

FINANCING HEALTH CARE IN KENYA: ARE KENYANS WILLING TO PAY HIGHER TAXES FOR BETTER HEALTH CARE?

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ABSTRACT

Kenyans have a choice of identifying priorities for investments which range from education, infrastructure, like roads and bridges, security, like the police and military, agricultural development, energy supply, and healthcare, among others. Under the prevailing economic challenges, the Kenyan health sector has been struggling for funding. Recently, the government of Kenya decided to import doctors from Cuba. Considering the rising cost of health care and an increasing demand for healthcare due to population growth, raising taxes or charging higher user fees are some of the options the government may resort to in order to sustain public health care expenditure. This study determined the demographic, geographic, and governmental factors that are associated with the willingness of Kenyans to pay more taxes for funding health care. Perceptions of government's performance and trustworthiness are reflected in the public's opposition to paying higher taxes. This study is important because it highlights the growing debate surrounding the financing of universal health coverage in low-income and middle-income countries. Data obtained from the 2014–2015 Afrobarometer surveys and cover opinions on governance, public-sector performance, and how public health care is prioritized. Data analysis involved descriptive statistics,

correlation, and multiple linear regression. The study findings lead to the conclusion that there is a correlation between demographic, access, perceptions of governance, and perceived official corruption. The study finds the need to improve transparency and accountability of revenue authorities and public institutions in Kenya.

Keywords: Kenya, health care funding; taxes; policy; Kenya universal health care

INTRODUCTION

Background to Health Kenya Policy

Kenya's original health policy was a post-colonial nation-building, socio-economic development blueprint (1965) that focused on elimination of diseases, poverty, and illiteracy. It was a three-tier system involving district, provincial, and national levels run by the central government; missionary facilities at the sub-district levels, and local governments in urban areas (Mohajan, 2014; USAID, .; Wamai, 2009). Utilization of health facilities is a function of health status, health-seeking behavior, and cost or quality of services. The cost of health services is still a major impediment to most Kenyans. About 70-80% of the population resides in rural areas and an estimated 46.6% live in poverty and on less than \$1 a day. Therefore, availability of health facilities

does not always guarantee utilization (Wamai, 2009).

Geography influences the size, population, overall health, and social economic indicators. Kenya has a network of about 5000 facilities which occur as national, provincial, district, health centers and dispensaries (Mohajan, 2014). The distribution of these health facilities in Kenya is still uneven. For instance, Central Kenya and areas surrounding Nairobi are well endowed while Nyanza and Western and Rift Valley regions which are considered as “worse-off” (Wamai, 2009).

Health Sector in Kenya

The main actors in Kenya’s health sector include the public sector represented by the Ministry of Health; the private sector (for-profit and private not-for-profit); alternative medicine practitioners; individuals and households; and development partners such as ng United States Agency for International Development (USAID), United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), the European Union (EU) and the China government as the main ones. The health facilities are owned by the government of Kenya (41%), by non-governmental organizations (15%), and 43% owned by private businesses (Mohajan, 2014).

Devolution of the Health Sector in Kenya

For a longtime, the Kenya Health Policy Framework Paper of 1994 has been guiding the health sector development with the aim of providing quality healthcare that’s acceptable, affordable, and accessible (Wamai, 2009). In 2010, a new constitution was enacted which subsequently devolved health functions to the county governments. Currently, the policy focus is on primary health care and universal healthcare access for all citizens per the constitution. The policy is guided by macroeconomic structural frameworks such as Kenya’s Vision 2030, Millennium Development Goals of 2015, and the Sustainable Development Goals of 2030 (Bitta et al., 2017; Mohajan, 2014; Wamai, 2009).

This decentralization of healthcare functions to the county governments elicited a series of challenges pertaining to planning, budgeting, misaligned policies, inadequate participation of the community, technical inefficiency, resource management, procurement, as well as financial and information management (Mohajan, 2014; Tsofa, Molyneu, Gilson, & Goodman (2017). There are now four levels of service delivery as explained by Table 1.

Table 1

Levels of Service in The Kenya Health System After the Devolution of Health Functions in 2010

Definition	Level	Description/Type of Facility
National Level Self-autonomy, Highly specialized care	Level 4	National Referral & Private Hospitals
County Level All former public and private hospitals	Level 3	County Hospitals
Primary Level	Level 2	Primary Care facilities

All dispensaries, health centers, and maternity homes in both public and private sectors

County Level

All health community-based activities and services organized within the community Level 1

Community Health Centers and Dispensaries

Financing Health Sector

Financing healthcare still faces numerous obstacles for adequate healthcare delivery in developing countries (Esamai et al., 2017). According to The National Health Accounts for 2015-2016, the health sector expenditure was \$ 3.476 billion or 5.2% of Kenya's gross domestic product (GDP). Sources include from government of Kenya (30%), households or out-of-pocket expenses (51%), the National Hospital Insurance Fund (16%), and donors (3%) (from Japan, U.S., U.K., China, and the European Union (Mohajan, 2014; Mwai, 2016; USAID, ; Wamai, 2009).

Challenges to The Health System in Kenya

Kenya's health challenges began in the 1970s-1980s leading to a degeneration of services despite advances made in medicine during the period and largely driven by widespread poverty and a rapidly growing population. In the 1990s, the socio-economic and political environment further worsened the status of health sector (Wamai, 2009). These challenges reflect the high burden of both communicable and non-communicable diseases. Thus, the leading causes of morbidity and mortality in Kenya are tuberculosis, HIV-AIDS, malaria, and high incidences of maternal, fetal, and neonatal mortality. Inadequate health infrastructure limited human resources, and other health care inputs ultimately increase the distribution of inequalities that lead to a reduction in the utilization of health services (Esamai et al., 2017; Mohajan, 2014).

Currently, the main objective is to reverse downward trends, and improve quality of services and efficiency in service delivery. However, the interventions in some key areas are affected by the absence of a comprehensive approach (Mohajan, 2014). Therefore, there's need for a system approach for improving the healthcare system in Kenya. Such an approach could address existing deficiencies of poor funding, operational and management of healthcare facilities, the quality of service, the capacity for planning, budgeting, and governance. Most important, it will hasten the desired health reforms, resource management, and policy implementation (Esamai et al., 2017).

THE STUDY

Problem Statement

Kenyans have a choice of identifying priorities for investments which range from education, infrastructure, like roads and bridges, security, like the police and military, healthcare, agricultural development, energy supply. However, the Kenyan health sector has been struggling with funding. Considering the rising cost of health care and an increasing demand for healthcare due to population growth, raising taxes or charging higher user fees are some of the options the government uses to sustain public health care expenditure. This study will determine the socio-demographic, geographic, and governmental factors that are associated with the willingness of Kenyans to pay more taxes for funding health care.

Rationale

Perceptions of government's performance and trustworthiness are reflected in the public's opposition to paying higher taxes. This study is important because it highlights the growing debate surrounding the financing of universal health coverage in low-income and middle-income countries. Tax-financed spending to pay for improvements in health care provision exposes the rising burden imposed on the taxpayers in such locations. The findings have implications on the policy formulation because tax revenue is a key element affecting universal healthcare policies formulation. Additionally, it highlights the portion of the gross domestic product (GDP) allocated to health care.

Methodology

Data Collection, Variables of Study, and Analysis

Data was obtained from the 2014–2015 Round 6 of Afrobarometer surveys (see <http://www.afrobarometer.org>), which were conducted in 36 African countries. The surveys cover opinions on governance, public-sector performance, and how public health care is prioritized. Afrobarometer used face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples of between 1200 and 2400 respondents.

The dependent variable used to measure the willingness of Kenyans to pay increased taxes for funding health care was Q65C, "If the government decided to make people pay more taxes or user fees in order to increase spending on public health care, would you support this decision or oppose it? The independent variables that were used to explain or predict the dependent variable were measured as follows: Q8C: Going without medical care over the past year; Q52: Trust in the President, Police, Tax Department, and Parliament (Q52A, Q52B, Q52C, Q52D, Q52E, Q52F, Q52H, Q52I,

Q52J, Q52K); Q53: The level of perceived corruption in the tax department, the President and the officials in the office, and parliament (Q53A, Q53B, Q53C, Q53D, Q53E, Q53F, Q53J); Q55C: Difficulty in obtaining medical care; Q55D: Paying bribes to obtain medical service at public hospitals; Q68: Job performance of the President, member of parliament (MP), and local government councilor (Q68A, Q68B, Q68C). The social economic status was measured by resources owned like radio (Q91A), television (Q91B), motor vehicle, car, or motorcycle (Q91C), and mobile phone (Q91D). We also explored technology use of mobile phone (Q92A) and the internet (Q92B); and plumbing issues like source of water (Q93A), and location of the toilet or latrine (Q93B). The demographic measures included age, sex, educational level (Q97), and employment status (Q95). Geographic factors comprised the urban or rural sampling units from Kenya's Nairobi, Central, Eastern, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, North Eastern, and Coast regions.

Data analysis involved descriptive statistics, correlation, and multiple linear regression. The three regression models were how often have you gone without medical care, difficulty in obtaining medical care, and paying bribes to obtain services at public hospitals.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Statistics

Majority of the respondents were from the rural sampling unit (63.6%) while urban sampling unit was 36.4%. In terms of sex, there were more males (50.1%) than females (49.9%). An estimated 40.8% reported their employment status as full time, 20% part-time, 17.9% not employed but looking, and 21.1% not employed and not looking. The education levels were reported as no formal schooling (6.5%), informal

schooling only (1.8%), some primary schooling (17.9%), primary school completed (18.3%), some secondary school (12.8%), secondary school / high school completed (23.6%), post-secondary qualifications, other than university (13.5%), some university (1.6%), university completed (3%), and post-graduate (0.8%). The frequency of going without care were reported as just once or twice (21.8%), several times (19.2%), many times (6.6%), always (1.4%), and never (50%). Paying a bribe to receive treatment a public clinic or hospital reflected once or twice (5.4%), a few times (2.2%), often (0.8%), and never (64%). The difficulty to obtain treatment was reported as Very Easy (13.4%), Easy (29.2%), Difficult (22.6%), and Very Difficult (9.2%). Regarding the willingness to pay more taxes to increase health spending, the respondents stated they would Strongly oppose (48.1%), somewhat oppose (17.1%), neither support nor oppose (8%), somewhat support (12.2%), strongly support

(9.9%), while some said it depends (3.2%), and don't know (1.4%).

Associations and Correlations

As seen in Table 2 below, the willingness to pay or support paying user fees or higher taxes correlates with how people perceive the state of the healthcare system in Kenya, government performance, trust, and or corruption in the government systems. Perception of corruption in government institutions elicited negative correlations with the willingness to pay more taxes to fund healthcare, and also affected the level of trust in government institutions. Trust in government institutions was positively correlated with the willingness to pay more taxes to fund the healthcare. Demographic factors like age, education level, sex, employment status, and location of residents were critical in determining the willingness to pay or support paying user fees or higher taxes.

Table 2

Correlations Between Perceptions of The Residents and Their Willingness to Pay or Support Higher Taxes to Fund Health Care in Kenya

Measure	N	Mean	SD	Correlations														
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1 How often gone without medical care	2394	0.86	1.036	1														
2 Difficulty to obtain medical treatment	1781	2.34	0.916	.219**	1													
3 Pay bribe for treatment at public clinic or hospital	1735	0.17	0.517	.163**	.318**	1												
4 Trust in government	2394	1.725	0.65156	-.108**	-.248**	-.102**	1											
5 Corruption in government	2374	1.547	0.54354	.179**	.123**	.131**	-.458**	1										
6 Performance	2386	2.671	1.146	-.196**	-.255**	-.108**	.554**	-.396**	1									
7 Technology use	2394	2.338	1.0849	-.255**	-0.037	-0.011	-.065**	0.029	-0.016	1								
8 Plumbing	2394	2.209	0.5494	.277**	.056*	0.015	0.031	-0.028	-0.021	-.410**	1							
9 Resources owned	2394	2.19	1.0507	-.231**	-0.026	0.031	-.047*	0.038	0.018	.515**	-.366**	1						
10 Employment status	2391	1.84	1.84	-.149**	-0.024	-0.023	-0.006	0.007	0.008	.258**	-.192**	.376**	1					
11 Gender	2394	1.5	0.500	0.01	0.009	0.024	0.024	-0.002	0.017	-.108**	0.003	-.152**	-.089**	1				

12	Education respondent	of	2393	3.86	1.923	.308**	-0.033	-0.026	.081**	0.035	0.004	.607**	.418**	.458**	.270**	.128**	1	
13	Urban or rural Primary Sampling Unit		2394	1.64	0.481	.106**	.082**	-0.04	.123**	.077**	.057**	.291**	.308**	.227**	.104**	-0.002	.269**	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Multiple Linear Regressions

At a 95 per cent confidence level, the three models used were significant in estimating the statistical relationship between the variables. Model 1 asked how often one has gone without medical care; model 2 was about difficulty in obtaining medical care, while model 3 explored paying bribes to obtain medical service at public hospitals. In model 1, residents living in Central Kenya were less likely to go without medical care compared to other regions. Going without medical care also reduced the trust in

government institutions, performance, and ultimately the willingness to support paying higher taxes for funding healthcare. In terms of socioeconomic indicators, those who owned resources were less likely to go without medical care. Apparently, this meant a higher socio-economic status. In model 2, Rift Valley, Nyanza, and Western regions were more likely to experience difficulty in obtaining medical care compared to Central and Nairobi regions. In model 3, those in Rift Valley, Western, and Coast regions were less likely to experience paying bribes to obtain service at public hospitals (see Table 3).

Table 3

Multiple Linear Regression Models for Associations Between Perceptions of The Residents and Their Willingness to Pay or Support Higher Taxes to Fund Health Care in Kenya

	Model 1: How often gone without medical care	Model 2: Difficulty in obtaining medical care	Model 3: Paying bribes to obtain medical service at public hospitals
	<i>Standardized Beta</i>	<i>Standardized Beta</i>	<i>Standardized Beta</i>
Age (in years)	0.265	-0.107	-0.11
Age Squared	-0.220	0.071	0.074
Gender (Male = 1, Female = 2)	-0.027	0.006	0.018
Urbanicity	0.006	-0.072	-0.03
Province (ref = Nairobi)			
Central	-0.079	-0.070	-0.002
Eastern	-0.010	-0.150	-0.032
Rift Valley	-0.003	0.153	0.07
Nyanza	-0.081	0.049	-0.024
Western	-0.079	0.060	0.009
North Eastern	0.040	-0.104	-0.054
Coast	-0.027	-0.030	0.014
Socioeconomic Indicators			
Employment status	-0.036	0.016	-0.02

Education	-0.157	-0.033	-0.057
Technology Use/Access	-0.049	-0.024	-0.022
Plumbing Access	0.151	0.022	0.017
Resources owned	-0.580	0.008	0.067
Government Factors			
Trust in Government	-0.034	-0.149	-0.032
Corruption in Government	0.120	0.015	0.099
Performance of Government	-0.140	-0.192	-0.08

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed at exploring the willingness to support or oppose paying higher taxes or user fees in order to increase government spending in healthcare. The study findings lead to the realization of the association or correlation with demographic, access, perceptions of governance, and perceived official corruption. Similar attributes are common in developed countries. Perception of corruption in government institutions leads to negative correlations with the citizenry. The same can be said about the government performance. However, trust in government institutions led to positive correlations. The findings suggest the need to improve transparency and accountability of revenue authorities and public institutions in Kenya. The study recommends strengthening rural community health initiatives in response to the rising

disparities across the regions. Moreover, the healthcare expenditures should also address the acute shortage of health personnel particularly in the regions where people go without care for prolonged periods. The government of Kenya also needs to pay attention to the tax burden imposed on the taxpayers through tax-financed spending to pay for improvements in healthcare provision. Research findings of this nature have implications on the policy formulation because tax revenue is a key element affecting universal health care.

Study Limitations

The study had some limitations that included the dataset used for the analysis. The research question used was useful but means very different things to different populations. Similarly, in Kenya, only the formal sector pays payroll tax, so everyone else would agree on raising those taxes.

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FOREIGNNESS AS AN ASSET AND A CURSE IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Each year, thousands of foreign-born and foreign-educated professionals move to the United States of America as immigrants on temporary visas, including prospective academicians. In some academic disciplines such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), these foreign-born professionals represent a critical mass of highly specialized personnel given the insufficient supply of locally born and trained personnel. However, this pursuit of success in the American academy has its own unique challenges and opportunities for foreign-born faculty.

Key words: Foreignness, American academy, Visa, Immigrant, Foreign-born Faculty

INTRODUCTION

Each year, thousands of foreign-born and foreign-educated professionals move to the United States of America as immigrants on temporary visas, including prospective academicians. In some academic disciplines such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), these foreign-born professionals represent a critical mass of highly specialized personnel given the insufficient supply of locally born and trained personnel (Gahungu 2011; Webber 2012). In other disciplines, there is also a high presence of foreigners especially in Historically Black

Colleges and Universities (HBCU). This article entails a literature review of issues pertaining to opportunities and obstacles the foreign scholars encounter as they pursue careers in the American Academy. The key questions are what challenges do new immigrant scholars experience? What assets do immigrants bring into higher education? What are the strategies for navigating the challenges to become successful?

As higher education continues to diversify, considerable interest in faculty members who work outside their places of birth is growing. Some studies that have examined the research productivity of foreign-born faculty in US institutions show that, on average, foreign-born faculty produce more scholarly works than US-born peers (Corley and Sabharawal 2007; Gahungu 2011; Hunt 2009; Lee 2004; Levin and Stephan 1991, 1999; Mamiseishvili and Rosser 2010; Stephan and Levin 2007; Webber 2012). However, it is interesting that Mamiseishvili and Rosser (2010) found international faculty members significantly more productive in research but less productive in teaching and service. This is why it is important that the pedagogical roles of immigrant faculty are also highlighted so that their productivity in the research and scholarship can be replicated in the classroom and service roles. As various campuses, strive to internationalize their curriculum, the presence of immigrant faculty needs harnessing to drive the globalizing initiatives in form of study

abroad, teaching of foreign languages or establishing academic partnerships. It is important that those who have successfully transitioned and established themselves in the American Academy share stories with the upcoming generation to equip them for quicker transition as well as preparing them for roles that are more visible. According to Ngwainmbi (2006) foreign born faculty who are invited to serve in the administration are often “stuck in the lower echelons as program advisers, coordinators or chairpersons. In an era when the global marketplace is increasingly seeking graduates who can relate to clients from diverse backgrounds, administrators, hiring units and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ought to be paying closer attention to the plight of foreign staff now” (<https://diverseeducation.com/article/6031/>). The wings of globalization are spreading quickly around the world, and an understanding of foreign cultures is no longer optional. It is time to use and exploit foreignness as an asset rather than an impediment to meaningful career progression within and without the classroom.

TRANSITIONING FROM GRADUATE SCHOOL TO THE CLASSROOM

Faculty members often face challenges when starting new positions at universities across the U.S.A. Change is always difficult to navigate successfully. Change often presents a great opportunity that is fraught with risk, fear and nervousness. Thousands of graduate students navigate this experience as they transition from graduate school research laboratories and lecture rooms to a classroom and laboratory of their own. Typical transition from graduate school to the classroom entails navigating the following challenges including being in a new role and possibly a new institution, developing new courses, planning for teaching, balancing and

navigating the demands of obtaining tenure, balancing work and family life, and understanding institutional policies and culture (Collins 2008; Herget, 2016).

For foreign-born graduate students transitioning into the classroom, their “foreignness” compounds the change experience. These challenges are even much more challenging for a foreign-born faculty when one is new to America or one whose primary language is not English. Challenges for foreign-born faculty may include: being in a new country, new culture, balancing and navigating the demands of gaining tenure, balancing work and family life in a foreign country, comparing home country life and the new environment, being misunderstood, ignored and not made to feel welcome, and struggling to understand institutional cultures (Collins 2008; Foote et al., 2008; Herget, 2016).

Garlander (2013), a foreign-born scholar in U.S. testified about his own transition from graduate school starting with searching for a job:

“Two months ago, on a particularly sweltering afternoon at a large, southern R1 university, I bumped into Arun, a fellow PhD student in the humanities. Facing a job market that is at best “uncertain” (seemingly one of the most popular euphemisms), we chatted about the general trials and tribulations that face all graduate students: getting specific application materials together, finishing the dissertation, and trying to “move on.” Apart from the shared experience of anxiety about cover letters, CVs, and job postings, we discussed another aspect of the job search that affects a significant segment of this country's higher education workforce. If we “foreigners” want to stay in this country and in the field in which

we've worked so hard to make our mark, we have to find an academic job.” (Garland, October 20, 2013).

Those who successfully land jobs after graduate school, new challenges emerge (Ngainmbi, 2006). According to Emmanuel Ngainmbi (2006),

“When any academic embarks on a teaching career, he must confront three challenges — tenure, promotion and recognition. He must be continually evaluated on his ability to teach, conduct research, publish and perform other duties within and around the campus in order to augment the relationship between the institution and the community. However, the challenges grow even more difficult for foreign-born faculty. About one-third of the professors at historically Black colleges and universities come from developing areas, mainly Africa and India. Though highly qualified, many say they are overworked, underpaid, underappreciated and face discrimination from African-American professors, students and staff”

(<https://diverseeducation.com/article/6031/>)

Apart from institutional-wide challenges, there is also stress in the classroom including adapting to the classroom technology, quality and nature of the students, mode of instruction, connecting with the students, fellow faculty and staff. Moreover, as they are struggling to have a grip on the course content and how to transmit it effectively to students, the faculty member is quietly dealing with personal issues relating to the legal status to work and reside in the U.S.A., on not only a short time basis but also long

term. So behind the scenes, the Visa status for a foreign-born faculty is a troubling issue that not many people can help resolve (Foote et al., 2008; Herget 2016). It is surprising how many institutions demonstrate a lack of understanding and sensitivity to the importance of visa processing for their own faculty. The lack of institutional experience at handling visa issues or support in handling and filing of the visa is troubling and stress inducing factor in many-affected faculty and their families. This causes anxiety, stress and a feeling of insecurity, which evidently affect a faculty member's focus and productivity in the classroom and laboratory.

WHY THIS TOPIC MATTERS

International scholars continue to have an increasing presence in American higher education. According to the Institute of International Education, the number of international scholars in the United States has increased from 115,098 in the 2009-10 academic year to 124,861 in the 2014-15 academic year. Nearly 75 percent are in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields, with China, India, South Korea, and Germany being the top countries of origin (Herget 2016). Health and Kinesiology also continue to draw on foreign-born faculty to teach courses such as Biomechanics, Exercise Physiology and other Motor Behavior courses. For the first three decades of the 20th Century, German universities reigned supreme. They earned many Nobel Prizes in the years from its inception until 1933. American educational leaders traveled to Germany on fellowships either to observe the extraordinary research done at these universities or to enroll and earn degrees there (Cole 2017). They brought back to the United States the idea of the German research university, and from the late 19th century, they wished to imitate and improve on many of its structures at

institutions in the United States. With the rise to power of Hitler in January 1933, everything changed (Cole 2017). Indeed according to Cole (2017) by April of 1933, Hitler had purged the great German universities of their intellectual stars—either on religious or ideological grounds (about 25 percent of their pre-1933 physics community and fully 50 percent of their theoretical physicists emigrated, for example). This purging led to the great intellectual migration to the United States and England. This extraordinary tragedy in Germany had enormous positive consequences for American research universities (Cole 2017). The trends of the best minds moving to America continues to-date. Recent statistics on America’s success at conducting Nobel-quality research suggest that the contribution of immigrants to domestic universities is still very much alive. In 2016, Six Americans won prizes in physics, chemistry, and economics. Each of these winners was an immigrant. They became Americans by choice, “bringing their energy and innovation to the nation.” (Cole 2017).

According to Franzoni, Scellato and Stephan (2014), insights from the knowledge recombination theory suggest that mobility of people facilitates mobility of knowledge and more knowledge from distant sources is associated with greater idea generation and creative attainments. This echoes a similar sentiment raised by Hargadon and Sutton (1997) as well as Fleming (2001). The basic argument is that because knowledge is largely tacit and embedded in individuals, migrant scientists can arguably be exceptionally productive because mobility places them in position of arbitrage, where they can exploit rich or unique knowledge sets (Agrawal et al., 2011; Saxenian, 2005). Additionally mobility can enhance productivity because of specialization. Jones (2008) maintains that when highly specialized skills owned by high-skilled

human capital are surrounded by complementary specialty skills, then they are in a position to deploy their full value in the new settings. This is significant in the academy as matching of a variety of expertise in unique laboratory and other research settings with specialized technologies harnesses the talents in team settings (Stephan, 2012).

ASSETS IN THE CLASSROOM

Foreign-born faculty bring rich knowledge in culture and diversity, enhanced the learning environment and excitement. They also facilitate enrichment of student experiences via exposure to a variety of global realities/challenges /personal inspiration; enhanced worldview and global perspectives, intercultural communication skills, capacity to adapt to different realities and to people with different cultural backgrounds. One advantage of immigrant scholars is their narrow focus on the teaching and research productivity. This enhances flow of information from the faculty to students as the faculty prepares very well to overcome the adversity of the new situation as well as making sure students understand what they have brought to share. Indeed foreign-born scholars have more impact on students as they are not distracted by institutional and local politics. On the other hand, students highlight the issue of ‘foreign accents’ and strange names of professors that they can’t pronounce (Herget 2016). It is therefore imperative that scholars delve into this sensitive issue of “foreignness in the U.S. academe” to enhance their performance and their impact in teaching, service and research.

STRATEGIES TO ENHANCE CLASSROOM TEACHING

It is important that foreign-born faculty develop and embrace a sense of their own identity while striving to engage with the students, fellow faculty and staff in their new institutions. In the classroom, practical ways of enhancing communication and teaching in general is sharing one's cultural background and being clear about accent differences (Herget 2016). These may entail explaining names and the proper pronunciation, using the board to write words, concepts under discussion or using power point to minimize misunderstanding on the part of students. Sharing of personal stories, language differences and cultural backgrounds, helps create a safe and fun classroom environment. The students who buy into a foreign-born faculty's story will engage more and start looking forward to attending the class. Also, foreign-born faculty should strive to prick the curiosity of students by inviting them to know more about the home country by sharing and teaching those simple words such greetings. Such faculty should allow students to practice the new words on one another in the classroom before or towards the end of the class. This interaction eventually creates a feeling of friendship and belonging and the foreign born professor's reputation will grow.

CONCLUSION

The pipeline of academic talent was opened for a wide range of American research universities in the 1930s that has never stopped flowing—and those immigrants, some of whom have retained their citizenship in other nations, have contributed significantly to the United States' supremacy in the world of higher learning (Cole 2017). For more than 75 years, the United States has been the destination for ambitious, talented, and leading young scholars who have wanted to live and work with the best colleagues and students. A question that is constantly on

peoples' minds given the heightened political temperatures surrounding immigration is the importance of migrant scholars to the U.S. economy and their productivity in general. A survey study designed specifically to study migration of scientists in four fields of science and 16 countries confirmed that migrants perform at a higher level than domestic scientists with or without prior experience of international mobility. According to Franzoni, Scellato and Stephan (2014), superior performance is potentially caused by gains from knowledge recombination and specialty matching subsequent to migration. The researchers explained that superior performance of migrant scientists tend to persist from pre-migration, suggesting that migration is a likely cause of superior performance. This is consistent to predictions of the knowledge recombination advanced by Saxenian (2005) and Agrawal et al. (2011) and specialty matching (Jones, 2008) theories. Despite this superior performance trait in the immigrant workers, it is also important to note that alternative explanations of a superior performance of migrants also exist such as the reality of a discriminating environment in the host country, which pressures the immigrant worker to perform better than domestic scientists. Indeed, I have heard immigrant scholars' remark that they have to work harder and produce more than their local counterparts to have a chance to renew their contracts or earn a promotion. In any case, to be hired in Higher Education on a work visa, one has to prove that one has superior skills that are not available here!

Of significance in my review is the importance for policy makers to provide and expand the opportunities for immigrant scholars to flow into U.S. institutions. It is vital that immigration policies are friendly to migrant scholars so that the local economy can continue to tap their rich contributions (Shen, 2013), and Franzoni et al., 2011). It is

also important to point out that despite the enormous benefits that foreign born scholars bring to the U.S. Academe, they also impact the home countries in powerful ways including remittances to support family and other scholarly engagements that benefit the sending nation. And as Franzoni, Scellato and Stephan (2014) argue,

“the positive effects of migration ... suggest that brain migration is not a zero-sum gain, in the sense that the benefits that accrue to the

destination country do not necessarily come at the expense of the sending country, and that there are conversely positive externalities to be gained by promoting mobile scientists to work with domestic scientists” (p. 92).

In this way, foreignness should be perceived as an asset rather than a liability in the academe, not only in the U.S. but around the world.

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POST- RIO 2016 OLYMPIC GAMES: REFLECTIONS ON TRACK AND FIELD MANAGEMENT IN KENYA

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ABSTRACT

Kenya's athletics faces an unprecedented crisis because of her global success, expectation and administrative failures. Ahead of the Rio Olympics the country was constantly in the news for all the wrong reasons as the target of a media campaign to expose alleged doping in Kenyan training camps. As if that was not enough, two Kenyan officials were expelled from the 2016 Olympics amid a new anti-doping controversy followed by allegations of a stolen kit meant for athletes. Several officials were arrested after the Rio Olympics and others suspended by IAAF from Athletics activities. This article seeks to highlight issues that ail track and field management in Kenya; threats to Kenya's reputation; consequences of spoilt reputation; strategies to clean up her image; exodus of athletes from Kenya to other countries; and push factors for athletes moving away from Kenya.

Key Words: Athletics, Kenya, Olympic Games, Management, Pull and Push Factors, Doping

INTRODUCTION

Kenya has earned a great reputation as an athletics powerhouse. This was evident in the World Athletics Championships in 2015 when against all odds, Kenya emerged as the number one nation ahead of the US, Jamaica, Great Britain, Germany and Russia, among others (BBC 2015). However, since attaining that peak performance of 7 gold, 6 silver and

3 bronze medals to stand atop of the world, Kenya's athletics has had to contend with unprecedented crisis because of global athletic success, expectation and administrative failures. Immediately following the World Athletics Championship three senior athletics officials from Kenya, including the late Isaiah Kiplagat, David Okeyo and Joseph Kinyua, were provisionally suspended by the IAAF, after being accused of subverting the anti-doping processes and potentially diverting sponsorship funds from Nike (Gibson, 2015).

Ahead of the Rio Olympics, Kenya was constantly in the news for all the wrong reasons as the target of a media campaign to expose alleged doping in Kenyan training camps. As if that was not bad enough, two Kenyan officials were expelled from Rio Olympics amid a new anti-doping controversy followed by allegations of a stolen kit meant for athletes (Njororai, 2016, 2017; Omulo, 2016).

Added to all these was the chaotic run-up to the games that saw some top athletes almost missing their flights to the Rio Olympics. A U.S.-based athlete travelled to Rio without a Kenyan passport and he received his accreditation on the eve of his race leading to a very miserable execution on the track. Despite all the controversies, the Kenyan athletes turned in a performance that was the second best compared to all the previous performances at the Olympic Level by winning six gold, six silver and one bronze medals and ranking second behind the USA in track and field (Njororai, 2016, 2017;

Omulo 2016). In 2015, World Athletics Championships, Kenya ranked first beating USA, Russia, Germany, Britain and Jamaica in medal counts. However, since 2016, high profile athletes have failed drug tests, a number of administrators allegedly stole attire meant for athletes, and several officials were either banned from the sport or arrested thus raising questions about the integrity of Kenyan runners and the whole management structure (Gibson, 2015; Phillips, 2018). Success in track and field events for Kenyan athletes hides inefficiencies and errors – both of omission and commission – by those charged with the responsibility of administering the country’s track and field programs (Njororai, 2003, 2004, 2007a, b, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2017; Omulo, 2016). According to Leftie and Olilo (2016),

“A veteran coach expelled from the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro for impersonating an athlete has exposed the shameful depths of mismanagement that has seen the Kenyan team hurtle from one crisis to another. This emerged as the Sunday Nation (Kenya) on Saturday learnt that morale at the Team Kenya camp in the Brazilian city is at its lowest after weeks of problems including chaotic travel arrangements, inadequate training kits, questionable allocation of slots in the Olympic Village and doping-related bribery allegations against a top official”. (<https://www.nation.co.ke/news/The-scandal-of-Kenya-s-Rio-Olympics/1056-3343980-kvao27z/index.html>).

It is clear that Kenyan athletes excel in spite of the poor management of the sport in the country. Some of the key manifestations of failed leadership include the following:

1. Poor leadership structure that allows the same people retain a grip

on leadership positions. Recycling the same leaders for too long makes it difficult to new entrants with fresh ideas to make inroads into the organization. This cuts out new and fresh ideas to propel the athletics forward.

2. Accusations of corruption and partiality in selecting athletes for international assignments.
3. Lack of proactive action on doping control and education. This has seen many athletes failing drug tests or failing to appear for testing.
4. Absence of a proper monetary compensation structure for athletes who represent the country in international competitions. The reward system is ad hoc, erratic, and therefore unpredictable from one event to the next. This makes it hard for athletes to plan around it.
5. Instability at the secretariat, which is the nerve center for any successful organization.
6. Poor management of sponsorship contracts and the resources meant for developing the sport. Indeed stealing of athletes’ training and competition kits is common, and sponsorship moneys are occasionally diverted to personal use.
7. Lack of support for other organizations that identify, nurture and provide avenues for young talent such as schools, colleges and universities (Njororai, 2003, 2016; 2017).

Kenya’s reputation for athletic talent and hard work in jeopardy

Kenya is one of the countries where athletics is highly regarded and when the summer Olympic Games take place, Kenyans watch with great interest. It is also during these

Games that the nation puts away its persistent political bickering to root for her athletes on Olympic duty. Before departure for the games, the President of the nation hosts the team delegation and officially hands to them the official flag as a way of commissioning them to embark on an enormous patriotic mission to represent the nation with honor. It is a patriotic duty! Over the years, the athletes have lifted the name of Kenya high and her national anthem is heard regularly, with pride, in various track and field host stadiums around the world. However, even as the athletics success has earned a positive image for Kenya, as individuals, athletes have also earned reasonable compensation from their sweat. It is therefore not easy for Kenya to lose its reputation as the source of athletic talent as many aspiring athletes grow up knowing that they can make a decent living out of their athletic endeavors. This burning desire to escape from poverty and the rewards that the emerging athletes earn from their effort, combine to ensure that the pipeline of talent will continue to bring to the fore many other potentially successful athletes (Njororai 2003, 2004, 2007a, b, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2017). However, the biggest threat to Kenya's talent producing pipeline and athletics reputation is the desire to use drugs in an atmosphere of fierce internal, as well as external, competition. The national sports administration has to be extremely diligent in handling doping tests. This must go hand in hand with education (Njororai, 2016, 2017). The consequences of not doing so are severe: Kenya could, in future, find herself suspended from international competitions. This would not be without precedent given Russia's ongoing tribulations. The good performance at the Rio Olympics made up for the negative publicity over doping control procedures and the absence of the required law at the time. Efforts should be made to clean up the image of the sport and Kenyan

athletes to avoid crossing swords with the world anti-doping agency (Njororai, 2017).

EXODUS OF ATHLETES FROM KENYA TO OTHER COUNTRIES

According to the IAAF's (2010a) list of Kenyan athletes who changed national allegiance, five athletes (27.8%) moved to Qatar, three (16.7%) to Bahrain, three (16.7%) to France, three (16.7%) to the USA, two (11%) to Finland and one each to Netherlands and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Eight athletes (44%) therefore moved to the Arabian Gulf countries of Qatar and Bahrain. The data exclude athletes who moved to these countries before they had formally registered with Athletics Kenya, so according to Okoth (2005), more than 40 athletes had in fact moved to Middle East countries compared to the eight reflected on the IAAF (2010a) list. It is curious to note that only three (16.7%) athletes moved to an English-speaking country. Given that Kenya is an English-speaking, one might have expected that the Kenyan athletes would have preferred to move to another English speaking country (Njororai, 2012). This movement of Kenyan athletes therefore goes counter to the trend where former colonial powers like the U.K., France and Spain tend to reap the benefits of their former empires (Connor & Griffin,). France's relationship with former colonies entails both language and citizenship rights, which encourages athletes and soccer players from West Africa to move to Europe. With the absence of historical and cultural ties between Kenya and countries such as Qatar, Bahrain, France, Finland, Netherlands and Bosnia and Herzegovina, there should be other pull/push factors for Kenyan athletes other than colonial ties (Njororai, 2012). Consequently, the movement of Kenyan athletes in the past 20 years can be situated within the global dynamics of economic inequality, commercialization and

professionalization of sports, which, have led to athletic talent moving from regions of surplus to those of deficits or those willing to pay more for the services (Musumba 2009a, b; Mynott, 2005; Njororai, 2012).

Maguire (1999) and Magee and Sugden (2002) developed typologies to categorize the migrant athletes. Maguire's typology included mercenaries, settlers, nomads, cosmopolitans, pioneers and returnees. This categorization was based on interviews with athletes drawn from soccer, basketball, cricket and rugby. This typology was very close to that developed by Magee and Sugden (2002) after interviewing soccer players in England. Their typology of migrant athletes included mercenary, settler and nomadic cosmopolitan, ambitionist, exile and expelled. One can argue that the categories applicable to Kenyan runners over the years include mercenary, nomadic cosmopolitan, settler, returnee and ambitionist. These categories are not mutually exclusive, however, as they overlap in some instances. Njororai (2012) expounds on each of the applicable categories follows:

(1) Mercenary: A mercenary athlete is one who is motivated by their earning capacity and who migrates for reasons of economic reward. This motivation for financial gain could be on a short-term basis (Love & Kim, 2011; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire, 1999). The careers for athletes are short. It is therefore prudent to maximize the opportunity to earn as much as possible so as to invest in their future. The athletes from Kenya who moved to Bahrain and Qatar did so based on financial grounds and therefore could qualify as being mercenary (Njororai, 2010; 2012).

(2) Nomadic Cosmopolitan: According to Magee and Sugden (2002), athletes who fall in this category include individuals who are motivated by a desire to experience different nations and cultures. Maguire (1999)

explains that this group of athletes is motivated by cosmopolitan engagement with migration where the desire is to seek new experiences. The nature of the athletics circuit involves athletes moving and competing in different countries around the world (Njororai, 2010). Athletics agents have therefore strategically set up camps for their athletes to train and stay while on the competition circuit, which qualifies them as nomadic in lifestyle (Njororai, 2012).

(3) Settler: This category of athletes is composed of those who move to another country to compete and continue to stay beyond the end of their athletic careers (Love & Kim, 2011). Indeed, Maguire (1999) describes this group as sports migrants who subsequently stay and settle in the society where they perform their labour. Examples of Kenyan-born athletes, who moved to settle and represent other countries including Wilson Kipketer (Denmark), Bernard Lagat (USA) and Lorna Kiplagat (Netherlands) (Njororai, 2010). While these athletes moved to settle in their adopted countries, the ones who moved to Bahrain and Qatar only represent these countries and spend their time in Kenya and the international athletic camps set up by their agents (Njororai, 2012).

(4) Returnee: This group of athletes may move to compete in another country, but after some time are obligated to return to their homeland. Such athletes give-in to the lure of home soil, which overcomes any of the advantages of staying in the host country (Love & Kim, 2011; Maguire, 1999). The case of Leonard Mucheru, although isolated, is a typical example. He moved to Bahrain in 2003 and returned to Kenya in 2007 after being stripped off his Bahrain citizenship (Mbaisi and Toskin, 2007; Njororai, 2012; Sharrock, 2007).

(5) Ambitionist: This category transcends a number of categories. However, three dimensions characterize athletes in this

category: (i) the desire to achieve a sport career anywhere, (ii) the preference for playing in a certain location as compared to elsewhere and (iii) the desire to improve one's career by moving to a higher-quality league (Love & Kim, 2011). This category is similar to that of the settler, although the ambitionist athletes venture into new countries with a desire to elevate themselves and, more importantly, to continue to excel in athletics. The success and longevity of Bernard Lagat, who represented Kenya at the 2000 and 2004 Olympic Games and subsequently represented the U.S.A. at the 2008, 2012 and 2016 Olympic Games, is a clear example of an individual exhibiting an ambitionist character. If he had remained in Kenya, it is doubtful if he would have even made the team for the 2007, 2009 and 2011 World Athletics Championships, yet he won medals for the U.S. team at some of these events.

ATHLETE MIGRATION: PULL AND PUSH FACTORS

The athletic labor flow to the affluent countries from other countries perceived to be on the periphery of modernization has to be situated within the framework of inequality, especially the financial compensation of an individual athlete (Simms and Rendel, 2004; Thibault, 2009; Wheatcroft, 2006). Countries lacking the requisite sporting culture and those that are richly endowed with resources now have the option of importing already proven talent with mercenary ambitions and paying them as the case is for Qatar and Bahrain or offering opportunities that are life-transforming (Njororai, 2012). These countries have wealth and sporting infrastructure, that is far more attractive than other countries that have oversupply of talent like Kenya, Ethiopia, Nigeria. Qatar and Bahrain are especially very aggressive in

recruiting athletic talent given the lack of home grown talent. Success in International Sport competitions is a great marketing tool. Success in sport gives a country global visibility, which attracts economic opportunities such as investors and tourists. This creates a situation where athletes from countries with a high concentration of talent are motivated to move to new nations to cash in on their athletic ability, which has become a commodity for sale to the highest bidder (Njororai, 2012). One of the major net exporters of athletic talent is Kenya, which ranks highly on the track and field performance index at the global level, despite the supposed economic, political and cultural constraints in its development endeavor (Njororai, 2012).

The unbalanced nature of global wealth and sporting corporate power has created movement of sporting talent from less rewarding clubs to higher paying clubs and now nations. When Kenyan athletes move to other countries, they may do so on a permanent basis (change of citizenship), on transitory basis (i.e. short-term basis for training and preparation for competitions) and on marital grounds (Njororai, 2010). However, those going to the Gulf States change citizenship, names and even religion (Wheatcroft, 2006) and receive monetary compensation (Njororai, 2010).

But even as athletes are pulled from Kenya by the prospects of financial rewards, career advancement and opportunities to compete on the world stage, there are also other organizational factors that push them to move abroad including poor administration. For example, poor and potentially embarrassing administrative lapses were evident before and during the Rio Olympics, including:

1. Two track and field officials were expelled from the Games over claims of doping and falsification of accreditation documents;

2. Non-accreditation of team officials including coaches at the Rio Olympics
3. An administrative lapse saw the world javelin champion without an air ticket to the Games – where he eventually won a silver medal;
4. A sprinter with dual citizenship was almost disqualified for initially being accredited using a US passport rather than a Kenyan one, and;
5. Part of the official kits went missing and athletes had to do with the bare minimum.

All these lapses and the shenanigans that occur during team selection for international competitions are quite frustrating, especially for up and coming athletes. The principal avenue for a young athlete to make a breakthrough is by winning selection to the national team or getting a ticket to an international meeting. When these opportunities are uncertain, some athletes have turned to looking for alternative countries desperate for the global recognition sports champions bring.

The other push factor for Kenyan athletes is the sheer number of talented runners jostling for limited opportunities at home. Rules

restrict the number of entrants to compete for a country at most international events, normally to a maximum of three. Such restrictions offer only the best a guarantee of making it into the team. These factors have contributed to some athletes choosing to run for other countries. Certainly, the countries they move to offer better monetary compensation. These include Bahrain, Qatar, the US, France and the Netherlands. For athletes, whose work-life span is very short, generous compensations outweigh any risks of moving abroad. Also the right to dual citizenship allows an athlete to run for another country and still have access to all the privileges of being a Kenyan citizen. Most runners who end up in the Gulf States do it for short-term monetary benefit. But those who seek opportunities in Western countries such as the US, France, and the Netherlands do it for longer term goals such as uplifting their families. Other benefits, attractive especially for young athletes, include the ease with which they are selected to run in global competitions. This translates to guaranteed monetary rewards. Many get more freedom to choose where to train and live. They therefore end up running for a foreign country but continue to live, train and invest in Kenya.

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THE GENDER VARIABLE IN THE MEANINGS OF THREE ENGLISH ADDRESS TERMS BY TEACHERS IN KENYA

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper was to investigate the range of meanings assigned to the address terms *madam*, *boss* and *my dear* in English usage in Kenya, with gender as an independent variable. A questionnaire was used to elicit responses from 30 practicing teachers: 15 females and 15 males. The respondents were first asked to assign meanings to the three terms by choosing from a list of proposed meanings. From the results, more female teachers assigned more meanings to *madam* than their male counterparts. On the other hand, the female teachers assigned more meanings to *boss* than the male. However, regarding *my dear*, it is in fact the male teachers who assigned (slightly) more meanings to the phrase than their female counterparts. Beyond the mere range of meanings, the results further revealed that in English usage in Kenya the three address terms have undergone semantic broadening in some of their meanings and semantic narrowing in some others, with reference to their meanings given in international English dictionaries.

INTRODUCTION

Eckert and McConnel-Ginnet define address terms as “terms used to call people or get their attention or make explicit the identity of the person being spoken to or our relationship with that person”. They add that the address terms include both “forms that refer to (i.e. talk about rather than call out) whoever is being addressed, the addressee, and those used in addressing an addressee” (Eckert and McConnel-Ginnet 2003:135). Address terms thus go beyond referring to a person who is present in a face-to-face exchange to talking about them

when they are not physically present during a conversation.

For their part, Wardhaugh and Fuller analyze how people name or address others. They view address and name as serving the same purpose of catching a person’s attention. According to the authors, some of the ways in which a person’s attention can be caught include the use of title (T), first name (FN), last name (LN) or nickname (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 266). They further observe that “[...] titles like Sir or Madam are generalized variants of the T(Title) category, that is, generic titles and forms like Mack, Buddy, Jack or Mate are generic first names (FN) [...]”. (p. 268). Based on this distinction, this paper will treat *Madam* and *Boss* as generic titles. Wardhaugh and Fuller add that “Address by title alone is the least intimate form of address in that titles usually designate ranks or occupations, [...]. They are devoid of ‘personal’ content”. [...] (while) using a nickname or pet name shows an even greater intimacy.” (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 268). They give the use of honey as an example of a pet name. This paper will equally treat *my dear* as a variant of generic FN, that is, a pet name.

Some analysis of how titles (as forms of address) are used in English in Kenya appears in Buregeya (2018), who analyses a number of address terms used in professional/academic circles and those used in political ones. The professional titles that he analyses are *Sir*, *Madam*, *Ma’am*, *Miss*, *Mr.* (sometimes replaced by the Swahili term *Bwana*), *Mrs.*, *Teacher* (and its Kiswahili translation *mwalimu*), *doctor* (sometimes shortened to *doc*), its Kiswahili translation *Daktari*, *Professor*

(usually shortened to *Prof.*) and *Engineer*. The political address term that he discusses is Honourable (and its Kiswahili translation *Mheshimiwa*).

With regard to *madam*, the use of which is the subject of the present study, Buregeya makes two key observations: first *madam* (stressed on the first syllable, as in StdIntE) is used by juniors to address their superiors, especially when prefixed to their professional title; second, women lecturers do not like being addressed as *madam* presumably because they find it belittling, since, according to Buregeya it refers to lower-rank people in other professions, such as ‘the [administrative] chief’s wife’, ‘the terrible, feared woman/wife’, ‘the local female primary school teacher’, and ‘the female prison warder’. He points out that a term that refers to such professions ‘would be belittling to a university lecturer’ (Buregeya 2018).

Inspired by Buregeya’s observations above, the present study wanted to learn more about the meanings of *madam*, from a larger and more systematically selected sample than that used by in the literature, and one which specifically uses gender as an independent variable. The study extended its scope to include the terms *boss* and *my dear* (neither of which have been studied before, which are very frequent in day-to-day conversations (whether face-to-face or over the phone) in English usage in Kenya.

The term *madam*

The meanings assigned to *madam* from the choices proposed by the researcher are: a female teacher (13 males;14 females), a married woman (6 males;6 females), the local chief’s wife (3 males; 5 females), a smartly dressed woman (12 males;11 females), a woman who holds an important position e.g. a cabinet secretary (12 males; 12 females), a teacher trainee (6 males; 6 females), a prison warder (5 males;9

females), a female police officer (8 males;13 females), and one’s own wife or somebody else’s wife (4 males; 6 females). In addition, the respondents suggested other meanings of *madam* which are : a female boss (2 males;3 females), a senator (1 male; 0 females), a polite way of addressing a lady you do not know by name (1 male; 2 females), a respectable lady (1 male; 3 females), any lady irrespective of designation (2 males; 2 females), a formal address to a woman (1 male; 0 females), a junior female worker whom one needs a favour/service from (1 male; 0 females), a young girl/woman (1 male; 0 females), any woman above 23 years (1 male; 1 female), a rich woman (0 males; 1 female), a church minister’s wife (0 males; 1 female), working class lady [sic] (0 males; 1 female), a female colleague (0 males; 1 female), any female above 18 years (0 males; 1 female).

The meanings reported in the preceding paragraph, which will be considered to be the Kenyan English meanings, were compared with those given in two international English dictionaries: *The Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd edition (2010) – hereafter the *OED* 2010, and the *Collins English Dictionary*, 10th edition (2009) –hereafter the *CED* 2009. For his part, Swan, writing on address terms in British English, observes that, ‘*Sir* and *Madam* are used in Britain mostly by people in service occupations (e.g. shop assistants). *Dear Sir* and *Dear Madam* are common ways of beginning letters to strangers [...]. In other situations *sir* and *madam* are unusual in British English’ (Swan 2005: 339). Based on Swan’s observations and the dictionary meanings of *madam*, it can be observed that there are variations in its use in Kenya. For instance, *Madam* is not used mostly by people in service occupations and it is commonly used. For example, students frequently use *madam* when addressing their female teachers. It is also to refer to people in professions such as those in the uniformed

forces besides referring to people who are not in a profession such as ‘a married woman’. In addition, two out of the five definitions suggested in the dictionary for *madam* were not relevant in Kenyan English. *Madam* does not reflect the informal meaning of ‘a conceited or bossy girl or young woman’, and ‘a woman who is in charge of prostitutes in a brothel’. However, the *CED* meaning of a ‘woman [...] of high social status’, seems to have been expanded to encompass other conceptually related meanings like ‘a smartly dressed woman’. *Madam* can also be used in a reciprocal manner since a person who is of a high social status can use it to address a female of a lower social status as is the case amongst *tutors* and *teacher trainees* or when ‘one is seeking for a favour from a junior’ person.

The term *boss*

The meanings assigned to *boss* from the choices proposed by the researcher are: hierarchical male boss (12 males; 13 females), somebody’s husband (0 males; 5 females), a stranger who is smartly dressed (8 males; 5 females), a big bodied man (7 males; 5 females), a male police officer (5 males; 9 females), a male customer e.g. at a hotel (6 males; 5 females). The other meanings of *boss* suggested by the respondents themselves are: an immediate supervisor (1 male; 3 females), a supervisor who is overbearing (1 male; 0 females), owner of business/company/CEO (1 male; 0 females), an employer (1 male; 1 female), head of institution/ manager (2 males; 2 females), a rich man (1 male; 1 female), man/woman who holds a position or rank (1 male; 0 females), head of criminal gang (1 male; 0 females), used by junior when seeking favours from male supervisor (1 male; 0 females), one’s male supervisor (0 males; 1 female), a hierarchical female boss (0 males; 1 female), a male person in command (0 males; 1 female), a male

person you depend upon (0 males; 1 female), any male above 18 years (0 males; 1 female), used casually by males when addressing one another (0 males; 1 male), a ‘sheng’ term used to refer to a leader within an informal group setting e.g. university friend’s group (0 males; 1 female), a man who may not be in high hierarchy but influential position e.g. watchman, clerk (0 males; 1 female), a leader (0 males; 1 female), one who is senior in employment (0 male; 1 female), a male holding high office (0 males; 1 female), and a male teacher (0 males; 1 females).

The meanings reported in the paragraph above, which will be assumed to be reflective of Kenyan English meanings, were compared with those given in: *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 9th edition 2015 - hereafter *OALD 2015*; *CED 2009*, and *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 5th edition 2009 – hereafter *LCDE 2009*. It is notable that the gender of *boss* is not specified from the definition, which means that both males and females can qualify as *boss*. However, in English usage in Kenya, it appears that the term *boss* has almost been limited to males only. From the suggested meanings of *boss* in the dictionaries, the *CED* one of a professional politician who controls a party machine or political organization, often using devious or illegal methods’, does not seem to occur in Kenyan English usage. However, other references such as ‘any male who is above eighteen years’, ‘a casual term used by males when addressing one another’ and ‘used by a junior when seeking favours from male supervisors’ are not given in any dictionary. In addition, the term is much broadened in Kenyan English to include the following meanings which are not in dictionaries: ‘somebody’s husband’, ‘a stranger who is smartly dressed’, ‘a big bodied man’, ‘a police officer’, and ‘a customer, e.g. at a hotel’.

The phrase *my dear*

The meanings assigned to my dear from the choices proposed by the researcher are: somebody's wife/ a man referring to his wife (11 males; 9 females), a young lady/woman (7 males; 6 females), a female friend (9 males; 13 females), a middle-aged lady (2 males; 4 females), a colleague (irrespective of gender) (6 males; 11 females) and any lady or woman (5 males; 4 females). The additional meanings of *my dear* suggested by the respondents themselves are: It can serve as a greeting e.g. Dear Mary (1 male; 0 females), used in a patronizing way to put down a female colleague (1 male; 0 females), to show surprise or perplexity (1 male; 0 females), a lady relative whom you respect (1 male; 0 females), a member of the opposite sex (1 male; 0 females), a concubine (1 male; 0 females), a passionate friend irrespective of gender/ any friend/ pals/ close friend of either gender/ a sign of friendship (3 males; 2 females), shows level of closeness i.e. non-formal (1 male; 0 females), a way of addressing a person, male or female, that you are dear to/a loved person/ highly valued (1 male; 2 females), a close family member (1 male; 0 females), someone who needs help and whom you have pity on (1 male; 0 females), one that you have a lot of regard for e.g. son, daughter, mom or dad etc./one's child irrespective of gender/ a child (e.g. a parent referring to his child) (2 males; 2 females), lovers (used to refer to one of opposite sex) (1 male; 0 females), a male friend (0 males; 1 female), shows courtesy/shows kindness or humility before the concerned (0 males; 1 female) and anybody, male or female, whom one is in 'close' contact to [sic] e.g. a friend or colleague, a seminar mate even to someone in the opposition during a debate (0 males; 1 female).

From the responses that were proposed by the researcher, the highest frequency of *my dear* by both males and females is for 'a female friend'. However, it is important to note that *my dear* seems to

have been popularized by the media, particularly, a morning radio programme on a local station, Classic FM. One of the two male presenters, Maina Wa Kageni, addresses any lady caller as *my dear* or *darling*. The fact that the presenter does not personally know the callers, shows that the women cannot be described as people who are 'loved' by him. Possibly, his address confirms what Kramsch (1998) suggests that "Speech tends to be people-centred, writing tends to be topic-centred [...], speakers not only focus on their topic, but try to engage their listeners as well, and appeal to their senses and emotions". His use of such an endearing term may be a way of appealing to the emotions of his listeners, particularly the women.

On the differences between men's and women's language, Wardhaugh observes that "Women tend to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity more often than men do" (Wardhaugh 2010: 342). This is exemplified by a female respondent who suggested that *my dear* can mean '[...] a seminar mate [...]'. Such a person would be considered almost a stranger since these people are likely to have only met for an official function. Similarly, a suggestion of '[...] someone in the opposition during a debate' as a referent shows that women would be more tolerant even to a person who has an opposing idea. A suggestion by one male that it is 'used [...] to put down a female colleague', also supports Wardhaugh's view that "[...] men tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase their power and status" (Wardhaugh 2010: 342).

There are other meanings that were suggested by males and that describe or relate to women but which are not reflected in the dictionaries. These are: 'used [...] put down a female colleague', 'a concubine' and 'a lady relative whom you respect'. The suggested meaning of 'someone who needs help and whom you have pity on' does not also easily fit in the suggested dictionary meanings. Perhaps, it falls in the category

of '[...] exclamations of surprise or dismay, such as Oh dear! and dear me!'. The observable difference however is that the *OALD*'s examples of its use are "directed" at the speaker himself/ herself and not at another person. Its use in Kenya as suggested by respondents shows that it is directed at another person and not on the speaker. However, the responses for *my dear* did not denote the nominal meaning of 'a kind person (informal)' showing that this meaning does not appear to be conceptualized in Kenyan English. Other meanings of the word that were suggested show the meanings of *dear* as an adjective and as an interjection although the emphasis of the paper was on its nominal meanings. Such responses clearly show that the respondents are aware of the other syntactic categories of this term. The omission of the other adjectival meanings, such as 'appealing or pretty' and 'highly priced', which were not suggested at all may thus be a pointer that these are not common meanings of *dear*. In addition, no respondent proposed its adverbial meaning of 'at a high cost' and its idiomatic use of '[...] dear old/little [...]'. The predominant use of the term seems to refer to people, more specifically, to their love and friendship and not to their material possessions.

CONCLUSION

This paper analysed the meanings of *madam*, *boss* and *my dear* as address terms among teachers in Kenya. The results were obtained from a three-part questionnaire that had a number of proposed meanings to choose from and an additional question

eliciting more possible meanings from the respondents. From the results, the female teachers assigned more meanings to *madam* than the males. However, females made more choices for *boss* than those made by the males. Regarding *my dear*, the male teachers assigned a few more meanings to the phrase than their female counterparts.

The general observation from the study is that the meanings of the three address terms in Kenyan English are by and large in agreement with those given in international English dictionaries. However, each one of those address terms has undergone semantic broadening and semantic narrowing. For instance, in Kenyan English usage the term *madam* does not mean 'a woman who is in charge of prostitutes in a brothel', which is an indication of semantic narrowing. However, the same term has been semantically broadened to mean 'female teachers' and 'smartly dressed women', meanings that are not available in international English dictionaries. Similarly, the semantic range of the term *boss* has been broadened to refer to 'somebody's husband' and 'a stranger who is smartly dressed', among other meanings which are not recorded in international dictionaries. However, the meaning of *boss* is semantically narrowed as it does not mean 'a professional politician who controls a party machine or political organization, often using devious or illegal methods' as is its use in the U.S. (*CED*). *My dear* has also broadened its semantic range to include 'a concubine', but its meaning is narrowed as it is not interpreted to mean 'a kind person (informal)'.

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