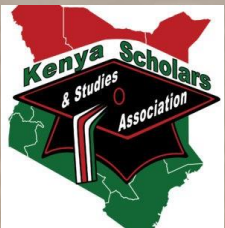


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Setting sail

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KENYA STUDIES REVIEW

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A CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

A call for papers for a special issue of Kenya Studies Review on COVID-19 and its impact on Kenyans (home/ or in the Diaspora). Topics for this issue are varied in scope from conceptual, methodological, practical, Higher Education, to anecdotal accounts of lived experiences—social distancing. The title of your proposed paper should mention either “Coronavirus” or “COVID-19.” For complete submission details please visit our online website <http://kessa.org/ksr-journal/>.

Deadline: August 1, 2020

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Editor's Note

What a year 2020 has been for all of us. We at KSR hope you and your families are well in spite of the COVID-19 storm that has devastated many nations and forever changed our lives. We have witnessed insurmountable losses and lived through a period of heightened anxiety. We have witnessed our homes transformed into our work spaces, schools for our children, and gyms to keep our bodies and minds fit. We have also witnessed great empathy from our fellow men and women who have sacrificed their lives and gone beyond the call of duty to make our world a safe and better place—governors, doctors, nurses, store stackers, grocery workers, meat packers, volunteers and all those unnamed anonymous saintly souls. Yet, we remain cautiously optimistic that this tumultuous year will soon come to an end like all things life do. For those who lost loved ones because of COVID or continue to weather its ravages, we hope you find comfort in the memories you shared and in each other in spite of social distancing.

Imali J. Abala

Opportunities and Challenges of Dual Citizenship in Kenya: Towards a Dual Approach to Dual Citizenship

Joshua G. Bagaka's, Wycliffe N. Otiso, and Mercy D. Epiche

Abstract

Globalization is presenting major challenges in many counties by reducing the role of borders in defining state sovereignty. Many of the challenges posed can as well be converted to opportunities, depending on how a nation responds. A number of nations have enacted legislation that are tolerant to dual and multiple citizenship in order to create stronger ties to emigrated nationals for economic reasons. Other nations have embraced the concept to integrate immigrants into the nation's social, political and economic fabric of the society. This paper discusses the challenges and opportunities of dual citizenship in Kenya. It is noted that though Kenya is primarily a migrant "sender," it is also a significant "receiver" state. Consequently, a dual approach to dual citizenship that engages its national in the Diaspora (*emigrant approach*), as well as integrating immigrants into the social, political, and economic fabric of the society (*immigrant approach*), is proposed.

Keywords: Dual Citizenship, Kenyan Diaspora, Dual Approach to Dual Citizenship, Remittance

Introduction

The growing acceptance and tolerance of dual and multiple citizenship in the world over the last decade may be a mixed bag with both positive and negative results. Besides being used by states to promote their national interests abroad, others have argued that it can pose a serious threat to classical territorial sovereignty as well as being a security risk (Pogonyi, 2011). There are, however, other specific motives for individuals to seek dual citizenship. For instance, Amoah (2010) has argued that African-Americans tend to seek dual citizenship in Africa in an effort to bring economic growth to their home countries. The same applies to the relations between African emigrants and their home-states, where some states have gone to the extent of providing emigrants the opportunity to vote from overseas and the right to run for public office from foreign locations (Iheduru, 2011). Other examples, such as the case articulated in Wahl (2011), represent exploitation of talent in sports as in the case of U.S. national soccer team with players from foreign countries or the Kenyan long-distance runners seeking citizenship in other countries.

Citizenship generally defines those who are and are not members of a common society, while dual citizenship is a status in which an individual is recognized as a citizen of two countries for a concurrent period. Such a person is subject to all the rights and duties associated with being a citizen of each country. Dual citizenship is distinguished from other forms of citizenship such as the multiple citizenship and supra national citizenship. Multiple citizenship arises where one is a citizen of three or more countries. It occurs where no strict requirements for renunciation of original citizenship upon acquisition of other citizenships is required. Supra national citizenship is where citizenship of a member state entitles one to enjoy certain rights in a regional bloc constituting a number of Member States such as East African Community (EAC) and European Union (EU). One may enjoy certain economic rights and limited civil and political rights. Citizens may be entitled to the right to work freely across borders, but may be restricted from voting or vying for elections in another

member country. While citizenship can be seen as an extension of individual rights, some of the major arguments against allowing dual citizenship rest on the challenge of fulfilling duties such as military and diplomatic services, taxation requirements, and active political participation in both countries (Sejersen, 2008). The concept of citizenship as a status (either a citizen or not) has recently received substantial focus as a result of globalization (Sejersen, 2008). With increased physical and electronic means of communication, national boundaries are struggling to maintain their essential functions that define exclusion and inclusion (Newman, 2001).

Meaningful interrogation of the efficacy of dual citizenship ought to occur in connection not only with citizens' participation, but also as the construction of citizens' identities (Ronkainen, 2011). Greater scrutiny of this phenomenon is deemed necessary as more states become more tolerant of dual citizenship, primarily to realize the economic benefits. With economic benefits notwithstanding, there is bound to be domestic apprehension and hostility, such as the one witnessed in India in 1991, which forced India to create a compromise Overseas Citizenship category (Xavier, 2011).

Kenya successfully promulgated a new constitution in August 2010 to replace the one which was negotiated between the British major political parties of the time at the Second Lancaster House Conference in 1962 and promulgated in 1963. One of the key features of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 is the provision for dual citizenship. Various implementation aspects of this provision have been discussed and a number of relevant bills presented in parliament. While dual citizenship in the 2010 Constitution is a reality, effective implementation to maximize national and individual benefits remains to be seen.

The dilemma of maintaining state sovereignty is evidenced in Kenya in three ways. First is the large number of nationals who have migrated to other countries, especially in the western hemisphere. Most of these nationals have sought citizenship in their domicile countries. Though there are no accurate statistics on the number of Kenyan citizens in the Diaspora, there is anecdotal evidence that this section of the population is rapidly growing, with those in the US alone estimated to be over 100,000 (US Census Bureau, 2010). Other regions with equally large numbers include Canada, Europe, Australia, and Southern African countries such as South Africa and Namibia. Second is an even faster growing section of the population from the offspring of the Kenyans abroad. That form of birth citizenship granted based on parentage (referred to as *jus sanguinis*, the rule of the blood in contrast to *jus soli*, right of the soil) is also a growing form of citizenship, based on descent/blood relationships (Spiro, 2008) which can apply to the Kenyan situation. Thirdly, due to political instability in the Horn of Africa, particularly in Somalia and Southern Sudan, Kenya has experienced a significant in-flow of foreign nationals from these regions. This emerging section of the population is evidenced by some places in Kenya, such as Eastleigh in Nairobi being referred to as "Little Mogadishu" (Cagayare, 2013). Thus, in order to conceptualize a workable dual citizenship policy, Kenya needs to consider not only their nationals in the Diaspora, but also the offspring of these nationals, as well as other nationals who have migrated into the Kenya.

The provision of dual citizenship in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 seems to have been motivated by potential economic benefits given the larger number of Kenyan emigrants in North America, Europe, Australia, and other African countries. The somewhat weak Kenya economy stands to gain if Kenyans in the Diaspora were engaged and encouraged to invest back home from their earnings abroad. The country already benefits substantially from remittances from the Kenyan Diaspora, which in 2017 and 2018 was in excess of US\$ 1.57 and US\$ 2.23 billion respectively, a jump of 42.5 percent (Central Bank of Kenya, 2019). With these benefits notwithstanding, the question which remains is whether there are serious backlashes at the individual as well as at the national level associated with such dual and multiple citizenship. A thorough cost-benefit analysis

in the context of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 of this phenomenon is deemed necessary as the country continues to refine laws and policies related to dual citizenship.

Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of this study is to interrogate the efficacy operation of dual citizenship as provided in Kenya's constitution. Despite growing acceptance and tolerance of dual and multiple citizenship in the globalized society over the last decade, it may be a mixed bag, with both positive and negative consequences. Besides being used by states to promote their national interests abroad, and for individuals seeking freedom of movement, cultural and economic capital, as well as migrants clinging to the "myth of return," the phenomenon continues to face implementation challenges at two fronts. First, it can be viewed as a threat to classical territorial sovereignty as well as being a security risk. Secondly, the motives and expectations of the states in allowing dual citizenship does not often match the expectations of individuals seeking dual citizenship. Such a mismatch of expectations may result in dual citizenship policies that violate the norms of democratic equality by enfranchising non-resident citizens. Often, dual citizenship policies are put in place for economic factors while at the same time, there is a fear of diasporic interference in domestic politics.

The provision of dual citizenship in the Kenya's constitution may face similar challenges. The paper seeks to analyze dual citizenship policies of three countries that may shed some light on the Kenyan context. The case of Italy that emphasizes political participation of Italians abroad (*emigrant approach*), Sweden that accommodates foreign residents (*immigrant approach*), and the India's compromise model of Overseas Citizens of India (OCI) are discussed. These three case studies are used to highlight strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and challenges of each approach to identify a hybrid model that may provide effective dual citizenship policies for the stability and prosperity of Kenya.

Kenya's Constitution

Article 16 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 that permits dual citizenship in Kenya states that "A citizen by birth does not lose citizenship by acquiring citizenship of another country." Further it states that procedure and substantive law that regulate and facilitate the issue of dual citizenship will be provided by Legislation (Article 18). Pursuant to Article 18, the Kenya Citizenship and Immigration Act of 2011 (KCIA) has been enacted to implement further the provisions of the Constitution regarding the issue of citizenship. The Kenya Citizens and Foreign Nationals Management Service Act (No.31 of 2011) sets out the institutional and enforcement mechanisms in regard to application for citizenship and work permits. The act establishes a Tribunal for resolution of disputes with the right of appeal to the High Court.

Section 8 of the KCIA provides that a dual citizen shall enjoy rights entitled to citizens, including the right to a passport and other travel documents. Section 8 (7) requires a dual citizen to owe allegiance to Kenya and shall be subject to Kenyan laws. Section 10 of the KCIA provides the process through which Kenyan citizens by birth may regain Kenyan citizenship through application to the Cabinet Secretary.

For those who lost citizenship before the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 was effected, Section 10 of KCIA provides a method through which Kenyan citizens who had already lost their citizenship through the acquisition of foreign citizenship can regain their citizenship. This is through application to the concerned Cabinet Secretary (or Minister for the period between the enactment of the Constitution and the first General Elections). In as much as the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 is clear, some dual citizens who lost citizenship before the Constitution was effected have been denied citizenship upon application under section 10 of the KCIA due to bureaucracy

at the Immigration offices (*EWA & 2 others V Director of Immigration and Registration of Persons and Another* [2018]). There is still need for critical interpretation of the scope and content of dual citizenship under the Constitution. The landmark ruling in *Ali Hassan Abdirahman v Mahamud Muhammed Sirat and 2 others (2010) eKLR* established that under the old constitution acquisition of foreign citizenship did not lead to an automatic loss of Kenyan citizenship in the absence of renunciation by that Kenyan citizen and in cases where the recipient country permitted dual citizenship.

In general, therefore, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 contains sufficient provisions for Kenyan-born nationals who reside in various countries to acquire dual citizenship. There is no doubt, however, that the spirit of the constitution neither provides for the offspring of these Kenyan national nor nationals of other countries who have immigrated and reside in Kenya.

Evolution of the concept

Acceptance of dual citizenship in most countries is an apparent turnaround from the situation in mid-19th to mid-20th century when dual citizenship was deemed an evil that had to be stopped (Blatter et al., 2009). For instance, the 1941 Act on Acquisition and Loss of Finnish Nationality was mainly aimed at prohibiting dual citizenship and statelessness in Finland.

Before the advent of globalization, dual and multiple citizenship was generally considered a forbidden fruit, with Theodore Roosevelt terming it a “self-evident absurdity” (Spiro, 2008). As Spiro (2008) also noted, George Bancroft’s comparing dual citizenship with polygamy in 1849 represented perhaps one of the strongest condemnations of dual citizenship. Globalization, due to increased physical and electronic means of communication as well as international migration, has transformed the conceptualization on the phenomenon from that of hostility to tolerance and, in some cases, encouragement. There is some anecdotal evidence that some countries that do not officially acknowledge dual citizenship permit the practice by turning a blind eye. Such a “don’t ask don’t tell” approach was cited in Sweden and Australia except for cases where individuals involved held public offices (Gustafson, 2002).

Official recognition of dual citizenship started to rise in the Americas in the 1970s and 1980s, led by countries with immigrants to the US. The trend took off in Europe in the 1990s and Asia in the last couple of years (Sejersen, 2008). In Africa, it arguably started in 2002 in Ghana with the enactment of the Dual Citizenship Regulation Act in July 3, 2002. Some countries recognize dual citizenship of treaty nations (ex-colonies of Spain in South America and Spain) while others do not have such differentiated policy. United Nations currently recognizes 246 countries (according to ISO 3166), 144 of these countries (almost 60%) recognize dual citizenship in some form (Blatter et al., 2009).

Legal framework

Prior to the passing of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, dual citizenship was prohibited under our laws. Section 97 of the Constitution of Kenya, 1963, stated that a person applying for Kenyan citizenship had to renounce citizenship of another country, take an oath of allegiance and make a declaration of continuing residence if one obtained citizenship by virtue of S 87(2).

However, in *Ali Hassan Abdirahman v Mahamud Muhammed Sirat and 2 others (2010) eKLR*, the court held that a Kenyan citizen by birth does not lose citizenship by merely acquiring the citizenship of another country. He can only lose upon renouncing his Kenyan citizenship. The burden of proof lies with persons purporting that the respondent had dual citizenship. It also has to be proved that the foreign country in which the subsequent citizenship has been acquired does

not allow dual citizenship. The same determination was held in *Miguna Miguna v Fred Matiang'i, Cabinet Secretary Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government & Others, 2018*.

Regaining citizenship

Two examples,

1. **Finland example:** Meanwhile, in Finland, the Nationality Act 2003 established that Finnish citizenship was built on the basis of *jus sanguinis*. However, *jus soli* was in limited application mainly to prevent statelessness. The Nationality Act of 2003 also fully legalized dual citizenship in Finland: (a) No loss of Finnish citizenship upon acquisition of foreign citizenship. (b) No renunciation of previous citizenship upon becoming a naturalized Finnish citizen. (c) The Act gave former citizens who had lost their Finnish citizenship by acquiring foreign citizenship a right to apply to get back their citizenship. This is in large mirrored in Article 16 of the 2010 Constitution and KCIA S.8 (1) that provide that a citizen by birth shall not lose citizenship by acquiring citizenship of another country. KCIA S (1) also provides for the reacquisition of citizenship in Kenya by citizens by birth, just like is the case in Finland.
2. **US example:** The judicial attitude in the US has evolved from extreme reluctance to embracing the idea of dual citizenship as reflected in the judgment in *Afroyim v Rusk* (1967). Countries that traditionally accept *jus soli* like the US seem more likely to accept or at least tolerate dual citizenship. In common law *jus soli* has only two exceptions: children born to (a) Foreign diplomats. (b) Hostile forces in occupation. Thus, even children born in US territory to foreign parents are American citizens by birth as long as they do not fall in the two categories. In 1898 the Supreme Court held that Kim Ark Wong was an American citizen by birth despite being born to parents who 'were subjects of the Chinese Emperor,' citing the Citizenship Clause in the 14th Amendment. Forty-one years later, in *Pekings v Elg* (1939), the Supreme Court held that Elg's parents act of gaining naturalized citizenship for her in Sweden (she had been born in US to Swedish parents, who took her with them to Sweden when she was a baby) could not prevent her from reclaiming US citizenship provided she did that within reasonable time of reaching adulthood. In 1952, the Supreme Court in *Kawakita v US*, ruled that Mr. Kawakita was guilty of treason for mistreating US prisoners of war in Japan. He tried to argue that when he registered as a Japanese, he lost his US citizenship, but the Supreme Court ruled that he had dual nationality by birth. It stated that when he registered as a Japanese citizen, he was simply reaffirming this fact and not gaining Japanese citizenship or renouncing American citizenship. The Policy of state Department, however, seems to be influenced by the ruling in *Action and Deltamar v Rich* (1991), where the Second Circuit Appeals Court stated that there must be proof of specific intent to relinquish US citizenship before an act of foreign naturalization can result in expatriation of an American Citizen. The court held that the defendant, Mr. Rich was an American in spite of his naturalization as he had continued to use an American passport and publicized himself in a commercial register as an American National.

Opportunities and challenges

Opportunities

Dual citizenship seems to be inspired by the notion that it is beneficial to both country and the individual. In the Kenyan context, a number of opportunities can be identified.

1. **Economic contribution:** Kenyans in the Diaspora (KIDS) are said to contribute substantially every year through remittances, which accounts for over 25% of Kenya's annual budget. Proponents for dual citizenship argue that this amount can only increase with the legalization and full implementation of dual citizenship. Estimates for 2019 stood at US\$2.7 Billion up from

US\$2.23 Billion in 2018 (Central Bank of Kenya, 2019). By virtue of the economic contribution, it has been argued that KIDS should be granted political rights. The Constitution seems to qualify this especially on the issue of vying for elective office where residency requirements are set. In other words, political rights are subject to residency requirements. There is no express prohibition on the enfranchisement of KIDS. Closely linked to the issue of remittances are opportunities for investment. The Kenya economy could get a boost if KIDS invested back home through earnings abroad, hence creating more employment opportunities.

2. **Taxation:** Countries usually use a combination of 3 factors when determining whether a citizen is subject to taxation: (a) Residency: a country may tax the income of anybody who resides in the country regardless of whether that income was earned in the country or broad. (b) Source: a country may tax any income generated in the country whether the earner is a citizen resident or non-resident. (c) Citizenship: a country may tax the worldwide tax of their citizens regardless of their source of income or their residency for the relevant tax period. Application of the “citizenship” criterion which does not factor in source of income or residency, would contribute greatly to the tax kitty. However, enforcement remains a significant challenge to tax authorities as there is no direct taxation at the point of receipt of remittances in Kenya.
3. **Better Living Standards:** The world is increasingly recognized as a global village. Kenyans acquiring citizenship of other countries are enabled to enjoy certain benefits right to work, earn and enjoy “better living standards.” For example, a British passport would enable one the right of abode in the UK and the right to live and work anywhere in the European Union.

Challenges

Despite many opportunities that come with dual citizenship, both at the national and individual levels, there are a number of challenges:

1. **Full political acceptance:** In *Bishop Donald Kisaka Mwawasi v Attorney General and Two Others (2014)*, the court of appeal analyzed and made a determination on the issue whether a person with dual citizenship was eligible to run for elective post as a member of parliament. The court held that whereas a dual citizen is eligible to seek nomination for election as a member of parliament or member of county government and also eligible to hold any state office, the dual citizen is disqualified upon election or appointment to a state office from assuming office before voluntarily and officially renouncing his other citizenship unless he has no ability under the laws of the other country to renounce citizenship of the other country.

In a similar case of *Mwende Maluki Mwinzi v Cabinet Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 2 others (2019) eKLR*, Mwende Maluki Mwinzi was appointed by the President of the Republic of Kenya to be the next ambassador of Kenya to the Republic of Korea. In accordance with the law, she was subjected to vetting by the National Assembly Departmental Committee, which approved her nomination subject to her renouncing her citizenship to the United States of America before taking up the appointment. The background of Mwinzi’s citizenship is that she was born in the USA and became an American Citizen by Birth. Her father being a Kenyan Citizen, she later acquired a certificate of birth of Kenya occurring abroad pursuant to provisions of Article 16 of the Constitution. In their recommendation, the National Assembly relied on Article 78 of the constitution as read with article 260 of the Constitution, which restricted state officers from acquiring dual citizenship. The Leadership and Integrity Act of 2012 as enacted in accordance with Article 80 of the Constitution, provides under section 31 (2) that subject to Article 78(3) a person who holds dual citizenship shall, upon election or

appointment to a state office, not take office before officially renouncing their citizenship in accordance with KCIA.

2. **Oath of allegiance:** Immigrants to the US take a solemn oath to absolutely and entirely renounce all previous political allegiances. In the case of a Kenyan by birth acquiring US citizenship, the Kenyan renounces all allegiances connected to the country of birth. Therefore, the question is, how can the concept of dual citizenship be reconciled with oaths of allegiance? Does renunciation effectively strip an applicant of his original citizenship? Whereas the Constitution provides that one does not lose citizenship having acquired citizenship of another country, the adjustment or solution to the potential conflict between dual citizenship and the oath of allegiance is not provided in the constitution. Further, the ruling in *Sirat* similarly is not clear whether, taking an oath of allegiance of a foreign country amounts to renunciation of Kenyan citizenship.
3. **Identity and cohesiveness:** Dual citizenship poses a challenge to national identity and cohesiveness along the following arguments. A Kenyan-American is less likely to identify with Kenya than a Kenyan who does not hold any other citizenship. Secondly, dual citizens are likely to hold foreign influences and foreign preferences. “Instructed voting” may also arise where large immigrant communities vote to advance the interests of the country of origin.
4. **Travelling challenges:** What are the implications of holding two passports? Which passport would a Kenyan-American be traveling on, and why? Are there times it would be preferable to travel using one and not the other? Does it lead to a case of jurisdictional shopping? What are the advantages or disadvantages? E.g., circumvent security checks, clearance at airports.
5. **Brain and talent drain:** It would be interesting to note the impact of dual citizenship on brain drain, especially to Kenya. A significant number of Kenyan professionals have acquired citizenship of other countries to fill gaps, primarily in medical services and education in exchange for lucrative perks compared to packages offered in Kenya. Now that dual citizenship is provided for in Kenyan law, what is the effect on brain and talent drain?
6. **Dual allegiance:** It is possible to owe allegiance to more than one constitution. The question arises of what happens when the persons making government policies or laws are dual citizens. Won't their allegiance to the other constitution affect their decision making? For instance, isn't a Member of Parliament who is a dual citizen of say Kenya and Britain likely to vote for a trade deal with UK rather than for example Lesotho or Nepal? In the case of Kenya, Articles 78(1), (2), 99(2) (c) and 193(2) (c) of the 2010 constitution seek to minimize the influence of people likely to have dual allegiance in vital organs of the state except for the Judiciary and Commissions. Article 78 (1) and (2) prohibit dual citizens from appointment or election to state offices and employment in the defense forces. Articles 99 (2) (c) and 193 (2) (c) put restrictions on citizens who have newly regained their citizenship from contesting for elective offices for at least 10 years. Article 82 (1) (e) of the Constitution gives citizens (including dual citizens residing outside Kenya) the right to vote. Such Kenyans, unless barred in their other country to vote are likely to have ‘double voting rights.’ Questions will arise as to whether it is fair for these Kenyans to be allowed to vote for politicians advocating for certain policies to which the non-resident dual citizen will not be subject. Historically, one also recalls that after the Pearl Harbor bombing, Japanese-Americans in the US were interned in concentration camps. This was presumably because they were sympathetic to the Japanese (rather than American) cause during the Second World War. What will happen if Kenya goes to war with a country having a large population of emigrant Kenyans who are dual citizens? In all practicability, the issue of perceived (or real) foreign allegiance cannot be just wished away, especially when it comes to issues to do with national security as seen in this unfortunate incident. If Kenyan courts adapt a

similar position, there are likely to be challenges to classical doctrine of sovereignty. Difficulty may arise in reconciling requirements of pledging allegiance to two Constitutions which both require citizens to protect and defend its provisions. The preamble to the Constitution starts as ‘*We the people...*’ and we vote as ‘we the people’ that is why we accept election results even when they do not go our way. In the case of a dual citizen, would the Kenyan-American be two people (i.e., Kenyan and American)?

7. **Military service and national security:** The fact that Kenya does not have compulsory military service like Turkey or Greece minimizes the potential problems that would have arisen as a result of the legalization of dual citizenship. Article 78(2) of the Constitution prohibits dual citizens from working in the defense forces. Part 3b of the same article, however, qualifies the prohibition such that a citizen who becomes a citizen of a foreign state due to operation of the foreign state’s law (e.g., an American-born Kenyan who is a dual citizen by operation of the principle of *jus soli*; *Kawakita v US*) is still eligible to serve in the military. The issue of loyalty might arise in such a case. The US constitution also allows the Pentagon to summon any US citizen for military conscription, at least in theory. This might include such a Kenyan. Questions have also been raised about the effect of dual citizenship on national security and whether it makes espionage easier. In Germany serving in a foreign army leads to loss of citizenship unless one has a special permit. In Kenya, there is no such provision. This might have a negative effect on national security. Triadafilopoulos (2007, 37) argues that since 9/11, there has been a ‘*cynic embracement*’ (especially in the West) of citizenship and immigration, but this, he argues, does not necessarily lead to a rejection of dual citizenship, but instead, there are more stringent procedures for acquisition of citizenship enforced against immigrants. Dual citizens can easily be stripped of their citizenship if they are perceived as a security threat since they do not end up being stateless.
8. **Double taxation:** Dual citizens, especially those residing outside the country are subjected to double taxation, especially if their other country does not have a Double Taxation Agreement (DTA) with Kenya. As at 2008, only 8 countries had DTAs with Kenya which had been ratified and in force; namely, Zambia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, United Kingdom, Germany, Canada and India.

Emigrants versus immigrants

The challenges and/or benefits of dual and multiple citizenship depends, to a certain extent, whether the issues dominating the nation are those of immigrants or emigrants. For instance, unlike India or Italy, the US has been more concerned with policies that govern immigrants from other parts of the world, especially Mexico with little concern about Americans who have emigrated elsewhere. Mexico, on the other hand, may be more concerned about engaging the Mexicans who relocated to other countries such as the US. For such “sending states,” dual citizenship is in their national interest and is not merely tolerated, but embraced and encouraged (Spiro, 2010). The “emigrant approach” to dual citizenship can be seen as focusing on creating stronger ties to emigrated nationals for social, political, and/or economic benefits (Sejersen, 2008). On the other hand, the “immigrant approach” to dual citizenship is as an attempt to integrate immigrants to the nation’s social, political, and economic fabric of the society (Sejersen, 2008; Joppke, 2003). A number of countries have recently changed their legislation with emigrant or immigrant approach appearing to be the main motivation. The resulting successes from these legislation changes vary. Prominent among these countries include India, Italy, and Sweden.

India

Both the Indian Constitution and the Indian Citizenship Act, 1955, as amended in 1986, 1992, 2003, and 2005 expressly prohibit dual citizenship. The Constitutional Bench of the Indian Supreme Court in *Izhar Ahmad Khan v Union of India (1962)* has also maintained that dual citizenship is not permissible under Indian laws. ‘If it is shown that a person has acquired foreign citizenship either by naturalization or registration, there can be no doubt that he ceases to be a Citizen of India by virtue of that naturalization or registration.’

Xavier (2011) found that due to domestic apprehension to dual nationality, the Indian government shied away from fully legalizing dual citizenship and instead created the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI). Whereas the Constitution outlaws dual citizenship, the law provides for OCI, which permits enjoyment of certain economic rights but restricts such citizens from voting, vying for political office or taking up employment in the public sector. It also excludes certain nationals from the acquisition of OCI, i.e. Pakistani and Bangladeshi citizens.

OCI was made available to all Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) of a certain category as long as their other country allows dual citizenship in one form or another ‘to extract the emigrants’ material wealth in return for cultural capital’.

Although OCIs are denied political rights, the right to an Indian passport and normally cannot obtain employment in the government, they have certain benefits like:

- a) Multiple entry, multi-purpose lifelong visa to visit India;
- b) Exemption from reporting to police authorities for any length of stay in India;
- c) Parity with non-resident Indians in financial, economic and educational opportunities except in the acquisition of agricultural or plantation properties.

These rights and benefits fall far short of the rights of citizenship. As Xavier (2011) pointed out, PIOs quickly realized that OCI policy effectively integrated them economically and culturally, but denied them access to formal citizenship rights, a situation which critics among the PIO, such as Lord Bikhu Parekh, compared OCI policy with viewing the PIO as cows that can only be milked. Though not equal to citizenship, the OCI policy fits that of the emigrant approach. Despite these concerns for lack of sufficient engagement, which could lead to alienation of the Indian diaspora, recent studies argue that the Indian diaspora has contributed considerably to the progress of their host countries as well as back home in India (Mishra, 2016).

Italy

Italy is one of the classic examples of a country which, in 1992, used the “emigrant approach” to change its dual citizenship policy in order to create stronger ties with its citizens abroad (Sejersen, 2008). Though it is both a sender and receiver country, Italian legislation has focused more on encouraging dual citizenship for Italians living abroad while immigrants in Italy face harder naturalization requirements (Sejersen, 2008). Unlike India, Italy has gone to greater lengths to create even stronger ties with its Diaspora abroad through incentives such as dedicating special seats in the House of Deputies and Senate to the Diaspora constituency and creating mechanisms for effective Diaspora political participation including overseas voting (Sejersen, 2008).

Without reference to economic advantages, Italy has effectively modeled the “emigrant approach” to dual citizenship. The resulting outcome is enormous, with approximately over 50 million Italians residing abroad. For instance, it was estimated that, almost 80 percent of Italians residing in Australia voted in the 2006 Italian elections.

Sweden

Sweden represents a fitting example of “migrant receiver state” in Europe, Muenz (2006) estimated

that approximately 12 percent of the Swedish population were born outside Sweden. In 2001, Sweden was not only the first Nordic country to provide for dual citizenship, but also encourage immigrants to naturalize (Westin, 2006). The Swedish example illustrates a perfect model of an “immigrant approach” to dual citizenship with a primary focus on integrating immigrants into the Swedish social, political, and economic fabric (Sejersen, 2008).

Case for a hybrid

As the reality of globalization takes root, there is bound to be countries that are both migrant “receiver” as well as “sender” states. Such a condition will require a hybrid model that incorporates policies geared towards the “emigrant” as well as the “immigrant” approach to dual citizenship. Such a hybrid model that engages its citizens in the Diaspora as well as integrating immigrants into the social, political, and economic fabric of the society can be referred to as “a dual approach to dual citizenship.” Such a model is likely to maximize the cultural and economic benefits of dual citizenship.

While Kenya has primarily been a migrant “sender” state, more recent trends show a rising wave of immigrants from other countries entering and seeking permanent residence in Kenya. Most of these immigrants originate from neighboring countries such as Somalia and Southern Sudan as well as from India and, more recently, China. The case of Somalia is quite evident with some neighborhoods, particularly in Nairobi being referred to as “Little Mogadishu” (Cagayare, 2013). There are more recent waves of immigrants from other non-African regions such as USA, Europe, and Asia. Highly publicized cases of several USA Ambassadors to Kenya opting to permanently settle in Kenya is a good illustration of this trend. This is an opportunity that Kenya can capitalize on, as a form of what Spiro (2016) refers to as “investor citizenship” with positive economic outcomes. Several countries have formalized such a form of citizenship. For instance, the Canadian Immigrant Investor Program is internally politically popular and very attractive to potential investors (THEPROVINCE.COM, April 15, 2012). With such considerations, a dual approach to dual citizenship, to embrace policies for the “immigrant” as well as the “emigrant” approach to dual citizenship, may be preferable for the future stability and prosperity of the country.

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Women Participation in Kenyan Politics: 1963-2017

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Abstract

Women in Kenya comprise more than half of the population and are actively involved in both economic and social spheres. However, this potential has not been exploited fully in the political arena where women remain marginalised. This paper analyses the genesis of marginalisation of women in Kenyan politics, their role (or a lack of it thereof), and decision making, especially during and after the colonial period. The paper argues that the genesis of marginalisation of women in politics began during the colonial and continued into the post-colonial era, in spite of their active role during the struggle for independence. Furthermore, the paper notes that the democratic transitions to multi-party politics and the Constitution of Kenya in 2010 paved the way for women's participation in Kenyan politics. The paper concludes that increased participation of women in politics leads to social development in Kenya.

Keywords: Politics, Kenyan Women, Multi-party, Constitution

Introduction

Women in Kenya comprise more than half of the population and are actively involved in the economic and social spheres of the nation. The population census carried out in 2019 revealed that women stood at 24 million against men who were at 23.6 million (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). Women play a significant role in perpetuating society and, like men, contribute to the social, political and economic development of the nation. However, rarely is this contribution acknowledged because a majority of women operate within the informal sector whose contribution is difficult to quantify. In most indigenous societies, women's roles were matched with their responsibilities in the social, economic and political spheres. Women also wielded power in areas regarded exclusively feminine, which guaranteed them some leverage in the political space (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). Apart from this feminine domain, there were instances whereby women became chiefs, wielding power over the whole community, for example, Chief Mang'ana of Kadem in Migori County and Chief Wangu Makeri in Murang'a County (Ayot, 1990; Nyakwea, 1994).

During the colonial period (1920-1963), women's power and spheres of influence largely diminished. The colonial administrators, who were exclusively men, undermined the women's traditional base of power. In the advent of Kenya's struggle for independence, women joined their male counterparts—for example, Field Marshal Muthoni Kirima in Central Kenya and Magdalene Aboge in Kisumu (Kanogo, 1987; M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). The marginalisation of women in politics during the colonial period extended into an independent Kenya; despite the fact that women were active participants in the struggle for independence attained in 1963. Therefore, this paper examines the role of women in indigenous Kenyan communities and their marginalisation during and after the colonial era. Additionally, it outlines women's role in Kenya's struggle for independence and their participation in politics in the post-colonial era. Finally,

it analyses challenges faced by women in their struggle to gain political space given that the multi-party era and the 2010 Constitution opened up space for their engagement in politics.

Overview of women in indigenous communities and colonial Kenya

A sizeable number of studies have examined the political, social, cultural and economic positions of women in Africa (Boserup, 1970; Hafkin & Bay, 1976; Hay & Stichter, 1991; Khasiani & Njiro, 1993; Nzomo, 1993; Kabira et al., 1993; Mama, 1996; Kanogo, 2005; Nasongo & Ayot, 2007). These studies demonstrated that the role of women in indigenous communities in Africa varied extensively and, in some, they exercised extensive authority (Hay & Stichter, 1991). While in the area of leadership, scholars argue that women in some societies were leaders, councillors, and spiritual figures (O'Barr, 1995; Amadiume, 1987).

In the pre-colonial period, Kenyan women were political actors (Ndeda, 1997; O'Barr, 1995). Waiyego (2004) indicates that the Kenyan people assigned economic, social and political roles and positions to both men and women based on gerontocracy. For instance, elderly women among the Kikuyu and Meru formed women's councils, which dictated behaviour patterns for their members and enforced sanctions as necessary (Nyakwea, 1994; Waiyego, 2004). This provided women with a forum to participate in societal matters, even though formal political power was vested exclusively to male councils (Nyakwea, 1994; Waiyego, 2004). Therefore, in some cases, women had influence over decision-making in the community although they had no formal political rights.

Among the Luo community, elders governed at various levels. There were sub-clans, clans and councils of elders and at the highest level, the chief (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). There were also other centres of authority that included spiritual leaders, prophets and prophetesses, medicine women and men, and wise women and men (J. Opiyo, personal communication, September 2006). Similarly, Luo women had their space within the political structure. For instance, the elderly women were often consulted on marital conflicts within families. A few women even won leadership positions in the councils of elders, especially the medicine women, the warriors and the prophetesses (Ndeda, 1997; Ayot, 1990; M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). Luo women also derived political power through the roles they played in production and social life. These roles were in farming, marketing, trading and family household affairs. The Luo recognized individual contribution not according to the contributor's gender, but according to one's ability. An example is Mang'ana nyar Ugwe of Kadem, a famous medicine woman who later became a chief on the eve of colonial rule (Ayot, 1990; Ndeda & Nyakwaka, 2013). Furthermore, political leadership also depended largely on religion; therefore, women were involved in leadership through divine guidance (Ayot, 1990; Ndeda, 1997; Nyakwaka, 2013). Elders led the Abagusii community (Kabira & Nzioki, 1993). The person to occupy this position had to be a man of wisdom, ability and bravery. The elders settled all social, political, and land disputes. However, within this community, there were powerful women such as Prophetess Moraa who prophesied the coming of the European colonialists to Gusiiland. Prophetess Moraa warned her people that if they permitted colonialists to their land, they would be colonised.

In 1895, the British government annexed East Africa Protectorate, which later became Kenya Colony in 1920. The British used violence on an unprecedented scale with singleness of mind to colonise Kenya (Lonsdale, 1989). The violence of conquest was repeatedly used in Kenya's subsequent history to crush resistances. Ultimately, the colonial period, in many parts of Africa, altered the status of women and reduced their power through the imposition of western conceptions of state and society. The colonial administrative, economic and social systems introduced a western notion of state and society with distinction between public and private spheres and its complimentary ideas about women. Colonial administration, therefore, undermined women's traditional bases of

influence, authority and power. The administrators who were exclusively male, set out to make African women more like their European counterparts who were housewives (O'Barr, 1995).

The colonial administrators also governed through indigenous male authorities thereby formalizing male institutions at the expense of their female counterparts (Ndeda, 2002; M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). The marginalisation of women in most institutions was perpetuated through colonial policies such as education, forced and migrant labour, and taxation (Kenya National Archives, 1950; Kenya National Archives, 1949-1957; Ndeda, 1994; Nyakwaka, 1999; M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). The colonialists did not believe in female involvement in the public arena and created a system that led to the deterioration of their status in society (Rodney, 1972). Exclusively, men occupied the colonial political structure since the colonial state was a man's world (Ndeda, 2002). Colonialism left Kenyan women more politically disoriented and disempowered. Thus, as colonialism undermined their role in politics, women protested against the imposition of colonial rule over their communities. For instance, there were protests led by *Menyaziwa wa Menza* also known as *Mekatilili* of the *Giriama* community at the coast (Ndeda, 1994). Protests were also led by *Syotune* among the *Kamba* in eastern Kenya (Nyakwaka, 1999), and by *Prophetess Moraa* among the *Kisii* people in western Kenya (Kabira & Nzioki, 1993).

When the struggle for independence against the colonialists began, women were not left behind. They fought side by side with the men starting with the riots of the 1920s to the *Mau Mau* Rebellion of 1952-1960. Some of the women risked their lives as they were used as couriers under the watchful eyes of security forces and home guards. Women ferried food, medicine, and smuggled guns needed by the freedom fighters into the forest. Others, like *Muthoni Ngatha*, rose to the senior position of Field Marshall. Through their participation in these covert operations, women demonstrated a willingness to challenge the violation of their rights and independence (Kanogo, 1987; Kabira & Nzioki, 1993; M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). In 1958, *Jemima Gecaga* was nominated by the colonial state to sit in the Legislative Council, thus giving women a voice at the state level (Ndeda, 2002).

Many female grassroots voices such as *Magdalene Aboge* were instrumental in the struggle for political change. *Aboge*, also known as "Mama Uhuru," mobilised women in *Kisumu* in 1959 to protest colonial discrimination against female traders (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006; Nyakwaka, 2013). She worked closely with Luo male politicians, like *Oruko Makasembo* and *Otieno Oyoo*, to influence change. These men recruited her into the African District Association (ADA) that was fighting against the colonial state (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). During the writing of the constitution for independence at the Lancaster House Conference in 1962, *Priscilla Abwao*, the only female delegate, argued for Kenyan women's rights and not individual special positions. Women wanted equal treatment and partnership in the new society (Abwao, 2002).

Women in Politics Since 1963

When Kenya gained its independence in 1963, women were elated that the struggles against colonialism had been won and were ready to celebrate and participate in the country's leadership. Unfortunately, despite all their contributions in the struggle for independence, they did not become political equals to men (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). Instead, Kenyan men inherited colonial power and policies and proceeded to govern the country without initiating structural changes that would have opened opportunities for women's political engagement. Independence did not change their status in politics (Kabira & Gituto, 1998). For example, *Parpart and Staudt* (1989) argue that African states like Kenya, in the post-colonial era, perpetuated male elitist interests and leadership over women, offering women limited access to ownership of the means of production and less political power. *Nzomo* (1993) and *Khasiani and Njiro* (1993) make a similar

observation; that despite their high numerical numbers, women have remained marginalised in politics and decision-making. Women did not fare well despite Kenya's Constitution rejecting racial, ethnic, class or sexual discrimination (Nzomo, 1993). The Government *Sessional Paper* No 10 on African Socialism stated that participation by men and women was to be on equal terms, including vying for elective offices (Ndeda, 2002). Ironically, male political elites that comprised members of the ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU), did not recognize the role women had played in the struggle for independence; instead, for women, independence simply meant a shift from one form of marginalisation to another. There was no woman in Kenya's first elected parliament in 1963 (Kenya National Archives, 1967). However, this changed in 1969 when Grace Onyango became the first and only elected woman in parliament (G. Onyango, personal communication, September 2006; Nzomo, 2003).

The first President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and the state retained the British system of governance. This meant the post-colonial state offered minimal political opportunities and democratic space for individual initiatives and participation (G. Onyango, personal communication, September 2006). Women were denied opportunities to actively participate in politics. Violence, intimidation, detention and police harassment constituted Kenya's political culture during the 1960s and 1970s (Choti, 2005; J. Opiyo, personal communication, September 2006; Kenya National Archives, 1976). Due to this harsh environment, most women refrained from politics and were relegated to the periphery even though they formed more than half of the Kenyan population (Kabira, 1998). Majority of women only participated as voters, dancers and mobilizers during elections (Kabira, 1998).

In the 1970s, there was a rise in public awareness globally of the importance of women's issues. This was fostered by the United Nations International Women's Decade from 1975-1985. The United Nations Decade for Women Conference, which had 157 member states, was held in Kenya at Kenyatta International Conference Centre in Nairobi from 15th to 26th July 1985. In total, there were 2000 delegates. Running side by side with this Conference was Forum 85 held at the University of Nairobi from 10th to 19th July. Over 17,000 women from over 170 countries attended (Ogot, 2012). At the opening ceremony of the Conference, Miss Margaret Kenyatta, the leader of the Kenya delegation, was elected the President of the Conference.

The hosting of the global Conference in Kenya was a major achievement for women. The success of the Conference put women's issues in Kenya on the global limelight. During the United Nations Decade for Women, the number of women members of parliament (MPs) slightly increased with the election of Grace Onyango, Phoebe Asiyo and Grace Ogot (G. Onyango, personal communication, September 2006). In addition, Julia Ojiambo was appointed the first Assistant Minister for Culture and Social Services. This was the highest office in the government held by a woman since independence (G. Onyango, personal communication, September 2006). During this Decade for Women, governments were required to establish ministries of women affairs or bureaus to institutionalize and legitimize women issues (Nzomo, 1997). In 1976, the Kenyan government established the Women's Bureau whose mandate was to focus on the development and integration of women in national development.

However, to this day, a number of constraints have led to the continued marginalisation of women in politics up from the 1970s. These include socio-cultural beliefs and myths, finances, education and the political culture in Kenya (N'gweno, 1979, 1985; Association of African Women in Research and Development [AAWORD], 1998; Nzomo, 1991). Traditional cultures place women at a disadvantage over men in political participation and engagement. Many Kenyan societies are patriarchal in nature, characterised by male domination, especially in decision-making. Thus, once socialised with this male dominance mind-set, many people hardly visualise women as leaders

(J. Opiyo, personal communication, September 2006). Another challenge is the triple-roles of women as producers, maintainers, and reproducers. Women bear children, care for the sick and the elderly in the family, and maintain the family in all its aspects (J. Opiyo, personal communication, September 2006; AAWORD, 1998). All these roles consume a lot of time, leaving little to no time for women's involvement in public activities. Furthermore, the culture of violence in Kenyan politics has kept women away (J. Opiyo, personal communication, September 2006). Finally, a major obstacle for women is lack resources, especially finances, which are vital for political activities (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006).

The cultural bias and colonial legacy have contributed to women having less access to resources such as land, credit and formal employment in comparison to men (G. Onyango, personal communication, September 2006). Lack of formal education is another challenge for women interested in politics. Because of prioritization of the male child's education, majority of illiterate citizens in Kenya are women (Nzomo, 1993). This illiteracy limits their participation in political leadership roles since they are unable to read any political manifestos and literature. Unfortunately, many women in rural areas depend on their husbands, fathers, brothers and other male relatives to decide for them, including for whom to vote (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006). These challenges negatively affected women's engagement at the political level. Despite these challenges, Kenyan women continued to intensify their struggle for basic freedoms and rights. In particular, the wave of democratization and political transition in the 1990s paved way for their participation in politics. Kenyan women seized this political opening to ensure their gender concerns were front and centre of the new democratic agenda.

Women and Multi-Party Politics, 1990-2010

The political democratic transition in Kenya in the 1990s operated on two fronts: internal and external (Oluoch, 2013). Internally, the people in civil society and clergymen started to demand for political reforms and a new constitution. In July 1991, former cabinet ministers, Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, and Raila Odinga, a political activist, were arrested by the government and detained on 4th July 1991 for demanding a multi-party democratic system in Kenya. The arrest of these three politicians was to stop the planned *Saba Saba* rally by the opposition in Nairobi on 7 July 1991. The rally was to be held among others, by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, James Orengo, Timothy Njoya, Paul Muite and Gitobu Imanyara. Kenyan women who were part of the multi-party movement leadership included Martha Karua, Wangari Maathai and Jael Mbogo.

The government banned the meeting; however, in defiance, thousands of Kenyans marched to the Kamukunji grounds where the banned meeting was scheduled to take place (Oluoch, 2013). This meeting marked the defiance against President Moi's government, resulting in the genesis of democratic reforms. It was the largest political movement since independence. The demonstrations led to hundreds of civilian deaths and injuries (Oluoch, 2013). In August 1991, the multi-party supporters formed a political association known as Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). All its six founding members were men: Martin Shikuku, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Ahmed Bahmariz, Philip Gachoka, George Nthenge and Masinde Muliro. Their supporters included women such as Martha Karua and Jael Mbogo (among others), and men saw them as a vehicle to remove the government from power (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006; Oluoch, 2013). In December 1991, President Moi gave in to pressure and ordered Parliament to repeal Section 2A of the Constitution that stated Kenya was a one-party state.

Interestingly, democratic reforms in Kenya were influenced by a new world order and ideological landscape following the end of the Cold War (Osamba, 2005). The Berlin Wall had collapsed signalling the end of the Cold War era. This collapse meant that there was now one centre

of power, the United States of America, which was pro-democratization (Osamba, 2005). African countries like Kenya were forced, because of the changing international order, to move away from one-party autocracy. More specifically, Kenya's development partners condemned the government's repression and threatened to withdraw financial support (Osamba, 2005). Kenyan women, therefore, became active participants in multi-party struggles for the second liberation of the country. Many watched as their sons and husbands were killed or sent to jail. In 1991, women, wives, daughters and mothers of political prisoners gathered at Freedom Corner at Uhuru Park in Nairobi and stripped naked to curse the government for refusing to release their kin. The police beat the women while the whole world watched on cable television networks (Ogot, 2012). Eventually, President Moi yielded to pressure and embarrassment, releasing the prisoners. In this case, Kenyan women resorted to using a traditional practice of cursing an offender by stripping naked and showing their nakedness as a weapon. Because it was a taboo for a mother to show her nakedness in public, government officials had no option, but yielded to pressure from the women and the public to introduce a multi-party system of governance. The multi-party system created a political space for freedom of expression, association and assembly for civil society and women groups. These groups gave women opportunities to engage in politics. They included the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV), Anti-Rape Organization, Kenya Medical Women's Association, Kenya Business and Professional Women's Club, Coalition on Violence against Women. Also included were: Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD), Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development, Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT), Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) and the Kenya Women's Political Caucus (KWPC). These groups were formed by women elites and politicians led by Phoebe Asiyo. There was also the Forum for African Women Education (FAWE) whose major concern was promotion of education of women particularly the girl child (Nzomo, 1997; Choti, 2005).

At the same time, some of the existing groups and organization such as the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-K), the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which had never focused on any political agenda before, became vocal and critical of the undemocratic status quo (Choti, 2005). All these organizations and associations were a testimony of the active engagement of women in the democratic space during the multi-party era. The women lobbied political parties to integrate gender issues in their democratic agenda and programmes as they prepared for the first multi-party election in 1992. In the genesis of 1992, women associations embarked on a mobilizing and strategizing campaign to ensure that women candidates would win the maximum number of parliamentary and civic seats in the first multi-party elections in December 1992.

The women's focus was on political empowerment as a means of achieving goals associated with the advancement of women in society (Nzomo, 1994). The basic strategy was to sensitize, mobilize and conscientize women to vote for women and other gender sensitive men. Secondly, they encouraged and built confidence on those women with political will to contest for political office during the elections. To realize this strategy, a number of workshops, trainings and seminars were organized by women groups and civil society. For instance, in July 1992, the NCSW organized a national training workshop for about sixty women candidates (Nzomo, 1994). The NCSW also gave moral and material support to women candidates during the campaign process until completion of the elections. Apart from these roles, the NCSW also monitored elections as an accredited observer body (AAWORD, 1998). Unfortunately, for women, the multi-party politics was characterized by ethnicity as many Kenyans approached voting as tribal solidarity groups (Choti, 2005). Women candidates had hoped that gender block voting would beat tribal block voting, especially in the

cosmopolitan areas, but this never happened (J. Ochieng, personal communication, September 2006; C. Akumu, personal communication, August 2006).

The first multi-party election in 1992 did not result in a critical mass of elected women. However, it reflected the efforts of the women movement to empower female voters and candidates. For instance, for the first time in Kenya's election history, 250 women candidates stood for civic parliamentary seats (Weru, 1995). According to an assessment report of the status of women in Kenya, the multi-party system contributed to a larger representation of women at the local government level as well as the national assembly. The report states that over forty women were elected as councillors in 1992 as compared to twenty in 1983, while six women were elected to parliament compared to two in 1983 (Weru, 1995). Thus, the numbers show a marginal increase in the number of women politicians.

The women MPs included Phoebe Asiyo and Nyiva Mwendwa. The latter was appointed the first female cabinet minister in independent Kenya in May 1995. She was to head the stereotyped female Ministry of Culture and Social Services (Ogot, 2012). Phoebe Asiyo made it in the general elections and regained a seat she lost in 1988. She was the first Luo woman to be elected in Nyanza in the era of multi-party politics. Once in Parliament, she exhibited rare acumen and art in parliamentary business and the gender platform became one of her main reference points. One of her achievements was the formation of the Kenya Women's Political Caucus. As Chairperson of the Caucus, Asiyo brought to the House the Affirmative Action Motion (also called the Asiyo Motion) of 1997 (M. Aboge, personal communication, August 2006; Ogot, 2012). This Bill sought one-third of all parliamentary seats be reserved for women; however, the Bill was thrown out by parliament. Grace Ogot, one of the pioneer women MPs in Kenya and who lost her seat in Gem Constituency in Siaya during the first multi-party election, asserted that:

It had been a terrible nightmare during the campaign period. Stones were thrown at our vehicle by militia youths and young girls sang insulting songs against us, some priests compared me with Judas, and the police and the provincial administration turned a blind eye to all this. Some of my supporters were killed or maimed, and the police declined to record any statements from us, saying that they did not wish to be involved in politics. (Ogot, 2012)

Indeed, the multi-party era was marked with violence as stated by Ogot. The violence, among other factors such as lack of funds and cultural stereotypes, made many women to shy away from politics. A year after the first multi-party elections, the government established the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) to prepare for the country's participation in the Fourth World Women Conference in Beijing in 1995. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was held at the Beijing International Conference Centre from 4th to 15th September, 1995. Kenya sent a large delegation comprising 175 Government delegates and about 300 non-governmental organisation (NGO) delegates to the NGO Forum 1995 held at the same time with the Conference. The delegation was led by the then new Minister Nyiva Mwendwa and Grace Ogot, her Assistant Minister as the deputy leader (Ogot, 2012). The Beijing Platform called for the inclusion of women in all sectors of society and supported affirmative action. Governments adopted and committed themselves to implementing the Platform of Action by mainstreaming gender in all policies and programmes (Ogot, 2012).

However, when the Kenyan delegation returned from Beijing, President Moi dismissed the Conference resolutions and warned women not to have anything to do with the Platform of Action. The President ignored the issues such as affirmative action and gender mainstreaming, but focused

on homosexuality he deemed foreign to Africa. Therefore, it was clear that Moi's government was not ready to integrate the Platform commitments into policies, reforms and legislations, which would have expanded women's political space in the country.

The second multi-party elections were held in 1997 and women were more prepared than they had been in the first multi-party elections. For instance, 150 women declared their interest in parliamentary seats; however, the political parties nominated only forty-seven. During the elections, for the first time in Kenya's history, two women, Charity Ngilu and Nobel Peace Winner Wangari Maathai, joined the field of 15 presidential candidates (Choti, 2005). In addition, for the first time, women articulated their issues in the Women's Election Manifesto referred to as 'Critical Areas of Concern.' One of the areas of concern was marginalisation of women in politics and decision-making (Choti, 2005). The women argued that they were the majority, yet their role in politics was hardly appreciated. They recommended affirmative action be adopted to ensure equal representation of women in government.

Despite civic education by civil societies and NGOs, only four women were elected to parliament, while five were nominated, translating to 4 percent representation (Choti, 2005). Among the Luo, Phoebe Asiyu made it back to Parliament as a member for Karachuonyo Constituency, regaining the seat she had lost in 1988. Among the many motions she brought to the House, the most outstanding was the 'Affirmative Action Motion of 1997.' The motion failed, but it was a major landmark in the political space. The Affirmative Principle would be later incorporated in Kenya's new constitution in 2010.

The dismal performance of women was blamed on a number of endemic problems discussed earlier including a.) party politics whereby the main parties are owned and dominated by men who make decisions on whom to nominate for various seats. As argued by J. Opiyo (personal communication, September 2006) and M. Aboge (personal communication, August 2006), the patriarchal societies always favour men over women, b.) cultural beliefs mark men as natural born leaders, while women are homemakers, c.) women lack resources for running for political office. Politics is expensive as expenses range from nomination fees, printing fliers, handbills, agent fees, and the like. Many women do not have such funds for campaigns (Ogot, 2012), and d.) elections are prone to violence. Women vying for political seats faced a lot of hostility, harassment, violence both physical and psychological (Ogot, 2012). Apart from all these challenges, women had to deal with tribal clashes that perennially rocked the country during elections since 1992.

The third multi-party elections were held in 2002. These elections were significant and highly contested because, according to the Constitution, the incumbent President Moi was retiring from politics. The two main political parties were KANU and the opposition party, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Women organizations and associations lobbied and negotiated with parties to be more visible in the political space. The main objective for the women was to secure more parliamentary and civic seats. The women wrote their manifesto in which they articulated their political agenda in areas they wanted the government to set standards on policy, practice and action (Choti, 2005).

During the elections, 130 women declared their interest in running for parliamentary seats. Out of those, only forty-four women were nominated to participate in the elections (Ogot, 2012). At the local authority level, a large number of women, totalling 380, showed interest in contesting for seats. In some cases, however, their political parties opted in favour of male candidates who were more likely to win because of their gender and dropped women nominees at the last minute. Despite the violence against women, as was in previous multi-party elections, ten were elected MPs. This was the largest number of women ever elected in Kenya since independence.

The fourth multi-party elections were held in 2007. Women faced the same challenges as in the previous elections. Again, the number of elected women increased both at the national and local levels. Twenty-two women representatives in parliament were either elected or nominated (Ogot, 2012). A coalition government was formed because of the post-election violence that followed the elections. Three years later, the coalition government delivered a new constitution that was expected to unify the country and implement affirmative action.

Women and the New Constitution, 2010-2017

As discussed earlier, during the 1990s, Kenyans started a journey towards the second liberation with demands for multi-party democracy and a new constitution. It was not until May 2001 that the Constitution Review Commission of Kenya Act was passed with a membership of twenty-seven, chaired by Yash Pal Ghai (Ogot, 2012). Between May 2001 and October 2002, the commission travelled throughout the country collecting views of Kenyans on a new draft constitution. By September 2002, a draft constitution was ready. A constitutional conference to discuss the draft was held at Bomas of Kenya in Nairobi. The conference comprised of women's organizations, professional organization and special interest groups. Grace Ogot, a former assistant minister and member of parliament, was elected as a member of the steering committee to guide the conference proceedings (Ogot, 2012). At the review conference held on 15th March 2004, two-thirds of the members present voted to adopt all the articles of the Constitution. This draft came to be known as the Bomas Draft Constitution (Ogot, 2012). Amongst other things, it attempted to address the question of gender imbalances in national institutions. This was partly achieved because over 25 percent of the delegates were women. Ogot asserted, "The Bomas Draft Constitution was gender responsive. It enhanced women's property rights, prohibited cultural practices that discriminated against women, and entrenched affirmative action principles to ensure gender balance in Parliament" (Ogot, 2012). Unfortunately, these gains for women were rejected in the second draft constitution (Wako Draft) proposed by Parliament. The male dominated House was not ready to ensure gender balance in Parliament. In 2005, a national referendum was conducted on the Wako Draft and it was defeated. On 27th August 2010, President Mwai Kibaki, at Uhuru Park in Nairobi, promulgated the New Constitution.

The 2010 Constitution integrated women's rights and affirmative action principles. It also created two Houses: Parliament and the Senate. Article 8(b) stated that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. For instance, the National Assembly has 290 elected members, each representing a constituency; forty-seven women were to be elected from each of the forty-seven counties and twelve nominated members to represent women, youth and the marginalized. In total, there would be 349 members. The Senate would comprise forty-seven elected senators from each county, sixteen nominated women for gender balance and four representatives of the youth and the disabled, totalling sixty-seven members. Indeed, the new constitution increased the numbers of women in the governance organs in Kenya (Ogot, 2012).

During the fifth multi-party elections held under the 2010 Constitution in 2013, sixteen women were elected as MPs, forty-seven as representatives and five were nominated. This totalled sixty-eight women in Parliament. In the Senate, there were eighteen women nominated. The women's performance in the elections accounts for 25 per cent of women who have been elected to Parliament since 1963 (Kweyu, 2013). Notably, at the same time, there was no woman elected in the high-profile positions of governor or senator. The number of women elected in the local county assemblies, however, increased to eighty-four. In the Cabinet, six women were appointed as cabinet secretaries.

In the elections of 2017, three women were elected governors, the late Dr. Joyce Laboso in Bomet County, Charity Ngilu in Kitui County and Ann Waiguru in Kirinyaga County. At the same time, three women senators were also elected, Susan Kihika in Nakuru County, Margaret Kamar in Uasin Gishu County and Fatuma Dallo in Isiolo County (Ali, 2017). The elected MPs were twenty-three, up from sixteen in 2013. There were also 47 elected women representatives and six nominated bringing the total number of women in parliament to seventy-six, forty-one less than the one third constitutional threshold (Ali, 2017). The number of women elected by the conservative pastoral communities also increased. For example, Naisula Lesuda was elected as the MP for Samburu West, Sarah Korere in Laikipia North and Peris Tobiko was elected for a second term in Kajiado East. Winfred Lichuma, the Chairperson of Gender Commission in Kenya, asserted, “We are excited that women from the pastoral communities that have been practising negotiated democracy came out against all odds and won. We are calling upon women not to let culture hold them back” (Ali, 2017). Indeed, women from pastoral communities were not left out of the new political space created for women by the new constitution. In 2017, the number of women in county assemblies also increased from eighty-four in 2013 to ninety-six with Bungoma County electing eleven women (Ali, 2007). In the political arena, democratic transition has had a significant positive impact towards gender equity. The numbers of women in the Cabinet and the Senate has also increased to two-thirds. However, despite the increased number of women in Parliament, Kenya has not met the Constitutional threshold of having not more than two-thirds of the members being of the same gender.

Political achievements also go hand-in-hand with environmental sustainability when both genders are involved. Sustainability relies on ending marginalisation and providing equal opportunities for education, political participation and employment. Gender equality in all areas has shown to stimulate economic growth, which is crucial for Kenya. For example, opening political space for women has had far-reaching effects on people’s lifestyle. It has led to faster access to technology, improved communication and innovation. Political space has also brought people of different cultures together, ushered a new era in economic prosperity and opened vast channels for development that is beneficial to both men and women (Ali, 2007). Increased women participation in politics would lead to more economic, social and political achievements in Kenya.

Conclusion

As noted above, women were actors in politics and decision-making in their indigenous communities; however, their role in public spheres was diminished during the colonial era. In a post-colonial Kenya, specifically, their marginalisation was an outcome of the colonial legacy. In spite of this, women have and continue to face many challenges, which hinder their participation in politics and public arenas. Although the 1990s showed an upsurge in the number of women engaged in politics, partly because of the transition to the multi-party system, credit goes to the pressure from international organizations and foreign partners that pressed domestic Kenyan actors for the integration of women in politics. The 2010 Constitution, which led to the implementation of affirmative action principles, also contributed to increased participation of women in politics and decision-making organs. This trend indicates that women are strongly emerging in arenas once dominated by men. Therefore, by providing women with adequate political opportunities in society, a sure path towards sustainable development is created. It will also end most, if not all, of its forms of discrimination and marginalisation in society. Empowerment of women through political engagement must be addressed as a human rights issue and key to social development.

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Analysis of Kenya's performance at the Olympic Games in track and field (1956 - 2016), reasons for success and the need for event diversification

Njororai Wycliffe W. Simiyu

Abstract

Kenya has excelled in international sports, especially in middle and distance events. To date, Kenya has won 104 Medals at the Olympic Games with 97 (93.27%) being in track and field and the remaining 07 (6.73%) from boxing. Out of the 97 won in track and field, 91 (93.81 %) were in middle and distance events. Additionally, women have won 24 (24.74%) medals compared to 73 (75.26%) won by the men in track and field. In 2016 Rio Olympic Games, the Kenyan women won 7 medals compared to 6 won by the men. This sustained dominance continues in the wake of many Kenyan athletes changing their national allegiance to run for other countries where they have even earned medals at the Olympic Games. Thus, Kenya needs to diversify more in track and field events to broaden the scope of competition to sustain and solidify the status of being a powerhouse in track and field.

Keywords: Kenya, Olympic Games, Middle and Distance Events, National Allegiance, Track and Field, Athletics Scholarships, Altitude

Introduction

Kenya is one of the African countries where sport is highly regarded and when the summer Olympic Games begin, Kenyans watch with great interest. It is also during these Games that the nation puts away persistent political bickering to root for sports men and women on Olympic duty. Before departure for the games, the delegation is hosted by the President, who hands to them the official national flag as a way of reminding them that they are on a patriotic mission to represent the nation with honor and sacrifice. It is a patriotic duty! And after the Olympics are over and depending on the performance, in terms of number of medals won, a critical appraisal is undertaken via a Commission of Inquiry to investigate any mishaps, including team selection, pre-games preparation, allowances for participants, stolen athlete uniforms, excess joyriders or poor performance. Such reports, unfortunately, never yield any meaningful changes in policy or practice pertaining to administration and management of sports in the country. Seiler (2013) has described the chase for medals at the Olympic Games as a "zero sum game" (p. 203) played by all the competing countries. This means that success by one country in international sport must always come at the expense of others with their eyes on the same goal. Yet, after every four years, the nation goes through a similar routine with an emphasis on winning more medals.

This persistent desire to win more medals at the Olympic level, or any other international event, by the nation's leadership has pushed Kenya to establish and sustain a powerful and relatively successful sporting tradition since entering international sport in 1951. The Vancouver Commonwealth Games (1954) and the Melbourne Olympic Games (1956), were the first two mega sport competitions where Kenya made a decisive impact in distance running led by the legendary Nyandika Maiyoro (Amin & Moll, 1972). Since making an international debut in competitive sport, Kenya's athletes, their wins and style of running has projected a positive image of the country around the world. Virtually everywhere a Kenyan goes, the question that is posed is: are you are a runner? The assumption by many people who follow sport in the media is that because one is from Kenya,

then one is naturally a runner. This is due to the largescale presence of Kenyan middle and distance runners participating and winning several high-profile road races, marathons, track and field events around the globe (Njororai, 2012, 2016), particularly so at the Olympic Games where the national anthem has become a familiar tune. The Kenyan running success story has attracted plenty of research interest informed by different disciplinary lens. These studies include (i) physiological explanations relating to diet, energy balance, neuromuscular functioning, anatomy, genetic makeup and body composition (Fudge et al., 2008; Onywera et al., 2006; Saltin et al., 1995; Scott et al. 2009); (ii) anthropological explanations relating to traditions, customs and rituals, geography, and the meaning of running to different groups of people (Denison, 2007; Finn, 2012; Manners, 1997, 2007); (iii) historical and economic explanations concerning colonialism, imperialism, racism, and the way in which different African nations have responded to independence and the part that sport has played historically in nation-building (Bale & Sang, 1996; Mazrui, 1986; Simms & Rendell, 2004); and (iv) sociological and political economic explanations, which highlight a division of labor, personal motivations to escape poverty, power and corruption in both world and local athletics, the struggle for recognition and respect by men and women runners from different parts of Africa, the development of sport in Africa, and the role of sport in the development of Africa (Alegi, 2010; Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004; Darby, 2002; Bloomfield, 2011; Jarvie & Sikes 2012; Njororai 2010, 2012, 2015, 2016).

Building on this literature, this article aims at analyzing the successful track and field performance of Kenya at the Olympic Games with a view of appreciating the evolution of the performances events (specialization) and gradual yet steady diversification in the sources of the medals on the podium. Additionally, the article seeks to illustrate the pattern of dominance in terms of track and field events and the emerging diversification to harness women's athletic potential as well as the hitherto unknown events where the country has had sporadic and unexpected victories. This article ends by highlighting the different perspectives that seek to explain Kenya's success in track and field since making a breakthrough at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City.

Evolution of Kenya's performance at the Olympic Games

Over the past 54 years, Kenya has made a major impact in track and field by competing favorably against superpowers in the Olympic Games since making a debut in 1956 at Melbourne, Australia (Njororai, 2004, 2016). The Kenyan flag has consistently flown amidst superpowers such as the United States of America (US), Great Britain, China, Russia, Germany, Japan, and others that have been associated with domination of the Olympic Games (Njororai, 2010). Kenya's dominant presence in track and field can be traced back to people's athleticism that characterized the traditional physical and recreational culture of dancing, hunting and wrestling in the country. These characteristics of physical expression in traditional activities found a new medium via western sports that were introduced in the early part of the 19th Century including track and field, soccer, volleyball and netball (Mählmann, 1988, 1992; Mazrui, 1986; Njororai, 2009, 2016).

However, it was not until 1951 that Kenya first participated in an international track and field competition. It took another three years to enter major international competitions, including the 1954 Vancouver Commonwealth Games and the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia (Amin & Moll, 1972; Bhushan, 1987; Tulloh, 1982) where her participation drew attention with gritty performances in distance events from the hero of the 1950s Mr. Nyandika Maiyoro. Since winning the first Olympic medal in 1964, Kenya steadily built a reputation as one of the most efficient medal winners at the Games. The Olympic Games have earned the right to be viewed as the most prestigious international sporting event due to history, tradition, global impact, and universal participation. This competition, which is held after every four years, gathers outstanding athletes

from more than 205 countries and consists of both team and individual sports (Del Corral et al., 2017). The triumphant track and field performances of Kenyan athletes at the summer Olympic Games over the years has earned the country global recognition as a powerhouse in distance running and athletes have been lauded for their extraordinary athletic endeavor and style.

Table 1 below provides a breakdown of Kenya's success at the Olympic Games from 1964 to 2016. It is also worth pointing out that Kenya started winning medals at the Olympic Games a year after gaining its independence.

Table 1: A Breakdown of Kenya's Medal Winners at the Olympics per event and year (Compiled by the author from IAAF.com and IOC.org)

Year	400m	400mh	400m X 4	800m	1500m	3000msc	5000m	10000m	Marathon	Javelin	Boxing	Total
1964	-	-	-	Bronze	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1968	-	-	Silver	Silver	Gold	Gold Silver	Silver Bronze	Gold	-	-	Bronze	9
1972	Bronze	-	Gold	Bronze	Silver	Gold Silver	-	-	-	-	Silver Bronze-2	9
1976	Boycotted											
1980	Boycotted											
1984	-	-	-	-	-	Gold	-	Bronze	-	-	Bronze	3
1988	-	-	-	Gold	Gold	Gold Silver	Gold	Bronze	Silver	-	Gold Bronze	9
1992	Bronze	-	-	Gold Silver	-	Gold Silver Bronze	Silver	Silver	-	-	-	8
1996	-	-	-	Bronze	Bronze	Gold Silver	Silver- 2	Silver	Bronze	-	-	8
2000	-	-	-	-	Gold Bronze	Gold Silver	-	Silver	Silver Bronze	-	-	7
2004	-	-	-	-	Silver	Gold Silver Bronze	Silver Bronze	-	Silver	-	-	7
2008	-	-	-	Gold-2 Silver Bronze	Gold-2	Gold Silver Bronze	Silver Bronze- 2	Bronze-2	Gold Silver	-	-	16
2012	-	-	-	Gold Bronze-2	-	Gold Bronze-2	Silver Bronze	Silver Bronze	Silver-2 Bronze	-	-	13
2016	-	Silver	-	Gold Bronze	Gold	Gold Silver	Gold Silver	Silver-2	Gold-2	Silver	-	13
Total	2	1	2	16	10	25	15	12	12	1	7	103
Total Medals	2 B	1 S	1 G 1 S	6 G 3 S 7 B	6 G 2 S 2 B	11 G 9 S 5 B	2 G 8 S 5 B	1 G 6 S 5 B	3 G 6 S 3 B	1 S	1 G 1 S 5 B	31 G 38 S 34 B

Key: G- Gold, S- Silver, B- Bronze, MH- Meters Hurdles, MSC- Meters steeplechase, M-Meters

Table 1 above shows that the most productive event for Kenya, in terms of medals won, is 3000m steeplechase with 25 (24.04%), followed by 800m with 16 (15.38%) and 5000m at 15 (14.42%) respectively. The other events where Kenya has earned many medals include: 10000m (12 medals, 11.54%), marathon (12 medals, 11.54%), and 1500m 10 medals, (9.62%). It is instructive that the events that have yielded most medals at the Olympic Games are those where Kenya also did well in the 1968 Games, including 800m, 1500m, 3000m, 5000m and 10000m. This shows how consistency and tradition play a big part in its athletic dominance. This specialization on selected middle and distance events means that resources are channeled strategically to maintain the dominance while, at the same time, eliciting more interest from the potential athletes at the local level (Jarvie & Sikes, 2012). This dominance has made Kenya to be ranked among the most efficient performing nations at the Olympic level (Storm et al., 2016). The top relative ranking indicates that Kenya has found an efficient way of using resources to achieve international success in elite sport. One key aspect that a “small economy” like Kenya can effectively mobilize resources to support sport is to specialize in high medal yielding events and track and field events are the best representation of sporting monoculture. Thus, according to Storm et al. (2016), some of the top-ranked nations in the world are sporting monocultures in the sense that they are competitive only in a few sports in which they have a strong tradition and/or competitive advantage. Examples of such sporting monocultures that were highly ranked in 2012 include Jamaica, Kenya and Ethiopia due to their specialization in few competitive running disciplines.

The 3000 meters steeplechase is where Kenya has demonstrated the greatest domination. Indeed, Kenya has won Gold medals in all the last 11 Games, including 1968, 1972, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2012 and 2016 respectively. In some cases, Kenya took all the medals on offer for the men in 1992 and 2004 or two of the medals in 1968, 1972, 1988, 1996, 2000, 2008, 2012 and 2016. This success shows how Kenya has embraced and owned the event. Whoever is selected to run for Kenya in this event has the burden of tradition to fight and win the event. The inclusion of 3000m for women widened the opportunities for Kenyans as the women have also won medals at the 2008, 2012 and 2016 Olympics thereby sustaining the legacy of Kenya's dominance in the event.

The other event that has yielded positive results for Kenya is the 800m. This was the first event for Kenya to win an Olympic medal in 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Since then, the country has won a total of 16 medals with six gold, three silver and seven bronze medals. Just like the steeplechase, both men and women are competitive at this event and have indeed won medals except in 1984, 2000 and 2004, where the country did not win any medals in 800m. In all other Olympic Games, Kenya has won a medal in the event including winning gold medals in 2008, 2012 and 2016. At the 2008 Olympic Games, Kenya turned in an exceptional performance winning four medals in the event, including two for men and two for women.

Apart from 800m, the 5000m event has also yielded 15 medals including two gold, eight silver and five bronze medals. John Ngugi and Vivian Cheruiyot won the two gold medals in 1988 and 2016 respectively. It appears that Kenya has underperformed in this event given that it has brought home only two gold medals, one for men and one for women. Given Kenya's dominance in cross country, half marathon and marathon events, there is a higher expectation for more medals in this event. However, Kenya faced tough competition from Ethiopia, Great Britain via Mohammed Farah and Morocco over the last few years hence making it difficult to win gold medals. The same applies to 10000m where Kenya has won 12 medals including only one gold way back in 1968, six silver and five bronze medals. Again, the stiff competition from runners from Ethiopia, Morocco and Great Britain account for these trends. The events that have yielded more gold, even though

fewer overall medals include marathon (3 gold) and 1500m (6 gold). These two events yielded 10 and 12 medals respectively.

Thus, one can argue that the events where Kenya has comparative advantage in track include 3000m, 800m, 5000m, 10000m, marathon, and 1500m. However, there is room for major improvement and potential to earn more medals in javelin, 400 meters hurdles, 400m and the 400m X 4 relay as the country has won medals in these events too. Therefore, Kenya needs to invest in them and expand the possibilities of winning more medals on a consistent basis rather than doing so sporadically. The country should prioritize identifying potential talents in these events and expose them in age appropriate international competitions. Over time, they may win medals just as women have done since they started being exposed at international level. Thus, although Kenya is identified as a dominant power in distance running, there is indication that it can diversify to add sprints and throws to her portfolio. Tucker et al. (2015) and Santos-Concejero et. al. (2015) described Kenya's dominance in distance running as the most fascinating topic in exercise performance physiology. But as much as the focus around the world is on Kenya's distance running, Table 1 shows that the country has not harnessed and fully exploited the potential in the 400m flat and hurdle events as evidenced by the three medals won as well as the two in the relay way back in 1968 and 1972 Olympiads. Apart from the sprints, Julius Yego, who won the javelin world title in the 2015 World Athletics Championships, also won a silver medal in the 2016 Olympic Games. Although it is only one medal in a field event to date, it shows there is potential that requires harnessing and developing to diversify Kenya's athletic prowess.

To date, Kenya has demonstrated a steady broadening of the events where she not only competes but also wins medals. For example, in 1964, Kenya only won a medal in one event, followed by 6 track events in 1968 and boxing. However, in 2016, Kenya won medals in eight different track and field events. The additional medals from 400m hurdles and Javelin represents a desire to broaden the sources of medals for the country in addition to the sustained grip on the middle and distance events.

Kenya has participated in the Summer Olympics since 1956 to 2016, excluding the boycotted editions in 1976 and 1980 on political grounds. Kenya has won on average nine medals, ranging from one in 1964 to the high of 16 in 2008 (See Figure 1).

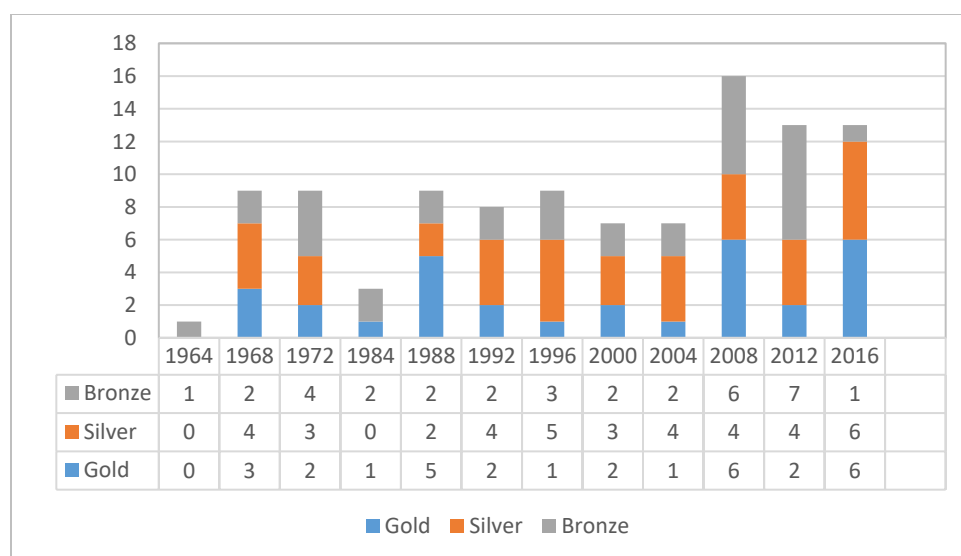


Figure 1: Medals won by Kenya at the Olympic Games, 1964 - 2016

In terms of gold medals, given the heavier weighting that a gold carries, Kenya's best years were in 2008 and 2016 where it took home six gold medals respectively. However, as Table 1 shows, there have been substantial variations over the last 12 editions of the games. The Olympic Games of 2008 were particularly successful followed by the 2016 edition. The historical profile also shows that Kenya's success in the summer Olympics over the last 10 years has increased compared with the previous period. Indeed, Kenya's performance suffered a great deal in 1984 as the country paid heavily for boycotting the Games in 1976 and in 1980. The commercialization of the sport and a mix of improved infrastructure courtesy of the United States of America (USA) based collegiate athletes; locally based, but full-time uniformed forces' representatives and foreign based training camps combined to yield a high medal count in 1988 in six track and two boxing events with five gold, two silver and two bronze medals. These Games also marked a major transition as the Cold War era ended. The Cold War era had been marked by a very strong eastern bloc of nations who practiced highly nationalized and systematic talent development, with domination on the women's side and systematic and uncontrolled doping practices. The period since 1992 has been associated with the fall of the eastern bloc and its dominance, the rise of national talent development and support programs around the globe especially in economically strong nations. All these external and internal factors have likely contributed to the improved medal outcomes for Kenya, especially with the entry into the fold for women who earned the first medal in 1996.

Figure 2 captures the vital contribution of women in winning medals at the Olympic Games even as men seem to have plateaued or in some cases declined. Prior to 1996 Olympic Games, all medals were won by only male athletes. Indeed, only few women were chosen to compete at the Olympic Games. However, since 1996 (see Figure 2), women have increasingly become more competitive and have complimented the accomplishments of the men thereby keeping Kenya in the upper echelons of successful nations in track and field (Njororai, 2015).

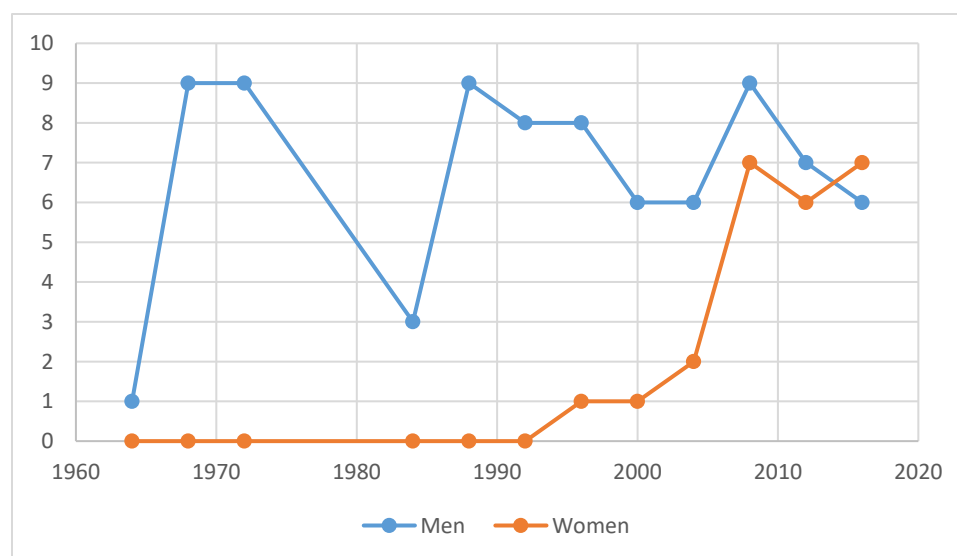


Figure 2: Increasing role of women as medal winners at the Olympic Games

Figure 2 shows that the men have consistently won medals at the Olympic Games since 1964 including winning 9 medals in 1968, 1972, 1988 and 2008. However, women did not win a medal until 1996 and increased to 7, 6 and 7 in 2008, 2012 and 2016 respectively. In terms of percentage,

women won 28.57, 43.75, 46.15 and 53.8 percent of Kenya's medals in the 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016 Athens, Beijing, London and Rio Di Janeiro Olympic Games respectively. It is significant to note that in 2016, women athletes won more medals than the men for Kenya. It appears that whereas Kenya may have plateaued at winning medals by men, there is more room for growth and increase from women participants (Njororai, 2015). Additionally, there is potential for winning medals in nontraditional events such as hurdles, sprints and throws given that Kenya has won some medals in them too.

Roots of Kenya's distance running phenomenon

The consistent top-level performance by Kenyan athletes is grounded in the introduction and availability of the sport to many indigenous people both during the colonial and post-colonial periods. The accessibility of the sport via widespread infrastructure and school-based sport competition program up to national level laid a strong foundation. Over the years, sports have contributed immensely towards the enhancement of the general quality of life of the Kenyan youth, promotion of national patriotism, fostering national unity as well as a positive international profile of the country (Njororai, 2012, 2016). Sports and recreation in general are meaningful outlets for people not only in Kenya but across the globe. The history of sports in Kenya is rooted in the physically active lifestyles of indigenous people prior to the onset of the British rule. The people of Kenya were actively involved in traditional sports such as dance, wrestling, hunting, traditional archery and other sports that were unique to each cultural grouping. However, after the British entry and colonization of the Kenyan nation, new sports such as golf, tennis, cricket, horse racing and polo were introduced exclusive for the European settlers, while soccer, boxing and athletics (i.e. track and field) were for the indigenous people (Mählmann, 1988, 1992; Njororai, 2009, 2016).

The introduction of western sports in Kenya by the British targeted educational institutions which mirrored the institutionalized educational establishments in Great Britain. According to Mazrui (1986), sport is a crucial part of upbringing and education. He argues that the competitiveness of sports in the British school system was transported to Anglophone countries such as Kenya. Indeed, Mazrui attributes the success of the Anglophone countries in international competitions to the competitiveness of sports in the British school system. The foundation for sports, especially for track and field was the countrywide structure that revolved around schools and uniformed forces including Kenya police, prisons and army units. Mission schools such as St. Patrick's, Iten, Cardinal Otunga, Mosoch, Kiganjo Police Training College, Eregi Teachers College, among others were centers of athletic excellence headed by volunteer coaches who were often settlers from Great Britain. The countrywide structure of using Community Development Assistants to promote recreation activities at the locational level led to regional competitions, which produced talented runners and sports men and women, who often ended up in the uniformed forces including Kenya Prisons, Kenya Police, and the Army.

Many runners come from a poor background with few opportunities for elevating their standard of living and that of their larger families. However, school sport offers a glimpse of hope. One needs only to excel in inter-school sports competitions to gain the attention of national athletic officials, foreign university scouts, an outside sponsored club or to earn a job in the uniformed forces (Prisons, Police and Army). If one can then make it for an international race, then a breakthrough is feasible. Historically, successful athletes in school sport secured positions within institutional teams for uniformed forces and other Government and parastatal organizations as well as banks or went abroad on track scholarships to the USA, and later Japan. These options conferred significant advantages as athletes affiliated to an institution or foreign university provided the relevant resources, including technical training, infrastructure and material support to excel in competitions. According

to Jarvie and Sikes (2012) “without this support, it can be difficult to maintain the consistent training that successful long-distance running requires” (p. 637). In the 1970s and 1980s, US-based universities were focal points for harnessing Kenyan’s running talent before the armed forces and foreign-run clubs took over the Kenyan track and field scene in the late 1980s and after once the sport had been commercialized and professionalized. Institutionalization of sport in Kenya by the colonial and post-colonial Governments laid a strong foundation for the country’s eventual success in international athletics arena.

Apart from the external influence by the British colonizers, the success of Anglophone countries in sports, especially Kenya, has also to be traced back to the smooth transition from the indigenous cultures to the modern western sporting tastes. The indigenous people were quick to adopt the western sports, as they possessed athleticism and passion for physical movement culture. Other reasons advanced by Mazrui (1986), and later echoed by Wilber and Pitsiladis (2012) and Santos-Concejero et al. (2015), indicate Kenya’s success in distance running include the environmental factor. Specifically, Mazrui argues that living and competing at high altitude for most of the runners gives a major advantage in middle and distance running. The advantages of living at altitude, however, go hand-in-hand with other factors as high altitude exists all over the globe, yet elite runners mainly come from the East African Highlands.

One of Mazrui’s (1986) reasons for Kenya’s success being rooted in in the physical training culture of the armed forces and the police makes a lot of sense. Indeed, most pioneer runners were associated with the Kenya Police, Prisons and Army (Jarvis & Sikes, 2012). These units tend to employ persons who must exhibit above average running ability, good physical condition and, when subjected to intense training and conditioning, tend to emerge to compete locally and even internationally. The role of schools as centers of sports excellence and the recruitment of talented athletes into uniformed forces combined to produce the Olympic team members in the 1960s. For example, Wilson Kiprugut, Kipchoge Keino, among others were employees of the Kenya Police Force, while Amos Biwott, was still a high school student at the time he won a gold medal at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. The success of Kenyan athletes drawn from schools elicited interest from American Universities and in the 1970s and 1980s, USA based athletes played a key role.

The other additional factors that Mazrui (1986) advances to explain Kenya’s success with running include the fact that the successful runners tend to come from communities where the indigenous culture places high value on athletics and sports in general. Researchers have given credence to this observation. According to Santos-Concejero et al. (2015), the Kalenjin ethnic group dominate distance running events at the Olympic Games, and other competitions, happen to be born and raised at high altitude. According to these authors, this early-life factor may influence fetal growth, particularly in individuals of multigenerational high-altitude ancestry. This may in turn have implications for later-life endurance performance, including a reduction in the degree to which arterial desaturation occurs during heavy exercise in elite performers. To complement the altitude factor, is the high levels of physical activity during their early childhood (Gibson et al., 2013; Ojiambo et al., 2013). It appears that the effects of considerable levels of physical activity during childhood lead to increased left ventricular mass, neuronal growth, and augmented cerebral circulation through increased vascularization of the brain (Santos-Concejero et al., 2015).

Finally, Mazrui (1986) also identifies athletics as a culture-neutral sport, which did not have any barriers to African participation. Thus, the fact that the indigenous cultures heavily favored physical activity, there were no cultural, and institutional restrictions to indigenous people’s participation led to embracing of athletics. Indeed, the local people embraced and heavily promoted track and field. Most educational institutions from primary to tertiary levels had to have basic provisions for track and field prior to opening doors to students. Apart from athletics, other sports

that were provided for in terms of basic infrastructure were soccer for boys, volleyball for both girls and boys and netball for girls. These opportunities for early life physical activity endowed the prospective elite athletes with lifelong benefits to their physiological function (Santos-Concejero et al., 2015) as well as the personal motivation to escape from poverty (Jarvie & Sikes, 2012).

Why the Success?

The Kenyan distance running success story has continued to generate curiosity and academic interest from various scholars across the globe. The astounding athletic performances by runners from Kenya are illustrated by the recent results at some international athletic competitions, which reveal consistent competitiveness from junior to senior levels. Indeed, Pitsiladis et al. (2004) declared the Kenyan distance running success story the best in the world. Tucker et al. (2015) and Santos-Concejero et al. (2015), described Kenya's dominance in distance-running events as one of the most fascinating topics in exercise performance physiology. Kenya's emergence and dominance in distance running is illustrated by an increase in the contribution of Kenyan men in the top-20 all-time performances in the track distance events (800-m and upward) from 13.3% in 1986 to 55.8% in 2003. Also, Kenyan (by birth) men have won 43 out of a possible 108 medals (41%) in distance events at the Olympic Games since 1990 and have won the team title at 24 of the last 27 world cross-country championships dating back to 1986.

Reflecting the zero-sum game nature of the Olympic medal chase, specific medal outcomes are influenced by both internal (personal performance) and external (everyone else's performance) variables. Only a few countries (i.e., the USA, China, Russia, Great Britain, and Germany) have the challenging combination of large population, diverse sports culture, rich economy, favorable seasonal conditions, national coaching expertise, and well-developed facilities as well as infrastructure to make themselves podium candidates in almost all summer Olympics sports (Seiler, 2013). For smaller countries, achieving Olympic success depends heavily on a few sports where they have a competitive advantage, and Kenya has established a winning tradition in track and field especially in the middle and distance events that are highly dependent on endurance.

Pitsiladis et al. (2004) observe that the unparalleled achievements of Kenyan runners on the international running circuit are in stark contrast to Kenya's economic/social infrastructure, where it ranks poorly in nearly every social and economic category (e.g. life expectancy, per capital income and child mortality). This dominance of Kenyan athletes at international distance running events over the last four decades is among the most remarkable examples of variation in human physiology and performance (Santos-Concejero et al., 2015; Wilber & Pitsiladis, 2012). Various studies have proposed a combination of favorable somatotypical characteristics leading to exceptional running economy (Saltin et al., 1995; Vernillo et al., 2013), environmental factors including chronic exposure to high altitude (Larsen, 2003), targeted moderate-volume, high-intensity training (Billat et al., 2003), strong motivation (Jarvae & Sikes, 2012; Onywera et al., 2006), higher efficacy in the use of the recoil of elastic energy from the tendinous structures (Sano et al., 2013), favorable oxidative enzyme profile (Saltin et al., 1995), and genetic factors (Entine, 2000; Noakes, 1998; Scott et al., 2009; Tucker, 2013) to explain this dominance. These varied explanations demonstrate the challenge of identifying one factor that can fully explain this astounding performance by Kenyan athletes. Indeed, multifactorial explanations for the elite Kenyan distance running are more plausible than single factor approaches (Mazrui, 1986; Njororai, 2007a, 2010, 2012, 2016; Santos-Concejero et al., 2015; Scott & Pitsiladis 2006, 2007; Tucker et al., 2015); Wilber & Pitsiladis, 2012).

Indeed, one of the earlier explanations for Kenya's dominance in middle and long-distance running was that runners having a genetic advantage (Entine, 2000; Noakes, 1998). However, discounting the genetic advantage argument, pioneer runners always insist that what it took for them

to succeed at the highest level was hard work in training, a natural and balanced diet, rest and a burning desire to succeed. However, in trying to explain the success of Kenyan runners, many scientists seem to downplay the role of personal ambition and training in favor of living at altitude and having a unique genetic makeup. Indeed, the central thesis in Entine's (2000) argument is that the Kenyan runners and the Black race in general are genetically advantaged. However, research by Scott and Pitsiladis (2006, 2007), Tucker et al., (2015) and Wilber and Pitsiladis (2012) acknowledged that genetic studies have not identified anything unique among Kenyan runners and, therefore, concluded that environmental factors appear more influential than genetics in distance running success. According to Scott and Pitsiladis (2007), "research on the genetics of the African running phenomenon demonstrates that the athletes, although arising from distinct regions of east Africa, do not arise from long-term limited genetic isolate . . . environmental factors appear more influential than genetic in distance running success" (2007, p. 426). This finding, therefore, counters Entine's argument that Kenya athletes only excel because of their unique genetic makeup. Tucker et al. (2015) also argue that attributing Kenyan runners' success to a single gene association with performance are oversimplified for numerous reasons, while at the same time not discounting a role for genetics in explaining the success. In addition, the authors go on to explain that social, environmental, lifestyle, and cultural factors would be expected to exert effects on tribes that are, by definition, tightly geographically and linguistically bound. According to Tucker et al. (2015), research has yet to reveal a gene or even a combination of genes that is conclusively linked to performance, though given complex physiology, the extremely small sample of elite athletes, the limited scope of single-gene-association studies, and the difficulty of finding appropriate controls, this is unsurprising. Therefore, according to Scott and Pitsiladis (2006, 2007), Tucker et al., (2015) and Wilber and Pitsiladis (2012), the complex multifactorial interaction of physiology and environmental factors remain the most accurate current explanation for the observed success. Similar conclusions have been articulated by Santos-Concejero et al. (2015), who argue that being born at altitude and having a physical active lifestyle in childhood has bestowed physiological advantages to the Kenyan runners. This confirms that the environmental forces have influenced the individual athletes' physiological makeup (Santos-Concejero et al., 2015) as well as instilled a desire to escape from poverty hence their unparalleled work ethic in training and competition (Jarvie & Sikes, 2012).

Literature shows that success in sports performance is dependent on various factors. For Kenyan distance running, the following factors are essential: favorable social support, early life active living, training, individual commitment, favorable geographic features including free space and altitude, an appropriate constitutional makeup of the athletes for distance running and some reasonably innate running ability (Noakes, 1998; Wilber & Pitsiladis, 2012). This fits in well with the performance paradigm, which suggests that success in sports is due to harmony of internal and external factors (Njororai, 2003, 2007a, 2016; Singh, 1982). The importance of social and cultural factors is, therefore, critical in translating the innate genetic potential into reality in the competitive arena, especially at the Olympic level where only the best representatives from each country show up to compete for medals. It is important to point out that the pioneer runners in Kenya were disproportionately from the Kalenjin ethnic grouping and this trend continues to date. It is plausible that these early successes and national and international visibility became a key driver of the disproportionate Kalenjin success, where the achievements of runners, like Kiprugut Chumo, Kipchoge Keino, Amos Biwott, Michael Boit, Ben Jipcho and others, from the Kalenjin community helped to drive interest, participation, and dedicated recruitment of runners from the region and community. This initial success, therefore, caused a circle of success that continues to evolve and deepen to present day. This is in line with the common phrase: success breeds success. Hence, subsequent success of Kalenjin runners may have been inspired by the pioneer community members

and continues to inspire further success within the same community, driven by economic and financial incentives that characterize modern professional sports. This has, incidentally, also contributed to the massive number of athletes from Kenya changing national allegiance to run for other countries like Qatar and Bahrain where they are generously compensated financially (Njororai, 2012, 2015, 2016). This modeling of success by athletes is critical in shaping the aspirations of young people closest to them culturally and geographically. A study by Onywera et al. (2006), found that one-third of Kenyan International runners became athletes for economic empowerment. Similarly, Jarvie and Sikes (2012) established that majority of Kenyan women runners declared money as their primary motivation for taking up running (49.2%), followed by role models (22%), significant others (12%), Olympic Games (6%), and to earn athletics scholarship (5.5%). All these are extrinsic rewards for taking up athletics. On the other hand, intrinsic motivations such as running for fitness (3.5%) or fun (1.5%) played minor roles. Indeed, the emphasis on financial rewards for the successful runners in the media continues to fuel interest in running by aspiring young talents in Kenya. According to Tucker et al. (2015), it is not inconceivable that similar success in the various Kalenjin subtribes may have inspired a form of imitation leading to subsequent success and the observed increased likelihood of certain groups' success.

According to the Performance Factors Model, key internal factors for athletic success include: constitution (genetics/physique), athletic condition because of hard training, desire to succeed mirrored in a psychological framework due to upbringing and modeling and individual technique and tactics due to training and coaching (Njororai, 2007a, 2016; Phillips et al., 2010). External factors that could have lent a hand include: a political climate of peace and stability at national level, an educational system that provides room for sports training and competition from the grass-root to the international level, a widespread running infrastructure as well as recognition of pioneer runners as role models, success in international competitions, coaching, local and national competition structure, external funding for training, exposure and travel opportunities, environmental conditions ideal for training at altitude and lack of automation, which allow for more physical activity. The combination of one's genetic make-up is only a foundation upon which success can be built through hard work. A lot of potentially good athletes, and even players in disciplines like soccer, have retired at high school because they never had the burning desire and the patience to work towards the accomplishment of set goals (Njororai, 2007b).

The Performance Factors Model, therefore, goes beyond the dualistic historical debate on the relative influence of genes (nature) (Entine, 2000) and environment (nurture) (Scott & Pitsiladis, 2006, 2007), which has characterized the academic interest in Kenya's success in distance running, which often ignore the interactive nature of both genetics and the environment. Researchers, such as Davids and Baker (2007) and Phillips et al. (2010), discount the dualistic positions of nature and nurture on sports performance and, instead, advocate for a dynamical system theory as a multidisciplinary theoretical rationale, which argues that multiple interacting constraints shape the development of elite performers. According to Phillips et al. (2010), genetic diversity may be responsible for a small part of training or performance response differences between individuals, and only when there is a favorable interaction with vital environmental constraints are performance benefits observed. Thus, elite level performance of an individual must be understood at the level of individual interactions with key environmental and task constraints. The authors go on to state what many African athletes have argued, that the acquisition of expertise is domain specific and involves adaptation to performance environments through satisfying unique constraints that impinge on each developing expert. Expertise acquisition emphasizes the changing nature of the performer-environment relationship through development, and gaining experience through training, practice, coaching and competing (Phillips et al., 2010).

According to Larsen (2003), training is a key component in facilitating elite runners to run at top speeds while maintaining high levels of economy and utilizing their Maximum Oxygen Uptake or VO (2max). According to him, critical physiological factors for performance in running are maximal oxygen consumption (VO (2max)), fractional VO (2max) utilization and running economy. According to his research findings, Kenyan and Caucasian elite runners can reach very high, but similar maximal oxygen uptake levels, compared to the VO (2max) of Black South African elite runners, seems to be slightly lower. Further investigation showed that Black South African runners can sustain the highest fraction of VO (2max) compared to their white counterparts during long distance running. A similar research on adolescent Kenyan and Caucasian boys show that these boys are running at a similar percentage of VO (2max) during competition. One fundamental finding on Kenyan elite runners was the fact that they were able to run at a high % of VO (2max), which must then have been achieved by training. According to Larsen (2003), a lower energy cost of running has been demonstrated in Kenyan elite runners and in untrained adolescent Kenyan boys compared to their Caucasian counterparts. In agreement to this are the results from studies on Black South African elite runners who have shown similar low energy costs during running as the Kenyan elite runners. Larsen's (2003) conclusion that the good running economy cannot be explained by differences in muscle fiber type as they are the same in Kenyan and Caucasian runners, makes a lot of sense. The same is true when comparing untrained adolescent Kenyan boys with their Caucasian counterparts. However, one unique feature of Kenyan distance runners is their body physique. Larsen (2003), therefore, argues that a difference exists in BMI and body shape, and the Kenyans' long, slender legs could be advantageous when running as the energy cost when running is a function of leg mass. But of significance is the Kenyan athletes' response to training given their unique physique and exposure to rigorous training. Studies comparing the response to training of Kenyans and Caucasians have shown similar trainability with respect to VO (2max), running economy and oxidative enzymes. In conclusion, it appears that running at a high fractional VO (2max) and having a good running economy may be the primary factors favoring the good performance of endurance athletes rather than them having a higher VO (2max) than other elite runners. But most significantly, having the proper genes to shape their bodies and thereby contributing to a good running economy, the Kenyan elite runners have trained effectively and used their potential to be in the upper range both regarding VO (2max) and to a high utilization of this capacity during endurance running. But behind all the training is the motivation and desire to apply themselves to be successful on the track and in life. Therefore, a positive interaction between nature and nurture coupled with an individual's ambition to escape poverty and lead a good life, ability and attitude are keys to the success of Kenyan distance running phenomenon.

Conclusion

Kenya has excelled at the summer Olympic Games by specializing and harnessing her potential in track and field for over five decades. The events in which Kenyans have been outstanding include the middle and distance running. To date, Kenya has won 104 Medals at the Olympic Games with 97 (93.27%) being in athletics and the remaining 07 (6.73%) from boxing. Out of the 97 won in athletics, 91 (93.81%) were in middle and distance events. Additionally, women have won 24 (24.74%) medals compared to 73 (75.26%) won by the men in track and field. In 2016 Rio Olympic Games, the Kenyan women won 7 medals compared to 6 won by the men. This kind of success shows the need for sustained diversification in the events where Kenya can win medals. From the analysis, there is room for improvement in sprints, hurdles and throws as Kenya has won some medals albeit on a sporadic basis. Although the anthropometric, anthropological, physiological, psychological, political economy, and sociocultural basis for the rise and dominance of Kenyan

distance runners at the Olympic Games have been the subject of research and opinion in both the scientific literature and the lay media for a long time, no single factor can explain the success. According to Tucker et al. (2015), the complex physiology that underpins running performance is multifactorial, so the rise and subsequent disproportionate success of a relatively small population is unlikely to be explained by any single factor. These authors continue to argue that simplified or extreme positions that attribute success to either environment and lifestyle or genes and physiology are thus futile and incomplete. However, the successful performance of the Kenyan middle and distance runners at the Olympic Games is a product of dynamic interactions between genetic makeup of the athletes and an enabling environment leading to elite performance. Thus, the Kenyan runners have capitalized on their innate ability, which interacts with their ambition and work ethic, as well as an enabling sociopolitical environment to excel in distance running to the envy of countries with a better economic foundation. This same success can and should be replicated for all the other sporting disciplines in Kenya and around the African continent. Additionally, Kenya needs to nurture and sustain a more favorable socioeconomic and political environment for athletes to thrive locally to avoid the temptation of going to run for other countries as has been the case in the last 20 years.

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Sustainability of early childhood education in Kenya: Where are we at the beginning of sustainable development goals?

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Abstract

Sustainability of Early Childhood Education (ECE) resulting from various investment efforts can be assessed from progressive synergistic efforts by multiple partners in ECE in specific contexts. Therefore, to appraise the achievements so far attained in ECE in Kenya, we assessed these achievements as part of focusing on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through the lens of specific stakeholders, identified efforts which helped to steer the then Millennium Development Goals, turned SDGs from 2015. Through the review of literature, this paper traces some of the milestones that have shaped ECE education in Kenya, focusing on efforts by development partners and national government in advocacy, policy making, curriculum development, capacity building, and teacher training. More critically, the paper explores the foundations laid by these partnerships in developing sustainable ECE, while reinforcing the value of partnerships in strengthening ECE. Overall, the purpose of the paper is to provide a critique about some of the achievements in ECE in Kenya through development partners and the lessons learned relevant to a sustainable development framework.

Keywords: Early Childhood Education, Kenya, Development Partners, Sustainability

Introduction

Much is written about Africa today, and much of it is not hopeful. Daily, the world hears stories of disease, despair, and death. Such a litany of misery is not unfounded—but there are also stories of hope, promise, and potential. They too are a critically important part of the complex story of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in the first years of the 21st century. Just as multiple stories exist, so are multiple perspectives needed to understand, envision, and plan a hopeful future for Africa's children. (Pence et al., 2008, p.1)

This quote exemplifies some stories we hear about early childhood education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Winthrop (2010) notes that, “a focus of early years is particularly important in Africa, where children face a multitude of disadvantages before they can enter the school yard. More than a third of the deaths worldwide of children under five years old occur in Africa” (p. 193), and “nearly all of the children lack access to early childhood education” (p. 193). In addition, according to UNESCO, “after close to half a century of public investments in education, health and welfare, African countries are still characterized by large populations that are mostly illiterate or poorly educated, sick, income poor, knowledge and technology poor, malnourished or undernourished” (UNESCO Office Dakar, 2010, p. 3). Further, “in sub-Saharan Africa, millions of children enter school each year with learning difficulties due to malnutrition, health problems, poverty, and lack of access to pre-primary education,” (UNESCO Office Dakar, 2010, p. 25).

Much has been written about many aspects of Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Kenya (Kipkorir & Njenga, 1993; Prochner & Kabiru, 2008; Nusia, 2010; Harris, 2012), but less on how it connects with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Before we connect SDGs to ECE, we first must differentiate between Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and SDGs. After conceptualizing these terms, we justify the connection between SDGs and Education in general,

before providing a nexus between ECE and SDGs. This will be followed by an evaluation of the role of ECE partners in the Kenya context and the challenges and lessons drawn from such partnerships for sustainable development. We examine the growth and sustainability of ECE in Kenya. We discuss some of the achievements in ECE in Kenya through development partners, potential challenges of such partnerships and lessons that can be drawn to inform a sustainable development framework. The paper is presented in three sections: 1) the development of ECE in Kenya; 2) how efforts of ECE development partners generated sustainability of ECE in Kenya; and, 3) sustainability of ECE in Kenya post funding from development partners.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

In September 2000, the United Nations (UN) meeting in New York initiated the UN Millennium Declaration committing nations to a new global agenda to eradicate extreme poverty by end of 2015 through eight strategic areas (see Table 1 for MDGs).

Table 1: *The Eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2. Achieve universal primary education 3. Promote gender equality and empower women 4. Reduce child mortality 5. Improve maternal health 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8. Develop a global partnership for development

Source, World Health Organization (2020): Millennium Development Goals

A constituent body, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), capture the origins of the concept of sustainability succinctly, as described in the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainability is a paradigm for thinking about a future in which environmental, social and economic considerations are balanced in the pursuit of development and an improved quality of life” (UNESCO, 2012, p.5). All the three components, environment, social and economic are intricately linked to how well a nation is educated. Directly, education impacts the earnings of a population, while its effects on an individual level influences how one thinks in relation to his or her environment. Globally, however, the concept of sustainability could no longer be considered separate from the three components, but rather as parts of a whole (UNESCO, 2012).

The question to ask then is how we can link the historical development and the role of partners in ECE development in Kenya to the concept of sustainability. In September 2015, at the end of the MDGs time frame, the international community, Kenya included, converged again at the United Nations in New York to review achievements made to date. Upon this review, the appraisal noted that not only had the eight MDG goals been barely achieved, but also the development gaps between the developed and developing regions widened in favor of the developed world, while reinforcing intra-in country inequalities in the developing world. Moreover, against the backdrop of global warming, there was a new global concern about the threat caused by the increased global human population against the diminishing human resources, which was not commensurate to the renewal of natural resources.

Therefore, the global leaders' meeting in New York 2015 endorsed SDGs as a new global development agenda to end extreme poverty, reduce inequality, and protect the planet by 2030 (see Table 2 for SDGs).

Table 2: *The Seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)*

1. No poverty	10. Reduced inequalities
2. Zero hunger	11. Sustainable cities and communities
3. Good health and wellbeing	12. Responsible consumption and production
4. Quality education	13. Climate action
5. Gender equality	14. Life below water
6. Clean water and sanitation	15. Life on land
7. Affordable and clean energy	16. Peace, justice and strong institutions
8. Decent work and economic growth	17. Partnerships for the goals
9. Industry, innovation and infrastructure	

Source, United Nations Foundation (2020): Sustainable Development Goals

Within the SDGs framework, 17 goals were outlined, but primarily, our connection to SDGs links with the fourth goal, which seeks to ensure inclusive and sustainable education for all. While it might appear that the global overview of the SDGs is remotely related to sustainability in ECE as the primary endeavor of this paper, the fourth SDG goal justifies our quest. While SDGs generally aim at focusing the global community towards common ideals that support thriving human life, one avenue to ensure and improve the quality of human life intricately connects to the quality of ECE.

Investment in ECE and SDGs

In this paper, we argue that investment in ECE and the interest on Early Childhood Curriculum Development (ECCD), connects to sustainable development because quality education, which is founded on a strong ECE bolsters individual, social, economic and environmental quality. Therefore, ECE as a priority ought to increasingly become an emerging global progressive approach to bolstering all spheres of human existence, both at the national and international levels. Otherwise, poverty, arising from little or poor quality education, can create inequalities detrimental to individuals from disadvantaged or less resourced families or national contexts (Walker et al., 2011). Walker et al. (2011) succinctly state, "more than 200 million children younger than 5 years from low-income and middle-income countries were not attaining their developmental potential, primarily because of poverty, nutritional deficiencies, and inadequate learning opportunities" (p. 1325)

Specific to ECE focus, developmental psychology affirms the critical role of the early childhood period as a time of both great opportunity and considerable risk and its influence can extend over a lifetime (Shonkoff, 2010, p. 365). For both men and women, Nikolopoulou et al. (2010), acclaim the value of education as a means of capacitation of personal growth:

Education is an indispensable means to give to all women and men in the world the capacity to own their own lives, to exercise personal choice and responsibility, to learn throughout life without frontiers, be they geographical, political, cultural, religious, linguistic, or gender. (2010, p. xi)

However, a realization of this promise of education cannot be achieved without the synergy and collaboration with other nations in the global community. Thus, given the value of an interdependent and an interconnected globalized community, nations currently acknowledge a

collaborative endeavor towards the attainment of the SDGs for human equity and social justice across nations. Whether these expectations are valid, justified or attainable given the divergent resource availability across contexts, remains debatable. However, given the international community's pronouncements on their commitment to SDGs, there is an emerging global interest for equity of human existence through the provision of quality education for all.

To focus on education as part of bolstering human existence across nations, is to acknowledge the inherent value of education for all humans, regardless of different levels of national resources. Pushing the boundaries of the concept of sustainability further to justify our connection between sustainability and overall human wellbeing, UNESCO reminds that "the ideals and principles that underlie sustainability include broad concepts such as equity among generations, gender equity, peace, tolerance, poverty reduction, environmental preservation and restoration, natural resource conservation, and social justice" (2012, p.5).

Evidently, the sustainability of these goals relies on a well-educated human resource-base at all sectors of the economy, but which begins rightly and strongly in ECE. A strong ECE synergistic framework translates to long-term benefits, both for the individual and for the society. The development of ECE in Kenya, as an example of synergy in development is a primer for SDGs attainment; if efforts so far could be bolstered at higher levels of learning, beyond ECE.

Unquestionably, an educated population is a return on investment, as it is a major driver of the SDG goals. According to the United Nations (UN), among the greatest challenges facing many countries today are inadequate human capital investment and high unemployment rates among youth, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, where there are still low literacy rates. Within a globalized economy, education plays a critical role in all the spheres of the SDGs, social, economic and environmental; yet an "inadequate investment in the health and education of young people limits their ability to reach their full productive potential and to contribute to economic development" (United Nations, 2015, p.2). A well-founded education begins in early childhood, and the reason we trace the emergence and sustainability of ECE efforts in Kenya.

To support and justify investment in ECE, previous decades of research have secured scientific evidence about the long-term value of mindful Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) benefits for families and nations (Belsky et al., 2007; Centre on the Developing Child, 2007; Shonkoff, 2010). Landmark longitudinal studies have established the long-term effects of early childhood experiences on the development of children as well as their development later as adults. Such studies include the popular Carolina Abecedarian Project of 1972 designed to explore whether a stimulating early childhood environment could prevent the development of mild mental retardation in disadvantaged children (cited by Campbell et al., 2014, p. 1478), suggesting the effects of quality ECE can last into adulthood. Regardless of inter-regional variability of outcomes, generally, like many others before, Save the Children (2012, p. 2) persuasively justify investment in ECE due to the following reasons, it:

1. Remains critical to achieving Millennium Development Goals 2, 3, 4 and 5 and SDGs.
2. Helps governments achieve equity in education from children's early years.
3. Ensures that parents value education from children's early years onwards.
4. Guarantees all children a strong developmental foundation.
5. Is one of the best investments countries can make to improve children's lives, ultimately bringing high returns in investment.

In this paper, we attempt to examine the importance of investing in ECE in Kenya and to further understand the role that ECE plays in SDGs. Indeed, investment in ECE is a worthy cause; it not only results in quality education but also sustainable development that impacts individual, social, economic and environmental quality.

Methodology

A review of literature for this paper involved a search of relevant documents from the Ministry of Education in Kenya and three key international partners that played a role in development of ECE in Kenya. These partners were Bernard Van Leer Foundation (BVLf), The World Bank and The Aga Khan Foundation. The documents for review were selected based on the relevance of the content to the history of the partnerships, ECE programs and initiatives established at the national and district levels, and source of funding for the programs. The documents were also selected based on the relevance of information on institutions for capacity building and sustainability of ECE in Kenya that arose from the partnerships. Finally, two legal documents, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) and Kenya Education Act (2012) were selected for review as they contain laws pertaining to roles of the national government and counties in the devolved system of government.

The following key terms were used in the search: History of ECE in Kenya, BVLf and ECE in Kenya, Aga Khan Foundation and ECE in Kenya, sustainability of ECE in Kenya, roles of National government and counties in ECE. Criteria for literature search included;

1. Documents from the Ministry of Education in Kenya related to ECE from 1970-2010.
2. Documents on ECE partnerships between BVLf and the Ministry of Education in Kenya.
3. Documents on funding of ECE in Kenya by the World Bank.
4. Documents on ECE partnership between Aga Khan Foundation and Ministry of Education.
5. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) and Kenya Education Act (2012).

The search results produced forty relevant publications out of which twenty-five that met the criteria for selection were reviewed for this paper.

The documents were public records found online and on websites of the entities. Documents about ECE in Kenya were in the public domain and were obtainable without the author's permission. In addition, the documents provided names of personnel who facilitated the ECE partnerships and details of the ECE outcomes of implementation of the partnerships.

Findings

After reviewing the literature, the following were found to be critical to our study: first, role of partners in development of ECE in Kenya; second, efforts of development partners in sustainability of ECE in Kenya, and third was the sustainability of Kenya's ECE post funding from development partners. These findings are discussed in the section that follows.

a.) Role of Partners in the Development of ECE in Kenya

The efforts seen in the structural, multi-sectoral approach to ECE in Kenya arose from multiple partners working to initiate ECE programs. These partners include; World Bank, Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Aga Khan Foundation, and the Kenyan government among others, that synergized at different levels to establish formal ECE in Kenya.

Role of Bernard Van Leer Foundation and World Bank in ECE in Kenya

Today there is no country in Africa like Kenya in terms of the reach of [Early Childhood Development]. That system exists today because of the work of the Bernard van Leer Foundation. (Garcia - The World Bank, cited in Bernard Van Leer Foundation, 2019, p.1)

Initial concerted efforts between the World Bank and Bernard Van Leer Foundation (BVLf) led to the first formal approach to ECE for all children in Kenya. Prior to independence, formal preschools in Kenya were established for children of the White settlers and Asian communities (May, 1997). The preschool model varied over time, beginning with the infant school,

and later adding ideas from the kindergarten, and the nursery school in the 20th century (Prochner & Kabiru, 2008). At that time, there were informal child sectors set up for mothers working as laborers in colonial plantations. The first daycares started in the 1940s by and for the exclusive use of the European and Asian communities confirm the long tradition of preschool education in Kenya (Kipkorir & Njenga, 1993). Later, daycares were developed in African locations in urban areas and in coffee, tea and sugar plantations, and were expanded throughout the country after independence in 1963.

Post-Independent Kenya mainly focused on primary school education, with little focus toward ECE development. However, in the 1970's, BVLf partnered with KIE to establish formal ECE in Kenya (Bernard Van Leer Foundation, 2019). The increasing number of students were taught by untrained teachers, creating a need to structure the approach to ECE. Kipkorir and Njenga (1993) wrote:

To address the situation presented by the ever-increasing numbers of preschools and the lack of appropriate support for them, in 1991 the Kenya government, with assistance from the Bernard Van Leer Foundation created the Preschool Education Project, based at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE). The objective of the project was to improve the quality of preschool education through the development of viable training systems, and the creation of curriculum and other support materials for use by trainers, teachers and children. (p.1)

BVLf interest in Kenya followed prior ECE initiatives in Jamaica. BVLf were looking for a partner in Africa and may have chosen Kenya due to its similarities to Jamaica in language, political and historical factors. Kenya obtained independence from Britain in 1963, almost the same time as Jamaica's in 1962 and both countries did not have an established ECE program. Thus, with experiences previously gained from Jamaica, BVLf was looking for an opportunity in Africa to support similar initiatives.

The Foundation had gained experience supporting early childhood education in Jamaica and was looking for an African country to pioneer similar work in a new context. The collaboration with the government of Kenya that started in 1971 would endure for four decades. (Bernard Van Leer Foundation, 2019, p.1)

BVLf invested a substantial amount of time and money in ECE in Kenya. "From 1971 to 2010, the Foundation invested over 30 million Euros in Kenya" (Bernard Van Leer Foundation, 2019, p.1). The funding from World Bank was instrumental in BVLf's work in Kenya including, development of a systematic approach to ECE curriculum, needs assessment, curriculum development, material production and teacher training. Additionally, BVLf established the National Center for Early Childhood Education (NACECE), tasked with providing leadership, disseminating knowledge on the needs of young children and families, training teacher trainers, developing curricula and learning materials, and establishing a decentralized network of ECE across the country through the District Centers for Early Childhood Education (DICECEs).

Role of World Bank in ECE Development in Kenya

The work initiated in ECE in Kenya by BVLf gave visibility to the need to attract more attention to its development, within the then limited resources and priority to ECE. The World Bank acknowledged this need by providing a loan of \$28 Million to fund Kenya's ECE. This financial support expanded access to preschools to 60% of the population (Bernard Van Leer Foundation,

2019). In addition, the Ministry of Education formally accepted responsibility for providing early childhood education, although this remained at the policy level until the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 that gave impetus to ECE funding through the newly devolved county governments.

Through the efforts of partnerships between BVLf, World Bank and the Kenyan government, there currently exists a very robust ECE national curriculum. This ECE framework was abrogated to the county governments when the new constitution was adopted in 2010 (National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). In addition, many Universities in Kenya now offer ECE degrees at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. It could then be argued, rightly, BVLf and the World Bank gave Kenya's ECE a formalized, conventional approach that acknowledged its role as a strong foundation to schooling. Hence, Kenya has advanced its ECE development in Africa as a result of its long-term partnership with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation and the World Bank.

Role of Aga Khan Foundation in ECE development in Kenya

The Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) in Kenya is another indispensable partner that has contributed in various ways to the development of ECE. AKF, an agency of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) has been engaged in provision of education in Kenya for almost 100 years. The first Aga Khan High School was opened in Mombasa in 1918 and programs have continued to expand from ECE to University levels (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018a).

Kenya's ECE benefits from AKDN through its focused initiatives of helping parents and communities to provide a strong foundation to children's wellbeing and development. It runs a preschool program "*Madrassa*" to support locally initiated early childhood centers in Kenya. Currently, the Aga Khan Education Services has several nursery schools within Kenya, as they aim to support quality educational experiences for children. These services are anchored on contextually relevant teaching, promote best practices, and integrate families.

Through the initiative of His Highness The Aga Khan, "The *Madrassa* Program was first implemented in 1986 in Mombasa, after Muslim leaders from Kenya's Coastal region requested assistance in improving the overall level of educational achievement of their children" (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018b, p.1). Thereafter, four other pilot schools were established in consultation with local educators, community leaders and parents to create pilot *Madrassa* pre-schools in Mombasa. These pilot schools later expanded to support students, teachers and community members, not only from amongst the Muslim community, but also from other faiths. These *Madrassa* modeled schools are the basis of sustainability of ECE in the coastal region.

Thus, "since its inception, the Program, anchored by Madrasa Resource Centers (MRC), has assisted poor communities to establish, manage and support sustainable quality pre-schools offering holistic development opportunities to young children" (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018b, p 1). Some initiatives of the program are training of teachers and school managements, sensitizing the community on the importance of ECE and engaging government and other stakeholders in robust processes of policy generation (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018b). The various efforts from the AKDN have contributed tremendously to ECE in Kenya.

Since 1986, Madrasa Resource Centre in Kenya (MRCK) has trained over 500 Madrasa community pre-school teachers and has benefited nearly 7,800 students. MRCK has trained over 675 school management committee members (47% women) and more than 125 community resource team members (69% women). As of 2007, MRCK was working with over 75 community pre-schools throughout Kenya with nearly 2,900 students enrolled (48% girls). The program's integrated curriculum has influenced national policy and practice and

has trained and supported over 2,000 pre-school teachers. Through its whole-school approach, the Foundation has supported over 1,050 community-based pre-schools attached to public primary schools, benefiting over 350,000 children. (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018b, p 1)

In conclusion, Aga Khan Foundation has played a critical role in ECE in Kenya, in capacity building, family and community empowerment with the overall goal of establishing sustainable ECE frameworks that benefit not only the current but also future generations.

b.) Efforts of ECE Development Partners and Sustainability of ECE in Kenya

The efforts of ECE partners led to establishment of Kenya Institute of Education (now Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development [KICD]), NACECE, and DICECE. These three became the foundational structures for ECE administration, expansion, building of physical structures, curriculum development, teacher training and capacity building. These structures were also instrumental in generating sustainability of ECE in Kenya at the end of the partnerships.

Sustainability of ECE in Kenya through Capacity Building

Efforts of ECE development partners in capacity building focused on the following areas that are key in quality and sustainability of ECE: a) quality teacher training, b) informed curriculum development, c) development of ECE learning centers and classrooms, and d) enrolment of children in ECE centers. These initiatives gave impetus to the practice and enhanced the significance of ECE programs for children.

The initial teacher training programs for ECE were done on a consultancy basis, by the steering teams from the BVLf, World Bank and the Ministry of Education. The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) was tasked with leading this systematized approach to ECE. Included in the teacher training package initiated by BVLf and the World Bank was the development of culturally appropriate materials. These efforts yielded a systematic approach, and also led to increased enrolment by 60% of the school-going children nationwide (Bernard Van Leer Foundation, 2019; Kipkorir & Njenga, 1993).

Increased enrollment led to demand for more ECE teachers, therefore, the training of teachers in this area was decentralized to District levels. DICECEs were established to synergize efforts towards professionalizing the practice of teaching children. Before this time, teaching at preschool level was considered a low wage job. Consequently, teaching at this level could only attract high school dropouts or high school graduates with the lowest grades and without formal qualifications. Nevertheless, this formal teaching contributed to more children transitioning to school. Prior to then, young children were cared for predominantly in community childcare approach. Children were watched by a volunteer adult as they played, while their parents worked on farms or pastoral fields. Prochner and Kabiru (2008, p.125) reflect:

Community members ensure that the caregiver is supplied with food, water, firewood, and other requirements. Similar care arrangements, known as *loipi*, were also found among the Samburu in Kenya. Children were left in a group under the care of grandmothers, aunties, or neighbors when the mothers were away. The caregivers ensured that when hungry, the children took their milk from the gourds left by their mothers.

The Aga Khan Foundation also played a key role in the sustainability of ECE in Kenya. Through MRCK, connections between gender and financial stability have been weaved into the ECE

model, with increasing financial stability for more women and resulting in more proceeds towards sustainability of ECE. Currently, through the Kenya Graduate Association an endowment fund was established to provide dividends to member communities and to provide or improve quality of education. “The Madrasa Resource Centre in Kenya has also linked communities to credit facilities such as the Kenya Women Trust Fund and the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance, which help successful applicants start up income-generating activities in the agriculture and retail sectors” (Aga Khan Foundation, 2018b).

Since the initial efforts of BVLf, World Bank and later Aga Khan Foundation, there has been a concerted effort to build competence in the ECE human resource base, from the initial efforts of teacher training commenced by BVLf and the World Bank. In addition, the involvement of consultants from the higher education sector, particularly faculty in the department of Educational Psychology at Kenyatta University, one of Kenya’s institutions of higher learning, became the launchpad to high quality teacher training for early childhood education. This has been the work of the Early Childhood Department (since the mid 1990’s) and has seen early childhood professionals trained at the Masters and Doctoral levels. Capacity to develop policy-related to ECE was part of the initial initiatives of BVLf and World Bank as reflected by the many official documents developed during co-sponsored workshops. It is these multi-dimensional approaches to capacity building in Kenya that have become the sustainability cornerstones for ECE.

Development of a National ECE Curriculum

Increasingly through the reviewed functions of the early years related curriculum, NACECE was established as a center within KICD headquarters. NACECE is still alive to its functions as listed in the KICD website thus: “over the years, the role of the Institute has expanded to respond to emerging needs including, the development and strengthening of DICECE and projections to develop and establish a modern NACECE Resource Centre to respond to the increasing national and international training needs” (Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development, 2020, p.1). These centers are positioned to cascade the emerging trends in childhood care through the ECE learning approaches, curriculum development and enhanced supervision through the quality assurance officers who are mainly hired to support quality teaching in primary schools.

c.) Sustainability of Kenya’s ECE Post Funding from Development Partners

This section attempts to answer the question: Where are we going? Most of the funders have since ended the bulk of the ECE fundable projects. This is the time to assess the situation for the milestones made so far in readiness for the focus on sustainable development goals. We examine how ECE in Kenya is going to be sustained after the funding from development partners run out. We also discuss the steps that are being taken to actualize and implement the SDGs in Kenya.

Devolution of ECE to County Governments

Kenya adopted *The Constitution of Kenya*, in 2010 (National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). The hallmark of this new Constitution was the devolution of government and resources from the Central government to county governments. Notably, the new Constitution entrenched the education of the child as the core mandate of the Kenya government and devolved ECE to the 47 county governments. In addition, the right to free and compulsory basic education enshrined in *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010* (National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). *Article 53 (1) (b)* states “every child has a right to free and compulsory basic education” (p. 36). *Article 55 (a)* stipulates “the State shall take measures, including affirmative action programs, to ensure the youth access relevant education and training” (p. 37). Clearly, the inclusion of these articles on the rights of the child to

education in the new Constitution is a result of repeated emphasis of the value of an appropriate and quality educational endeavor.

Perhaps, the most notable policy impacting ECE is the *Kenya's Education Act* (National Council for Law Reporting, 2012), which acknowledges early learning as the basis for school preparation. In addition, the current attachment of a pre-primary school, as part of the primary school facilities, ensures that children who would otherwise be excluded in participating in ECE have a chance to enroll in pre-primary education in their communities. This is in contrast with the predominant approach where most preschools were community or privately owned, requiring a token fee payment for the running costs of the schools, which included salaries that were not previously included in the government expenditure. With the emergence of the devolved governments, the prerogative of budgets for ECE were given to the county governments. Increasingly, this has focused funding for running of preschools as part of the budgetary provisions of the government. Researchers and stakeholders in education will continue to evaluate the effectiveness of devolved governments in attaining the sustainability and development of early childhood education in Kenya.

Community Involvement in Sustainability of ECE in Kenya

Whereas the role of international partners has been discussed broadly in this paper, it is also important to describe the role of the community as anchorage for ECE in Kenya. Way before the international partners came to Kenya to support ECE, communities all over the country were responsible for the establishment and sustainability of ECE. Community energized by the *Harambee Spirit* (pulling together), mobilized resources through churches, mosques and other faith based or community based institutions. These resources were used to purchase land, build ECE centers, employ teachers, purchase school supplies, and for daily running of ECE centers.

As described earlier, a history of ECE in Kenya paints a picture of privilege for the first urban preschools established for the children under age five in the 1940's (Harris, 2012). It is widely believed that the first schools in Kenya were established in urban areas exclusively for the young children of European colonialists and Asian communities. On the contrary, in 1952, the colonial government introduced pioneer preschools in rural areas, mainly for custodial care and security for the forced farm indigenous laborers. Later after independence in 1963, with the then President Kenyatta's popularized notion of "*Harambee*" (meaning 'let's all pull together), more preschools were built by communities pulling together resources in the spirit of *Harambee* - a resource mobilization rallied by the leadership of the time for the sake of self-reliance (Harris, 2012). Clearly, these initial preschools emerged out of a desire for self-reliance, especially considering it was soon after independence. This *Harambee Spirit* has continued to sustain ECE in Kenya to this day.

Discussion and Conclusion

As the nation of Kenya seeks sustainability of ECE, an important question is whether it can also maintain the quality of ECE. Qualities of effective Early Childhood Development (ECD) in Kenya are described in *The National ECD Policy Framework* (Republic of Kenya, 2006a) and *ECD Service Standard Guidelines for Kenya* (Republic of Kenya, 2006b). The qualities include: a) class size, b) minimum acreage for Early Childhood Development and Education (ECDE) centers, c) furniture and furnishings, d) play and learning environments, e) sanitation, f) outdoor play space, g) teacher-child ratio, and g) curriculum and pedagogy. These guidelines aim to ensure that ECD services for children are equitable, of high quality, relevant and affordable. These policies control the provision of ECE services and ensure maintenance of high quality standards.

Despite these guidelines, quality of the provisions in ECE in Kenya remains to be a concern that has arisen with the public participation in ECE. The quality concerns triggered a special interest by the consumers of ECE to seek private school provisions perceived to be more prestigious, and of competitive value for money. Private schools in contrast to public schools are considered better prepared to support children with competencies to transition to elementary school successfully. Most of the teachers in these private schools graduate from privately run teacher training programs that have mushroomed all over the country to compete with the government run DICECE and NACECE institutions. Although these schools focus on the 3 Rs, reading, writing and arithmetic, considered broadly, they are limited from a quality perspective, which should provide holistic experiences to support children's growth beyond acquiring the skills for transition.

In addition, the introduction of free primary education in Kenya led to overcrowded classrooms in public schools, hence many parents now prefer private schools, a situation that has led to a phenomenal increase in these enterprises. As private schools in Kenya continue to expand more rapidly, their enrollments also continue to rise while those in public schools stayed the same or declined. Similar trends have been observed in other countries such as United Arab Emirates, Chile, Slovakia and Jamaica. Of all of the countries surveyed, Kenya had the greatest increase in private school provision (Manji & Arnold, 2015, p. 7).

This raises another important question in ECE in Kenya. What outcomes should quality ECE candidates have to successfully transition to grade school? Researchers and scholars in education have identified six dimensions of primary school readiness: cognitive, language, socio-emotional, adaptive, physical and motor and approaches to learning (Janus, 2007). Thus, though many ECE programs focus on preparing children to succeed in reading tests, research studies show there are many other factors that affect their smooth transition from preschool to primary school which influence primary school readiness. Some of these factors are: a) pre-school physical environment, b) teaching/learning resources, c) language used as a medium of instruction, d) teacher-child ratio, and e) attendance duration (Nusia, 2010). According to Morrison (2007), quality of teacher-pupil interaction is a major factor that impacts school readiness. Children who have more positive interactions with staff in high quality programs tend to be more ready for primary school. In addition, quality of parental involvement influence school readiness (Morrison, 2007).

In this paper, we examined the growth of Early Childhood Education, ECE, in Kenya. We traced the growth and development of ECE in Kenya through partnerships with Bernard Van Leer Foundation, the World Bank and the Aga Khan Foundation. As these partnerships come to an end, the torch has been passed to the Kenyan government. The structures developed by these partnerships will continue the implementations of ECE in Kenya, such as KICD, NACECE, and DICECE. Finally, a major milestone in ECE is the change in Kenya's constitutional framework to the decentralization of government and devolution of some government functions, including early childhood education to counties. The implementation sustainability of ECE is now in the hands of county governments, but their effectiveness will continue to be examined.

In addition to the constitutional framework, the practice of ECE in Kenya has the following sustainability measures: *first*, its anchor in the African philosophy of *Community as strength*, engendered sustainability. Where there have been limited resources, the mobilization of resources through the *Harambee* spirit (pulling together) has been germane in the provision of educational infrastructure of communally owned preschools, even in situations where the government offered some financial support to ECE. *Secondly*, the promulgation of the constitution gave impetus to the legal mandate by governments to spare resources for the development of ECE. *Thirdly*, capacity building: through the initial efforts of BVLFF together with the World Bank, the Kenya government has spawned into a strong ECE practice and established a clear policy framework on teacher training,

forged the establishment of preschools and material development, which is synergized at KICD, an arm of the Ministry of Basic Education. In addition, the ownership related to reform in ECE was supported by a robust policy review and capacity building of the Ministry of Education officials as the drivers of the ECE reform agenda. Overall, capacity exists at multiple levels of ECE practice: at the Ministry level through policy, at the legal safeguard levels to support legal sanctions where necessary, at the curriculum development review level, and at the implementation and management levels through the NACECE and DICECEs. *Lastly*, structured development and management of the ECE curriculum. The existence of a national coordinating body as NACECE ensures parity of approach of the ECE curriculum. This synergizes any support needed to engage with ECE stakeholders.

Limitations and future directions

Although this paper attempted to provide a conclusive critique of ECE in Kenya, we acknowledge that there were several limitations. First, the review included contribution of only three international partners, Bernard Van Leer Foundation, World Bank and the Aga Khan Foundation, in the growth and sustainability of ECE in Kenya. There are many other entities that have contributed to the success of ECE in Kenya that are not covered in this paper; including the Government of Kenya, other non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations and charities, district boards of education, local communities and families. Secondly, this paper is limited in scope as it only addressed the growth of ECE in Kenya from 1970-2010. This paper does not address the state of ECE after 2010 when the country adopted devolved system of government where ECE was deferred to the 47 county governments. Access to most current data on ECE from all counties presented a logistical challenge. Since this paper has provided a history and sustainability of ECE in Kenya prior to the devolution of ECE to county governments, it is recommended that future research be conducted on growth and challenges of ECE in Kenya under the devolved system of government.

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The mortal soul

(Is there need to invest in permanent things in this world?)

The long merciless hand when it takes you away
 You will part with your house, car, all that you own
 All that you have sweated for, gathered day by day
 Will now be possessed by relatives once you are gone

You will take nothing with you, not a jewel not a penny
 Better then to learn to live without the good things you own
 For the soil in its selfish mode won't provide you any
 But will let you lie there, empty, naked as you were born

Or, better still, you can try and be dead in Ghana
 Where for example if you are a well-known farmer
 You can be buried in a coffin the shape of a banana
 A driver in a bus, a carpenter in a mallet or a hammer

At least that will make you feel a little worthwhile
 You won't regret a bit for having worked so hard
 And lost everything at once; your enormous verse file
 Will be there, open round you, in case you were a bard

But even those West Africans don't have any luck
 For when in the soil you won't identify the colours
 The saintly white, the ash grey, or the funeral black
 The mortal soul knows only the red on the flowers.

Don't cry

If I die, don't cry
 Because I would become a rose flower
 Grow in your flower garden
 And exude fragrance
 You will pick me during Christmas
 Display me during birthdays
 Smell me during wedding ceremonies
 I will be part of you
 So, if I die, don't cry

If I die, don't be grieved
 Because I would become a pumpkin leaf
 Grow in your vegetable garden
 Pick me for supper in the evenings
 Cook me in the kitchen at nights
 I will be at the dining table with you
 So, if I die, don't be grieved

If I die, don't moan
 Because I will become rain
 Fall down from the sky
 Gather me by the gutters
 And wash kitchen utensils with me
 I will be in your kitchen
 So, if I die, don't moan

If I die, don't scream
 Because I will become a tree
 Grow in the corner of our homestead
 Cut me occasionally for firewood
 Keep a heap of me in your kitchen
 Make fire and cook *ugali* with me
 I will be part of the household
 So, if I die, don't scream

A withering rose

I saw a rose flower at the hedgerow
 Withering, leaves stuck together
 Like skinny limbs of a human being
 Flaccid and of pallid complexion

Bedraggled in the rainy weather
 The rose had become coldly lifeless
 I became so sad and felt like crying
 Thinking that at one time in its life

It was open to hilarious joy and happiness
 With richness of colour, life and vitality
 Carried on its body the symbol of LOVE
 And swains picked it for their beloveds

Now it was wilting, life juicing out of it
 A sick person who eventually would die
 Tears gathered at the corner of my eye
 I wanted to sob and grieve for the dead

Suddenly a small bee came flitting in
 Hovered for a while above the flower
 Its hum a dirge, a solemn expression
 Of the bereavement, the inevitable loss

It couldn't get the nectar upon the fading leaves
 A Sordid mass of dark green, tasteless wetness
 The bee flew away in disappointment, as if
 From a carcass, a near-decomposed corpse

Bitter tears rolled down from my eyes
 I sobbed silently for the loss, for the fact that
 Every beautiful thing, at one time, must
 Decay and die, vanish completely from the earth

Who will then ever know we were here?
 That we once joyfully and exuberantly existed?
 Who will recall the beauty of our colours?
 Explain how we were a source of life and love?

Lewis Wamwanda,
Poet and Writer

A piece of peace

So they are dying, outcasts
Skulls rotting under the scorching sun
Smiling mockingly at the rotting flesh
Flies dance to the feast of their blood
Red blood, thick fresh blood.

The machetes reflect the sun
Like a field of diamond and silver
Some trickling with blood
Others shining, color of silver
They die, not peacefully

A piece of peace
Not the whole peace
Not more than a piece
They deserved to live
And tale tales of the past

Anger has mystified their souls
Brainwashed their minds
Corrupted their hearts
And hands yearn for weapons
They hunger for flesh and blood

A piece of peace
Lost under the pieces of chaos
Violence a tune for the strong
Blood a music for the weak
And flies party, the sun scorches.

Absent sir, present

SILENCE!!!!

I mean, everyone should stay Silent
And at my command stand still

SILENCE!!!

Who's talking now?

No more words without action

Love?

Absent Sir

Trust?

Absent Sir

So who is present now?

Honesty

Absent sir

SILENCE!

Where are these people, where are they?

Hatred?

Present sir! I came earlier today

Shut up! Doubt?

Present sir

Lies?

Present sir, I am always punctual

SILENCE!

Stand up at my command

When will Love ever be present?

The day I, hatred, will be Absent sir

Really? Is that so?

When will Trust resume to duty

Sir, when doubt will be absent

I doubt if she ever misses to report

Lies, Did I ask you a question, Did I?

Sir, sir... I have a concern, Sir, listen

Shut up Mr. Concern, I am the king of Pride

And will not allow your concerns to reach the Leader

Hatred and Doubt, my friends, we have to pull them down

Stand up fellow present members

Let's stand together to fight peace

Too late Mr. pride,

Our absence was nothing but a concern

Trust Went from north to south

Love travelled from east to west

And I, Mr. Concern
Preached the song of love and harmony
We Sang the songs of peace
And now, we pronounce you, ABSENT

Hatred?
Absent sir, he was not seen today
Doubt, Absent sir
Lies
Absent sir, she never came today

Love
Present sir, always present
Trust
Present sir, present
Honesty
Always Present sir
We are here to serve the nation

The sacrifices we make

You will feed us with honey and milk
 To bribe us away from the pain
 But the memories will be buried deep within us
 Plunging deep down the thoughts of sorrow
 Like a small ship lost in the middle of a raging sea
 Or a plane in the middle of a stormy night
 And silently, within the verge of our sorrow
 We will summon death for comfort
 And take pain with us
 To ease the burden in our hearts

We will laugh together 'till midnight
 To give you hopes of triumph
 And a sense of victory and pride
 But when we lay silently in our beds
 In the cold lonely nights,
 The buried memories will find their way out
 To torment and lure us to pain
 Mocking and making fun at us
 As we bath in tears of our sorrows
 And fighting ourselves back to slumber

Nights will not be time to sleep
 For fear will be roaming at the darkest hours
 Waiting to pounce on our beaten souls
 And take control of the long nights
 We will be enslaved by our memories

Tortured by the past bitter pains
 To the point of breaking our souls
 And killing the little joy we possessed
 Extinguishing the light lit years ago
 And hope and happiness will float in the dark

We will laugh and smile all day
 And you will praise us for our happiness
 And urge others to be like us
 To follow the steps we ought to make
 But you won't understand our griefs
 And not notice the masks we wear
 That fades as dusk approaches
 Leaving us naked, afraid and lonely
 And the chains of fear will be put on us
 As we wait for our long night of torture

You won't see the sorrow behind our joy
Neither The ugly part of our beauty
Nor sense the fears behind our courage
For our masks are only worn at dawn
To give us a false impression of joy
Of courage, of happiness and of love
And you will marvel and make merry
Of how you succeeded to change us
And people will praise and sing songs for you
But we will still wait for night, for torture

Imali J. Abala,
Poet and Writer

Fragmented

He was the family's beacon,
 That star, brilliantly armored; not vain,
 For whom they gave their all: Land and cattle;
 Relatives, friends and neighbors came in droves,
 With clamor, cymbal, and gong—
 Harambee their motto of glow—
 They, too, gave their all: eggs, hens and the like,
 Full of hope and glee for their champion,
 Braving the dreariness of storm and rumble,
 The harvest of his labor, their undying hope.

8137.2 miles afar was all it took.
 Sandwiched like a sardine, travelled for hours,
 To the land of plenty dripping with honey;
 His breath suspended, the dread of flight,
 Long, bumpy, and cold touched not his mind;
 Sunward bound, a silver winged jet whirred,
 Gliding up and higher into delirious blue,
 As time melted away like refined gold,
 To his awaited landing of his celestial paradise.

The pulsating of his heart waltzed;
 It was to the jet's loud whirr,
 Muffled by the passengers' snoring,
 And vexing cries of unruly children,
 But this was no fret to a man destined for glory.

Yet, upon arrival, education,
 That noble goal which sparred his travel,
 Vanished from his mind like a busted bubble;
 Tamed by the lustrous beauty,
 Of silken hair and whispers of love;
 Then, escaping into the bottle,
 Lost his marbles and drive for greatness,
 Till the ingested poison ravaged his liver.

Today, lonely, sad, and emasculated,
 He sits in his room, mute in his silence;
 The curtains of life almost drawn like his blinds;
 His eyes, bloody red and devoid of life,
 Gawk through blinding shards of light,
 Beyond the barren tree limbs of December,

As dry and arid as his long forgotten dreams,
That speak of his brokenness, as the gloom of dusk,
Like a whisper in a storm smothers him,
But he remains absent in his present as his past:
A phantom!

The anguish in his eyes speak of his loss;
Nothing more to look forward to:

 A dead child

 A dead wife

 A dead mother

 A dead father

No papers for travel;

No way to pay them last respects

A fragmented soul.

Upon the death of my brother

My brother died unexpectedly yesterday
 It wasn't from COVID-19 he had slipped gently into the night
 But the illicit *Changaa* brew was his undoing
 From which he had indulged himself into a stupor

It wasn't COVID-19 from which he had slipped gently into the night
 He staggered home in the night drunk as his knees buckled under him
 Having indulged himself stupidly into a stupor before he left for home
 And collapsed right at his doorstep as he slipped gently into the night

He staggered home in the night drunk as his knees buckled under him
 Then dark menacing clouds unexpectedly opened in a heavy downpour
 And baptized he who'd collapsed a door, slipping gently into the night
 Through the twilight of dawn and soaking him wet like a possum

The dark menacing clouds unexpectedly opened in a heavy downpour
 As his mind, recoiled upon itself, he slipped gently into the night
 Through the twilight of dawn, he was soaked wet like a possum
 From which his wick expired becoming one with our ancestral spirits

His mind, recoiling upon itself, he slipped gently into the night
 As the wick of his lamp flickered off and a mournful cry revved the air
 That dawn my brother expired becoming one with our ancestral spirits
 Then armed men stormed his home and demanded his immediate disposal

The wick of his lamp flickered off as a mournful cry revved the air
 Truly, it was the illicit *Changaa* which was his undoing, not COVID-19
 But the law forced his dishonorable burial within 24 hours
 My brother died unexpectedly yesterday and buried without fanfare!

The humanities in crisis or the crisis of humanity?

OPINION

Wanjala S. Nasong'o

On account of statistics on declining enrolments, shrinking job prospects, dwindling funding, and growing condescension from society, the future of the humanities disciplines has been variously described as gloomy, hopeless, and bleak. This diagnosis has been mainly due to declining interest in the humanities both by students and society in general. Whereas the more favored disciplines in the natural sciences, especially in the STEM fields, bask in the admiration of society and thereby attract funding for studies, research, and community engagements, the humanities continuously struggle under the threat of being consigned, like alchemy, to the dumpsite of historical relics. Indeed, whereas natural science and business programs can pick and choose from among the best of students, students for the most part only consider the humanities as a last resort.

In Kenya, the reality of the humanities in crisis is aptly captured by the pronouncements of Deputy President William Ruto. While serving as Kenya's minister for higher education back in 2010, Ruto dismissed the humanities and social sciences as irrelevant to the Kenyan economy. Similarly, on October 24, 2018 he dismissed history, geography, anthropology, and sociology as courses not worthy studying at the university. Urging universities that receive public funding to 'up their game,' Ruto asserted that universities should be ashamed of churning out 'unemployable' graduates who end up 'roasting maize on the roadside.' Other top public officials, like the Cabinet Secretary for Education, George Magoha, have decried introduction of 'useless' courses, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, that are 'irrelevant' to the Kenyan economy.

The foregoing reality raises a number of questions: Are the humanities, and social sciences for that matter, irrelevant courses not worthy of their place at university? Should universities exist primarily to serve the labor market? What accounts for this apparent crisis in the humanities? Universities, as degree granting institutions, were established with the purpose of offering tuition primarily in non-vocational subjects; to train the mind in higher thinking; to comprehensively educate the person for society rather than simply train individuals for the labor market. Universities are charged with four main functions of which instruction in skills is only one. The other three are the search for truth, the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship, and the promotion of the general powers of the mind in order to produce cultivated individuals rather than mere automata for the labor market. Universities cannot achieve these functions without the power of humanities and social science epistemologies.

Arguably, the apparent crisis in the humanities is reflective of a crisis of humanity more generally. This crisis of humanity manifests itself in four ways. The first is the tyranny of the contemporary neoliberal economic dispensation rooted in the ideology of free markets. This economic mindset privileges the amassing of private property over concern for the common good. It has led to universities being required to train for the capitalist labor market rather than educate for the welfare of society since it prioritizes short-term over long-term interests, and treats money as the measure of all good. University education is not pursued for its own sake, but for the instrumentalist purpose of enabling its partaker to make money in the neoliberal market place. University programs that are seen not to directly contribute to this short-term goal are declared valueless. Within this context, the humanist values of morality, ethics, integrity, justice, equity, truth, respect, and compassion, the forte of a humanities education, are sacrificed at the altar of pursuit of wealth. The idea of intrinsic rightness and goodness of actions has been abandoned in favor of the instrumental good, with economic considerations as the supreme good of all instrumental actions.

The power of this tyranny of the market has led to the prevalent culture of worshipping wealth and the wealthy without an iota of care about how such wealth is acquired.

Second, and as a corollary to the first, the crisis of humanity is manifested in the mantra of privatization with its focus on the economic bottom line. As a result of the globalizing effects of free market neoliberalism, developing countries were called upon to liberalize and privatize, to rationalize and retrench, and to cut back on public spending by eliminating subsidies on staple foods and introducing cost-sharing with consumers of public goods including education and healthcare. Institutions of higher learning were required to justify continued receipt of public funds by demonstrating their value to the national economy. The resultant effect was decreased funding for disciplines, particularly in the humanities, that could not tangibly demonstrate their contribution to economic development. At the same time, funding for other branches of knowledge, especially in the natural sciences was increased because of their presumed guaranteed contribution to the pocketbook. Many humanities departments in universities were abolished with several disciplines, such as history, philosophy, and religious studies, lumped together into single departments.

Third, the crisis within humanity is manifested in the rise of anti-intellectualism that is now ubiquitous. Its essence is a resentment and suspicion of the life of the mind and of those who represent it; and a disposition to constantly minimize the value of that life. The result of this is the current general disdain towards all forms of intellectual activity and a tendency to denigrate those who engage in it, by society in general, but more especially by populist ruling elites. Anti-intellectualism is identified with religious anti-rationalism, populist anti-elitism; and unreflective instrumentalism. Religious anti-rationalism is the belief in the superiority of faith over reason and the fear that scientific endeavors will lead to the elimination of religion. The growth of religious fundamentalism around the world and the popularity of new-age religions in the face of contemporary life challenges is a testament to this. Indeed, as the crisis of humanity deepens, fundamentalist evangelical churches that promise instant miracles continue to prosper and grow in leaps and bounds as adherents flock in, ready and willing to part with their hard-earned meager resources in the name of planting seeds for the expected miracle of instant material transformation. Populist anti-elitism refers to the notion that academics view themselves as superior to the general population and encompasses, among other traits, a mistrust of claims to superior knowledge or wisdom. Thus, whereas the dynamics of governing a modern state requires an astute mind with requisite knowledge of people, their communities and the affairs of state, electorates are sometimes said to be more inclined to elect a person with whom they feel comfortable sharing a beer, or, in democratizing countries such as Kenya, the force of affective ties dictate that votes are cast on the basis of ethnic belonging. Paradoxically, such electorates expect their leaders to be adept in economic management, social relations, and political affairs. The third manifestation of anti-intellectualism is unreflective instrumentalism. Herein, all forms of thought that do not promise relatively immediate practical payoffs are devalued and dismissed off hand. The current crisis of the humanities could thus be said to arise from unreflective instrumentalism, especially since the most common critique of the humanities is that they have no relevance in the contemporary neoliberal marketplace.

Fourth, the crisis of humanity is also manifested in the tyranny of passion, or the rule of the senses. This is related to what some scholars call the seduction by the fleshpots of consumerism. This seduction, so prevalent in contemporary society, has resulted in an unhealthy desire for things that titillate the senses and that enflame the passions, thus leading to a decline in the desire for things intellectual and moral-ethical, the essence of the humanities. This tyranny of passion has led to contemporary society's preoccupation with the celebrity culture, the sponsor-sponsee transactional relationships, the slay queen-slay king phenomenon, the transient Facebook and Instagram likes and

dislikes; and the concomitant dislike and denigration of everything that does not lead to immediate gratification.

Nevertheless, much as the crisis in the humanities is a reflection of a crisis of humanity more generally, it is arguable that humanities scholars also carry some of the blame for the crisis in their disciplines. There is concern that humanities scholars have shifted their attention away from issues that are the immediate concern of society. Critics note, for instance, that philosophy was once written to teach humanity how to live; now, much of it is written to befuddle and mesmerize fellow philosophers. Poems and paintings were once produced to move the spirit and engage the ordinary person; now, many are produced to repel the many and titillate the few. Literature was once thought to convey deep meaning; now, some think it conveys no meaning at all. Similarly, literary/scholarly criticism was originally intended to improve either the artist's/scholar's product or the general public's understanding; now, criticism has become an end in itself. In other words, the humanities have in the course of history redefined themselves to an extent where they are looked upon as irrelevant by their patrons. There is, therefore, a growing consensus both within and outside the academy that humanities discourse has drifted towards the realm of unintelligibility and has stopped being fun both within and outside the academy mainly because humanities scholars have ended up speaking to one another while completely eschewing engaging society.

Overall, there are a number of measures that can help redress the crisis in the humanities and, in so doing, return the humanities to humanity. These include harnessing the wealth of knowledge within the humanities for practical social use, reengaging more assertively with the public with a view to reasserting the rule of reason over the tyranny of passion and the greed of markets, projecting to the public the critical value of a humanities education in producing a critical civil society, and reasserting the age-old idea of humanities as therapy especially its expressive or creative arts therapy, among others. Most importantly, humanities scholars need to engage more with society even as they continue in scholarly activities that have defined the humanities through the ages. A reassertion of humanities therapy in all its expressive trajectories is a critical way for the humanities disciplines to engage with the contemporary world that is increasingly enamored with the world of technology even though the vast majority of humanity are technological immigrants rather than technological natives.

Educating Kenyan children for productive citizenry: Cultural relevance in curriculum development

OPINION

Faith Maina

“A mathematics book for a pupil in Nairobi Primary cannot be the same as the one for a pupil in Wajir because they are at different levels,” said Sossion. (*Standard Newspaper*, 2019, December 3rd).

This statement recently made by the Secretary General of the giant Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), Mr. Wilson Sossion, was brought up by one of my alumni friends in a WhatsApp group forum. The member raised the question: “Can someone explain this logic to me – slowly like a two-year-old?” As it is characteristic of such forums, members responded with humorous messages, indicating the ridiculousness of the notion that students in Wajir could be different from those in Nairobi. One member mischievously explained that, “[The] Wajir book will be ravaged by excessive heat much sooner than the one in Nairobi,” to which another member advised Sossion to, “Print the Wajir books on camel hides to enhance toughness and durability.” All the members of this group are educators who attended Kenyatta University in the mid-1980s and, therefore, are currently well established teachers, principals or heading various government education offices.

Even though Sossion may not have been articulate, I thought he was making a significant point in terms of how we are educating Kenyan children from diverse cultural and class backgrounds. It did not escape the members to notice what Sossion proposed would disadvantage students from Wajir by teaching them about pastoralism at the expense of the content that would prepare them for the national examinations. National examinations in Kenya are cut throat events where students are engaged in stiff and relentless competition. Those who get the top grades are generously rewarded with seats in prestigious national schools, while those with low grades are pushed to small unknown schools where their chances of getting into institutions of higher learning are diminished. It is no wonder a few days later members of the same WhatsApp group forum found it incredible after the release of the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) results that the most improved student who had recorded a mere 279 points (below average) at the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) was now headed to an institution of higher learning having obtained an A-. The question to ask then is whether the focus on passing national examination is a detriment to Kenya’s ability to harness the human resource endowed in our children by labeling them as failures while inflating the sense of achievement for those who pass the exams based on access to more resources and social class!

The release of national exam results every year in Kenya is a spectacular event. The media usually shines the light on top performers who are often photographed carried shoulder high by proud parents amidst song and dance by relatives and community members. The children are heaped with praise as they share their dreams of getting into the prestigious national schools where they will replicate the same by joining Ivy League schools such as Harvard in America at the completion of their four-year secondary education. It is clear that the eight-year education prepared the students for Europe and North America rather than being productive citizens for their own country. In addition, these top performers almost always credit their hard work and discipline to attaining the top grades without any acknowledgement of the structural social class inequalities that provides access to those who can afford high cost private schools.

Kenya has failed to educate productive citizens at the expense of passing national exams to acquire paper certificates. The insistence that English is *the* and only language in which students are examined is a clear indication that we are yet to decolonize our curriculum. Students are denied

authentic learning material which links the knowledge they bring from their own environment to complement the concepts they learn in the classroom. Indeed, using students' cultures as the point of reference does not undermine learning as members of my WhatsApp forum insinuated, but instead enriches it. Learning happens best when children can relate the knowledge to what they experience in their homes and surrounding environment. Culturally relevant pedagogy would be the greatest equalizer. It would be remiss to ask a child in Wajir to count the number of *matatus* that pass by the school if there are no *matatus* in the vicinity. Instead, they should be asked to count something that is familiar to them and can be easily found in their own environment. It is only then that we can safely assess them through the national examination for mastering the concept of counting and not the contextual knowledge of a *matatu*. In so doing, Kenya will educate a generation of students that have mastered their own environment with the desired outcome of being productive citizens.

In his own way, Sossion was right! Developing culturally relevant materials to educate diverse children across the country is a notion to be considered by educators and other stakeholders in order to tap the human capital and resource necessary to grow Kenya!

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Notes on Contributors

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Faith Maina is a professor in the department of Curriculum & Instruction at Texas Tech University since 2015. Previously, she was a professor of the same department at the State University of New York, Oswego from 2000-2015 where she also held the position of McNair Post-Baccalaureate Program Director. Professor Maina is a teacher educator with special emphasis on Action Research and culturally relevant pedagogy. Her research interests include cultural and language diversity in the classroom, issues of culturally responsive teaching and preparing diverse learners for the STEM career pipeline. She is a recipient of the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship (2018) and Fulbright Scholar (2011) awards.

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