

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	i
1. District Context.....	1
1.1. Demographic characteristics.....	1
1.2. Socio-economic Profile.....	1
2. Constituency Profile.....	1
2.1. Demographic characteristics.....	1
2.2. Socio-economic Profile.....	2
2.3. Electioneering and Political Information.....	2
2.4. 1992 Election Results.....	2
2.5. 1997 Election Results.....	3
2.6. Main problems.....	3
3. Constitution Making/Review Process.....	3
3.1. Constituency Constitutional Forums (CCFs).....	3
3.2. District Coordinators.....	5
4. Civic Education.....	6
4.1. Phases covered in Civic Education	6
4.2. Issues and Areas Covered	6
5. Constituency Public Hearings.....	7
5.1. Logistical Details.....	7
5.2. Attendants Details.....	7
5.3. Concerns and Recommendations.....	8
Appendices	28

1. DISTRICT CONTEXT

Kamukunji constituency falls within Nairobi province.

1.1. Demographic characteristics

District Population by Sex	Male	Female	Total
	1,153,828	989,426	2,143,254
Total District Population Aged 18 years & Below	397,038	429,639	826,677
Total District Population Aged Above 18 years	756,790	559,787	1,316,577
District Population by sex	1,153,828	989,426	2,143,254
Population Density (persons/Km ²)	3,079		

1.2. Socio-economic Profile

Nairobi province has:

- The highest urban population in Kenya.
- The highest population density.
- A young population structure.
- The highest monthly mean household income in the country and the least number of malnourished children
- More than 50% of the population living in absolute poverty
- High inequalities by class and other social economic variables
- Very low primary and secondary school enrollments
- Poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation

Nairobi has eight constituencies. It has been an overwhelmingly opposition stronghold. In the 1997 parliamentary elections, opposition parties took up 7 out of 8 seats. In 1997, Nairobi seats were competitively contested by the main political parties leading to low victory margins for the eventual winners. DP won 5 of the 8 Nairobi seats then. Each MP represents approximately 267,907 persons, occupying an estimated 87 Km².

2. CONSTITUENCY PROFILE

Kamukunji comprises of Muthurwa and Shauri Moyo sub-locations of Kamukunji location. Majengo sub-location, Eastleigh North and Eastleigh South sub-locations of Eastleigh location; and Kimathi and Uhuru sub-locations of Bahati location of Nairobi area.

2.1. Demographic Characteristics

Constituency population by sex	Male	Female	Total	Area Km ²	Density/ persons per Km ²
	789,93	675,29	146,522	5.6	26,164

2.2. Socio-Economic Profile

The constituency houses some of the oldest residential areas in Nairobi. These include Shauri Moyo, Bahati, Eastleigh and Uhuru estates. It's both a residential and business oriented constituency. There are numerous formal and informal businesses taking place in this constituency: There are shops, open-air markets, Jua kali sheds among others. Majority of the residents are also workers in different government ministries, privately owned companies, among others.

2.3. Electioneering and Political Information

The late Tom Mboya represented the constituency from 1963-1969 when he was assassinated. At that time it was known as Nairobi Central Constituency. Later, Kamukunji was identified with Maina Wanjigi who held the seat continuously thereafter, except for a one-term period [1979-1983] when Nicholas Gor occupied it. In 1990 Wanjigi was sacked for condemning the brutal demolition of the of the famous Muhoroto slums. Running on a KNC ticket, Wanjigi lost Kamukunji in 1992 to George Nthenge of FORD-A. In 1997, the seat went to Norman N.G.K Nyaga on a DP ticket. Like the rest of Nairobi Constituencies, the opposition since 1992 has always worn the seat. In 2002, the National Rainbow Coalition took the seat.

2.4. 1992 Election Results

Candidate	Party	Votes	% Of Valid Votes
George Nthenge	FORD-A	16,847	41.66%
Hassan Ali Adam	DP	7,338	18.14%
Gordon Jalango	FORD-K	6,233	15.41%
Jimmy Kuria	KANU	5,618	13.89%
Maina Wanjigi	KNC	3,642	9.01%
Juma Mponda	PICK	766	1.89%
Total Valid Votes		40.444	100.00%
Rejected Votes		-	
Total Votes Cast		40,444	
Voter Turnout		54.46%	
% Rejected/Votes Cast		0.00%	

2.5. 1997 Election Results

Candidate	Party	Votes	% Of Valid Votes
Norman M.G.K. Nyaga	DP	10,477	32.11%
Hassan Ali Adams	KANU	6,545	20.06%
Clement Muturi Kigano	SAFINA	5,909	18.11%
Wambui Otieno	NDP	3,974	12.18%
Anne Ndunge Bittock	SDP	1,986	6.09%
James Kuria Njine	FORD-P	1,736	5.32%
Eliakim Malumbe Victor	FORD-K	983	3.01%
George G.W.Nthenge	FORD-A	607	1.86%
Douglas Githumbi	LPK	255	0.78%
Nicholas Gathu Mbugua	KENDA	152	0.47%
Total Valid Votes	32,624		100.00%
Rejected Votes	446		
Total Votes Cast	33,070		
Voter Turnout	50.15%		
% Rejected/ Cast Votes	1.35%		

2.6. Main Problems

One of the long running issues in Kamukunji is the controversy over the adjacent Machakos bus station which is said to have been allocated to a private enterprise, Park Towers Limited. Hawkers in the bus station would like to be allocated some land in order that they may put up permanent structures. Residents feel cheated that the Government promised to replace the mud-walled houses with decent low cost housing that never materialized.

3. CONSTITUTION MAKING/REVIEW PROCESS

3.1. Constituency Constitutional Forums (CCFs)

3.1.1. Philosophy

The Constituency Constitutional Forum (CCF) plays a very significant role in the review of the constitution. It is designated as one of the organs ‘ through which the review process shall be conducted’ - (sec. 4(1) of the Constitution of Kenya Review Act, Cap.3A). The importance attached to the CCF arises from the recognition of the need to involve the people fully in the review of the constitution. Only through such participation of the public will the new constitution reflect the preferences, hopes and aspirations of the people. It would also increase people’s knowledge of constitutional issues, and facilitate their familiarity with the provisions of

the new constitution. Additionally, the process, enhances the legitimacy of the constitution among Kenyans and their sense of ownership over it. In these ways the proper implementation and safeguarding of the constitution will be facilitated.

3.1.2. **Composition and Establishment**

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

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

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

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

3.1.3. **Functions of CCF**

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

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

3.1.4. **Functions of CCC**

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

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

3.1.5. **Date of Commencement of Work**

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

3.2. **District Coordinators**

3.2.1. **Mandate/Terms of Reference**

- Be the local grass root representative;
- Perform the generalization activities in the district;
- Be in charge of the documentation center/s in the district, facilitate its/their respective management, ensuring they are stocked and are easily accessible to the public and also organize their safety and security;
- Gathering any relevant local information and materials for the purpose of constitution making;
- Facilitate the identification, classification and organization of the physical and electronic retrieval and dissemination of information and materials for constitution making;
- Supply such information needed by local constituency forums and committees;
- Liaise with other documentation centers nearby and others for information;

- In collaboration with constituency committees, identify and arrange venues for public hearing whenever the CKRC visits the constituencies in their area;
- Facilitate regular meetings of the constituency committees and involve local people as much as possible in discussing constitutional issues;
- Source and identify other key personnel that the CKRC may wish to consult or engage in its work;
- Identify and arrange for simultaneous local translations, sign language users, procurement and hiring of public address systems, transport and communication facilities for CKRC's meetings in the district;
- Monitor the implementation of civic education by civic education providers in the district;
- Facilitate the formation of constituency committees with guidance and assistance of CKRC; and
- Perform any other tasks as directed by CKRC.

3.2.2. **Criteria for Appointment**

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

4. **CIVIC EDUCATION**

Civic education in the constitution was carried out between 1st February 2002 and 23rd May 2002

4.1. **Phases covered in civic education**

Stage 1 is the only phase that has been covered. This is the stage preceding collection of views. This stage dealt with information, knowledge, skills and virtues that enabled Kenyans to have an informed choice and present their views on constitutional review.

4.2. **Issues and areas covered**

- The constitution of Kenya
- Structures and system of government
- Governance
- Issues and questions for public hearing
- Emerging constitutional issues
- Constitution making process

5. **CONSTITUENCY PUBLIC HEARINGS**

5.1. **Logistical Details**

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

- a) Date(s): 28th and 29th May 2002
- b) Total Number of Days: 2

2. Venues

- a) Number of Venues: 3
- b) Venue(s):
 - 1) Pumwani Social Hall
 - 2) Bahati Social Hall
 - 3) Pumwani Community Centre

3. Panels

- a) Commissioners
 - 1. Com. Ibrahim Lethome
 - 2. Com. Paul Wambua
 - 3. Com. Githu Muigai
- b) Secretariat
 - 1. Solomon Mukenion -Programme Officer
 - 2. Collins Mukewa -Programme Office
 - 3. Andrew Obwayo -Assistant Programme Officer
 - 4. Grace Gitu -Verbatim Recorder

5.2. Attendance Details

A total of 154 participants gave views in Kamkunji constituency. Majority of the presenters were individuals with men being dominant. Groups, which included political parties, and women groups made a total of 34 presentations. The main parties were Kanu and Democratic Party of Kenya. Women Organizations were led by The Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development.

5.3. Concerns And Recommendations

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

5.3.1. PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

- There should be a preamble in the constitution of Kenya. (8)
- Preamble should emphasize that the constitution be the preserve and the will of all the people.
- The Preamble should emphasize that Kenya is a God fearing Nation.
- Preamble should highlight the history of Kenya, its neighbors and geographical jurisdiction.
- The constitution should have a preamble stating that it is protected by all Kenyans
- The preamble should have a statement that recognizes the fact that Kenya is independent because of bravery and sacrifices by freedom fighters (2)

5.3.2. DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE

The constitution should:

- Entrench the 10 commandments in the constitution.
- Uphold democracy. (2)
- Set values of honesty and trust in Kenyan politics.
- Promote peace.
- Outlaw all forms of discrimination.
- Provide for justice for all.
- Provide for obedience to international law and human rights.
- Ensure that all Kenyans are protected and live under the rule of law.
- Make provisions that would require the government to implement all commission findings and recommendations.

5.3.3. CONSTITUTIONAL SUPREMACY

- Make the culture of Kenya supreme over all other doctrines
- Emphasize that parliament shall have full power to amend the constitution.
- The parliament should have the power to amend the constitution by 2/3rds majority. (2)
- The senate should have the power to amend the constitution by a 75% majority vote.
- Emphasize that parliament shall not have the power to amend the constitution.
- Provide that a constitutional amendment be done only through a public referendum. (4)
- Empower the judiciary to preserve, uphold and amend the constitution.
- Provide for periodic constitution reviews.

- Provide strict rules for amendment of the constitution
- The constitution should be strictly upheld, preserved, protected and be implemented accordingly

5.3.4. **CITIZENSHIP**

The constitution should:

- Grant citizenship only to children born in Kenya by Kenyan parents.
- Grant citizenship to all children born in Kenya. (6)
- Make citizenship difficult for foreigners.
- Grant automatic citizenship to anyone who lives in Kenya for 5 years and applies for citizenship.
- Not grant citizenship to children born out of wedlock outside Kenya.
- Ensure that children born of Kenyan parents regardless of the parent's residence be entitled to automatic citizenship.
- Allow for dual citizenship. (5)
- Ensure spouses and children of Kenyan citizens regardless of gender are entitled to automatic citizenship. (6)
- Ensure that all spouses of Kenyan citizens be granted automatic citizenship upon registration.
- Empower chiefs to issue certificate of citizenship.
- Provide for free citizenship and equal rights to all citizens regardless of how the citizenship was obtained.
- Provide for passports to all Kenyans.
- Provide for all citizens to be treated equally before the law.
- Grant all Kenyan citizens a right to vote.
- The national identity card should be the document of evidence of citizenship. (5)
- The national identity card should be easily attainable by all Kenyans.
- The national identity card should be issued automatically to all persons over 18 years.
- Ensure that it is a right for all Kenyans to acquire the national identity card.
- Provide that all Kenyans of Somali origin without screening cards be forced to leave the country.

5.3.5. **DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

The constitution should provide:

- For the privatization of the armed forces
- That the president shall not be the commander in chief of the armed forces (3)
- For a review of the police act (2)
- For the establishment of disciplined forces in the constitution
- For parliament to approve the deployment of all armed forces on combat duties
- For independence of the police force
- For police officers to have at least primary education
- For police officers to have at least O'level education
- For police officers to be retrained to increase their productivity (5)
- For police officers to be subjected to common exams and re-ranking to increase their efficiency
- That the president shall consult parliament before declaring war
- Ban plain clothes policemen so that all police on duty wear uniform (2)
- For better salaries and housing for police officers.
- That defense forces be involved in other services such as community work.
- For re-engineering the police force.
- That if there is insecurity in more than 20 districts the government shall be disbanded.
- Criminalization of arbitrary killings, arrests and malicious prosecution by the police. (5)
- For police to undergo public relations courses (4)
- Minimum qualification for police at KCSE
- That the government regulates vigilante groups
- Overhaul the present training curriculum at Kiganjo
- Checking system for police officers leaving service
- Limiting the custody before trial to 3-4 days
 - For the police force to be provided with decent housing (2)
 - Put basic salary for police officers at 10,000 Kshs

5.3.6. **POLITICAL PARTIES**

The constitution should:

- Provide broad guidelines for the formation, management and conduct of political parties. (3)
- Provide for political parties to have a clear development agenda
- Provide that all political parties shall have a right to be registered
- Ensure that political parties realize their manifestos and the registrar of societies shall implement them.
- Provide for funding of political parties by the state
- Ensure there is no funding of political parties by the state.
- Ensure accountability of funds in political parties
- Confer the electoral commission and the registrar of societies the power to register political parties.
- Provide for Independent candidates.
- Provide that to form a party at least 5,000 signatures should be drawn for a petition
- Provide for only 2 political parties

- Provide for only 3 political parties (5).
- Provide for only 4 political parties (2).
- Provide that political parties shall not be funded from public coffers
- Provide that the president shall not be a member of any political party (2)
- Debar public servants from supporting any political party

5.3.7. **STRUCTURES AND SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT**

The constitution should:

- Decentralize and devolve power
- Provide for a presidential system of government. (5)
- Provide for the president as the head of state who should be elected by the people.
- Provide for a government of national unity.
- Provide for a prime minister as the head of government and shall be elected by parliament. (2)
- Provide for a ceremonial president.
- Provide for a central system of government and outlaw majimbo.
- Provide for a majimbo system of government. (5)
- Call for a national referendum for Kenyans to decide a system of government they want.
- Provide for a unitary system of government. (4)
- Provide for devolution of power to lower levels of government. (2)
- Provide that the vice president be a running mate of the president.
- Provide that the vice president be chosen by the president.
- Provide that the vice president be chosen by the people. (4)
- Provide that the vice president shall not be an MP.
- Provide that the vice president and the president do not belong to the same religion.
- Provide for the position of 2 attorney generals.
- Provide to abolish the position of the attorney general.
- Provide for the attorney general to be removable from office through a vote of no confidence.

5.3.8. **THE LEGISLATURE**

Parliament:

- To appoint the cabinet
- To appoint the prime minister
- Provide for parliament to participate in the passing of emergency laws
- Empower parliament to define the role and budget of the military
- Provide for a unicameral legislature
- Provide for a coalition government (3)
- Empower parliament to vet cabinet ministers (7)
- To vet all appointments by the executive
- Provide for all legislative powers to be vested in the national assembly
- Senators to have the power to nominate Key government officers for presidential approval
- Parliament to have its own calendar (4)
- Parliament to approve all public investments with an 80% majority vote
- Provide for the multi-party system of parliament to be retained
- Provide for a two chamber parliament with a senate and 3 judges as ex-officials chaired by the speaker

- Provide for the impeachment of the president through a vote of no confidence
- Provide for parliament to retain the powers to dissolve parliament (2)
- Allow for the staggering of parliamentary elections
- Liberalize the requirements for parliamentary election to knowledge of English and Swahili and not level of education
- Empower parliament to have its own calendar, budget, and shall not be dissolved (4)
- Enable parliament have its own parliamentary service commission
- Have ministers nominated from parliament regardless of party affiliation
- Empower parliament to assent appointments of senior members of the judiciary.
- Empower parliament to appoint the governor of Central Bank.
- Empower parliament to approve salaries of permanent secretaries and consent to laws by themselves
- Deny parliament the power to extend its life unless during war
- Empower the speaker to dissolve the house
- Establish a bi-cameral parliament with the higher chamber representing all tribes and races in Kenya (3)
- Provide for representation of women in parliament (3)
- Reserve 10 seats for women in parliament
- Empower the speaker to dissolve parliament

Members of Parliament:

- Being a member of parliament to be a full time job. (4)
- MPS to retire at the age of 55 years
- MPS to retire at the age of 65 years (2)
- MPS to be between 19 and 70 years
- MPS to be between 35 and 75 years
- MPS to have at least O-level education (3)
- MPS to be registered voters and to reside in their constituencies
- MPS to be free of any bank loans at the time of contesting
- Provide for moral and ethical qualifications for parliamentary candidates (4)
- Provide that MPs shall have offices in their constituencies
- Empower the electorate to recall non-performing MPs (8)
- Provide for the posts of nominated MPs to be retained
- Disqualify a losing MP from nomination
- Provide for nominated MPs be elected by legislature through secret ballot.
- Restrict the election of MPs to two terms of four years each

Salaries of MPs:

- Debar MPs from legislating their own salaries (4)
- Provide for an independent body to legislating upon salaries of MPs (2)
- Provide for MPs salaries to be reduced to Kshs. 50,000 per month
- Reduce MPs' remuneration
- Provide that MPs are remunerated according to their performance in parliament

5.3.9. THE EXECUTIVE

President:

- Should not have the power to determine the life of parliament
- Trim presidential powers and vest them in parliament
- Shall be subject to the law. (6)
- Limit the tenure of the president to two terms of 5 years (9)
- Fix the tenure of the president to 4 years
- Fix the tenure of the president to conform with international standards
- Fix the tenure of the president to 5 years
- Specify the actual functions of the president (2)
- Limit the powers of the president (19)
- Debar the president from appointing judicial officers. (2)
- To be impeachable (5)
- Should also be an elected M.P.
- Shall not be an MP (7)
- Provide a minimum qualification of a university degree for a presidential candidate.
- Provide that the president be at least o-level educated
 - Abolish the powers of the president to assent to bills
 - Must be over 25 years old
 - The citizens should be empowered by the constitution to pass a vote of no confidence in the president.
 - Ensure that the president declares his wealth
 - Must not engage in activities that are economic in nature while in office.
 - After elections, the president shall forfeit his membership to the party that sponsored him.
 - Head of the armed force, police etc shall be appointed by the president after ratification by parliament
- Make the president non-partisan
 - Limit the presidential functions to commander in chief of the armed forces, chair national duties and ceremonial duties in parliament and preside over the prerogative of mercy committee only.

Provincial Administration:

- Provide that the chiefs powers be increased (5)
- Provide that the chiefs powers be limited
- Provide that the chiefs be transferable (2)
- Provide for the provincial administrators to be appointed by the public service commission
- Provide for the provincial administration to be abolished (6)
- Provide for the number of provinces to be reduced
- Provide that provincial administration be elected by the people (14)
- That chiefs should have o-level education
- Provide that chiefs should have primary education

Size of Government:

- Provide for the formation of a ministry of sports
- Provide that ministers are MPs

5.3.10. **THE JUDICIARY**

The constitution should provide:

- For the independence of the judiciary
- For an overhaul of the present judicial system (2)
- For a regional court
- For establishment of the East African regional court
- For a supreme court (5)
- For a constitutional court (2)
- For the independence of the judiciary (2)
- For all arrested persons to be tried within 3 days
- A review of treason provisions

Judicial Officers:

- Judicial officers to be at least graduates
- Provide the president with power to appoint judges
- Provide parliament with power to appoint judges
- Provide for judicial officers to be appointed by the judicial service commission (3)
- Provide for judges to retire at 55 years
- Provide the prosecution of corrupt judicial officers
- Provide for the sacking of judges who fail to pass judgment within 14 days.
- Take into account the moral standing of judges before appointment

Kadhis Courts:

- Make the Kadhis court independent from all others.
- Provide the Kadhis court with appellate jurisdiction. (8)
- Give the Chief Kadhi more power like other judges. (4)
- Provide for Kadhis to have similar qualifications as other magistrates. (2)
- Provide for Kadhis to be elected by the people.
- Provide for Kadhis to handle all Islamic cases. (6)
- Make the Chief Kadhi the Chief justice.
- Make Islamic laws just and moral and ensure that they are consistent with the laws of the land.
- Empower Muslims to elect their Kadhi. (6)
- Include religious education as a qualification for Kadhi.
- Ensure the Kadhi is qualified as any advocate in Kenya.

Additionally:

- Simplify judicial procedures.
- Impose stiff penalties on corruption convicts.
- Liberalize bail.
- Penalize drug peddlers.
- Criminalize malicious prosecution.
- Remove the peace bond.

- Remove the power to terminate cases from the attorney general.
- Ensure committal procedures for capital offences be hastened.
- Amend the provision of robbery with violence so that its definition is limited to legal aid, right to assessors for those charged.
- Recognize legal aid and ensure all those facing criminal charges have access to it. (6)
- Abolish the attorney generals post and replace it with constitutional affairs ministry.
- Introduce the jury system.

5.3.11. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

- Retain the local governments without interfering with location councils.
- Divide the city into municipalities in Nairobi.
- Provide that all-elective positions in the local government, including the position of the mayor and the chair of the Country Council, be filled by direct popular elections. (17)
- Provide that the Mayors be elected to serve for a period of 10 years.
- Provide for councilors to serve for a period of only 5 years.
- Provide for the independence of councils from the local government.
- Provide for a board to oversee the operation of councils.
- Provide that there be no minimum qualification for councilors.
- Ensure that the minimum qualification for councilors be at least primary school certificate.
- Ensure that the minimum qualification for councilors is secondary school certificate. (3)
- Provide that the minimum qualification for local government officials be university graduates. (2)
- The constitution should provide for councilors to be recalled by the electorate incase of non-performance. (3)
- Provide for local authorities to retain the posts of nominated councilors.
- Provide nominated councilors to be elected from civic societies, disabled, youth, minority groups and women.
- Empower CBOs to deal with matters done by the city council.
- Empower council elected officers to hire and fire executive officers and civil servants.
- Forbid a mayor from being a councilor.
- Ensure there is separation of powers between local and central government.
- Criminalize eviction by councils.
- Ensure that local authorities in decision-making consult citizens.
- Include a councilors' moral conduct in the qualification criteria.
- Give mayors the power to veto.
- Give some duties of the local government to estate welfare associations
- Empower residents question the performance of local authorities
- Do not give the minister powers to dissolve a local authority

5.3.12. **THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PROCESS**

The constitution should provide:

- Provide for elections to be by secret ballot (2)
- For women to be given special considerations during elections (2)
- For free and fair elections
- That if the local Mp is a man, the councilor will be a woman
- For no defections across parties after elections (5)

- That no seats be reserved for women and the disabled in parliament (2)
- For independent candidates (2)
- For ballots to be counted at polling stations. (2)
- That candidates who fail to seek nomination in one party should be free to shift to another party. (2)
- For the election date. (9)
- For separate days for presidential, civic and parliamentary elections (3)
- Scrapping of by-elections
- That all elections be held on the same day
- For free and fair elections
- For continuous voter registration (3)

Presidential and Parliamentary elections:

- Provide that the winner in a presidential election must attain 25% of votes cast in five provinces. (2)
- Abolish the 25% rule for presidential elections.
- The president to be elected directly. (2)
- Provide for 2 presidential candidates.
- Provide for same election facilities for all presidential candidates.
- Provide that the winner in presidential election must have at least 50% of all votes cast.
- Provide for run-off elections and only two to proceed for presidential competition
- Provide that the winner in parliamentary election must have at least 25% of all votes cast in each ward.
- Provide that parliamentary aspirants be indigenous people.
- Set up a structure to recall MPs who are not performing.
- Provide that the party with the majority seats shall elect a prime minister.
- Bar election aspirants who fail from holding government office.
- Disqualify aspirants with criminal records from contesting in elections.

Constituencies:

- Provide for local residents to be consulted by the ECK before making boundary changes.
- All constituencies in Nairobi to be transformed into county councils.
- Nairobi city to be demarcated into several municipalities.
- Consider a society's background before fixing electoral boundaries.
- Ensure that political representation be according to the number of people in a constituency. (4)

2002 Elections:

- Elections to be done under the new constitution.

Electoral Commission of Kenya:

- Guarantee the independence of the electoral commission.
- An independent body to appoint electoral commissioners.
- Provide for the independence of the electoral commission from the executive.

- Provide for the electoral commission to be funded from the consolidated funds.
- Limit the powers of the electoral commission.

5.3.13. **BASIC RIGHTS**

The constitution should:

- Guarantee the protection of human rights of all Kenyans.
- Provide the freedom of movement and expression
- Ensure accessibility to government documents e.g. ID.
- Provide for the protection of all Kenyans from torture and intimidation.
- Provide for freedom of association.
- Adopt international human rights
- Guarantee the landless, land and the homeless, homes (4)
- Guarantee free legal services
- Abolish death penalty
- Retain death penalty
- Provide for civic education to be a continuous process (2)
- Be translated into languages understandable by all (2)
- Recognize human dignity.
- Guarantee social, political and economic rights.
- Grant every citizen the right to access and use national resources.
- Recognize the bill of rights and ensure that the courts implement it.
- Provide for compensation of capital offenders who have spent time in remand and have been acquitted.
- Grant the right of life to all Kenyans
- Provide for continuous civic education.
- Facilitate a process of obtaining low cost housing.
- Entrench housing construction codes
- The constitution should provide for freedom of worship.
- Guarantee and protect women rights (4).

Education:

- Guarantee free primary and secondary education. (9)
- Make education compulsory (12)
- Make civic education compulsory to schools.

Health and water:

- Provide for free medical services. (15)
- Provide for HIV/AIDS treatment.
- Ensure that water is supplied to all Kenyans. (11)

Employment:

- Protect labour rights and protect trade unions. (11)
- Enable Kenyans to work abroad

- Have strict rules regarding work permits
- Provide employment opportunities for all citizens
- Provide for employment opportunities to be based on merit (21)
- Provide for better remuneration of the police force
- Provide for prompt payment of employment dues
- Give civil servants freedom to associate with a political party of their choice
- Give all workers, except the armed forces, the freedom to join trade unions
- Entrench the right to self-realization, through trade/business.
- Outlaw arbitrary dismissal of public servants
- Guarantee social security to all Kenyans.
- Ensure free and fair employment
- Put the lowest salary at between Kshs 30,000 and 50,000.
- Provide for a one person-one job policy.
- Set up a pension scheme for those aged above 65 years.
- Provide for employment opportunities to all Kenyans.
- Introduce better wages for all employees and ensure proper utilization of resources.
- Enact labour laws to look into expatriate employment.
- Make the government recognize informal sector workers.
- Should create structures to pay pensions at age less than the present statutory 55years.
- Provide for increase and review of retrenchment benefits.
- Review and increase teacher's remuneration.
- Provide for social welfare for the unemployed.
- Standardize salaries for different occupations.

5.3.14. **THE RIGHTS OF VULNERABLE GROUPS**

The constitution should:

- Provide that women freedom fighters be recognized.
- Provide that freedom fighters be recognized.
- Protect single mothers.
- Abolish the practice of Female Genital Mutilation.
- Grant equal rights in succession.
- Provide for rehabilitation centers for children in difficult circumstances. (10)
- Outlaw all forms of discrimination.
- Provide for stiff penalties against child abusers.
- Entrench the children's bill of 2002. (8)
- Include affirmative action for women and minority groups. (3)
- Protect the disabled against discrimination. (7)
- Provide for protection by the state for aids orphans.
- Punish rapists severely.
- Grant prisoners conjugal rights.
- Protect girls against sexual abuse.
- Provide for allowances to released prisoners.
- Ensure that public buildings cater for the needs of the disabled.
- Provide for the aged. (3)
- Place the youth under minority groups and apply affirmative action. (7)
- Provide for marginal groups in its budget.

- Provide that prisons be rehabilitation centers rather than torture camps.

5.3.15. **LAND AND PROPERTY RIGHTS**

The constitution should:

- Provide ultimate land ownership rights to the community.
- Provide ultimate land ownership rights to the individual.
- Provide ultimate land ownership rights to the state.
- Provide for the repossession by the state of all idle land.
- Provide that the government shall have the power to acquire land for national use and compensate the owners at market rate. (2)
- Provide for prompt issue and reduced cost of title deeds. (2)
- Guarantee that legal wives inherit their husbands' property.
- Make it clear whether it is councilors or the provincial administrators who should control government land.
- Not allow ownership of land by non-citizens
- Provide for equal sharing rights to land ownership for both men and women (3)
- Not provide for the retention of all pre-independence treaties on land (2)
- Guarantee the right of any Kenyan to own land in any part of the country.
- Provide that all government/trust land lying idle should be distributed to the landless.
- Provide title deeds to residents of Pumwani and Kibera. (2)
- Provide that the title deed should remain in the hands of the first owner.
- Provide communal title deeds be issued to slum dwellers.
- Guarantee that no Kenyan shall be landless. (8)
- Ensure that there is gender equality in land tenure and distribution.
- Give squatters priority in allocation of land.
- Review the landlord-tenant agreement.
- Provide that the provincial administration's role in allocating land be subject to the views of the residents.
- Not deny the right of women to own or inherit land. (5)
- Not allow non-citizens to own land.

In terms of land ceiling:

- Guarantee the right of any Kenyan to own at least 3 acres of land
- Restrict land ownership to 20 acres maximum
- Provide for a ceiling on the amount of land owned (8)
- Limit the amount of land owned to 50 acres
- Limit the amount of land owned to 100 acres (2)
- Limit the amount of land owned to 1000 acres

5.3.16. **CULTURAL, ETHNIC AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY AND COMMUNAL RIGHTS**

The constitution should:

- Promote our cultural and ethnic diversity in the country. (3)
- Allow women to wear their traditional attire at their place of work.

- Provide for a law protecting girls against early marriages.
- Uphold Kiswahili as the national language. (2).
- Make laws governing personal responsibility of aids patient should be passed to prevent them from spreading it.
- Recognize and protect customary laws and practices.
- Not recognize religious cults.
- Recognize Islamic dress code and provide the freedom to wear it.
- Outlaw early and forced marriages.
- Not discriminate Kenyan Somalis.
- Recognize Muslims and not marginalize them.
- Scrap the requirement that one gives a middle name to ascertain his tribe.
- Recognize and pay village elders.
- Make marriage a contract so that succession laws can change.
- Recognize other Islamic holy days.
- Recognize and compensate pioneer freedom fighters.
- Publish the history of Kenyan independence struggle.
- Scrap customary burial laws.
- Abolish the post of village elders.
- Abolish customary laws in relation to succession.
- Outlaw forced marriages.

5.3.17. **MANAGEMENT AND USE OF NATIONAL RESOURCES**

The constitution should:

- Provide for leadership to be based on wisdom and not educational qualifications.
- Provide for equitable distribution of national resources. (9)
- Provide principles that will help fight corruption.
- Abolish yearly tax.
- Provide that trips by government officials abroad be made public
- Provide that development be initiated by the people and supported by the government.
- Provide that all people holding public office should declare their wealth. (10)
- Provide a policy of community development.
- Empower the residents to do slum upgrading.
- Provide that 80% of tax collected remains in the regions and 20% goes to the central government.
- Ensure that proceeds from taxation be used to cater for the welfare of Kenyans.
- Reduce remuneration of elected leaders.
- Empower the rent tribunal code to deal with matters even above 2,500.
- Empower local authorities to collect revenue.
- Provide for 60% of the proceeds from all natural resources to be retained by the local community, 40% to be used at the national level.
- Empower taxpayers to scrutinize the activities and budgetary allocations of the president.
 - Ensure that the youth gets some proportion of the total annual budget.

Controller and Auditor General:

- Provide for the independence of Auditor General's office.

- Provide that the auditor general be able to prosecute without interferences. (2)
- Provide that the auditors general report be presented on budget day.

Public Service:

- Provide that the public service commission to be headed by a chief secretary.
- Provide for the public service commission to discipline all public servants.
- Provide for strict measures to discipline corrupt police officers.
- Debar government officers from engaging in private business holding public offices.
- Provide for constant review of civil servants salaries.
- Provide that parastatal heads be appointed from the board of directors.
- Ensure that competent people are appointed to head parastatals.
- Provide that promotions in the civil service be based on merit.
- Ensure that ministers are appointed in their area of expertise only.

5.3.18. **ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES**

The constitution should:

- Provide education on environmental protection to all citizens.
 - Provide that natural resources be used to benefit the Kenyan people.
 - Address environmental protection issues. (2)
 - Set up a private body to take care of the environment.
 - Ensure that the waters of Lake Victoria shall be harnessed for irrigation.
 - Provide for all natural resources to be owned by the state. (2)

5.3.19. **PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE**

The constitution should:

- Empower citizens to make decisions affecting them
- Provide for regulation of NGOs.
- Give NGOs a role in governance (2)
- Provide for the participation of women in governance (2)
- Provide for the participation of the youth in governance
- Institutionalize the role of civil society organizations in governance (2)
- Bar NGOs and church bodies which source funds for interest groups from being trustees

5.3.20. **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The constitution should:

- ? Have a distinct foreign policy for Kenya.
- ? Provide that the conduct of foreign affairs shall not be an exclusive responsibility of the executive but of the national assembly and senate.
- ? Provide foreign policies be conducted by parliament.
- ? Provide for the domestication of all international treaties through a vote of parliament. (2)
- ? Check and regulate Armament trade.
- ? Empower parliament to effect Kenya's foreign policies.

- ? Withdraw Kenya from the Commonwealth.
- ? Recognize patent laws.

5.3.21. CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES

- Establish a permanent land commission
- Create the Public Service Commission and the Judicial service Commission
- Create the office of an ombudsman (6)
- Provide for the establishment of a gender commission (2)
- Provide for the establishment of a human rights commission (2)
- Provide for the establishment of a commission to vet appointment of ministers
- Provide for the establishment of an agricultural commission to revive the sector
- Provide for a permanent constitutional review commission. (3)
- Provide for the establishment of a constitutional affairs minister
- Provide for the establishment of a commission to represent the youth (5)
- Create the office of a children's ombudsman
- Empower parliament to appoint a commission of inquiry
- Provide for a constitutional and permanent anti-corruption body (6)
- Empower parliament to appoint a Judicial Service Commission
- Create a military police to oversee the role and service of the police
- Establish an independent office where grievances against the police could be reported
- Create a watchdog to check the efficiency of ministries in Kenya
- Establish a neutral independent body to investigate and prosecute corruption cases
- Create an independent judicial service commission appointed by LSK members, law scholars and lecturers to replace the current TSC

5.3.22. SUCCESSION AND TRANSFER OF POWER

The constitution should:

- Provide that the chief justice shall swear in the incoming president.
- Make provisions for the outgoing president in-terms of security.
- Grant the speaker of the National Assembly the power to head the government in times of presidential elections.
- Provide that the President elect should assume office immediately.

5.3.23. WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The constitution should:

- Abolish polygamy
- Ban marriages of girls under 18 years
- Outlaw domestic violence (5)
- Protect women against male instigated divorce and grant divorcees alimony and inheritance rights (5)
- Protect women in cases of rape and related cases (3)
- Ensure women suspects are put under the care of policewomen
- Adopt affirmative action for women.

5.3.24. NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

The constitution should provide for:

- A body to ensure that all ministries implement government policies.
- Decentralization of industries.
- Duty free importation of goods meant to help the youth.
- The protection of local investors.
- The government to supervise and streamline businesses and not to control them.
- Protection of local industries against competition from imported good.
- Economic liberalization.
- Fair distribution of physical, economic and social infrastructure. (3)
- Social amenities to be more accessible to the people.

5.3.25. **NATIONAL OTHER POLICY**

The constitution should:

- Provide for all government vehicles to be insured for third parties. (2)
- Provide for free medical care for AIDS/HIV sufferers. (4)
- Provide for all AIDS/HIV sufferers to be jailed for life if they spread the disease knowingly.
- Ban all alcohol to reduce the spread of AIDS /HIV .
- Provide rights to work for all AIDS /HIV sufferers.
- Provide for strict laws to guard against national disasters such as AIDS .
- Debar police from harassing innocent people. (6)
- Provide for all police to identify themselves before making any arrests.
- Provide for members of the public to keep guns to protect themselves against robbers.
- Provide for police to be deployed in every community.
- Debar corruption and exploitation of the masses. (17)

5.3.26. **SECTORAL POLICY**

Agriculture:

- The government should provide for irrigation to revive the agricultural sector. (5)
- The government should educate farmers on better food production to improve performance of the agricultural sector.
- The government should provide laws to protect the agricultural sector. (3)
- The government should ensure that the ministry of agriculture gets 20% of the total annual budget.
- The government should improve the marketing of coffee.
- Place emphasis on agricultural development.
- Provide for the state to tarmac all roads in the country.
- Ensure that farmers head the agricultural bodies.
- Allow farmers to sell their produce anywhere.

Industry and small-scale enterprises:

- The constitution should provide for laws to regulate pollution from industries.
- Provide for protection of small-scale traders from harassment by other bodies.

- Provide for the promotion of the Jua Kali sector by the government. (3)
- Provide for financial assistance to the Jua Kali sector.
- Provide for institutional support for the Jua Kali sector.
- Provide for hawkers to be allocated permanent land for their business. (3)
- Provide for exploitation of mineral resources to benefit all Kenyans.
- Place quotas on goods from outside the country.
- Ensure that businessmen are provided with premises.
- Provide that, registration points for small businesses be set up and advertised.
- Deny non-Kenyans business licenses.
- Control market flooding and guarantee markets for products.
- Create a ministry of Jua Kali and a Jua Kali bank.
- Allow the formation of a Jua kali co-operative.
- Extend patent right to international jurisdiction.
- Protect all licensed premises and duties.
- Make the FKE autonomous.

Health:

- Forbid doctors in government hospitals from running private clinics.
 - Provide for the government to waiver all health bills exceeding 400,000.
 - Provide for the ministry of health to get 20% of the total annual budget.
 - Make the government participate in rigorous research on medicare
 - Ensure that pharmaceutical companies reduce fees for products through government subsidies

Education:

- Provide for teachers to be properly remunerated like all other professionals. (3)
- Provide for all public schools to be maintained by the government. (2)
- Provide for the 8-4-4-education system to be abolished. (18)
- Provide for civic education to be introduced in schools.
- The government should subsidize secondary schools. (2)
- The government should provide scholarships for all bright needy students.
- Provide a ban on parallel degree programs.
- Provide loans to for all university students.
- Ensure that the ministry of education gets 20% of the total annual budget.
- Provide for better equipment of schools and improvement of the education system. (5)
- Provide that schools be managed by the government.
- Provide free vocational training.
- Introduce compulsory 3-year youth service for all school leavers including graduates.
- Provide that HIV/Sex education be taught in schools.
- Make physical education compulsory from primary schools.
- Provide for free education and equipment in schools.
- Ensure that facilities are set up in public universities to offer degree courses in policing and military science.
- Empower PTAs to manage schools.
- Disband school committees.
- Emphasize on technical education.

- Make loan automatic for government-sponsored students in public universities.
- Provide that the president shall not be the chancellor of public universities.

Fiscal and monetary policy:

- Provide for reduction in government expenditure.
- Provide for a rise in the rate of taxation.
- Provide for a reduction in the rate of taxation.
- Provide for a reduction in defense budget and redistribution of this budget to health and education.
- Provide for currency to have a permanent face. (2)
- Provide for all people with money abroad to be forced to return the money.
- Provide that money launderers and people with money in foreign banks be exposed.
- Extend insurance to all government organs, departments and institutions.
- Allocate 60% of the national budget to health, agriculture and education
- Scrap VAT and encourage direct payment of tax
- Cut down the defense budget and relocate resources elsewhere
- Ensure that road levy funds are used to construct and maintain roads in the source area
- Establish cheap license fees
- Provide that the president's portrait should not appear in currency notes.

Information and communication:

- Provide for all radio stations to have waves all over Kenya without bias.
- Provide for liberalization of the media.
- Provide for the regulation of the film industry to stamp out the immoral ones.

5.3.27. **STATUTORY LAW**

- Legalize touting in Kenya.
- Prohibit Euthanasia, abortion, mercy killing and cloning of human beings. (2)
- Provide for petty offenders to be punished through community service.
- Provide for people with serious offences to be punished heavily. (3)
- Provide for Wakf to deal with property of dead Muslims.
- Provide that rapists be sentenced to death and not life imprisonment.
- Abolish the colonial law of trespass.
- Provide for suspects to be arrested only upon proper investigation.
- Provide for Muslims to be subjected to Islamic law even in criminal cases.
- Outlaw illicit liquor and miraa. (4)
- Outlaw local brews.

5.3.28. **GENDER EQUITY**

- The constitution should provide for laws to ensure gender equity in all spheres. (2)
- The constitution should not encourage gender equity.

5.3.29. **NATURAL JUSTICE/RULE OF LAW**

- The constitution should guarantee that all Kenyans be equal within the law irrespective of colour, religion or creed. (4)
- The constitution should provide for the criminal justice system to be speeded up to ensure justice for all.

5.3.30. **NATIONAL INTEGRITY/IDENTITY**

- Provide for a code of ethics in dressing, especially for women
- Provide for the president to be given decent burial upon death
- Change the national flag.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Members of the Constituency Constitutional Committee

1. Hon. Norman Nyagah - MP
2. Tabuu Lwanga - DC
3. Muthoni Kihara - Chairlady
4. Eunice Kamau
5. Moses N. Githaiga
6. Amina Khinisi
7. Mohamed Ibrahim
8. Aziz N. Juma
9. Paul Okoth Otando
10. Frida Mugi

Appendix 2: Civic education providers (CEPs)

1. National youth organization
2. Community AIDS educators
3. Urban research and development center
4. Muundo cultural group
5. Friends of the environment
6. All wakulima market traders association
7. Hussein Sakwa group (Rifod)
8. Rural initiative for overall development
9. KOSO
10. St. Johns community
11. National graduate Forum
12. Family Planning Association of Kenya
13. KCOMNET

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

1	0019OKANA	Churchil Akala	CBO	Written	St. John's Community
2	0007OKANA	Elizabeth Wanjiku	CBO	Written	St. Johns Women Group
3	0028OKANA	Fatma Hassan	CBO	Written	For Women in Kenya
4	0026OKANA	Geoffrey Riba	CBO	Memorandum	All Wakulima Market Traders
5	0030OKANA	Gilbert Ndegwa	CBO	Written	Muundo Cultural Group
6	0014OKANA	Hawa Wamuhu Ali	CBO	Oral - Public he	St. Johns Community Centre
7	0025OKANA	Hussein I Sakwa	CBO	Written	Kamukunji Constituency
8	0031OKANA	Mgeni Musa	CBO	Memorandum	Muslim Sisters Network
9	0027OKANA	Normael Go'ganyo	CBO	Written	Gwangi Youth Group
10	0032OKANA	Peter Mbogo	CBO	Written	Bahati Youth Sports
11	0035OKANA	Peter Wahome	CBO	Written	Classic Jua Kali Co-operative
12	0004OKANA	Robert Benedict Otieno	CBO	Written	St. John Community Centre
13	0033OKANA	Saada Chepkuri	CBO	Written	Collaboration Centre
14	0021OKANA	Sudi Mohammed	CBO	Written	Pumwani Majengo Slum Committ
15	0034IKANA	Abdala Kiprono Bilali	Individual	Written	
16	0086IKANA	Abdi Bakari	Individual	Oral - Public he	
17	0065IKANA	Abdul Isandeko	Individual	Oral - Public he	
18	0003IKANA	Abdul Isandeko	Individual	Written	
19	0010IKANA	Abdulaziz M Juma	Individual	Written	
20	0039IKANA	Abuya J. Betty	Individual	Written	
21	0056IKANA	Afesto Amele	Individual	Oral - Public he	
22	0023IKANA	Ahina Kinsi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
23	0053IKANA	Amina Hassan	Individual	Oral - Public he	
24	0076IKANA	Amina Kinsi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
25	0088IKANA	Amina Yusuf	Individual	Oral - Public he	
26	0109IKANA	Andrew Sudi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
27	0038IKANA	Anne M Ombwara	Individual	Written	
28	0071IKANA	Asha Ali	Individual	Oral - Public he	
29	0122IKANA	Benson Mutura	Individual	Oral - Public he	
30	0011IKANA	Benson Ogola Owegy	Individual	Written	
31	0108IKANA	Charles A. Khamala	Individual	Oral - Public he	
32	0060IKANA	Christopher Ambani	Individual	Oral - Public he	
33	0092IKANA	Christopher Kitheka	Individual	Oral - Public he	
34	0013IKANA	Cllr Hashim Kamau	Individual	Oral - Public he	
35	0082IKANA	Daniel Orantis	Individual	Oral - Public he	
36	0024IKANA	David Gachanja	Individual	Oral - Public he	
37	0107IKANA	David Kariuki	Individual	Oral - Public he	
38	0111IKANA	Douglas Kamau	Individual	Oral - Public he	
39	0075IKANA	Dr. Lihanda Savai	Individual	Oral - Public he	
40	0095IKANA	Dr. Mohamed Kassim	Individual	Oral - Public he	
41	0093IKANA	Elijah Kihero	Individual	Oral - Public he	
42	0105IKANA	Evans Ephrahim Kuria	Individual	Oral - Public he	
43	0044IKANA	Felix D. Mrijo	Individual	Written	
44	0050IKANA	Fridah Muugi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
45	0118IKANA	G.K. Mutura	Individual	Oral - Public he	
46	0009IKANA	Geofrey Riba	Individual	Written	
47	0019IKANA	Gideon Matheka	Individual	Oral - Public he	
48	0100IKANA	Gitahi Kimani	Individual	Oral - Public he	
49	0069IKANA	Gitonga Runo	Individual	Oral - Public he	

50	0036IKANA	Halima Alisaa	Individual	Written	
51	0084IKANA	Hannington Oluoch	Individual	Oral - Public he	
52	0119IKANA	Harun Mutondo	Individual	Oral - Public he	
53	0063IKANA	Hashim Kamau	Individual	Oral - Public he	
54	0030IKANA	Hassan Twahiri	Individual	Written	
55	0085IKANA	Hawa Ahmadi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
56	0058IKANA	Hawa W. Ali	Individual	Oral - Public he	
57	0094IKANA	Henry Katwira	Individual	Oral - Public he	
58	0049IKANA	Hussein Mohamed Haji	Individual	Oral - Public he	
59	0035IKANA	Hussein Suleiman	Individual	Written	
60	0017IKANA	Isaac Kiprugut	Individual	Oral - Public he	
61	0124IKANA	Isaac Mwangi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
62	0059IKANA	James Kanene	Individual	Oral - Public he	
63	0089IKANA	Jessy Wangari	Individual	Oral - Public he	
64	0114IKANA	John Kuria Mwenja	Individual	Oral - Public he	
65	0040IKANA	John Mutuku	Individual	Written	
66	0099IKANA	Joseph Irungu	Individual	Oral - Public he	
67	0102IKANA	Joseph Kihonge	Individual	Oral - Public he	
68	0103IKANA	Joseph Mbuthia	Individual	Oral - Public he	
69	0014IKANA	Joshua Gituanja	Individual	Oral - Public he	
70	0072IKANA	Julius Maina	Individual	Oral - Public he	
71	0098IKANA	Karen Odero	Individual	Oral - Public he	
72	0117IKANA	Khisa Simiyu Toiti	Individual	Oral - Public he	
73	0123IKANA	Kimani Kamau	Individual	Oral - Public he	
74	0022IKANA	Kiprono Abdul	Individual	Oral - Public he	
75	0090IKANA	Korky Ahenda	Individual	Oral - Public he	
76	0028IKANA	Lazaro N Njuguna	Individual	Oral - Public he	
77	0070IKANA	Lucy Njeri	Individual	Oral - Public he	
78	0104IKANA	Lugadilu Christine	Individual	Oral - Public he	
79	0080IKANA	Maalim Hassan	Individual	Oral - Public he	
80	0061IKANA	Magdaline W. Mutio	Individual	Oral - Public he	
81	0077IKANA	Maimuna Bakari	Individual	Oral - Public he	
82	0110IKANA	Maina Githinji	Individual	Oral - Public he	
83	0101IKANA	Mary & Judith	Individual	Oral - Public he	
84	0043IKANA	Mary Wachira	Individual	Written	
85	0021IKANA	Masha Kachani	Individual	Oral - Public he	
86	0042IKANA	Merabaqsh Abdulaziz	Individual	Written	
87	0087IKANA	Michael Misoi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
88	0026IKANA	Micheal Ondari	Individual	Oral - Public he	
89	0029IKANA	Mohamed O Ngare	Individual	Oral - Public he	
90	0032IKANA	Mohamed R. Josphat	Individual	Written	
91	0047IKANA	Mohammed Abdalla	Individual	Written	
92	0067IKANA	Mohammed Ali S	Individual	Oral - Public he	
93	0018IKANA	Morris Otunga	Individual	Oral - Public he	
94	0052IKANA	Moses N. Githaiga	Individual	Oral - Public he	
95	0057IKANA	Moses Oyugi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
96	0083IKANA	Musa Muguma	Individual	Oral - Public he	
97	0004IKANA	Mwanaisha Mohamed	Individual	Written	
98	0062IKANA	Mwanaisha Muhammed	Individual	Oral - Public he	
99	0008IKANA	Naftali Oyondi	Individual	Written	
100	0033IKANA	Naima Wamiatha	Individual	Written	
101	0115IKANA	Nicholas Gathu Mbugua	Individual	Oral - Public he	
102	0002IKANA	Obeda Alukhava	Individual	Written	
103	0068IKANA	Onesmus Mbora M	Individual	Oral - Public he	
104	0112IKANA	Otuka Kennedy	Individual	Oral - Public he	
105	0045IKANA	Patrick Mwangi Kajwa	Individual	Written	

106	0128IKANA	Pauline Makwake	Individual	Oral - Public he	
107	0113IKANA	Peter Kibue	Individual	Oral - Public he	
108	0051IKANA	Phillip Otieno	Individual	Oral - Public he	
109	0054IKANA	Pr. Joseph Omondi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
110	0120IKANA	R. Mwanaongoro	Individual	Oral - Public he	
111	0041IKANA	Raphael Wandui	Individual	Written	
112	0126IKANA	Richard K Muli	Individual	Oral - Public he	
113	0125IKANA	Richard K. Kihoto	Individual	Oral - Public he	
114	0001IKANA	Roda G Njuru	Individual	Written	
115	0078IKANA	Rukia Mwitete Ali	Individual	Oral - Public he	
116	0025IKANA	Salim Omar	Individual	Oral - Public he	
117	0079IKANA	Salima Hassan	Individual	Oral - Public he	
118	0046IKANA	Sammy Mwangi	Individual	Written	
119	0020IKANA	Samuel Kinyua	Individual	Oral - Public he	
120	0121IKANA	Samuel N.	Individual	Oral - Public he	
121	0007IKANA	Saumu Saidi	Individual	Written	
122	0055IKANA	Shariff Abdalla	Individual	Oral - Public he	
123	0064IKANA	Sofia Juma Ali	Individual	Oral - Public he	
124	0116IKANA	Stanley Maina Mwangi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
125	0097IKANA	Stellah Kaburia	Individual	Oral - Public he	
126	0016IKANA	Stephen Kiriangi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
127	0066IKANA	Stephen Omondi	Individual	Oral - Public he	
128	0005IKANA	Sudi A Moh'd	Individual	Written	
129	0091IKANA	Tariq I	Individual	Oral - Public he	
130	0106IKANA	Thomas Moga	Individual	Oral - Public he	
131	0015IKANA	Tolbert G William	Individual	Oral - Public he	
132	0074IKANA	Waithaka Stephen	Individual	Oral - Public he	
133	0127IKANA	Wilson Karanja	Individual	Oral - Public he	
134	0081IKANA	Zahara Mbone	Individual	Oral - Public he	
135	0006IKANA	Zaituni A Rahman	Individual	Written	
136	0036OKANA	Allen Njoroge	Other Institutions	Memorandum	Morrison Primary School
137	0009OKANA	Gilbert Ndegwa	Other Institutions	Written	Muundo Cultural Group
138	0016OKANA	Hussein Sakwa	Other Institutions	Oral - Public he	Old Pumwani Landlord Associa
139	0011OKANA	Isaac Jummer	Other Institutions	Written	Machakos Country Bus-KANU Youth
140	0017OKANA	Lucas Owiti	Other Institutions	Oral - Public he	Pumwani Youth
141	0012OKANA	Peter Kamau Gachue	Other Institutions	Written	Kenya Veterans Council
142	0005OKANA	Peter Matheka	Other Institutions	Written	Solidarity Street Children
143	0002OKANA	Saado Bilali	Other Institutions	Written	Collaboration Centre
144	0008OKANA	Tonny Wambua	Other Institutions	Written	KMSETA
145	0034OKANA	Hassan Adams	Politcal Party	Memorandum	KANU
146	0006OKANA	Hon. Norman Nyagah	Politcal Party	Memorandum	DP of Kenya
147	0022OKANA	Winnie Peris	Politcal Party	Memorandum	Kenya Women Political Caucas
148	0024OKANA	Fatma Hassan	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Muslim Sister's Network
149	0029OKANA	Grace A Owuor	Religious Organisation	Written	Our Lady of Mercy Shaurimoyo
150	0023OKANA	Hassan T. Misoi	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	SUPKEM Pumwani
151	0020OKANA	Hindis Shaaban	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	Muslim Sister's Network
152	0018OKANA	John Ochieng Arum	Religious Organisation	Written	SDA Church
153	0015OKANA	Juma Rajab	Religious Organisation	Oral - Public he	Mosque (Pumwani) committee
154	0013OKANA	Pastor Lucas Otware	Religious Organisation	Memorandum	SDA Church Shaurimoyo

Appendix 4: Persons Attending Constituency Hearings

No.	Name	Address	No	Name	Address.
1	Sanda Biwali	P.O. Box 13396 Nairobi	77	Sudi Moh'd	P.O. Box 13261 Nairobi
2	Kasim Athman	P.O. Box 51943 Nairobi	78	Masha Kachani	N/A
3	Joshua Gituanja	P.O. Box 13019 Nairobi	79	Abdallah Kiprono	N/A
4	Peter Matheka	P.O. Box 16254 Nairobi	80	Pr. Lucas Otvera	P.O. Box 17023 Nairobi
5	Hawa W. Ali	N/A	81	Peter Karachu	P.O. Box 508 Dandora
6	Benedict Otieno	P.O. Box 16254 Nairobi	82	Ken Mukoto	P.O. Box 51999 Nairobi
7	Tolbert William	P.O. Box 16026 Nairobi	83	Hussein Karume	P.O. Box 13299 Nairobi
8	Hussein Idi Sakwa	P.O. Box 13023 Nairobi	84	Argwing Adongo	N/A
9	Juma Rajab	P.O. Box 13207 Nairobi	85	Khadija Abdalla	N/A
10	David Kiarie	N/A	86	Rashid Hassan	P.O. Box 16254 Nairobi
11	Syephen Kariuki Mkanyaana	P.O. Box 13006 Nairobi	87	David Gachanja	N/A
12	Gilbert Ndegwa	P.O. Box 78419 Nairobi	88	Salim Omar	P.O. Box 8577 00100 Nairobi
13	Roda Njuru	P.O. Box 72719 Nairobi	89	Peter Matheka	P.O. Box 16254 Nairobi
14	Isaac Kiprugut	P.O. Box 13209 Nairobi	90	Peter Patrick	P.O. Box 13028 Nairobi
15	Maurice Otunga	P.O. Box 30124 Nairobi	91	Hussein Hassan	N/A
16	Obeda Alukhava	P.O. Box 55231 Nairobi	92	Zaitun Abduram	N/A
17	Yusuf Ashikot	N/A	93	Hon. Norman Nyagah	P.O. Box 41842 Nairobi
18	Abdul Sandeko	P.O. Box 33801 Nairobi	94	Jack H. Oduor	P.O. Box 62840
19	Cllr. Hashim Kamau	N/A	95	Hassan Salim	P.O. Box 16221 Nairobi
20	Samwel Maina	N/A	96	Oyondo Mr.	P.O. Box 68690 Nairobi
21	Naima Wamaitha	N/A	97	Moses Githaiga	P.O. Box 41842 Nairobi
22	Tonny Wambua	P.O. Box 74739 Nairobi	98	Michael Ondare	N/A
23	Gedion Matheka	N/A	99	Hussein Sakwa	P.O. Box 40797 Nairobi
24	Dorothy Muinde	P.O. Box 30344 Nairobi	100	Kassim T. Zuberi	P.O. Box 13216 Nairobi
25	Samuel Kinyua	P.O. Box 165 Timau	101	Muchuku Mwangi	P.O. Box 32044 Nairobi
26	Idi Juma	N/A	102	O. Juma	P.O. Box 17106 Nairobi
27	Rashid Ali	P.O. Box 17016 Nairobi	103	Nornael Goganyo	P.O. Box 212 Makongeni Nairobi
28	Lazaro A. K. Mathew	P.O. Box 45627 Nairobi	104	Salim Chumbii	P.O. Box 40751 Nairobi
29	Michael Kiiti M.	P.O. Box 75962 Nairobi	105	Mark Simiyu Makholo	N/A
30	Mathiani Kimanthi	P.O. Box 75962 Nairobi	106	Juma Eugene	N/A
31	Lucas Owiti	P.O. Box 17178 Nairobi	107	Lazarus Njuguna	N/A
32	Otieno Oliech	P.O. Box 30075 Nairobi	108	Mwanaisha Muhammed	P.O. Box 16254 Nairobi
33	Omitiu Zafania	P.O. Box 101 Makongeni	109	Abdul Athman	P.. Box 31510 Nairobi
34	Mohammed Abdul Ali	P.O. Box 12646 Nairobi	110	Amina Kinsi	P.O.Box 73019 Nairobi
35	Geofrey Riba	N/A	111	Henry N. Katwira	P.O. Box 33209 Nairobi
36	Sala Kasingara	P.O. Box 13167 Nairobi	112	Fredrick Ntongai	P.O. Box 7669 Nairobi
37	Jimmy Nasio.	P.O. Box 30022 Nairobi	113	Abdalla Kiprono Billali	P.O. Box 13027 Nairobi
38	Salim Adner	P.O. Box 44544 Nairobi	114	Swalleh Bakari	P.O. Box 30124 Nairobi
39	Enock Orenge	P.O. Box 44544 Nairobi	115	J.O. Okello	P.O. Box 12831 nairobi
40	Samuel Ndirangu Karanja	P.O. Box 15 Kandara	116	Erick Kaiyongi	P.. Box 106 Maua
41	Fredrick Shirma	P.O. Box 130882 Nairobi	117	Omondi Edwin	P.O. Box 49974 Nairobi
42	Nassir Juma	P.O. Box 43397 Nairobi	118	Abdulaziz Moh'd	N/A
43	Stephen Okoth	P.O. Box 130882 Nairobi	119	Dominic Machisu	P.O. Box 50449 Nairobi
44	Kennedy Waitwika	P.O. Box 6583 Nairobi	120	M. Abdul Aziz	P.O. Box 43379 nairobi
45	Mohammed Ogutu Ngare	P.O. Box 30062 Nairobi	121	Amos C.H. Budi	P.O. Box 66324 Nairobi
46	Mohammed Abdallah	P.O. Box 13027 Nairobi	122	Ramadhani Shaaban	P.O. Box 66342 Nairobi
47	Said Sorsa	P.O. Box 1374 Nairobi	123	Chris A. Esiberu	P.O. Box 74738 Nairobi
48	Shaaban Juma	P.O. Box 13396 Nairobi	124	Abdalla Salim	P.O. Box 13207 Nairobi
49	Dennis Magara	P.O. Box 77194 Nairobi	125	Ibrahim Mohammed	P.O. Box 13205 Nairobi
50	P. Chege	P.O. Box 69669 Nairobi	126	Ahmed Zubedi	c/o Majengo Mosque

51	Batuli Mohammed	P.O. Box 13161 Nairobi	127	Geoffrey Riba	N/A
52	Gladys Wakesho	P.O. Box 16390 Nairobi	128	Nornael Gaganyo	Box 212 Makongeni Nbi
53	Mohammed Yusuf	P.O. Box 7065 Nairobi	129	Hussein Suleiman	Box 13396 Nbi
54	Benson Ogola Owegi	P.O. Box 19436 Nairobi	130	Winnie Peres	Box 55721 Nbi
55	Halima A. Wambu	P.O. Box 13244 Nairobi	131	Halima Ali Saa	Box 45309 Nbi
56	Ragot Omondi	P.O. Box 47 Siaya	132	fatuma Gathoga	Box 53875 Nbi
57	Salim Mohammed	P.O. Box 31453 Nairobi	133	Fatma Hassan	Box 16166 Nbi
58	Henry Ngonja	P.O. Box 13006 Nairobi	134	Hussein Sakwa	Box 40797 Nbi
59	P.G. Kamau	P.O. Box 28048 Nairobi	135	Amina Kinsi	Box 73019 Nbi
60	Kubai B. Kaiya	P.O. Box 13006 Nairobi	136	Halima Ali Shaa	N/A
61	Jimmy Githinji	P.O. Box 71583 Nairobi	137	Hassan T Misoi	Box 13161 Nbi
62	Andrew Gitonga	P.O. Box 7663 Nairobi	138	Maulid Abdallah	Box 41739 Nbi
63	Peter Wambugu	P.O. Box 73153 Nairobi	139	John Arrum	Box 71279 Nbi
64	Joackim Ogola	P.O. Box 23153 Nairobi	140	Mohamed R Josephat	Box 57431 Nbi
65	Patrick Mwangi Kagwa	Box 73419 Nbi	141	Churchil Akala	Box 16254 Nbi
66	Sammy Mwangi	Box 228 Muranga	142	Hindu Shaaban	Box 16212 Nbi
67	Mohammed Abdalla	Box 74147 Nbi	143	Naima Wamaitha	Box 45309 Nbi
68	Gilbert Ndegwa	Box 78419 Nbi	144	Sudi Moh'd	Box 13261 Nbi
69	Allan Njoroge	Box 17122 Nbi	145	Abdallah Kiprono Bilali	N/A
70	Matindi	Box 17101 Nbi	146	john Muthoka Mutuku	Box 56222 Nbi
71	Grace A Owuor	Box 46972 Nbi	147	Raphael Wandui	Box 75524 Nbi
72	Mgeni Musa Athman	Box 45515 Nbi	148	Saada Chepkurui Bildi	Box 13396 Nbi
73	Felix D Mrijo	Box 30478 Nbi	149	Hassan Adams	Box 12234 Nbi
74	Anne M Ombwaka	Box 72000 Nbi	150	Mary Wachira	Box 55603 Nbi
75	Peter Mbogo	Box 72853 Nbi	151	Peter Wahome	Box 40952 Nbi
76	Jane Betty Abuya	Box 56222 Nbi	152	Merabaqsh Abdul- Aziz	Box 43397 Nbi