MOMBASA COUNTY CITIZEN MANIFESTO · 2027–2032

Ahadi Yangu kwa Mombasa

My Promise to Mombasa

Hon. Hassan Omar Hassan

Candidate for Governor, Mombasa County

General Election · 10 August 2027

FIVE PILLARS FOR TRANSFORMING MOMBASA

1. A County Government That Works for You
2. Public Resources That Deliver Visible Results
3. Skills, Innovation and Jobs
4. A Cleaner, Better-Managed, More Connected Mombasa
5. A Digital County That Protects Everyone

A Message from Hassan Omar Hassan

Mombasa is Kenya's gateway to the world. Ships from every ocean dock here, and the goods that feed and build much of East Africa pass through our streets.

Yet too many of us still queue for water. We walk past heaps of rubbish. We wait months for a permit, or for a payment that should take days.

I have served Mombasa before, as your Senator. Devolution was meant to bring government closer to you. Too often it has brought the queue closer and left the results far away.

This manifesto is my promise to change that. It is not a wish list. It is a set of commitments that a careful and honest county government can deliver in five years, using the money Mombasa has and the support we can win from partners. For every promise, you will see who is responsible, what will change and how you can check.

I also make three promises about how I will lead:

- In my first 100 days, I will tell you the full truth about the county's finances, including the debts we inherit.
- I will publish what we spend, what we buy and what we build.
- When we fall behind, you will hear it from me first, together with a plan to put it right.

Mombasa does not need more slogans. It needs a county government that works. Let us build it together.

Hon. Hassan Omar Hassan
Candidate for Governor, Mombasa County

Our Manifesto at a Glance

Mombasa is Kenya's second city and home to East Africa's largest port. About 1.4 million people will live here by 2027. Yet daily life is hard for many residents.

- The county needs about 200,000 cubic metres of water a day but receives only about 40,000, and around half of that is lost before it reaches homes.
- Nearly half of the rubbish we produce is not collected.
- More than half of county revenue goes on salaries, leaving too little for services.
- As at March 2026, the county owed suppliers more than KSh 5 billion, almost all of it for more than three years.

Our plan to change this rests on five pillars, each set out in full in Part II: a county government that works for you; public resources that deliver visible results; skills, innovation and jobs; a cleaner, better-managed and more connected Mombasa; and a digital county that protects everyone.

How we will deliver

- **The first 100 days:** an independent check of county debts, salaries and stalled projects, with the results published for everyone to see.
- **Promises we can pay for:** an estimated KSh 28 billion over five years for these commitments, from county funds and partners.
- **Progress you can check:** an online progress tracker updated every three months, a yearly report to the people of Mombasa, and an independent review in 2030.

Muhtasari kwa Kiswahili

Mombasa ni lango la Kenya kwa dunia. Hata hivyo, wakazi wengi bado wanakosa maji, taka hazizolewi kwa wakati, na huduma za kaunti zinachelewa. Manifesto hii ina nguzo tano za kuibadilisha Mombasa.

Nguzo	Tutakachofanya
1. Serikali ya Kaunti Inayokuhudumia	Ofisi ya huduma katika kila wadi kati ya wadi 30; huduma muhimu kupatikana mtandaoni; kila lalamiko kujibiwa ndani ya siku 14; dawa muhimu kupatikana katika vituo vya afya vya kaunti.
2. Rasilimali za Umma, Matokeo Yanayoonekana	Madeni yote ya kaunti kukaguliwa na kuchapishwa ndani ya siku 100; kila zabuni na kila mradi kuwekwa wazi kwa umma; mapato ya kaunti kukusanywa kikamilifu; gharama ya mishahara kurudi ndani ya kiwango cha sheria.
3. Ujuzi, Ubunifu na Ajira	Vyuo vya ufundi vya kaunti kuboreshwa; nafasi 3,000 za mafunzo kazini kila mwaka; asilimia 30 ya zabuni za kaunti kwa vijana, wanawake na watu wenye ulemavu; vituo vya kazi za kidijitali katika kila kaunti ndogo.
4. Mombasa Safi na Iliyopangwa Vyema	Kupunguza upotevu wa maji hadi asilimia 35; mabomba kuwa tayari kupokea maji ya Bwawa la Mwache; angalau asilimia 85 ya taka kuzolewa; mitaro kusafishwa kabla ya kila msimu wa mvua.
5. Kaunti ya Kidijitali Inayomlinda Kila Mtu	Mifumo salama ya kaunti; msaada kwa wasioweza kutumia mtandao; taarifa zako binafsi kulindwa; maamuzi muhimu kufanywa na binadamu, si mashine.

Siku 100 za kwanza: ukaguzi huru wa madeni, mishahara na miradi iliyokwama, na ripoti ya hali ya kaunti kwa umma.

Uwajibikaji: tutaripoti maendeleo kila baada ya miezi mitatu na kila mwaka, ili uweze kutupima kwa matokeo.

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Introduction: Vision, Mission and Guiding Principles

Our vision	A clean, well-run and prosperous Mombasa, where every resident can reach the services they need and share in the wealth of a world-class port city.
Our mission	To run a county government that is honest with public money, quick to serve, open to scrutiny and focused on results that residents can see.

Our guiding principles

- **People first.** Services designed around residents, not around offices.
- **Integrity.** Public money treated as a public trust.
- **Openness.** Budgets, contracts and results published for all to see.
- **Fairness.** Services and opportunities shared fairly across all 30 wards.
- **Value for money.** Finish what we start, and start only what we can pay for.
- **Technology with safeguards.** Digital tools that make services easier and keep your rights protected.

How to read this manifesto

Each promise in Part II carries one of three labels, so you know exactly who is responsible for the result.

Label	What it means
County delivers	This is the county's job under the Constitution, paid for from the county budget. We take full responsibility for the result.
With partners	The county leads, but success also depends on money or action from national government, development partners or businesses. We will tell you where we depend on others.
We advocate	This is the job of a national body, such as the port or the police. We will speak up for Mombasa and work with them, but we will not promise what the law does not allow a governor to do.

Dates. "By 2030" means by the end of June 2030. "By 2032" means by the end of the 2031/32 financial year. The figures we use, and where they come from, are listed at the end of this manifesto.

Part I: Our Vision for Mombasa

1. A New Direction for Mombasa County

1.1 What Mombasa has going for it

Few counties start with Mombasa's advantages. The port makes us the trading gateway for Kenya and much of the region. Transport and storage are the biggest part of our economy, and services make up about two thirds of it. We also have tourism built on our beaches, Old Town and Fort Jesus; a blue economy of fishing and maritime work; and the Dongo Kundu Special Economic Zone on the south mainland.

Mombasa is also young. About two in every three residents are of working age, and that share is growing. With the right skills and jobs, our young people can drive the county forward. Without them, a whole generation is left waiting.

1.2 What residents and businesses face today

Mombasa at a glance	Latest figure	Source
Population (2019 census / 2027 estimate)	1,208,333 / 1,422,443	KNBS; County Plan
Wards and sub-counties	30 wards; 6 sub-counties	KNBS
People living in poverty	About 32 in every 100	KIPPRA
Young people without work	About 44 in every 100	Labour assessments, 2025
Water needed / water received / water reaching homes	About 200,000 / 40,000 / 20,000 m³ a day	County Government
Rubbish produced / share collected	900–1,200 tonnes a day / just over half	County Government
Revenue the county raised against its target, 2025/26	KSh 6.21 bn of KSh 8.39 bn	Controller of Budget
Share of revenue spent on salaries, 2025/26 (legal limit: 35 per cent)	55 per cent	Controller of Budget
Unpaid bills to suppliers / share older than three years (31 March 2026)	Over KSh 5.3 bn / 98 per cent	Controller of Budget
Audit opinion on the county's accounts, 2024/25	Qualified (not clean)	Auditor-General

Behind each figure is a daily cost. Families pay water vendors many times the normal price. Traders work beside rubbish that blocks drains and floods markets when the rains come. Small businesses that did work for the county years ago are still waiting to be paid, and some have closed. Young people with certificates cannot find a first job, and many cannot afford the training that would get them one.

1.3 What we have learnt from past promises

Mombasa has not lacked plans since devolution began in 2013. What it has lacked is the discipline to match promises to money, to finish what was started and to tell residents the truth about progress.

What has happened	What we will do differently
Budgets were based on money that never came in. In 2024/25 the county collected KSh 520 million in cess against a target of KSh 780 million (Senate County Public Accounts Committee). In 2025/26 it collected KSh 6.21 billion of a KSh 8.39 billion own-revenue target, about three quarters (Controller of Budget).	Set honest revenue targets, then beat them. Never plan to spend money we do not expect to collect.
Projects were started but not finished. Audits have found stalled projects across the county.	Finish before we start. No new project without a design, land, a full cost and the money in place.
Big projects, such as turning seawater into drinking water, were announced but never built.	Promise only what can be delivered within five years, and say clearly when we need others to help.
Debts were left for later. Almost all unpaid bills are more than three years old.	Check every bill, publish the list and pay genuine bills first, as the law requires.
Residents were told late, if at all. The county's 2025/26 reports reached the Controller of Budget late.	Report on time, in public and in plain language, whether the news is good or bad.

1.4 Why Mombasa needs a county government that delivers

None of Mombasa's problems is beyond solving. Water losses can be cut, debts can be cleared and services can be brought online within a single term. That does not take one grand project. It takes a county government that gets the basics right: honest numbers, a small number of priorities that are properly funded, a named person responsible for each, and regular reports to the public.

That is the change we offer. It is as much about how the county is run as about what it builds, so that what is built is finished, paid for and looked after.

1.5 Our vision for 2032

By 2032 we want a Mombasa where:

- water from new sources reaches homes through pipes that no longer lose half of what they carry;
- streets, beaches and markets are clean, and the rains no longer flood the same estates every year;
- you can apply for a permit, pay a fee or make a complaint from your phone or at a desk in your own ward, and follow it to the end;
- suppliers are paid on time and every county shilling can be followed from budget to result;
- young people leave county training centres with the skills that employers want;
- technology makes the county faster and fairer, and your personal information is safe.

> **Why does Mombasa need a new direction?**
>
> Because a county as rich in opportunity as Mombasa should not leave its people short of water and unsafe in their own neighbourhoods, its streets full of rubbish and its suppliers unpaid. The problem is not a lack of plans. It is a way of running the county that promises more than it can pay for, starts more than it finishes and tells residents too little. A new direction means changing how the county is run, so that results are visible and lasting.

2. How We Will Govern Mombasa

The following values will guide our administration. They follow the Constitution of Kenya 2010, including the national values and principles of governance in Article 10 and the leadership and integrity standards in Chapter Six.

Principle	What it means	What you will see
People-centred leadership and inclusive development	Services designed around the people who use them. Women, young people, older people, persons with disabilities and residents of informal settlements considered from the start.	New services tested with residents from at least three wards before launch.
Integrity, transparency and accountability	Public office is a trust. Conflicts of interest declared, and misuse of public money reported to the authorities without exception.	A public register of the interests of the Governor, Deputy Governor and County Executive members. Answers to every audit query published within 90 days.
Public participation and responsive government	Residents help set priorities, not just comment on decisions already made.	Ward meetings before every budget and development plan, with a public record of what residents asked for and what the county did.
Fairness in services and opportunities	Money follows need and population, so that no ward is left behind. Article 201 of the Constitution requires public spending to promote equitable development, with special provision for marginalised groups and areas.	A published ward formula based on population, poverty and gaps in services, with each ward's share of development spending published every year.
Responsible use of public resources	Spend within our means, pay what we owe and finish what we start.	At least 30 per cent of the budget for development, as the law requires, and a clear plan to bring salaries within the legal limit.
Technology as a tool for better service	Technology to make services faster, fairer and more open. It will never replace a person where your rights or livelihood are at stake, and it will never shut out people who are not online.	A non-digital option for every service. A privacy check before any new system goes live.

> **How will we govern Mombasa?**
>
> Openly, carefully and close to the people. We will publish what we plan, what we spend and what we achieve. We will pay only for what we can afford and finish what we begin. We will bring services to every ward and invite residents into decisions. And we will use technology to make all of this faster and fairer, while protecting every resident's rights.

Who does what

The Constitution divides responsibilities between county and national government. This is why every promise in Part II shows who is responsible.

The county is responsible for	National government is responsible for
County hospitals, health centres and dispensaries	Health policy, the Social Health Authority and national referral hospitals
Water and sewerage services to homes, through the county water company	Bulk water and large dams, through the Coast Water Works Development Agency
Rubbish collection, dumpsites and the local environment	National environmental rules and enforcement
County roads, street lights, markets, trade licences and town planning	Highways, the port and the railway
Early childhood education and county vocational training centres	Primary and secondary schools, national polytechnics and universities
Fishing, county tourism, culture and public spaces	Police, security, immigration and national museums

Part II: Our Five Pillars for Transforming Mombasa

Our five pillars cover every area of county work. For each pillar we explain where Mombasa stands today, what we will do, who is responsible and how you will know if we have delivered. Each promise has a number, so that you can follow it through county plans, budgets and our yearly progress reports.

Pillar	Our promise	Kiswahili
1. A County Government That Works for You	Make county services easier to reach, quicker and more responsive.	*Serikali ya Kaunti Inayokuhudumia*
2. Public Resources That Deliver Visible Results	Manage public money responsibly and turn it into improvements you can see.	*Rasilimali za Umma, Matokeo Yanayoonekana*
3. Skills, Innovation and Jobs	Create opportunity by connecting people, skills, business and investment.	*Ujuzi, Ubunifu na Ajira*
4. A Cleaner, Better-Managed, More Connected Mombasa	Improve the streets, water, drains, markets and public spaces you use every day.	*Mombasa Safi na Iliyopangwa Vyema*
5. A Digital County That Protects Everyone	Use technology to improve services and openness without putting your rights at risk.	*Kaunti ya Kidijitali Inayomlinda Kila Mtu*

> Technology runs through the first four pillars wherever it makes a service better, such as online permits, revenue collection or project tracking. Pillar 5 covers what every digital service relies on: secure systems, help for people who are not online, protection of personal data and responsible use of artificial intelligence.

Pillar 1: A County Government That Works for You

Our promise: make county services easier to reach, quicker and more responsive to your needs.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

- Most county services still need a visit to a county office, often more than once. Once you apply, you cannot follow what happens to your application.
- Nobody publishes how long county services take or how complaints are dealt with.
- County hospitals matter to every family, yet patients still report missing medicines and long waits.
- Floods and fires keep hitting the same estates, and there is no public plan for responding to them.

WHAT WE WILL DO

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P1.1	**A Service Charter for every county service**, showing the fee, the documents you need and the longest time a decision should take. Published in English and Kiswahili and reviewed every year.	**County delivers**	Charter published by June 2028. Time limits met for at least 80 per cent of applications by 2030.
P1.2	**A Ward Service Point in all 30 wards**, in existing ward offices, where you can apply, pay, follow up and complain, with staff on hand to help.	**County delivers**	One in each sub-county within 100 days. All 30 wards by June 2029.
P1.3	**Fewer trips, shorter queues.** Business permits, building plans, land rates and other common services fully online, with a reference number so that you can track progress.	**County delivers**	At least 80 per cent of common services online, with tracking, by 2030.
P1.4	**One number for every complaint.** A free phone line, USSD code and WhatsApp channel. Every complaint gets a reference number, a reply within 48 hours and a solution or explanation within 14 days.	**County delivers**	At least 85 per cent of complaints resolved within 14 days by 2030. Results published every three months.
P1.5	**No one left behind.** Help for anyone who needs it at every Ward Service Point; priority service for older people and persons with disabilities; sign-language interpreters on set days; county buildings made accessible.	**County delivers**	All county buildings checked for access by June 2028. Main public buildings fixed by 2030.
P1.6	**Reliable health care close to home.** Stronger dispensaries and health centres linked to bigger hospitals; medicine stock levels published every month; community health promoters paid on time; help to register with the Social Health Authority.	**With partners**	Essential medicines in stock at least 90 per cent of the time at county facilities by 2030.
P1.7	**Shorter waits at county hospitals**, starting with Coast General Teaching and Referral Hospital: appointments, a queue system, published waiting times and a way to give feedback.	**County delivers**	Waiting times published every month from 2028. Average outpatient wait cut by a third by 2030.
P1.8	**Ready for floods and fires.** A county emergency plan, SMS flood warnings for areas at risk, published fire and rescue response times, and a recovery fund with clear rules on who can get help.	**With partners**	Emergency plan in place by June 2028. Flood warnings covering all high-risk areas by 2029.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P1.9	**Your voice in county decisions.** Regular Baraza la Wananchi meetings at ward and sub-county level, backed by an online platform, SMS surveys and a ward issues register, so residents can raise concerns, help set development priorities and follow up. Every proposal gets a published answer: accepted, rejected or deferred, with the reasons.	**County delivers**	Regular public forums in all six sub-counties within the first year. A public participation report every three months showing issues raised, decisions and reasons, and matters still open.
P1.10	**Your right to know.** An Access to Information office in the county, with requests answered within the 21 days the Access to Information Act allows; county notices in English and Kiswahili, with audio, sign-language and Braille versions of key information; and a single county information line by SMS, USSD and WhatsApp.	**County delivers**	Information requests answered within 21 days from 2028, with the number of requests and response times published every year.

HOW YOU WILL KNOW

Measure	Today	By June 2030	By 2032
Ward Service Points open	None to a common standard	30 of 30	30 of 30
Common services online, with tracking	Measured in first 100 days	80 per cent	90 per cent
Complaints resolved within 14 days	Measured in first 100 days	85 per cent	90 per cent
Essential medicines in stock at county facilities	Measured in first 100 days	90 per cent	95 per cent

Pillar 2: Public Resources That Deliver Visible Results

Our promise: manage public money responsibly and turn it into improvements you can see in your daily life.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

- In 2025/26 the county raised KSh 6.21 billion of its own revenue, against a target of KSh 8.39 billion (Controller of Budget, County Budget Implementation Review Report, FY 2025/26).
- Salaries took 55 per cent of county revenue in 2025/26, far above the legal limit of 35 per cent. In June 2026 the county took a KSh 620 million bank overdraft to pay salaries (Controller of Budget, FY 2025/26).
- Paying staff on time has been a problem for years. In September 2021 nurses and doctors went on strike over two months of unpaid salaries. In March 2022 workers threatened to strike over unpaid February pay. An Equity Bank overdraft of KSh 856 million was later turned into a KSh 745 million loan, which the Controller of Budget said had not been approved as the Constitution requires.
- As at 31 March 2026, the county owed suppliers more than KSh 5.3 billion. Almost all of it (98 per cent) had been unpaid for more than three years (Controller of Budget, first nine months of FY 2025/26).
- The Auditor-General did not give the county a clean opinion on its 2024/25 accounts.

WHAT WE WILL DO

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P2.1	**Settle the county's debts honestly.** An independent check of every unpaid bill; a public list of genuine bills; genuine bills paid first, starting with the oldest and the smallest suppliers; doubtful claims sent to the Auditor-General and the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission.	**County delivers**	List of checked bills published within 100 days. All genuine bills older than three years paid by June 2030.
P2.2	**Open budgets and open contracts.** Budgets, plans and spending reports published on time; every tender, contract award and contract value published within seven days; a simple citizens' budget in Kiswahili every year.	**County delivers**	All contracts published from 2028/29. Mombasa to join the Open Government Partnership by 2029.
P2.3	**Collect what is already owed.** One cashless system for all county payments; an updated list of property values for land rates; revenue targets based on evidence, not hope.	**County delivers**	At least 90 per cent of the revenue target collected every year from 2028/29.
P2.4	**Bring salaries within the legal limit without cutting front-line care.** A full headcount and payroll check to remove ghost workers; one modern payroll system; new jobs only where approved and affordable; a published year-by-year plan.	**County delivers**	Salaries below 45 per cent of revenue by 2029/30, and at or below 35 per cent by 2031/32.
P2.5	**Finish before we start.** A review of all stalled projects in the first 100 days. No new project without a design, land, a full cost and the money in place. Ongoing projects paid for before new ones.	**County delivers**	At least 90 per cent of projects finished on budget and on time by 2030.
P2.6	**A public project tracker.** Every county project shown online and at Ward Service Points, with the contractor, budget, payments made, photographs and progress. Trained volunteers in every ward to monitor projects.	**County delivers**	Tracker live by June 2028, covering every development project.
P2.7	**Clean accounts.** Act on every recommendation of the Auditor-General and publish our response; a stronger, independent audit committee; fewer county bank accounts, as the law requires.	**County delivers**	A clean audit opinion on the county's 2029/30 accounts.
P2.8	**You help decide.** Part of the development budget allocated through ward meetings, with the decisions and their delivery published.	**County delivers**	Ward priorities in every yearly development plan from 2028/29.
P2.9	**A yearly report on this manifesto**, showing progress on every promise and tabled in the County Assembly.	**County delivers**	First report in August 2028, then every year.
P2.10	**Every shilling must deliver value.** Stronger oversight of county procurement, so that every tender is open, competitive and fair, contracts are reasonably priced, and work is of good quality and value for money.	**County delivers**	A public procurement performance report every year from 2028/29, showing competition, contract costs, project quality and action taken on irregularities.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P2.11	**A fair share for every ward.** A published formula for sharing development money between wards, based on population, poverty and gaps in services; an online map showing where services are and where they are missing; and a yearly ward-by-ward report on spending, projects and service results.	**County delivers**	Ward formula adopted by June 2028. First ward-by-ward spending and service report published in 2028/29, then every year.

HOW YOU WILL KNOW

Measure	Today	By June 2030	By 2032
Revenue collected against target	74 per cent (2025/26)	90 per cent or more	90 per cent or more
Share of revenue spent on salaries	55 per cent (2025/26)	Below 45 per cent	35 per cent or less
Genuine unpaid bills older than three years	98 per cent of all unpaid bills	None	None
Audit opinion on county accounts	Not clean (2024/25)	Clean (2029/30)	Clean

Pillar 3: Skills, Innovation and Jobs

Our promise: create opportunity by connecting people, skills, business and investment.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

- Recent labour assessments put youth unemployment in Mombasa at about 44 per cent, one of the highest rates in Kenya.
- Two in every three residents are of working age. Our biggest employers are in transport, logistics and services, but training rarely matches what they need.
- Small traders face many licences, unpredictable county charges and late payment for county work.

WHAT WE WILL DO

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P3.1	**A Mombasa Skills Compact.** Re-equip county vocational training centres and design courses with employers in port logistics, shipping, hotels, building trades, solar and electrical work, motor mechanics and ICT.	**With partners**	50 per cent more students in county training centres by 2030.
P3.2	**Fair bursaries.** One online, ward-based bursary system with published rules and figures, giving priority to technical and vocational training.	**County delivers**	All bursaries awarded through the open system from 2028/29.
P3.3	**Kazi Mombasa: from training to work.** A county jobs and skills platform matching young people to jobs, internships and apprenticeships in county departments, the port, hotels and local businesses, and tracking what happens to every trainee after they finish.	**With partners**	3,000 paid internships and apprenticeships a year by 2030. By 2032, at least half of county training graduates in work, further training or their own business within a year of finishing.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P3.4	**Easier and more predictable to do business.** One single business permit, applied for and paid online with published fees and processing times; market stalls given out openly; no new county fee or charge without consulting traders and giving at least three months' notice; a County–Traders Forum every three months; and a county enterprise fund with fair lending and published repayment figures.	**County delivers**	Single business permit in place by June 2029. Traders' Forum meeting every quarter from 2028.
P3.5	**Fair share for women, youth and persons with disabilities.** At least 30 per cent of county contracts reserved for them, as national rules require, with results published every three months and payment within 60 days.	**County delivers**	30 per cent reserved and paid on time every year from 2028/29.
P3.6	**Port and logistics jobs for Mombasa people.** Work with the Kenya Ports Authority, shipping lines, the Dongo Kundu Special Economic Zone and investors on local hiring, training and business opportunities for Mombasa firms.	**We advocate**	A yearly report on local jobs with port and economic zone partners from 2028.
P3.7	**Mombasa, more than a beach.** A new tourism brand for Mombasa built on Swahili culture and heritage, Old Town and Fort Jesus, food, sport and events, cruise visitors and business and conference tourism, so that visitors come all year and stay longer. An online tourism directory and a yearly events calendar, with young people trained as guides and hosts. Planned with our coastal neighbours.	**With partners**	Joint coast tourism plan, online directory and events calendar by 2029. Visitor numbers and length of stay reported every year.
P3.8	**Digital work and innovation.** A digital work hub in each of the six sub-counties, offering training, internet access and mentoring for online work, software and creative businesses.	**With partners**	Six hubs open and 10,000 young people trained in digital skills by 2030.
P3.9	**Sport and creative talent.** Better ward playing fields, support for youth sports academies and talent scouting, and spaces for musicians, artists and filmmakers to perform and record.	**With partners**	An upgraded playing field in every sub-county by 2029, and in every ward by 2032.
P3.10	**From business idea to viable enterprise.** Youth enterprise incubation and support centres across the six sub-counties, offering help with business plans, links to markets, and guidance on accessing finance and county contracts.	**With partners**	Incubation services in all six sub-counties by 2029, supporting at least 1,000 youth-led businesses by 2030.
P3.11	**A growing and more varied economy.** A Mombasa Economic Plan to support local business, value addition, investment and trade beyond the port, including light manufacturing, logistics services, fish processing and the creative economy; a county Investor Desk to guide investors through county approvals; and an online directory of local businesses and investment opportunities.	**With partners**	Economic Plan adopted by June 2028. Investor Desk and online investment portal running by 2029, with investment supported reported every year.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P3.12	**A blue economy that creates jobs.** Help fishers and fish traders earn more through cooperatives, better fish handling and processing, access to finance for boats and gear, and links to hotels, supermarkets and export buyers; a digital fish-market price and information service; and marine and maritime skills for young people.	**With partners**	At least one modern fish handling and processing centre by 2030. Digital market information service for registered fishers by 2029.

HOW YOU WILL KNOW

Measure	Today	By June 2030	By 2032
Students in county training centres	Measured in first 100 days	50 per cent more	75 per cent more
Paid internships and apprenticeships each year	Measured in first 100 days	3,000	4,000
County contracts for youth, women and persons with disabilities	Measured in first 100 days	30 per cent or more	30 per cent or more
Young people trained in digital skills (total)	Measured in first 100 days	10,000	20,000

Youth unemployment also depends on the national economy. We will report the official figure every year, alongside the results of our own programmes.

Pillar 4: A Cleaner, Better-Managed, More Connected Mombasa

Our promise: improve the streets, water, drains, markets and public spaces you use every day.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

- Mombasa needs about 200,000 cubic metres of water a day but receives about 40,000 from Kilifi, Kwale and Taita Taveta. Because of leaks and illegal connections, only about 20,000 reach homes.
- The Mwache Dam in Kwale is designed to supply 186,000 cubic metres a day to Mombasa and Kwale. Unless county pipes are ready to carry that water, much of it will never reach residents.
- Mombasa produces 900 to 1,200 tonnes of rubbish a day and collects just over half. Dozens of illegal dumpsites have been found across the county.

WHAT WE WILL DO

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P4.1	**Stop the water losses.** Clear performance targets for the county water company; meters on every part of the network; fast leak repairs; an amnesty to legalise illegal connections, followed by firm action.	**County delivers**	Water lost through leaks and theft cut from about half to 35 per cent by 2030.
P4.2	**Get ready for Mwache water.** Build and repair the county pipes, tanks and household connections needed to bring new bulk water into homes, working with the Coast Water Works Development Agency.	**With partners**	Water reaching homes up from about 20,000 to 80,000 m³ a day by 2030, as new bulk supply arrives.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P4.3	**Fair water for homes not yet connected.** Water kiosks with fixed, published prices in informal settlements, and new household connections on affordable terms.	With partners	Kiosk prices published and checked. At least 20,000 new connections by 2032.
P4.4	**A clean city.** A published rubbish collection timetable for every area; sorting of waste at home; Mwakirunge turned into a properly engineered landfill with recycling; illegal dumpsites closed and cleaned. Existing waste contracts reviewed to make sure they deliver value for money.	With partners	At least 85 per cent of rubbish collected by 2030. No active illegal dumpsites by 2030.
P4.5	**Clear drains, fewer floods.** Storm drains mapped and cleared before every rainy season; flood hotspots fixed first; no building on drains and riverbanks.	County delivers	Drains cleared in all 30 wards before every rainy season. All known flood hotspots fixed by 2032.
P4.6	**Roads, footpaths and street lights that are looked after.** A yearly repair plan for every ward covering roads, potholes, footpaths and pedestrian crossings; safe walkways and marked crossings near schools, markets, hospitals and bus stops; street lights repaired quickly under maintenance contracts; a full list of county property. Delivered with the relevant national roads agencies.	With partners	At least 80 per cent of each year's published repair plan completed. Safe footpaths and marked crossings outside every public primary school and county market by 2032.
P4.7	**Better markets and trading spaces.** Upgrade county markets, including Kongowea; set aside safe trading areas for hawkers; county enforcement officers to carry identification and follow a published code of conduct.	County delivers	Code of conduct in force within 100 days. Market upgrade plan by June 2028.
P4.8	**Support for fishing communities.** Better landing sites, cold storage and access to markets, working with fishers' groups and national fisheries agencies.	With partners	Cold storage at the main landing sites by 2030.
P4.9	**Heritage and public spaces.** Protect Old Town with the National Museums of Kenya; keep beaches clean and open to the public; restore public parks and open spaces.	With partners	Public access points to beaches mapped and protected by 2029.
P4.10	**Know before it happens.** SMS and WhatsApp alerts on water rationing, rubbish collection changes and road closures in your ward.	County delivers	Alerts working across the county by June 2028.
P4.11	**A well-planned, orderly Mombasa.** Stronger land-use planning and development control: updated local physical and land-use plans, enforcement of building standards, protection of road reserves, drainage corridors and public land, and development approvals that are open and easy to follow. Delivered with the relevant national authorities.	With partners	Updated development plans for all six sub-counties by 2030, with a public register of approved developments and enforcement action.

HOW YOU WILL KNOW

Measure	Today	By June 2030	By 2032
Water reaching homes (m³ a day)	About 20,000	80,000 (with new bulk supply)	120,000 (with new bulk supply)
Water lost through leaks and theft	About half	35 per cent	30 per cent
Rubbish collected	Just over half	85 per cent	90 per cent
Active illegal dumpsites	Dozens	None	None

Pillar 5: A Digital County That Protects Everyone

Our promise: use technology to improve services and openness, without putting your rights at risk.

WHERE WE ARE NOW

- County systems for revenue, health, land and staff were built separately and do not work well together. This slows services and makes it easier for money to go missing.
- Many residents, especially older people and those in informal settlements, cannot use online services without help.
- Kenyan law, including the Data Protection Act 2019, sets clear rules for how public bodies handle personal information.

WHAT WE WILL DO

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P5.1	**One front door for county services.** One county website and app, with one account for each resident, working on smartphones, computers and ordinary phones (by USSD).	**County delivers**	Live by June 2029, carrying the services in P1.3.
P5.2	**County records made digital and secure.** Land, rates, business, building and staff records digitised and cleaned up, with a record of every change made and who made it; health records digitised in line with national law.	**County delivers**	Main county records fully digital by 2030, with change records that auditors can check.
P5.3	**Systems that work together and stay in county hands.** One plan for how all county systems connect; no new system bought unless the county owns its data and can change suppliers.	**County delivers**	Standards adopted by June 2028.
P5.4	**Nobody shut out.** Help with online services at every Ward Service Point; free public Wi-Fi at selected markets, libraries and transport stops; every essential service also available in person.	**County delivers**	Public Wi-Fi at 30 sites by 2030. No essential service online only.
P5.5	**Your personal data protected.** A county Data Protection Officer; registration with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner; a privacy check before any new system goes live; data breaches reported within 72 hours, as the law requires.	**County delivers**	A privacy check for every new system that holds personal data.

No.	What we will do	Who delivers	Target
P5.6	**Strong cybersecurity.** A plan for responding to cyber attacks, independent security checks every year and training for all staff who use county systems, working with national cyber agencies.	**County delivers**	Response plan within 100 days. Independent check every year from 2028.
P5.7	**Responsible use of artificial intelligence.** A public list of every AI tool and automated system the county uses. No decision on support, permits, fines or jobs made by a machine without a person checking it. A clear explanation and the right to appeal to a person.	**County delivers**	List published by June 2028 and updated every three months.
P5.8	**Open data and feedback.** County budgets, contracts, projects and service figures published online for anyone to use, and a way to rate every service.	**County delivers**	Open-data website live by June 2028.
P5.9	**Digital access in every community.** Public ICT access points in ward centres and other public spaces, with internet access, basic digital skills support and help using county and other public online services, working with schools, colleges, technology partners and community organisations.	**With partners**	Public ICT access points in all 30 wards by 2030, with use and accessibility reported every year.

HOW YOU WILL KNOW

Measure	Today	By June 2030	By 2032
Essential services available online only	Measured in first 100 days	None	None
New systems with a completed privacy check	Measured in first 100 days	All	All
Public list of AI tools, kept up to date	None	Published, every three months	Published, every three months
Public Wi-Fi sites	Measured in first 100 days	30	45

Part III: Delivering Our Priorities

This part explains how our promises will be turned into plans, budgets and results, and how you can hold us to them.

3. Our First 100 Days

Our first 100 days will establish the facts, set up the team to deliver and show early, visible change.

When	What we will do	What we will publish
Days 1–30	▪ Set up a Delivery Unit in the Governor's office, with a lead officer for each pillar. ▪ Start an independent check of unpaid bills, the payroll and stalled projects. ▪ Open the complaints line and bring in the code of conduct for enforcement officers. ▪ Start an urgent drive with the county water company against leaks and illegal connections.	The interests of the Governor and County Executive members; complaints line numbers; rubbish collection timetables.
Days 31–60	▪ Complete a full review of county money, contracts and property. ▪ Open the first six Ward Service Points, one in each sub-county. ▪ Begin ward meetings for the County Integrated Development Plan 2028–2032. ▪ Adopt a plan for responding to cyber attacks.	Weekly figures on water losses and rubbish collection; the first published contracts.
Days 61–100	▪ Present a revised budget to the County Assembly that matches these priorities and includes a plan to pay genuine bills. ▪ Set the starting figure for every measure marked "measured in first 100 days". ▪ Agree first-year targets with every county department.	**A State of the County report**: the debts we found, the payroll, stalled projects, starting figures and our plan for year one.

> Some actions and dates may need to change once we have the full facts about the county's finances, legal powers and resources. If anything changes, we will explain why in the 100-day report and tell you what replaces it.

4. Implementation, Financing and Partnerships

4.1 From promise to action

- **Into the county plan.** Every promise will go into the County Integrated Development Plan 2028–2032 and into each year's development plan.
- **Into the budget.** Each year's budget will show which promises it pays for, so that the County Assembly and the public can follow the money.
- **Into performance contracts.** Every County Executive member and Chief Officer will sign a contract with clear targets drawn from this manifesto.
- **Led from the centre.** The Delivery Unit will track progress every month, solve problems between departments and prepare the public reports.

4.2 Paying for our promises

In 2025/26 the county received KSh 15.79 billion, of which KSh 6.21 billion was raised locally. We will pay for our promises from four sources: savings from cleaning up the payroll and buying better; more revenue from collecting what is already owed; national government grants; and money from development partners and private investors under the Public Private Partnerships Act 2021.

Pillar	County funds	Partners and investors	Total
1. A County Government That Works for You	3.2	1.5	4.7
2. Public Resources That Deliver Visible Results	1.1	0.3	1.4
3. Skills, Innovation and Jobs	2.3	2.2	4.5
4. A Cleaner, Better-Managed, More Connected Mombasa	7.4	8.0	15.4
5. A Digital County That Protects Everyone	1.2	0.8	2.0
Total, 2027/28 to 2031/32	**15.2**	**12.8**	**28.0**
Paying genuine unpaid bills (2027/28 to 2029/30)	Up to 5.3	–	Up to 5.3

Estimated costs in KSh billion over five years. County funds amount to about KSh 3 billion a year, within the legal minimum of 30 per cent of the budget for development. Final figures will be set in the county development plan and the yearly budgets approved by the County Assembly.

4.3 Working with partners

Partner	How they will help
National government and its agencies	Bulk water and the Mwache Dam; health financing through the Social Health Authority; port jobs through the Kenya Ports Authority; heritage through the National Museums of Kenya; fisheries.
Jumuiya ya Kaunti za Pwani	Working with our coastal neighbours on tourism, water, waste and trade.
Businesses	Internships and apprenticeships, recycling, digital hubs and public–private partnerships.
Development partners	Water pipes, waste facilities, upgrading informal settlements and protection against floods.
Universities and colleges	Course design, research and independent review of our progress.

Partner	How they will help
Community, faith and civil-society groups	Monitoring projects, public participation and reaching residents who are often left out.

4.4 What could slow us down, and what we will do

Risk	What we will do about it
County revenue grows more slowly than planned	Set careful targets, review them every three months and phase promises so that later ones can wait without leaving projects half-built.
Unpaid bills turn out to be larger than reported	Check every bill independently first, agree a payment plan with the County Assembly and take on no new commitments until it is funded.
New bulk water arrives late	Cutting leaks and theft brings more water to homes in the meantime, and pipe works are timed to match new supply.
Old contracts limit what we can change	Legal review in the first 100 days, renegotiation where contractors are not delivering, and every lawful obligation honoured.
Floods, drought and other climate shocks	A county emergency plan and money set aside in every budget.
Late payments from national government	Careful cash planning, with priority for salaries, medicines and genuine bills.

5. Keeping You Informed

You should not have to take our word for progress. This is how you will be able to check.

What	How it works	When
Starting figures and targets	Every measure in Part II will have a checked starting figure and a target for each year.	Within 100 days
Performance targets	County departments will be judged against targets drawn from this manifesto.	From 2028/29
Online progress tracker	Every promise shown online and at Ward Service Points, with a green, amber or red rating, the evidence and the officer responsible.	Every three months
Ward scorecards	Residents rate services in their ward, and the results are published next to official figures.	Every year
Yearly progress report	A report on every promise, presented to the County Assembly and at public meetings in all six sub-counties.	Every August from 2028
Independent review	A trusted independent institution reviews our progress, and we publish the full findings and our response.	2030
Putting things right	Any promise rated red for six months gets a published plan to get it back on track, or a clear explanation of what has changed.	As needed

Rating	What it means on the progress tracker
Green	On track to meet the target on time.
Amber	At risk. Action is under way to fix it.
Red	Off track. A plan to put it right will be published within 30 days.

Part IV: A Shared Vision for Mombasa's Future

6. Building Mombasa Together

6.1 Everyone has a part to play

No county government can change Mombasa on its own. This manifesto sets out what we will do. Its success also depends on what we do together.

- **Residents:** join your ward meetings, use the complaints and feedback channels, pay what is due, sort your rubbish at home, and report illegal connections and dumping.
- **Businesses:** offer internships and apprenticeships, hire local people, follow county rules and help us design the services you use.
- **Community, faith and civil-society groups:** watch over county projects, bring the voices of those often left out into public meetings, and hold us to these promises.
- **National government and other partners:** work with us on what Mombasa cannot deliver alone, from bulk water to port jobs.

6.2 Our commitment to fair and responsible leadership

We will campaign the way we intend to govern. We are committed to the Electoral Code of Conduct and to a peaceful campaign. We reject hate speech, incitement and the misuse of public resources. We will respect our opponents and the choice the people of Mombasa make on 10 August 2027. Every promise in this manifesto is open to public scrutiny, during the campaign and throughout our term.

6.3 A closing message from Hassan Omar Hassan

Ndugu wananchi wa Mombasa,

I ask you to judge this manifesto not by how much it promises, but by whether it can be delivered. Every promise in it has a target, a timetable and a person responsible. Every year you will see the results, good and bad.

Mombasa has everything a great city needs: its people, its port, its history and its place on the ocean. What it needs now is a county government that matches your ambition with the discipline to deliver.

That is my promise to you. Ahadi yangu kwa Mombasa.

Hon. Hassan Omar Hassan
Candidate for Governor, Mombasa County

Where Our Figures Come From

We have used official and published sources so that every figure in this manifesto can be checked.

Topic	Source
Population, wards and sub-counties	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census; Commission on Revenue Allocation, Kenya County Fact Sheets; County Government of Mombasa, County Integrated Development Plan 2023–2027.
Poverty and the county economy	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA), Assessing Labour Productivity for Mombasa County, Policy Brief No. 70/2023–2024.
Youth unemployment	Labour assessments reported in The Standard, 11 December 2025.
Water supply, demand and losses	Figures given by the County Government of Mombasa, reported in The Star, 2 July and 21 August 2025.
Mwache Dam	Ministry of Water, Sanitation and Irrigation, statement to the Senate, 2026.
Solid waste	Figures given by the County Government of Mombasa, reported in The Star, 29 October 2025; Haki Yetu, Solid Waste Management Report 2024.
County revenue, salaries, borrowing and audit	Controller of Budget, County Governments Budget Implementation Review Report, FY 2025/26; Auditor-General, Report on County Governments, 2024/25.
Unpaid bills	Controller of Budget, County Governments Budget Implementation Review Report, first nine months of FY 2025/26 (position as at 31 March 2026).
Cess collection, 2024/25	Figures presented to the Senate County Public Accounts Committee, reported by Eastleigh Voice, 2026.
History of late salaries and bank borrowing	The Star, 13 September 2021; The Standard, March 2022; Controller of Budget, County Budget Implementation Review Report, reported by People Daily, 2024.
Laws referred to	Constitution of Kenya 2010; County Governments Act 2012; Public Finance Management Act 2012; Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Act 2015; Access to Information Act 2016; Data Protection Act 2019; Public Private Partnerships Act 2021; Elections Act 2011.

Ahadi Yangu kwa Mombasa

My Promise to Mombasa

1. A County Government That Works for You
2. Public Resources That Deliver Visible Results
3. Skills, Innovation and Jobs
4. A Cleaner, Better-Managed, More Connected Mombasa
5. A Digital County That Protects Everyone

Tarehe 10 Agosti 2027

Chagua Hassan Omar Hassan

Gavana wa Kaunti ya Mombasa