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MESSAGE FROM THE PARTY LEADER

We need a New Kenya, Built by Kenyans, for Kenyans!

It gives me great pleasure to introduce Shikana Frontliners for Unity Party (SFUP) to the people of Kenya. In the current era, we are facing numerous social and economic challenges with significant consequences. This, to some extents have been brought about by local, regional, national and global, events beyond our control. We are experiencing increased uncertainty and unpredictability yet are constantly searching for new development paradigms which can take our country capacities into the next level. The situation has further, been aggravated by challenging periods of internal conflict, natural disasters, political upheavals and instability, weak economy, a poor education system, crippled health-care system, rising youth unemployment, struggling growth of real sectors, weak social protection systems, declining private sector growth, and pervasive corruption in the public sector, among others that have had consequential ripple effects at the household level. The general feeling has been that Kenya as a whole has lagged behind in developmental matters as some regions have been abandoned by previous administrations.

Despite the relative progress that has been achieved to date, the milestones are insufficient perhaps because some of the critical development objectives have not yet been realised. Our political leaders have not made it any better as most of them have made decisions on behalf of their communities that have left the people to deal with the disastrous consequences of bad governance. Consequently, we have been confronted with unprecedented problems which continue to make it difficult for most people to access basic needs, several public and private services. The middle class is also forced to grapple with poverty for lack of better opportunities. In order for us to become a society that understands how to deal with change, uncertainty and challenges, we want to create the conditions for and establish a systemic approach to sustainable development. Knowing that the speed of technological progress has completely changed societal expectations, and at the same time is quickly exceeding society's capacity to adapt to it, we have better and numerous opportunities to take advantage of. Therefore, to achieve any form of growth that the Kenyan people want, it is vitally important to chart out new frontiers in development that can transform all our constituencies into a fast-growing economy. It's a time for us to roll up our sleeves and work together to create our own possibilities, increase our productivity and thus improve our lives. This will not only speed up economic growth but also serve as a protective shield for the future generations.

As the party leader, I have spent more than eight years on extensive visioning exercise. To reflect on and image the kind of country we want for ourselves and our children. This forward-looking exercise is a product of conversations and wide consultations held with a diverse cross-section of the local people including the residents, business owners, community leaders, schools, the elders' council, and some retired civil servants. It therefore allows us to gain a holistic understanding of the values shared by them. These groups of people, identified and discussed what they perceive as critical for immediate and long-term development of the country. To solve our recurrent problems and make our local economy sufficient, we have to reconsider in concrete terms how to "get moving".

It is also important to note that the road ahead is not 100 per cent predictable or easy. Though the tasks may seem daunting, given the inherited economic situation of our country, but we certainly have not reached a dead end neither are any challenges insurmountable. We have given due consideration to the challenges and opportunities that may arise from time to time and therefore can confirm that by consolidating our approach, we will be able to seize future opportunities. Our collective potential is the fuel that will power transformation by being active partners, providing fresh perspectives, energies, insights, innovation, and creativity. In such circumstances, it is crucial to strengthen the entire society's ability to respond to challenges. We are a people with enduring capacity and cannot help but be optimistic about the future now that we have roadmap that could possibly guide our activities and equip us to work toward the common vision.

Therefore, it's my pleasure to present to the people of Kenya a bold vision that articulates how our country would look and feel with sound leadership and profound outcomes. With the help of God, it's our responsibility and commitment as elected leaders to do our part and lead well. We are ready to partner and further engage in dialogue with every person, every frontliner, every business, every worker, and every stakeholder in a grand collective effort so that we comprehensively redefine our cultural and behavioral shifts and recalibrate our local economy and governance processes.

We can achieve a strong and diversified economy where every resource is prudently and effectively utilized and efficiently managed. We urge the people of Kenya to embrace the vision and take up their respective roles when such opportunities become available. I hope you see yourself reflected in this plan and work together to make it a reality.

Stephen Ogallo
Chair/Party Leader
SFUP, Truth, Always Conquer!

RATIONALE/ BACKGROUND

The decision to develop a **New Long-Term Development Strategy** for the country, the SFUP's Manifesto, is influenced by the desire to change the living conditions of the Kenyan people. This manifesto is the basis for our comprehensive process of long-term planning, which foresees the definition of priority tasks and measures which must be designed so that they take fiscal policy into account. These are all grounded on National realities and thus we believe with effective operationalization, we can realise this vision and the future we want.

This manifesto is a plan developed through an extensive community engagement and local research process which outlines the Vision, Priorities and Aspirations of the Kenyan people. Its main aim is to initiate an implementation of reforms in the social, economic, and governance fields and actively support accelerated transformations of our country. At the core of sustainable development, are the aspiration of its people who need to be empowered to see themselves as being capable of achieving good progress; families and neighbourhood that are strengthened; economy which is more competitive, productive, and dynamic; opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship that are expanded; natural environment and resources which are better protected; institutions which are strengthened; and elevated consciousness and spirituality greatly believe that all things are possible.

SFUP is determined to break from the past where we have been over promised and received under delivery. This document presents an overview of three (3) themes organised in fourteen (14) chapters that outlines how the policy frameworks have been developed, some key statistical considerations, trends and forecasts, and possible outcomes of the country' possible development baselines. Each theme sets out the primary objective of developing every sector of our economy, with strategic orientations for achieving them. It provides the layout of how various interconnected and interdependent areas can effectively be implemented.

This manifesto will be kept under constant review (week by week, month by month and year by year) to give our partners, investors, potential developers and the people, a broader perspective on where we are and where we are headed. In order to achieve the objectives effectively, it will be vitally important to apply the guidelines consistently, monitor the success of its implementation, take measures in the event of discrepancies and make continuous adjustments to new situations and challenges in the Country. It is necessary to significantly increase interdependence and coordination between sectoral policies and development stakeholders at various levels, promote inclusive dialogue, establish close links between measures and create a supportive environment for the effective implementation of the strategy.

Limitation of Liability

A number of information contained herein is of a general nature, reflects the views and conditions prevailing at the time of the study. They have not been prepared with regard to specific circumstances of any person or organization but for collective good of the community. Throughout the period of its implementation, various circumstances may change without notice. Therefore, any actions related to this document will be taken only after consultation with experts and a thorough analysis of specific situations and when SFUP form the government. The authors shall not be liable for any errors and/or omissions caused by the incompleteness,

incoherency and inaccuracy of the data received from any third party, open sources as well as members of the community. Further, we shall not be liable for any actions, decisions, or judgments made by any individual or organizations that do not have direct authority and/or permission from SFUP to use any information in here. The assumptions about the future development of a particular trend or situation expressed in this document are for illustrative and planning purposes and setting up of a roadmap for achieving the overarching vision. All parties are advised to conduct their own analysis and due diligence before making any decision or undertaking any obligation based on the information contained in this document.

God bless Kenya, and God bless Kenyan People.

THEME 1: SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS:
Nurturing Our Greatest Asset and Delivering High Quality of Social Life;

The first thematic focus centres on Social Growth and Development, which emphasizes on the need for a transformative framework that promotes equal opportunities, social justice, and the empowerment of all Kenyans. Kenya must eliminate the exploitation of the poor, unlock its vast human resource potential, and restore citizens' dignity through inclusive and people-centered development. SFUP's aims to build inclusive partnerships across society, reduce inequality, and revitalize the economy by returning power to the people. This theme includes the following Social Aspirations:

1. Education:

Implement policies for accessible and quality education at all levels, including vocational training and adult education programs.

2. Healthcare:

Improve healthcare access and affordability through universal health coverage, expanded primary care facilities, and investments in public health programs.

3. Social Welfare:

Strengthen social safety nets by expanding social assistance programs, providing support for vulnerable populations (children, elderly, disabled), and promoting social justice and security.

4. Cultural Preservation:

Invest in cultural heritage preservation, promote arts and cultural activities, and foster a sense of national identity.

CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION

Kenya's education system faces challenges like low secondary school completion rates, despite high primary enrollment. While significant strides have been made in expanding access and implementing reforms like the Competency Based Curriculum (CBC), issues like inadequate facilities, teacher shortages, and high pupil-to-teacher ratios persist, especially in certain regions. Policy recommendations focus on addressing these challenges, including improving teacher training and deployment, enhancing infrastructure, and ensuring equitable access for marginalized communities.

- 1) **Primary School Enrollment:** Primary school enrollment in Kenya was consistently around 10 million, but disruptions like the COVID-19 pandemic have caused fluctuations. According to the Ministry of Education, the sector report reported education services for a total of 8,123,952 learners in 23,395 schools in FY 2022/23 and, 8,445,582 learners in 23,577 schools in the FY 2023/24. Enrolment in Low-cost boarding (LCB) primary schools grew from 123,127 in FY 2021/22 to 141,739 in FY 2022/23 and 144,845 in FY 2023/24 due to LCB boarding capitation. In the FY 2022/23, the total number of ECDE centers in FY 2022/23 was 46,623; 31,757 public pre-primary schools and 14,866 private pre-primary schools. The number of centers increased to 47,666 in FY 2023/24, comprising 32,461 public and 15,205 private centers.
- 2) **Secondary School Enrollment:** While secondary school enrollment has increased, completion rates remain a concern, with factors like poverty and resource limitations hindering progress. According to Ministry of Education. in FY 2021/22, 3,587,081 students in 9,187 public secondary schools were facilitated under the Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE) programme. In the FY 2022/23, 3,690,376 students in 9,258 public secondary schools were facilitated. In FY 2023/24, 4,036,650 students in 9,391 public secondary schools were facilitated. The sector constructed 6,495 classrooms in FY 2021/22; 6,495 classrooms in FY 2022/23 for enhancing transition to junior school. In FY 2023/24 infrastructure was developed in 719 schools.
- 3) **Special Needs:** Enrolment for learners with special needs has increased, with a growing number of special and integrated schools. According to the Ministry of Education, in FY 2023/24, enrolled 117,565 learners in 2,892 SNE schools and 40,279 learners in 379 special schools were facilitated and in FY 2023/24; 7,183 learners benefitted in 81 special and integrated schools which offer Secondary Special Needs Education.
- 4) **TVET:** University, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institutions have seen increased enrolment, both in general and special needs programs.
- 5) **Teacher Workforce:** The Teachers Service Commission manages a substantial number of teachers in both primary and secondary schools. In Kenya, the number of teachers varies across different education levels. In 2022, there were approximately 221,510 teachers in public primary schools, with more women (119.2 thousand) than men (102.3 thousand). Conversely, public secondary schools had around 120.2 thousand teachers in 2021, with more men (69,792) than women (50,487). In FY 2022/23, the total

enrolment for pre-service teacher trainees and those on upgrade programmes stood at 14,421. In the FY 2023/24, the number of pre-service teacher trainees enrolled in the DPTE program increased to 24,835. Despite these numbers, Kenya faces a teacher shortage, with a reported shortfall of 98,261 teachers in public schools. Furthermore, a significant number of trained teachers, estimated at over 343,000, remain unemployed.

To build a world-class education system, we must cultivate a teaching workforce that is well-equipped, motivated, disciplined, and deeply patriotic. By addressing these challenges and implementing targeted policy recommendations, Kenya can further strengthen its education system and ensure that all children have access to quality education, enabling them to reach their full potential. The support for education must be prioritized in both policy and practice. This will be done by:

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. Comprehensive Rapid Needs Assessment

- To identify systemic gaps and shape a fully inclusive education architecture, is foundational step to allow us align our goals with real-time data, ensuring that resource allocation and program design are targeted and impactful.
- Implement targeted interventions to address barriers to education for vulnerable populations, including girls, students with disabilities, and those from low-income families.
- Utilize data to monitor progress, identify challenges, and inform policy decisions.
- Involve communities in education initiatives to foster ownership and address local challenges.

2. Increasing Financial Investments

- Investments in various learning pathways -from primary and secondary to technical and tertiary education - are needed to build skills aligned with national economic priorities. These include areas such as healthcare, engineering, information technology, and skilled trades. Improving educational access and quality across all sectors helps to increase employability, reduce skill gaps, and enhance overall economic performance.
- Implementation will require not only sufficient funding, but unwavering commitment from education leaders, a fully equipped and motivated teaching workforce, accessible and adaptive curriculum, assistive technologies, and crucially a robust system of accountability and support for service providers.
- Invest in upgrading and expanding school facilities, particularly in marginalized communities.
- Continue expanding and improving TVET programs to equip youth with relevant skills for the job market.
- Provide support for students facing financial hardships, including scholarships, bursaries, and access to resources like school meals and uniforms.
- Address the root causes of child marriage, which significantly impacts girls' education, through community sensitization and empowerment programs.
- Ensure that children with disabilities have access to quality education in integrated settings.

- Invest in digital learning initiatives and provide access to technology for students and teachers, especially in remote areas.

3. Recruitment and Retention: Teachers and Educators

- Address Teacher Deficits by increase teacher recruitment, especially in underserved areas, and ensure adequate training and deployment to the required teacher-student ratio.
- SFUP will broaden recruitment criteria to include rigorous aptitude testing and life skills assessment, allowing a more diverse and capable group of educators to enter the profession. While degree qualifications will remain a standard for senior teaching ranks, entry-level positions will be opened to qualified candidates who demonstrate teaching potential.
- All teachers will undergo annual professional reviews by their employers to ensure continued competence, neutrality, and dedication to student development. These evaluations will guard against political or ideological indoctrination in classrooms and ensure that our children are taught in environments of fairness, balance, and respect.
- Ensure quality teaching and learning through continuous professional development for teachers and effective curriculum implementation.

4. Develop a Strategic Framework for Government-University-Industry Collaboration

- SFUP's Government-University-Industry (GUI) framework must serve as a transformative force, capable of reshaping the way we think about education, innovation, and national productivity. We propose a bold, action-oriented GUI model:
 - a) Government must establish a stable, long-term policy environment that incentivizes innovation, rewards collaboration, and compels accountability.
 - b) Universities must move beyond rote learning and become incubators of entrepreneurial thinking, preparing graduates not merely for employment, but for leadership in a competitive global economy.
 - c) Industry and entrepreneurs must step forward to offer work-integrated learning, mentorships, and scalable job opportunities that match the skills of modern graduates.
- Universities must actively participate in establishing innovation hubs, accelerators, and business incubators must become standard national policy - not optional. These are not just academic ventures; they are economic multipliers that fuel job creation, stimulate local economies, and elevate national well-being.

5. Implementing Institutional Reforms,

- We must institutionalize reforms that:
 - a) Integrate entrepreneurship, innovation, and digital literacy across all levels of education.
 - b) Introduce real-time curriculum reviews co-led by educators, industry, and policymakers.
 - c) Promote interdisciplinary learning that reflects the complexity of modern challenges.
 - d) Incentivize universities to produce not just employable graduates, but job creators.

CHAPTER 2

HEALTHCARE

Good health is a fundamental component of national development, defined not merely as the absence of disease or infirmity but as a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being. Article 43(1)(a) of the Constitution of Kenya establishes the right of every individual to the highest attainable standard of health, including access to healthcare services and reproductive health. The sector priorities are aligned with the Kenya Constitution, Vision 2030, Kenya Health Policy, Bottom-up economic Transformation Agenda, the UHC Policy, Fourth Medium Term Plan (2023-2027), Post-COVID19 Economic Recovery Strategy (PC-ERS) and the various regional and international obligations including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Africa Union Agenda 2063. Currently, Kenya's healthcare system faces challenges in resource allocation, staffing, and infrastructure, but is actively working towards Universal Health Coverage (UHC) through policy changes and increased investment in health. Key areas for improvement include addressing inefficiencies, strengthening primary healthcare, and enhancing health information systems. In 2024, Kenya's healthcare system faced a mix of challenges and opportunities. Key Statistics and Trends in this sector include:

- 1) **Life Expectancy:** Life expectancy at birth in Kenya has seen improvement, rising from 45.2 years in the 1994-2010 period to an estimated 60 years by 2009 and beyond.
- 2) **Maternal and Newborn Health:** Nearly all women (98%) received antenatal care from a skilled provider. 64% of live births are delivered in public facilities, and 88% of live births occur in a health facility.
- 3) **Healthcare Financing:** The proportion of total government expenditure on health has increased, but still falls short of the Abuja Declaration target of 15%. Donor contributions to health expenditure have decreased.
- 4) **Health Insurance:** Health insurance coverage has seen an increase, rising from 10% in 2013 to 25% in 2022, partially due to government policies promoting UHC.
- 5) **Healthcare Workforce:** While the number of registered health personnel is increasing, there is a shortage of healthcare professionals, particularly doctors, when compared to the WHO recommendations. The doctor-to-population ratio is 25 per 100,000, while the WHO recommends 36 per 100,000.
- 6) **Healthcare Infrastructure:** There are geographic disparities in healthcare facility density, with Nyeri County having the highest density at 4.3 per 10,000 people.
- 7) **Efficiency:** Evidence suggests that a significant portion of healthcare resources in Kenya are used inefficiently.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Develop a Health System for all based on need**
 - Ensure there's leadership at all levels in health policy formulation and translating policies into concrete actions that are geared toward attaining the specified goals.

- Establish a sustainable regulatory framework and assess feasibility for health reform, including safety net for the poor.
- Focus on improving access to and quality of primary healthcare services, especially in underserved areas and promote the Universal Health Coverage (UHC) to guarantee access to equitable coverage of quality health care and services.
- Coordinate the contributions of all constituency, county and national agencies involved in the Health Sector, upholding standards and mapping services to avoid duplication and gaps.
- Review the contributions mechanism, operations and coverage of the Social Health Authority.
- Conduct monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of health care services in order to ensure quality, equity and efficiency of the health system.
- Develop legislation and regulations to facilitate growth and assure quality in both the private sector or public service provision of health care services.
- Develop mechanisms for effective support to, monitor and regulation of private sector clinics and pharmacies to be in compliance with the public health care system.

2. Ensure sufficient supplies of all medicines, medical supplies

- Allocate funds for and ensure sufficient supplies of all medicines, medical supplies and equipment, drugs and equipment at dispensaries /health centers (and hospitals) and the constituency pharmacy/supply office.
- Establish functional drug quality control laboratory at all constituency level hospitals and ensure we are guaranteed of their safety, efficiency, effectiveness and affordability.
- Priority consideration will be given to drugs for PHC and control of endemic diseases by obtaining the necessary quality and quantity of drugs, which meet the health needs of the population, at the lowest possible cost.

3. Reduction Waitlist in public hospitals - many are languishing on the waitlist

- Work with the health workforce professional bodies to ensure we have appropriate number of trained key health personnel possessing the variety of skills (e.g. doctors, pharmacists, dieticians, physical therapists, nutritionists, health practitioners, nurses, Health assistants, administrators) needed to deliver affordable, equitable and quality health care services.
- Ensure that there is the appropriate number of adequately trained healthcare personnel involved in diagnosis, prescribing and dispensing of drugs receive relevant theoretical and practical training.
- Ensure we have 3000 extra GPs doctors now, and a double number of Nurses as well.
- Introduce a comprehensive multi-disciplinary team of mental health technical professionals (psychiatrists, psychiatric nurses, psychologists), appropriately skilled and have reached specific standards of training.

4. Acquire the latest in diagnostic technology for all sub-county hospitals

- Ensure a diagnosis is available in hours not days of patient testing. This will save enormous medical costs and expedite the speed and number of patient referrals.
- Establish and maintain a surveillance system (Disease Early Warning System) to respond to epidemics, pandemics and other risks to human health, intensify disease awareness raising, detection and vaccination system, as well as responding to health emergencies in a timely manner.
- Ensure there is appropriate use of qualified personnel or good management practices in order to minimize operational problems in important hospital units such as laboratories, x-ray units, pharmacies, housekeeping and supply units.
- Establish large high-tech specialized scientific-practical medical centers or hospitals and health laboratories which will operate on the basis of mixed financing.
- Ensure the availability of appropriate medical equipment, install bio-medical equipment in health centers and ensure they are constantly in good operating condition and are properly managed.

5. Speeding up approval to upgrade healthcare infrastructure

- Establish a Health Centre for every 500 to 1,000 people.
- Reconfigure the existing National (Level 5) Hospitals, in order to improve the quality of service to fit being used as a referral hospital. These hospital needs to be upgraded to a world-class medical facility and will be expanded to respond to the expected service levels.
- Ensure equal distribution of health facilities in every constituency, particularly in remote areas and ensure health services infrastructure are functional, safe, environmentally friendly and sustainable.
- Develop a comprehensive improvement, repair, renovation and maintenance plan for all health facilities in all the constituencies.
- Modernize our healthcare equipment and infrastructure (including ICT) and upgrade to new systems and many pieces of equipment that are out of order or obsolete in our health facilities in order to improve service delivery and operating efficiency where necessary.

A well-functioning healthcare policy should be structured around primary, secondary, and tertiary care, with an emphasis on strengthening primary healthcare as the first point of contact for most individuals. A high-quality, integrated, and community-responsive primary healthcare system is critical for ensuring equitable access to services and achieving better health outcomes. This requires a people-centred approach that aligns with the evolving needs of individuals and communities, particularly in underserved and remote regions.

Enhanced collaboration between public and private healthcare providers is necessary to improve service delivery across various levels of care. Furthermore, prioritizing community health will help prevent complex public health challenges that are difficult to reverse. SFUP's proposed health sector strategy recommends increasing healthcare expenditure to at least 3% of GDP by 2030, in line with United Nations guidelines. The broader objective is to create enabling societal conditions for health equity and well-being, recognizing that a healthy population is a key driver of economic growth and national prosperity.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL WELFARE

Social welfare and protection policies, implemented by public or private institutions and financed through contributory or non-contributory mechanisms, play a crucial role in enabling vulnerable populations to participate more fully in economic, social, and political life. Kenya's social protection system, while showing progress, faces challenges in reaching all vulnerable populations. A key statistic is that only about 10.1% of Kenyans are covered by at least one social protection program. This highlights the need for expansion and better coordination. Policy recommendations include strengthening the existing Enhanced Single Registry system, improving community participation, and addressing the specific needs of vulnerable groups like children, older persons, and people with disabilities. The key statistics and trends in this sector include:

- 1) **Poverty Reduction:** Kenya has seen a reduction in poverty rates, with the national headcount falling from 36% in 2015/16 to 31% in 2021/22, according to a social protection sector review.
- 2) **Inequality:** Inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, has also decreased from 0.45 to 0.39 during the same period, according to the review.
- 3) **Social Assistance Coverage:** Despite these positive trends, a significant gap remains in social assistance coverage, with only 10.1% of the population benefiting from at least one program, according to ILO Social Protection.
- 4) **Government Commitment:** The current Kenya's government has committed to social protection, with an annual expenditure of 0.5% of GDP.
- 5) **National Social Protection Policy:** The policy framework includes four pillars: income security, social health protection, shock-responsive social protection, and complementary programs.
- 6) **Social Security:** The National Social Security Fund (NSSF) and Social Health Insurance (SHI) are key components of social security, with mandatory contributions from employers and employees.
- 7) **Fragmentation and Coordination:** A major challenge is the fragmentation of social protection programs and the need for better coordination, says the National Social Protection Secretariat.
- 8) **Enhanced Single Registry (ESR):** The Enhanced Single Registry is a key initiative to improve data collection, update, and linkage of households and individuals in poverty, according to the ESR.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Strengthen the Enhanced Single Registry:**
 - Invest in the ESR to improve its functionality, data quality, and ability to track beneficiaries across different programs.
 - Support active identification of opportunities to integrate social protection into sector projects that are particularly well suited for the incorporation of social protection components include but are not limited to, education, finance, health, and public sector management.
2. **Expand Coverage:**

- Focus on expanding social protection programs to reach more vulnerable populations, including those in informal employment and those not currently covered by existing programs.
- Ensure Kenya has the right to social protection for all without discrimination throughout the life cycle, including by adopting necessary legislative, regulatory, administrative and other measures to this end.

3. Adequate Funding and Improve Coordination:

- Allocate sufficient public funds, and increase these levels where required, towards the realization of social protection for all at the national level, with due regard to social and intergenerational solidarity and the sustainability of national social protection systems.
- Enhance coordination between different government agencies and non-governmental organizations involved in social protection to minimize duplication and ensure efficient resource allocation.
- Progressively design and realize, including through social dialogue, comprehensive and sustainable social protection systems for all that enable every person to access care at adequate benefit levels and thereby enjoy an adequate standard of living.

4. Targeting Vulnerable Groups:

- Pay special attention to the needs of children, older persons, and persons with disabilities, who are disproportionately affected by poverty and vulnerability.
- Strengthen community-based organizations and involve communities in the design and implementation of social protection programs to ensure they are responsive to local needs.

5. Develop a Social Insurance Scheme for the Unemployed:

- Explore the possibility of establishing an unemployment insurance fund, particularly for formal sector workers, to provide income support during job loss.
- Provide technical advice, capacity-building and financing to support the development of sustainable social insurance schemes that provide insurance against risks, as well as income security in old age. Provide support to help expand schemes to those working in the informal sector.

6. Promote Economic Inclusion:

- Complement social protection programs with initiatives that promote economic inclusion, such as skills development and access to financial services, to enable individuals to move out of poverty.
- Develop and strengthen constituency data management systems and processes to facilitate the collection, management and analysis of social protection data that are accurate, relevant and timely.

7. Address Gender Inequality:

Incorporate gender-sensitive approaches into social protection programs to address the specific needs of women and girls.

These policies are part of a broader framework aimed at improving the well-being of marginalized communities and ensuring equitable access to public services. Effective social protection initiatives provide a strategic foundation for facilitating development through both universal and targeted interventions, with careful consideration given to the specific needs and characteristics of rural and urban populations.

CHAPTER 4

CULTURAL PRESERVATION

Art and culture are essential components of a high quality of life and play a key role in shaping Kenya's soft power and international image. They are powerful sources of creativity, inspiration, and innovation. Beyond their aesthetic value, the arts and cultural sectors significantly contribute to economic development, social cohesion, and community well-being. Despite Kenya's rich artistic and cultural heritage, the sector remains underfunded, with per capita arts spending significantly below that of comparable regions. Kenya's National Policy on Culture and Heritage aims to safeguard the nation's diverse cultural expressions, traditional practices, and historical heritage while fostering creativity and artistic expression. The policy recognizes culture as the foundation of the nation and a driver of social cohesion, identity, and sustainable development. Key strategies include establishing cultural hubs, promoting cultural tourism, and supporting cultural and creative industries. However, challenges remain in areas like funding, capacity building, and policy implementation. The Key statistics and trends in this sector:

1. **UNESCO's Recommendation:** UNESCO recommends using double-entry tables to present statistical data on public financing of cultural heritage.
2. **Cultural Sector Contribution:** In 2020, the creative and cultural sectors globally employed 6.2% of all workers and contributed 3.1% to global GDP.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Increased Funding:** Allocate sufficient financial resources to support cultural heritage initiatives, including documentation, preservation, and promotion.
2. **Capacity Building:** Invest in training and development programs for cultural practitioners, heritage professionals, and community members to enhance their skills and knowledge.
3. **Awareness Creation:** Launch public awareness campaigns to educate citizens about the importance of cultural heritage and encourage their participation in its preservation.
4. **Strengthen Partnerships:** Foster collaboration between government agencies, cultural institutions, community organizations, and the private sector to ensure effective implementation of cultural policies.
5. **Review and Update Policies:** Regularly review and update cultural policies to address emerging challenges, such as the impact of globalization and the need to integrate cultural considerations into other relevant sectors.
6. **Promote Digitalization:** Invest in digital technologies to document, preserve, and promote cultural heritage, making it accessible to a wider audience.
7. **Mainstream Culture:** Integrate cultural considerations into other relevant policies and development plans, such as tourism, education, and economic development.
8. **Community Engagement:** Empower local communities to actively participate in the identification, protection, and promotion of their cultural heritage.
9. **Cultural Hubs:** The establishment of cultural hubs, including community culture centers, national art gallery cultural centers, and art and craft markets, aims to promote cultural preservation and tourism.

THEME 2: ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS:

Structural Economic Transformation by Creating a Conducive Environment for Business, Trade and Investment;

The second thematic focus centres on Structural Economic Transformation, addressing the critical pillars of economic planning and infrastructure development. To fully leverage on Kenya's strengths and unlock future potential, this theme is designed to tackle long-standing challenges such as low levels of industrialization, inadequate physical infrastructure, weak intersectoral linkages, and inefficiencies in agricultural structuring and productivity. Central to this agenda is the urgent need to address underemployment by aligning skilled workforce with the demands of a productive labour market, particularly by integrating youth into the active economy. This theme includes the following Economic Aspirations:

1. Economic Growth:

Promote sustainable and inclusive economic growth by investing in infrastructure, supporting key sectors (e.g., agriculture, manufacturing, tourism, infrastructure development), and fostering innovation and entrepreneurship.

2. Labour and Job Creation:

Implement policies to create decent jobs, address youth unemployment, and support the informal sector.

3. Industry, Trade and Investment:

Facilitate building of industries, trade and attract foreign investment through supportive policies and infrastructure development.

4. Fiscal Responsibility:

Manage public finances responsibly, control public debt, and ensure efficient and transparent public spending.

CHAPTER 5

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Sustained growth is not possible without macro-economic stability. Our economic model will provide for pro-investment macro conditions and overall policy environments, under which other policies can be executed in a manner that is consistent with economic and structural transformation. The full success of the macroeconomic policies depends on the deployment of supportive wide-range of real economy policies, including trade policies, technology policies, financial sector policies, oversight regulatory and competition policies, social policy, education and health policies as well as sector-specific policies such as industrial or agricultural policies. This scenario takes into account the government's priorities while considering the current structural constraints in terms of financing (domestic and external resources), budget absorption and physical execution of programmes and projects in various targeted areas. The current economic realities on the ground means that our country is not growing as much to reach the rate required to reduce unemployment below 10%. Kenya's economic performance & statistics include:

1. **GDP Growth:** Kenya's GDP grew by 4.7% in 2024, slower than the 5.7% growth in 2023. The 2025 Economic Survey projects a recovery to 4.9% growth on average during 2025-2027 driven by easing inflation and increased credit. However, challenges remain, including high poverty rates, a large informal sector, and the need for structural reforms to ensure inclusive growth. Policy recommendations focus on improving governance, infrastructure, human capital development, access to finance, and macroeconomic stability.
2. **Inflation:** Inflation has decreased from 7.7% in 2023 to 4.5% in 2024.
3. **Exchange Rate:** The Kenyan Shilling has appreciated against the US dollar, moving from Sh159.69 at the beginning of 2024 to Sh129.36 by the end of the year.
4. **Informal Sector:** A significant portion of the Kenyan workforce is employed in the informal sector, which provides limited stability and protections.
5. **Poverty:** Poverty is projected to decline by half a percentage point to 34% in 2025 at the international poverty rate of \$2.15 per day (2017 PPP).
6. **Key Sectors:** Agriculture, financial and insurance activities, transport and storage, and real estate contributed significantly to growth. However, sectors like construction and mining have experienced contractions.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Structural Reforms:** Investing in structural transformation is crucial for inclusive growth, including improving governance, infrastructure, human capital development, access to finance, and macroeconomic stability, according to the African Development Bank Group.
2. **Formal Sector Growth:** Policies should focus on supporting the formal sector to create better-paying jobs and increase tax revenue.

3. **Financial Inclusion:** Improving access to finance, particularly for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), is essential for driving economic growth.
4. **Human Capital Development:** Investing more in education and skills development, especially in areas like digital literacy, will enhance productivity and competitiveness.
5. **Domestic Resource Mobilization:** Kenya should aim to increase its tax-to-GDP ratio to increase domestic revenue, according to the African Development Bank Group.
6. **Public Spending Prioritization:** Optimizing public spending to ensure efficient resource allocation and value for money is crucial.

The economy has been held back for far too long by a chronic under-funding of various sectors and the refusal of the government to take the necessary steps that are required to drive wealth creation, expand opportunity, develop skills and end the brain drain once and for all. As one of the main building blocks towards economic transformation, our Institutions-Policies-Development triangular nexus shall focus on developing institutional configuration that integrates our government's ability to formulate and implement macroeconomic strategies including all tools - fiscal, monetary and financial policies – in a manner that nurture a developmental configuration that is accountable to the people of Kenya and therefore reverse the country's relative underperformance.

CHAPTER 6

LABOUR AND JOB CREATION

In 2023, Kenya's total employment reached approximately 20 million, with the vast majority (16.7 million) in the informal sector. The formal sector accounted for roughly 3.3 million jobs. Key areas for job creation include the Public Administration, Social Security, and Defense sector, Administrative Support Services, and Healthcare. Policy recommendations focus on skills development, particularly for youth, and supporting entrepreneurship.

To prepare Kenya's economy for the future, SFUP recognizes the need for a robust, skilled, and adequately supported labour force. With over 20% unemployment, particularly among educated youth, SFUP highlights the urgency of addressing joblessness, low wages, and poor working conditions that have worsened due to past leadership failures and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. The key Labor Market Statistics in Kenya include:

Total Employment:	Approximately 20 million in 2023.
Informal Sector:	Around 16.7 million workers.
Formal Sector:	Roughly 3.3 million workers.
Youth Unemployment:	A significant challenge, with 17.7% unemployment and 35.9% underemployment, according to the Kenya Labour Market Information System.
Youth Poverty:	A concerning 44% of young people live in poverty.
Youth Labour Force Participation:	55.3% of those aged 15-34 participate in the labor force.
Youth Employment Ratio:	45% of youth aged 15-34 are employed.
NEET Rate:	15% of youth are not in employment, education, or training.

Sectoral Distribution of Employment:

Public Sector:	The Public Administration, Social Security, and Defense sector leads in job creation, with 43.6% of new jobs.
Administrative Support:	The Administrative Support Services sector follows at 8.2%.
Healthcare:	The Healthcare sector is also a significant contributor to job growth, at 6.8%.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

- Skills Development:** Focus on skills development initiatives to equip young people with the skills needed for the job market.
- Entrepreneurship Support:** Encourage entrepreneurship and innovation to create more job opportunities, especially for youth.

3. **Informal Sector Formalization:** Develop strategies to formalize the informal sector, which employs the majority of Kenyans.
4. **Targeted Interventions:** Implement targeted interventions to address youth unemployment and poverty.
5. **Data Collection and Analysis:** Invest in robust labor market information systems to track trends and inform policy decisions.

Specific Policy Focus Areas:

1. **Youth Employment:** Addressing the high rates of youth unemployment and underemployment requires tailored interventions, such as skills training, entrepreneurship support, and access to finance.
2. **Informal Economy:** Strategies to formalize the informal sector can improve working conditions and increase tax revenue.
3. **Sector-Specific Policies:** Policies should be tailored to the needs of specific sectors, such as the blue economy (fisheries and marine resources) and the construction sector.
4. **Investment in Infrastructure:** Investments in infrastructure development can stimulate job creation in the construction and related industries.
5. **Strengthening Human Capital:** Invest in education and training to develop a skilled workforce capable of meeting the demands of a modernizing economy.

SFUP acknowledges the growing prevalence of the “working poor,” where full-time employment does not guarantee a decent life. To reverse this, SFUP proposes transformative investments in human capital, infrastructure, and small-scale industries to create better-paying jobs and promote inclusive economic growth.

By focusing on skills development, supporting entrepreneurship, and implementing targeted policies, Kenya can create a more inclusive and dynamic labor market. As part of its job creation strategy, a strong focus will also be placed on:

- Generate at least 1,000,000 jobs annually through strong collaboration between government, employers, educational institutions, and workers via structures like the Tripartite National and County Workers Council.
- Ensuring minimum wages align with the cost of living, and that all sectors prioritize the creation of sustainable, productive employment.
- Target employment-intensive sectors such as manufacturing, health, education, and rural development to absorb unemployed labour and reduce rural-urban migration.
- Revise Labour laws to strengthen collective bargaining, ensure equitable wages, and enforce safe and family-friendly working environments.
- Give special emphasis to marginalized workers, including Kenyan artists, self-employed individuals, and expatriates, who will be treated equitably.

- Align workforce supply with market needs, and support programmes that encourage youth entrepreneurship and incentivize private investment in employment-rich sectors through tax and regulatory reforms.
- Require Labour organizations disclose financial activities related to political or ideological expenditures, and members will be allowed to opt out of funding such causes.
- Oppose mandatory union membership and political training as employment preconditions to protect economic freedom.
- Develop sustainable mechanisms to ensure an access of youth / graduates of educational institutions to the systems of employment promotion/ job search.
- Develop the labour market observation system and keep a detailed statistics of the labour market so as to better predict the short-, medium- and long-term development of the structure of job supply according to the economic outlook; labor market information is updated at least twice a year.

CHAPTER 7

INDUSTRY, TRADE AND INVESTMENT

Industry

Kenya's industry, trade, and investment landscape is characterized by growth in certain sectors like tourism and digital services, while others face challenges like reduced tea production and fluctuating horticultural exports. Key policy recommendations include promoting trade efficiency, diversifying exports, particularly in digital services, and fostering a stable macroeconomic environment to attract further investment. The manufacturing sector remains the third-largest contributor to the economy, accounting for approximately 20% of GDP and 25% of total employment. However, the sector has experienced significant decline over the past decade.

Reinvigorating the manufacturing industry is critical to accelerating economic growth, increasing job creation, and enhancing Kenya's global competitiveness. The revival of closed industries through targeted and effective interventions will be a key focus. One of the major barriers to industrial growth is the lack of essential trade facilitation infrastructure, including reliable road networks, port systems, and digital connectivity. These deficiencies have contributed to the underperformance of sectors vital to Kenya's industrial development. To address these challenges, the government must critically assess the relevance and effectiveness of existing laws across key sectors.

Some outdated laws will need to be repealed, while new legislation must be introduced to create a more enabling environment for investment and industrialization. Legal reforms will encompass areas such as business and investment regulation, agricultural policy, trade and importation, competition law, taxation, food safety, employment, land use, occupational health and safety, and environmental protection. These reforms and infrastructure enhancements will provide a strong foundation for Kenya's transition to a diversified, industrialized, and globally competitive economy.

1. Develop a comprehensive national innovation policy that addresses all dimensions of innovation - including product development, production processes, organizational models, and social innovation - positioning Kenya as a competitive knowledge-driven economy.
2. Revamp the manufacturing and services sector that's been dormant since collapse of various industries.
3. Set up incentive mechanisms to increase the role of the private sector in financing investment projects, such as an industrial park.
4. Improve backbone services, such as financial, telecommunications, distribution, transport, and logistics services to facilitate the movement of people, goods, services, knowledge, and ideas as well as link MSMEs, to markets.
5. Develop a system of selected industries for processing of local resources, primarily in the agricultural sector (processing of fruit and vegetable products and increasing their production) by building a complex, light and food industries.

6. Ensure the local enterprises supply capital goods for the implementation of the infrastructural projects (dams, bridges, electricity, highways, etc).

Trade and Investments

Kenya's trade and investments policy must play a central role in supporting a sustainable industrial renaissance. SFUP is committed to advancing strategies that integrate fair trade principles into national trade frameworks governing production, consumption, and export activities. These strategies will promote equitable incomes, decent wages, and inclusive decision-making processes - particularly for smallholder farmers, artisans, and workers who form the backbone of the economy. The current statistics and trends in this sector include:

1. **Tourism:** Kenya's tourism sector is experiencing growth, with international visitor arrivals increasing by 35.4% in 2023.
2. **Agriculture:** Tea production experienced a decrease in early 2024, while coffee exports saw an increase in volume and value.
3. **Horticulture:** Horticultural exports, particularly cut flowers, saw a significant drop in volume and value in late 2023.
4. **Trade:** Kenya has a high potential for trade within the East African region, particularly with Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia and South Sudan but needs to improve trade efficiency.
5. **Investment:** Kenya has seen increased venture capital inflows, particularly in the tech sector, and has raised significant capital through debt and equity.
6. **Digital Economy:** Kenya is making strides in developing digital services and products for export, but this sector faces challenges in implementation due to resource constraints and policy harmonization issues.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Promote Trade Efficiency:** Advancing macroeconomic policies that promote trade efficiency and addressing those that hinder it is crucial.
2. **Diversify Exports:** Focus on diversifying Kenya's export basket, including promoting digital services and products for export.
3. **Foster a Stable Macroeconomic Environment:** Maintaining a stable political and macroeconomic environment is key to attracting both domestic and foreign investment.
4. **Support Digital Economy Development:** Address the challenges in implementing the digital services and products export strategy by ensuring policy harmonization and adequate resource allocation.
5. **Attract Foreign Direct Investment:** Continue efforts to attract foreign direct investment, particularly in sectors like manufacturing, finance, renewable energy, and ICT.
6. **Strengthen Regional Trade:** Leverage Kenya's strategic location and promote trade within the East African region and beyond, particularly within the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). In

recent years, numerous Regional Trading Arrangements (RTAs) and Bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) have emerged. While these initiatives have opened new market opportunities, they have also placed Kenyan exporters at a competitive disadvantage relative to their counterparts. To address this, Kenya must intensify its participation in regional economic blocs such as COMESA and the EAC, leveraging the benefits of preferential or free trade agreements. Additionally, Kenya will seek to negotiate preferential access to international markets through reduced or zero-tariff schemes for its exports.

7. **Invest in Infrastructure:** Invest in infrastructure development, including transportation, energy, and digital infrastructure, to support industrial growth and trade.
8. **Enhance Skills Development:** Invest in skills development programs to ensure a skilled and dynamic workforce that can support the growth of various industries.
9. **Promote Sustainable Development:** Continue to prioritize sustainable development practices, including the transition to renewable energy and reducing carbon emission

In order to facilitate free trade and movement of commodities and enable the agricultural market achieve price stability, the national and county governments, it is important to create or strengthen a legal and regulatory framework that is fair to all farmers, producers, processors and marketers of agro products. The development of industries within sectors will be an important first step towards ensuring our strategic plan to industrialize is realised. The lack of critical trade facilitation infrastructures (such as roads, connectivity, ports etc.) is the cause of the dysfunctioning of certain sectors that are considered critical for development of the industrial sector. Therefore, it is important to focus our capital and recurrent expenditure on productive infrastructure and the development of human resources to increase supply capacity and reduce industry and trade bottle necks. To revive manufacturing the government needs to review the economic, social and legal barriers that have hampered its growth.

CHAPTER 8

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

During our first term, SFUP will curtail and completely resolve the circular debt problem which it inherited from the previous regimes. Public debt levels continue to face pressure from emerging crises, and our government must unravel the conflict that this creates in terms of financing essential public services and investing in the future. By the time the current government and the public sector enterprises have met their requirements, there is virtually nothing left for the private sector. Kenya's total public debt which was less than 5 trillion on 30th June 2015 has increased to over Kshs. 11 trillion by the end of 2024.

Kenya's fiscal performance in recent years reveals a mixed picture. While the economy has shown resilience with moderate growth, challenges remain in revenue collection, debt sustainability, and fiscal management. Policy recommendations focus on enhancing revenue mobilization, improving public financial management, and ensuring debt sustainability.

Fiscal Performance:

1. **Economic Growth:** Kenya's economy has experienced moderate growth, averaging around 5.0% between 2022 and 2024, surpassing the global and regional averages.
2. **Revenue Underperformance:** Kenya has faced persistent shortfalls in tax revenue collection, with the shortfall reaching 11.52% in 2024/25, despite nominal increases in tax revenues.
3. **Debt Sustainability:** Kenya's debt-to-GDP ratio remains above the sustainability threshold, and the debt service-to-revenue ratio is projected to exceed the limit in the coming years.
4. **Fiscal Deficit:** While the fiscal deficit is expected to improve in FY 2025/26, it remains a concern, requiring careful management.
5. **Public Spending:** Government spending has increased, but its impact on economic growth has been limited, and reliance on borrowing remains a key feature of fiscal policy.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Revenue Enhancement:**
 - Broadening the tax base by rationalizing tax exemptions, encouraging formalization, and reforming property taxes.
 - Strengthen tax compliance through improving tax administration and enforcement for increasing revenue collection.
 - Improve revenue forecasting by accurate forecasting and effective budgeting and resource allocation.
2. **Public Financial Management:**
 - Enhance efficiency and equity in public spending by focus on public financial management, including procurement and public-private partnerships.
 - Reform the wage bill and allowances and explore ways to optimize spending.

- Prioritize social protection, education, and health by increasing spending in these critical areas while ensuring efficient delivery of services.
- Implement strategies to clear outstanding government payments to contractors and suppliers.

3. Debt Sustainability:

- Implement a credible fiscal consolidation plan by slowing down the growth of public debt while ensuring service delivery.
- Improve debt monitoring, reporting, and risk management practices.
- Diversify financing sources and reduce reliance on expensive debt.

4. Fiscal Rules:

- Implement and enforce clear fiscal rules to guide government spending and borrowing.
- Improve the transparency of fiscal operations and ensure accountability for public funds.

By addressing these challenges and implementing the recommended policy measures, Kenya can improve its fiscal responsibility, ensure debt sustainability, and promote inclusive growth. SFUP will ensure that as a result of sound macro policies, public debt remains at sustainable level. Additionally, in order to decrease the fiscal deficit, SFUP will eliminate VIP culture and launch an austerity drive particularly expenses relating to the Presidency, Governors, Ministers and Parliamentarians will be significantly reduced.

The National Treasury will have to tighten its belt and implement firm austerity measures in all spheres of government including the reduction in size of the bloated Cabinet, the cutting down of wasteful expenditure on splashy lunches and unnecessary international travels by Ministers, improving security, reducing corruption and strengthening governance. Addressing them is exigent and improving each sector constitutes an indispensable building block to achieve the ultimate economic growth goals that can potentially move us from exhibiting the phenomena of the ‘lower income trap’ to middle income and ultimately a higher income level.

THEME 3: GOVERNANCE ASPIRATIONS:

Delivering Good Governance and Institutional Frameworks;

The third thematic focus centres on the critical role of good governance and accountability in building a fair and responsive leadership framework ranging from national offices to village structures. SFUP prioritizes the welfare of communities over personal interests, advocating for inclusive, transparent, and participatory governance that reflects the voices and needs of all Kenyans. Ultimately, the message is a rejection of corrupt practices, poor governance, and undemocratic tendencies and restore public trust through reforms, protect individual rights, and create a governance system. This theme includes the following Governance Aspirations:

1. National Security and Rule of Law:

Strengthen the rule of law, ensure an independent judiciary, and promote judicial reforms.

2. Devolution:

Implement effective decentralization policies, empower local governments, and promote citizen engagement in local decision-making.

3. Anti-Corruption:

Implement robust anti-corruption measures, strengthen institutions responsible for combating corruption, and promote ethical conduct in public service.

4. Public Service Reform:

Improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the public service through training, performance management, and merit-based recruitment.

5. Democracy and Good Governance:

Dedicate to upholding the principles of democracy and ensure a transparent, accountable, and citizen-centered governance that empowers the people and prioritizes their needs above political interests.

CHAPTER 9

NATIONAL SECURITY AND RULE OF LAW

National security must guarantee the sovereignty, integrity, stability and welfare of all the people of Kenya. Within this approach the national security policy contributes directly and indirectly to the social and economic development. The following play a role in this respect:

1. Addressing cross-bordering criminality;
2. Enforcement of the territorial security;
3. Guaranteeing an acceptable internal security level;
4. Increase and expand the knowledge and skill levels within the security organizations;
5. Strengthen and intensify the cooperation of institutions in charge of security.

This strategy will involve a multifaceted and multi-disciplinary approach through greater cooperation and coordination among those community organisations and key stakeholders such as religious bodies, security forces and the community to tackle these issues.

The constitution of Kenya 2010, Article 243 establishes the National Police Service and its mandate and functions are spelt out in the National Police Service Act 2011 and the National Police Service Commission Act 2011. To effectively perform its mandate, it is divided broadly into:

- 1) The Kenya Police Service,
- 2) The Administrative Police Service and
- 3) The Directorate Criminal Investigation.

As of 31st December, 2022 the total number of Police officers stood at 109,481 (89,663 being male and 19,818 being female officers) and the estimated population was 50.6 million people. Therefore, there was one police officer for every 462 Kenyans. The officers are deployed as follows:

- 1) Kenya Police Service 65,165; (53,918 males and 11,247 females);
- 2) Administration Police Service 36,377; (30,612 males and 5,765 females); and
- 3) Directorate of Criminal Investigations has 7,939 officers; (6,133 males while 1806 were female).

Kenya faces ongoing challenges to its national security and the rule of law, including terrorism, cross-border crime, and human rights violations. Addressing these issues requires a multi-faceted approach, including strengthening law enforcement, promoting human rights, enhancing border security, and fostering public trust through dialogue and accountability.

Key Statistics and Trends:

1. **Terrorism and Cross-Border Crime:** Kenya's proximity to Somalia and the Indian Ocean makes it vulnerable to terrorism, maritime piracy, and trafficking in persons, drugs, and arms, according to the Crime Research Centre.
2. **Human Rights Violations:** Reports indicate instances of police brutality, arbitrary arrests, and unlawful interference with privacy, particularly during security operations.

3. **Rule of Law:** The judiciary has made progress in administration of justice, but challenges remain in areas like delays in cases and corruption, according to the Judiciary and the University of Maine System.
4. **Economic Inequality:** Poverty and vulnerability to climate change and economic shocks disproportionately affect rural and marginalized communities, particularly women and girls.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

The objective to reform Kenya's security policy, re-establish public safety as a national priority, and strengthen the government's capacity to respond effectively to complex and evolving security challenges to ensure the protection of all citizens.

1. Strengthen Law Enforcement and Security:

- Enhance capacity building and training for law enforcement agencies.
- Implement measures to prevent and address police brutality and human rights violations.
- Improve intelligence gathering and sharing to counter terrorism and other security threats.
- Strengthen border security and control to curb cross-border crime.

2. Promote Human Rights and the Rule of Law:

- Ensure transparency and accountability in law enforcement and judicial processes.
- Invest in legal aid services to ensure access to justice for all.
- Protect human rights defenders and ensure their safety.
- Uphold constitutional rights and freedoms.
- The rule of law must be strengthened and enforced with humanity and fairness.

3. Foster Public Trust and Engagement:

- Promote dialogue and participation of citizens in policy-making processes.
- Address grievances and build trust between citizens and authorities.
- A responsive and community-engaged police presence is essential across all regions.
- Crime prevention should be the cornerstone of policing strategies.

4. Address Economic Inequality:

- Invest in programs that support vulnerable communities and promote economic empowerment.
- Implement policies to mitigate the effects of climate change on livelihoods and food security.

5. Strengthen Cybersecurity:

- Enhance data protection measures and cybersecurity infrastructure.
- Promote public awareness and education on cybersecurity threats.

- Encourage collaboration between public and private sectors to combat cybercrime.
- In today's digital and global landscape, crime continues to evolve, demanding that law enforcement remain adaptive, accessible, and equipped to serve both in person and online.

It is essential that all young people experience inclusion in society and find meaningful engagement through education, employment, or constructive leisure activities.

Social Justice System

Kenya is a sovereign nation governed by the Constitution of Kenya (2010), which guarantees the protection and advancement of citizens' rights through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Our shared future must be grounded in the equal and universal application of this constitutional framework. Building on the foundational role of restoring a robust and independent judiciary, SFUP reaffirms its unwavering commitment to upholding judicial independence, as enshrined in the Constitution. In response, SFUP will implement the following measures:

1. Commit to immediate action to deliver timely, affordable justice for all, particularly for ordinary citizens and ensure courts are responsive to the mental and emotional toll on litigants caused by prolonged cases, firmly upholding the principle that justice delayed is justice denied.
2. Drastically reduce case backlogs across all judicial levels by simplifying procedures and enforcing stricter timelines through legislative reforms, including:
 - Completion of civil trials within one year and appellate proceedings within the following year.
 - Resolution of criminal trials within six months and related appeals within one year.
3. Enforce provisions for day-to-day hearings and impose penalties for unwarranted delays or frivolous litigation.
4. Ensure we bring justice closer to the people by supporting the establishment of the new judicial court, taking into account the needs of the public to access justice and the availability of legal professionals.
5. Provide courts with essential support staff, state-of-the-art technology, and equip the judiciary with modern infrastructure and access to subject-matter expertise to handle increasingly complex legal matters.
6. Enhance the capacity of courts by increasing material and human resources to support faster prosecutions while ensuring adherence to constitutional rights.
7. Introduce judicial or Ombudsman review mechanisms to limit unchecked ministerial discretion and ensure accountability.
8. Reinforce a judiciary that is free, impartial, and immune from political or external pressure, supported by independent prosecutors and judges.
9. Promote digital case processing and automation to increase efficiency and transparency.

Defense and Borders Protection

The responsibility to defend the nation lies with every citizen, regardless of social background. National defense is central to the preservation of Kenya's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the maintenance of a free and democratic society. Article 241(1) of the Constitution establishes the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), which comprises the Kenya Army, Kenya Air Force, and Kenya Navy, as outlined in Article 241(2). The Kenya Defence Forces are mandated to:

- Defend and protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kenya;
- Assist and cooperate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster, reporting to the National Assembly whenever deployed in such circumstances; and
- Be deployed to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability, subject to approval by the National Assembly.

The core objectives of Kenya's defence policy are to:

- Uphold and safeguard Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, including robust measures against foreign interference in national affairs and democratic institutions.
- Fulfil regional and international defence and peacekeeping obligations.
- Collaborate with international allies when aligned with Kenya's national interests, to promote the rights and freedoms of people globally.

As a key function of government, restoring and strengthening the operational capacity of the Kenya Defence Forces is essential. A modern, well-trained, and well-equipped military is critical to securing Kenya's sovereignty and national interests. To address these challenges, SFUP will:

1. Develop and implement a comprehensive, long-term foreign affairs and national security strategy rooted in the best interests and welfare of the Kenyan people.
2. Rebuild Kenya's defence capabilities, not only to safeguard national sovereignty but also to strengthen the country's ability to prevent and manage crises.
3. Enhance the Kenya Defence Forces' operational readiness, combat effectiveness, and resilience and equip them for emergency response services with the necessary tools and resources to respond effectively to national emergencies.
4. Gradually increase defence funding to ensure the KDF is adequately resourced, targeting a minimum of 4% of GDP allocated to defence by 2030.
5. Modernize the armed forces through strategic investments in new technologies, equipment, and materiel.
6. Establish a non-partisan parliamentary committee, supported by defence experts, to review and approve military procurement and modernization strategies, ensuring decisions are driven by operational effectiveness.

Citizenship and Immigration

Citizenship is deeply connected to national history, language, culture, and shared values. Kenya, as a nation-state, was formed from diverse pre-capitalist societies and is composed of a rich mosaic of ethnicities,

religions, and cultures, each with its own distinct historical development. Articles 14 to 17 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) affirm that citizenship encompasses all groups and communities, recognizing Kenyan nationality by birth or through registration. All Kenyan citizens - regardless of ethnicity or origin - have the right to participate meaningfully in national decision-making, moving away from divisive narratives of majority versus minority. Applicants seeking Kenyan citizenship must demonstrate proficiency in at least one national language sufficient for participation in civic life, employment, and social interaction. This reflects a broader vision of integration - one that upholds support and inclusion while also expecting civic responsibility and active engagement. Citizenship should only be granted to immigrant adults who meet these integration requirements.

In the wake of mass migration, a loosely regulated migration industry has emerged, contributing to rising costs and a lack of transparency. There is currently no comprehensive cost analysis or strategic oversight in immigration management, a gap that must be addressed through legal and policy reforms. Controlled immigration must be underpinned by the individual's ability to integrate, professional qualifications, and a confirmed job offer prior to arrival.

As a sovereign state, Kenya must exercise full control over the volume and nature of immigration, prioritizing domestic labour development while welcoming only those highly skilled migrants who can contribute meaningfully to national economic growth. Entry by low-skilled individuals - often through asylum misuse - adds strain on public resources and complicates integration. It is important to avoid the emergence of unintended incentives or narratives - often fueled by lobbying efforts or media campaigns - that encourage non-compliance with repatriation orders. Support for such individuals should be limited to the legally mandated minimum, primarily in the form of basic in-kind assistance.

To address these challenges, SFUP will implement the following initiatives:

1. Grant Kenyan citizenship to children adopted from abroad by Kenyan citizens upon finalization of the adoption process.
2. Conduct a comprehensive review of the Citizenship Act to align it with the current realities and national interests.
3. Introduce legislation to eliminate automatic birthright citizenship, ensuring that at least one parent of a child born in Kenya is either a Kenyan citizen or a permanent resident.
4. Enforce strict controls at border checkpoints to prevent illegal crossings and ensure national security.
5. Mandate identity verification, including country of origin and nationality, to eliminate fraudulent asylum claims and prevent manipulation of the asylum quota.
6. Improve conditions in refugee shelters within conflict regions to reduce migration pressure and enable cost-effective humanitarian support closer to home.
7. Require all immigrants to actively integrate into Kenyan society. Those unwilling to do so will face sanctions, including possible revocation of residency rights.

CHAPTER 10

DEVOLOUTION

Devolution goes beyond policy it's about bringing governance closer to the people. This requires counties to be not only well-resourced but also equipped with the capacity to respond to local needs. Emphasis is placed on community participation, elected local representation, and a proactive approach to crises through early warning and response systems. The party envisions a governance structure where political, financial, and administrative powers are truly devolved to county levels. This includes inclusive representation across different social groups women, youth, workers, and minorities to ensure broader participation in governance. The key statistics and trends to decentralization include:

1. **Improved Service Delivery:** Counties have expanded access to health facilities, with increased deliveries attended by qualified birth attendants and stabilized immunization rates.
2. **Agricultural Sector Challenges:** Core agricultural extension services have declined since devolution, though counties have provided farmers with input subsidies.
3. **Mixed Urban Development:** Newly created urban institutions are still weak, and some counties are slow to empower them.
4. **Revenue Generation:** While some counties have shown improvement in revenue collection, others struggle with revenue mobilization and depend heavily on the equitable share from the national government.
5. **Citizen Participation:** Kenya has seen growth in citizen-state interaction and participatory tools for local service delivery.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. **Capacity Building:** Strengthen county governments' capacity in financial management, project planning, and service delivery to ensure effective and efficient utilization of resources.
2. **Revenue Mobilization and Sharing:** Counties should prioritize increasing their own source revenue to reduce dependence on the national government and enhance financial autonomy.
3. **Citizen Engagement:** Enhance citizen participation in planning and budgeting processes to ensure that county development aligns with local needs and priorities.
4. **Strengthen Urban Areas:** Support and empower newly created urban institutions to function effectively and contribute to urban development.
5. **Address Inequality:** Implement targeted interventions to address regional and social inequalities and ensure that all Kenyans benefit from devolution.
6. **Promote Transparency and Accountability:** Strengthen accountability mechanisms at the county level to ensure efficient and transparent use of public funds.

7. **Improve Coordination:** Enhance coordination between national and county governments to ensure effective implementation of devolved functions and avoid duplication of efforts.
8. **Investing in Technology:** Counties should leverage technology to improve service delivery, enhance revenue collection, and promote transparency.
9. **Focus on Agriculture:** Revitalize agricultural extension services and support farmers to adopt climate-smart, market-oriented farming practices.

Further, the goal is to foster ownership and accountability at the grassroots, creating a governance model where solutions are locally informed and locally executed.

1. Through devolution Counties would benefit from shared learning experiences and inter-county cooperation to uplift each other and maintain consistent standards of democratic practices and service delivery across the nation.
2. Counties should be granted maximum autonomy while maintaining national coherence through shared values, guided by what it calls the “Kenyan Code.”
3. Practical governance, reduced bureaucracy, and participatory development are strategies that help to harmonize inter-county development, empowering communities to participate in local governance, and tailoring solutions to reflect the diverse realities of different counties.
4. SFUP proposes structural reforms, increased funding (from 15% to 30% of national revenue), and greater accountability at the county level. It advocates for legislative actions and policies that would clarify roles, streamline operations, and ensure the holistic functioning of devolved systems.
5. Develop a comprehensive action plan to reform devolution and strengthen local governance. This includes proposing constitutional amendments, improving inter-county trade, implementing transparency mechanisms, and aligning development with both national goals and international standards like the UN SDGs.
6. SFUP will outline a multi-faceted approach to devolution: from supporting traditional leadership to modernizing land records, and developing county-based infrastructure and education systems. The aim is to transform counties into vibrant, self-reliant units that contribute meaningfully to Kenya’s unity, stability, and prosperity.

CHAPTER 11

ANTI-CORRUPTION

Corruption has escalated to unprecedented levels in recent years, undermining public trust, weakening institutions, and hindering national development. While efforts like the National Ethics and Corruption Survey (NECS) published by the EACC, and asset recovery initiatives are underway, significant issues remain. Key recommendations include strengthening legal frameworks, promoting transparency, and fostering public participation in the fight against corruption. The following are the statistics and key trends:

- 1. Perceptions of Corruption:** Studies show a perception of high corruption levels at both county and national government levels.
- 2. Prevalent Forms:** Bribery, favoritism, and abuse of office are frequently cited as common forms of corruption in public service.
- 3. Service Areas Prone to Corruption:** Recruitment/promotion of public officers, arbitrary arrests, and procurement procedures are identified as areas where corruption is prevalent.
- 4. Impact on Development:** Corruption hinders economic growth, effective service delivery, and achievement of development goals.
- 5. Government Commitment:** Public perception of government commitment in the fight against corruption has fluctuated, with some studies showing a decline in perceived commitment.
- 6. Citizen Involvement:** A significant portion of the population reports having done nothing to support the fight against corruption.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. Enhance anti-corruption legislation and enforcement mechanisms to deter corrupt practices.
2. Increase transparency in government operations, public procurement processes, and financial management.
3. Strengthen budgeting, reporting, and auditing processes, especially at the county level, to prevent misappropriation of funds.
4. Encourage citizen engagement in monitoring public services, reporting corruption, and advocating for transparency.
5. Promote ethical conduct within public institutions and among citizens through education, awareness campaigns, and enforcement of codes of conduct.
6. Provide adequate resources and support to institutions like the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) to effectively investigate and prosecute corruption cases.
7. Ensure that those involved in corruption are held accountable for their actions through timely and effective prosecution.

8. Leverage technology to enhance transparency, improve service delivery, and streamline reporting mechanisms.
7. Enforce a strict zero-tolerance policy on corruption across all sectors and levels of government.
8. Take decisive and unwavering action to identify, investigate, and eradicate corruption wherever it is found.
9. Strengthen the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) to ensure its full administrative, functional, and financial independence, enabling it to exercise broad and effective powers in holding public officials accountable in a fair, impartial, and transparent manner.
10. Minimize opportunities for corruption by ensuring that all decisions are based strictly on merit, in accordance with existing laws and regulatory frameworks.
11. Enhance the capacity of law enforcement and the judiciary to combat crime more efficiently, with a firm commitment to expediting the delivery of justice and restoring the credibility of the legal system.
12. Guarantee robust legal protection for citizens by ensuring that justice is not only accessible but delivered with integrity, timeliness, and fairness.
13. Empower the EACC with more punitive options for repeat offenders of the Conflict-of-Interest Policy to ensure compliance.
14. Protect the best interests of consumers by fostering competition in the financial services sector and ensuring there is appropriate regulations, balanced with stability and opportunity for success and growth in these institutions.
15. Ensure the national, securities regulator has robust enforcement powers so as to effectively fight white collar crime and protect the savings and investments of Kenyans.

CHAPTER 12

PUBLIC SERVICE

SFUP plans a comprehensive reform of the civil service as part of a broader agenda to restructure the state apparatus for democratic governance. Statistics show varying degrees of compliance with proactive disclosure of information, with ministries generally more compliant than state corporations. These include:

1. **Information Disclosure:** A survey indicated that while most state corporations disclose basic information about themselves, a significant portion does not fully disclose information on decision-making processes, resource utilization, and procurement.
2. **Public Finance Management:** The government is focusing on safeguarding livelihoods, creating jobs, and reviving businesses, with an emphasis on justifying all expenditure items in the budget.
3. **Governance Reforms:** The government is working to improve conflict-of-interest frameworks, strengthen controls on money laundering, and digitize services like traffic fines.
4. **ICT Adoption:** The public service is increasingly adopting ICT to enhance service delivery.
5. **Huduma Centres:** These centers are being strengthened to provide efficient citizen services, including the use of biometric services and enhanced cybersecurity measures.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. Enhance transparency and accountability in public institutions by promoting proactive disclosure of information, strengthening conflict-of-interest frameworks, and improving public financial management.
2. Invest in infrastructure and technology to improve service delivery at Huduma centers, ensure equitable access to services, and protect citizens' data.
3. Implement reforms to manage public debt, improve revenue mobilization, and optimize public expenditure.
4. Continue to promote ethical standards, codes of conduct, and integrity in the public service.
5. Provide training and capacity building for public sector leaders to enhance their skills and effectiveness.
6. Invest in internet infrastructure and digital literacy to ensure equitable access to public services.
7. Continue to prosecute corruption cases and strengthen measures to prevent and combat corruption.

The goal is to create a more efficient, accountable, and transparent public service system that is responsive to citizens' needs. Key priorities include transitioning the civil service into a merit-based, high-performance institution. Reforms will focus:

1. Expansion of e-governance, use of GIS tools, and mobile platforms to improve efficiency and service delivery.
2. Emphasize on Resource mobilization and smarter expenditure management through professional project oversight, e-procurement systems, and performance-based budgeting.

3. Strengthen strategic policy planning and implementation capabilities within all government institutions.
4. Professionalize the civil service by reforming public sector training institutions, aligning public benefits and pensions with the private sector, and institutionalizing a comprehensive human resource system.
5. Deepen transparency in areas like taxation, procurement, and political lobbying, ensuring that civil service reforms foster trust, innovation, and efficiency across all levels of government.
6. Review mechanism of evaluation of performance and accountability of civil servants and its link with the system of remuneration of civil servants.
7. Develop an effective system of training and retraining of public administrative staff and building capacity of personnel, as the most important intellectual and professional resource.
8. Ensure there are no dismissals or demotion of public officers serving in the various capacities without good cause or on political grounds.
9. Establish a process that allows for continual assessment of services to identify ineffective and/or inefficient programs by evaluating them against appropriate performance measures;
10. Adopt a new framework to ensure accountability and transparency in the public sector by subjecting the public sector to more scrutiny.
11. Improve the staff performance, work environment, work processes and productivity and effectiveness of the public service within the limits of a sustainable budget.
12. Establish mechanisms for developing a comprehensive policy on human resource planning and training to effectively consolidate into one single plan the needs of all government ministries, parastatals and departments.
13. Ensure transparency in recruitment and promotions to eliminate discrimination and to increase the representation of women and other marginalised groups in decision making positions.
14. Develop local indicators to measure the progress of good governance initiatives and scrutinize the performance of the sectors; this information must also be made available and easily understandable to the public.
15. Conduct regular monitoring of effectiveness of planned activities and assessment of public administration's performance.

CHAPTER 13

DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

SFUP believes that democracy is an evolving process that must continuously adapt to meet the needs of the people. Kenya's current democratic and electoral systems require urgent reform due to persistent violations of norms such as transparency, honesty, and accountability by public officials. The party acknowledges that ineffective governance harms the poor the most, contributing to environmental degradation, inflation, and poor public service delivery.

Democratic governance, extends beyond traditional good governance to include strong institutions such as Parliament, the Judiciary, and Election Commission. While elections are generally considered free and fair, with high voter turnout indicating participation, issues like corruption, weak institutions, and unequal treatment persist. The following are statistics and observations:

1. **Electoral Participation:** High voter turnout in elections suggests citizen engagement and a desire to influence political outcomes.
2. **Representation:** Kenya performs in the mid-range in terms of representation, rights, rule of law, and participation, according to the Global State of Democracy framework.
3. **Equal Treatment:** A significant portion of Kenyans feel they are not treated equally by the government, particularly regarding the handling of concerns, rights, and interests.
4. **Corruption:** Corruption remains a challenge, despite efforts to address it, with some laws being weak or not enforced.
5. **Institutional Weakness:** Weak institutions, particularly at the national and county levels, contribute to a lack of accountability and compliance.

SFUP Policy Recommendations:

1. Invest in and empower institutions like the Judiciary, anti-corruption agencies, and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to enhance their effectiveness and independence.
2. Implement measures to ensure transparency in public procurement, financial management, and decision-making processes.
3. Enforce existing anti-corruption laws, strengthen legal frameworks, and promote ethical conduct within public service.
4. Address inequalities and ensure that all citizens have equal access to opportunities and resources, regardless of their background.
5. Create avenues for meaningful citizen participation in governance, including public consultations, civic education, and community engagement.
6. Ensure the effective implementation of devolution, empowering county governments to deliver services and promote local development.

7. Address the country's debt burden, promote sustainable economic growth, and ensure equitable distribution of resources.
8. Champion inclusive leadership and broader representation across all government levels.
9. Restore trust in governance and enable Kenyans to have a direct influence on decisions affecting their lives. This vision includes a political framework free from discrimination and tribalism - one that values unity in diversity, respects all communities, and ensures equal access to opportunities for all citizens.
10. Propose a range of governance and electoral reforms. These include holding a national referendum before any electoral system changes, limiting public funding of political parties, and tightening regulations around political donations.
11. Emphasize the importance of increasing youth participation in elections, strengthening anti-corruption measures, and safeguarding the independence of institutions like the judiciary and the Election Commission to reinforce democratic foundations.
12. Encourage youth and family involvement in politics and is committed to ensuring gender diversity by supporting mechanisms that will increase the election of women in future elections.

By addressing these areas, Kenya can further solidify its democratic gains and create a more just, equitable, and prosperous society for all its citizens. Kenya stands at a historic turning point - a moment that demands not just the replacement of leaders, but a total transformation of the philosophy, priorities, and outcomes of governance. For over two decades, Kenyans have endured a cycle of leadership that has too often been marked by broken promises, exclusionary politics, economic stagnation, and a deepening public disillusionment. This must end. The next election is not just about votes - it is about values. It is about whether we will continue with a system that serves the few, or whether we will rise to build a country that works for all.

Future election is not just another election but rather a referendum on the soul of this nation; on Kenya's Future. It is a chance to finally break the chains of ethnic politics and crony capitalism. The appeal to every Kenyan is to rise above the politics of division, look beyond tribe, religion, or region and vote for competence, integrity, and vision. Voting for a leadership that is accountable to the citizens and not to vested interests. Our nation is crying out for visionary leadership - leadership that can inspire, unite, and transform. We need leaders who do not divide by tribe, age, or faith, but who unite by shared purpose and a common vision of progress. We must elect leaders who not only understand the pain of the people but who are prepared to act decisively to alleviate it. Kenyans must return to the fundamental truth that governance exists for one purpose: to serve the people. Every policy, every budget, every decision must be geared toward one overarching goal - securing the prosperity, dignity, and well-being of every Kenyan.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSION

A New Kenya, Built by Kenyans, for Kenyans

We envision a Kenya that our people are proud to live in, not one they are desperate to leave. A Kenya where opportunity is not a privilege for the few, but a right for the many. A Kenya where our youth stay and build rather than flee and beg. A Kenya that attracts investment, nurtures innovation, and restores faith in the future. SFUP movement is designed to offer more than a political alternative - it offers a new national direction. Our agenda is deeply rooted in practical solutions, bold reforms, and a deep belief in the potential of the Kenyan people. We are ready to lead a new economic era marked by job creation, industrial revival, agricultural modernization, and equitable development.

Our manifesto is not a theoretical wish list. It is a carefully developed roadmap that outlines clear, actionable policies across various sector. It reflects the input of civil society, experts, workers, youth, women, and grassroots voices across Kenya. At its core, the SFUP platform is anchored in three powerful principles:

- Social Welfare that guarantees every Kenyan the right to quality education, healthcare, housing, and security.
- Economic Strength through re-industrialization, innovation, SME empowerment, and the revitalization of agriculture and local manufacturing.
- Governance and Accountability where everyone should be evaluated on the basis of merit, respect of democratic institutions, the rule of law and the protection of human rights as well as good neighbourliness.

A National Call to Action

Kenya's challenges are real - inequality, unemployment, insecurity, and the rising cost of living. But so too is our capacity to overcome them - if we unite. We must summon the same collective will and moral clarity that defined our forefathers' fight for liberation. Without unity, we cannot progress. Without purpose, we cannot prosper. Let this be our generation's legacy - not one of survival, but of resurgence. Let us walk into the future not with despair, but with determination. Not as fragmented groups, but as a united people - intelligent, courageous, and ready to take back our country. Kenya's rebirth starts now.

The future will not wait.

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