWCE	•	Religious Organisation	Written	Catholic Women Ass.
171	003 TOINVVCE	Damans vvanjiru	Religious Organisation	vviilleri	Kimondo Parish-Thangar
172	0010ONWCE	David Nginye Karagu	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Cath  Our Lady of Divine
173	0041ONWCE	Fr.Paul Warui	Religious Organisation	Written	Providenc
	0024ONWCE	Githaiga Austin	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Thangari Catholic Youth
	00110NWCE		Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Kimondo Parish-Thangar cath
	0032ONWCE	John Maingi Kariuki	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Youth Ass. Kimondo Loca Chu
177	0036ONWCE		Religious Organisation	Written	Kiawamururu Church
178	0005ONWCE	Joseph N Kinyanjui	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	SDA Church- Mukurweini
470	004000114/05	laah ya Kawasii a	Daliaia Osaasiaatia.	N 4	Kimondo Catholic Wome
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	0014ONWCE	Joshua Karigithe	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Kimondo Catholic Choir
	0015ONWCE	Joshua Karigithe	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Kimondo Catholic Action
182	0016ONWCE	Joshua Karigithe	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Kimondo Catholic Women Kimondo Catholic Women
183	0017ONWCE	Joshua Karigithe	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Assoc
					Kimondo Catholic Womer
184	0018ONWCE	Joshua Karigithe	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Assoc
185	0023ONWCE	Karinga K Paul	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	St.Austine SCC Thanga Cath
186	0025ONWCE	Karinga Paul	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Catholic Men Association
			-		Kimondo Parish-Thinga
187	0002ONWCE	Maina Haroki	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Cath
188	0045ONWCE	Margaret wangui Gathong	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Kimondo Catholi Parish-Icam
					The Church of Go
	0008ONWCE	Patrick K Gateru	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	-Kiawamuru
190	0020ONWCE	Peter Maina Kinyua	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Catholic Men Ass.
191	0022ONWCE	Peter Maina Mathu	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	St.Mathew SCC Thanga Catho
192	0035ONWCE	Peter Ngure Kariuki	Religious Organisation	Written	Mukurweini Presbyter Men fe
193	0033ONWCE	Pr. Harrison N Magewa	Religious Organisation	Written	New Apostolic Churc Kimondo

ĺ		Raymond Macharia				
194	0044ONWCE	Kariuk	Religious Organisation	Written	PCEA-Muk	urweini
195	0038ONWCE	Rev.Simon M Nduati	Religious Organisation	Written	Baptist Chu	ırch Kenya
					Kimondo	Parish-Thangari
196	0003ONWCE	Rosemary Wanjiku	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Cath	
					Kimondo	Parish-Thangari
197	0004ONWCE	Susan Wangechi	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	cath	

# Appendix 4: Persons Attending Constituency Hearings

Nie	Nome	A J.J.,	NIo	Morros	A J.J.,
No 1	Name:	Address:	No	Name:	Address: None
1	James Githinji	P.O. Box 396, Mukuruweini	115	Damaris Wakarima	- 10000
2	Johnson Maina	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruweini	116	John Kanyi	P.O. Box 60, Gakindu
3	John Ndiritu	P.O. Box 43, Gakindu	117	Peter Kagwi	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini
4	Anthony Macharia	P.O. Box 85, Gakindu	118	Julius Macharia	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruweini
5	Tirus Kuiru Kimunyi	P.O. Box 81, Mukuruweini	119	Mwangi Wambugu	P.O. Box 74, Mukuruweini
6	Crispus Kanguru	P.O. Box 364, Mukuruweini	120	Gichuki Maingi	P.O. Box 20, Mukuruweini
7	Benson Wambugu	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruweini	121	James Wahome Mugo	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
8	John Kamau	P.O. Box 136, Mukuruweini	122	Cllr Titus Maina	P.O. Box 28, Mukuruweini
9	Joshu Karigithe	P.O. Box 448, Mukuruweini	123	James Nyaga Munga	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
10	Semeon Mwangi	P.O. Box 26, Mukuruweini	124	Erustus Karuoya	P.O. Box 343, Mukuruweini
11	Philip Kahihu	P.O. Box 378, Mukuruweini	125	Stanley Mwangi W. Kari	P.O. Box 60, Gakindu
12	David Nginye	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruweini	126	Francis Ernest Nguura	P.O. Box 30, Makuruweini
13	Peter Murimi	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruweini	127	Ignatius Wambugu	P.O. Box 30, Makuruweini
14	Mary Wangechi Mwangi	P.O. Box 378, Mukuruweini	128	Leah Kimaru	P.O. Box 4334,Makuruweini
15	Muturi Wachira Muya	P.O. Box 146, Mukuruweini	129	James Muriithi Thairu	P.O. Box 19, Makuruweini
16	Dr. Karimi Ndirangu	P.O. Box 536, Nairobi	130	Daniel Wachira	P.O. Box 262, Makuruweini
17	Tumbuti Mwangi	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	131	Esther Wambui Ngari	P.O. Box 62, Gakindu
18	James Kinyumu	P.O. Box 395, Mukuruweini	132	Lydia Njoki Maina	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
10	Lawrence Wanjohi		132	Lydia i yoki iviama	1.0. Box 121, Wakaraweiii
19	Thuo	P.O. Box 262, Mukuruweini	133	Jane Wanjiru Wangara	P.O. Box 112, Makuruweini
20	Muturi Muthigani	P.O. Box 14, Mukuruweini	134	Daniel Waweru Njoroge	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
21	Denis Githaiga	P.O. Box 144, Mukuruweini	135	Leonard Maina Githinji	P.O. Box 62, Gakindu
22	Henry Wariithi	P.O. Box 241, Mukuruweini	136	Ephantus Gathare Maina	P.O. Box 62, Gakindu
23	James Kebu	P.O. Box 17, Mukuruweini	137	Stephen Mutonyi Kimiti	P.O. Box 63, Gakindu
24	Francis Kamonji	P.O. Box 214, Mukuruweini	138	Peter Maina Kinyua	P.O. Box 111, Mukuruweini
25	David Kariuki	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini	139	Elias Chiera Mutahi	P.O. Box 111, Mukuruweini
26	James Waitha	P.O. Box 17, Mukuruweini	140	John Njagi Kabaya	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruweini
27	Samwel Kariuki	P.O. Box 217, Mukuruweini	141	Fr. John Mwai	P.O. Box 30, Mukuruweini
28	Peter Muraguri	P.O. Box 18, Mukuruweini	142	Robert G. Wanjohi	P.O. Box 118, Mukuruweini
29	PCEA Mukuruweini	P.O. Box 283, Mukuruweini	143	Victoria Wangui	P.O. Box 42, Gakindu
30	James Wachira	P.O. Box 63, Gakindu	144	Nelson Mwangi	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
31	Wilson Maina	P.O. Box 60, Gakindu	145	Peter Munga Gitonga	P.O. Box 65, Mukuruweini
32	Humphrey Hungura	P.O. Box 153, Mukuruweini	146	Memu Mwaniki	P.O. Box 17, Mukuruweini
33	George Kanyoko	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	147	John Wanyingi	P.O. Box 263, Mukuruweini
34	Austin Githaiga	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruweini	148	Kanyi Kabau	P.O. Box 40, Mukuruweini
	Joseph Githinji				
35	Maguithe	P.O. Box 371, Mukuruweini	149	Anthony Mwangi	P.O. Box 294, Mukuruweini
36	Francis Kamiri Maina	P.O. Box 371, Mukuruweini	150	George Maina	P.O. Box 146, Mukuruweini
37	Kimondo Wanjau	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruweini	151	Michael Wambugu	P.O. Box 13, Mukuruweini
38	Samuel Kariuki Githegi	P.O. Box 217, Mukuruweini	152	David kariuki Kabata	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruweini
39	John Kiragu	P.O. Box 32, Mukuruweini	153	Joseph Ngunjiri	P.O. Box 13, Mukuruweini
40	Njoroge Macharia	P.O. Box 218, Mukuruweini	154	Joseph Gathumbi Machari	P.O. Box 28, Mukuruweini
41	Jeremiah Wachira	P.O. Box 263, Mukuruweini	155	Adams Mutahi	P.O. Box 146, Mukuruweini

42	Nicholas Nguru	P.O. Box 371, Mukuruweini	156	Paul K. Karinga	P.O.Box 277, Mukuruweir
43	David Mukoma	P.O. Box 122, Mukuruweini	157	Paul K. Karinga	P.O. Box 277, Mukuruwei
44	Charles Kairu	P.O. Box 14, Mukuruweini	158	Ngari G. K. Mutuanyingi	P.O. Box 277, Mukuruwei
45	Bernard K. Zaphan	P.O. Box 87, Mukuruweini	159	Peter M. Mathu	P.O.Box 205, Mukuruweir
46	Bernard Wanjohi	P.O. Box 164, Mukuruweini	160	Susan Wangeci	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruwei
47	Gregory Kinyui	P.O. Box 74, Mukuruweini	161	Rosemary Wanjiku	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruwei
48	John N. Gakuru	P.O. Box 4, Gakindu	162	Matu Kabogo	P.O.Box 56, Mukuruweini
49	Richard Maina	P.O. Box 30940, Nairobi	163	Simon M. Muturi	P.O. Box 22, Mukuruwein
50	Moses T. Nyingi	P.O. Box 70, Mukuruweini	164	Carol W. Kaguongo	P.O. Box 14, Mukuruwein
51	James Maina Muriithi	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	165	Wachira Mukinyo	P.O. Box 3, Mukuruweini
	Ngari G. K.				DO D 40 M 1
52	Mutuanyingi	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	166	John W. Mukuri	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruwein
53	Donald Maina	P.O. Box 13, Mukuruweini	167	Wanjiru Mwangi	P.O. Box 219, Mukuruwei
54	Wachira Muya	P.O. Box 1471,Mukuruweini	168	Peter M. Njoka	P.O. Box 205, Mukuruwei
55	Mary N. Nyumu	P.O.Box 1565, Mukuruweini	169	John M. Wanjau	P.O. Box 400, Mukuruwei
56	Francis M. K. Gathungu		170	Rose Wamuyu	P.O. Box 124, Mukuruwei
57	James M. Ndirangu Rev. Simon N.		171	Kanyingi Ndegwa	P.O. Box 20, Mukuruwein
58	Muthumbi	P.O.Box 94, Mukuruweini	172	Joseph Maina	P.O. Box 20, Mukuruwein
59	Samwel M. muchemi	P.O.Box 65646, Nairobi	173	Mark Kariuki	P.O. Box 460, Mukuruwei
60	Francis Kahutau	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	174	Samwel Gichuki	P.O. Box 460, Mukuruwei
61	Waweru Mwangi	P.O. Box 52, Mukuruweini	175	Lucy Mithu	P.O. Box 130, Mukuruwei
62	Njagi Kaniaru	P.O. Box 59, Mukuruweini	176	Peninah Muthanga	P.O. Box 416, Mukuruwei
63	Patrick Kanyua	P.O. Box 48, Mukuruweini	177	Kibue Muriithi	P.O. Box 2, Mukuruweini
64	Johnson K. Gachoka	P.O. Box 181, Mukuruweini	178	Patrick Wambugu	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruwein
65	David Kibuthu	P.O. Box 48, Gakindu	179	Aloise M. Mutahi	P.O. Box 430, Nyeri
66	Daniel K. Karari	P.O. Box 28, Mukuruweini	180	Simon Mathenge	P.O. Box 141, Mukuruwei
67	Ephatus Kinyua	P.O. Box 142, Mukuruweini	181	Peter Thuo Thumi	P.O. Box 62, Mukuruwein
68	Stanely Wambugu	P.O. Box 121, Mukuruweini	182	Nelson Ritho Maina	P.O. Box 153, Mukuruwei
69	Esther Wambui Ngari	P.O. Box Mukuruweini	183	Charles N. Muriu	P.O. Box 52, Mukuruwein
70	Regina W. Thairu	P.O. Box 378, Mukuruweini	184	Charles mathenge	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruwein
71	Simon Githinji	P.O. Box 19, Mukuruweini	185	Benson Kariuki	P.O.Box 331, Mukuruweii
72	James Githua	P.O. Box 60, Gakundu	186	F. Juma Gichuki	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruwein
73	James M. Thongoro	P.O. Box 443, Mukuruweini	187	Henry Gituthu	P.O. Box 202, Mukuruwei
74	Kagwi GathogoJames M. Thongoro	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	188	Paul N. Kanyotu	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruwein
75	Mwangi Wambugu	P.O. Box 74, Mukuruweini	189	Kamai Muriuki	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruwein
76	Gatitu Gachanja Ngumo	P.O. Box 72, Mukuruweini	190	John Kariuki	P.O. Box 371, Mukuruwei
77	Watheche Karuiru	P.O. Box 79, Mukuruweini	191	Nixon N. Maina	P.O. Box 67, Mukuruwein
78	Rev. Julius m. Mwangi	P.O.Box 364, Mukuruweini	192	Isaac Nduru Baru	P.O. Box 292, Mukuruwei
79	Stephen Kibaki	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruweini	193	Lucy W. Mwangi	P.O.Box 12, Mukuruweini
80	David Maina	P.O. Box 263, Mukuruweini	194	Samwel Nyota	P.O. Box 318, Mukuruwei
81	Joram K. Ngumbu	P.O. Box 148, Mukuruweini	195	Gichuki Wambugu	P.O. Box 12, Mukuruwein
82	George K. Gitata	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	196	Peter K. Kuria	P.O. Box 164, Mukuruwei
83	Ignatius Mayua	P.O. Box 79, Mukuruweini	197	Anne W. Waithaka	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruwein
84	Francis Kibugu	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini	198	Stephen Ndegwa	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruwein
85	Erastus Karuuya	P.O. Box 343, Mukuruweini	199	Nene Nderitu	P.O. Box 278, Mukuruwei

86	Jackson Chege	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruweini	200	Patrick Gachangiri	P.O. Box 290, Mukuruweini
87	Peterson M. Gachobe	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruweini	201	Michael Macharia	P.O. Box 326, Mukuruweini
88	Michael W. Wambugu	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruweini	202	Johnson G. Githiri	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini
89	James Kimemu Wanjau	P.O. Box 161, Mukuruweini	203	Charles M. Gicheru	P.O. Box 202, Mukuruweini
90	Charles G. Gichuki	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	204	Germano T. Gathogo	P.O. Box 377, Mukuruweini
91	Cyrus Mugwe	P.O. Box 79, Mukuruweini	205	John Baru Mwangi	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini
92	John G. Wanjaria	P.O. Box 47, Mukuruweini	206	Rev. Z. N. Njanga	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini
93	Ibrahim Mureithi	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	207	Harrison Ngumi	P.O. Box 249, Mukuruweini
94	Kimaru Thairu	P.O. Box 202, Mukuruweini	208	Ciira Wamukavi	P.O. Box 89, Mukuruweini
95	Joseph Mwangi	P.O .Box 45, Mukuruweini	209	Jeremia W. Kaguchia	P.O. Box 263, Mukuruweini
96	T. K. Jamaitha	P.O. Box 24, Mukuruweini	210	Martin Weru	P.O.Box 35, Mukuruweini
97	Daniel M. Karanja	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini	211	Ephantus Mwangi	P.O. Box 89, Mukuruweini
98	Timothy Thiongo	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	212	Habiba Nyambura	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini
99	Johnson W. Kamau	P.O. Box 14, Mukuruweini	213	Maina Kamau	P.O. Box 327, Mukuruweini
100	Julius Mwai	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	214	Samwel Muugu	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini
101	Peter K. Wahome	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini	215	Mutahi Waruhiu	P.O. Box 66, Mukuruweini
102	Patrick Wachira	P.O. Box 172, Mukuruweini	216	Jacob Githinji	P.O. Box 20, Mukuruweini
103	James Wathanga	P.O. Box 39, Mukuruweini	217	Kimari Wmbugu	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini
104	Newton W. Wachira	P.O. Box 109, Mukuruweini	218	Julius Irungu M	P.O. Box 89, Mukuruweini
105	Michael Wachira	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	219	Charity Wanjiru	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini
106	Githinji Chege	P.O. Box 147, Mukuruweini	220	William Wanjaria	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini
107	Eunice Wanjira	P.O. Box 66, Mukuruweini	221	Erastus M. Mugo	P.O.Box 260, Mukuruweini
108	Lawrence Maina	P.O. Box 35, Mukuruweini	222	Harrison G. Wahome	P.O.Box 413, Mukuruweini
109	Joyce W. Githinji	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini	223	Lawrence Kabuthi	P.O. Box 148, Mukuruweini
110	David Thiongo Githinji	P.O. Box 318, Mukuruweini	224	Peter Ngure Kariuki	P.O. Box 12166, Nyeri
111	Gilbert Wahome Waithaka	P.O.Box 85, Mukuruweini	225	Giturwa kanene	P.O. Box 326, Mukuruweini
112	Pius Mathu	P.O. Box 89, Makuruweini	226	Festus W. Thongoro	P.O. Box 85, Mukuruweini
113	James Maina	P.O. Box 27, Mukuruweini	227	Edward M. Kariru	P.O. Box 45, Mukuruweini
114	Anderson G. Maingi	P.O. Box 12, Mukuruweini	]		