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+254 (0) 713 552 761

FAX: +254 (0) 20 266 3502

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Nandi Age Set System and Ethnic Conflict in Contemporary Kenyan Politics

James K. Chelang'a¹, Jeannette Dickerson-Putman²

¹ Moi University, Kenya

² Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis

Abstract

Kenya is known as home to a number of age-set communities. Among them are the Kalenjin, a speech community made up of eight culturally related groups. Traditionally, the community categorized its members into different distinct age groups and age grades based on annual generational initiation rites. The young community members went through circumcision which marked transition from childhood to adulthood. The male initiates in this community defined their specific generation and age set or grade. This system contributed significantly to the development of male identity and intra-set solidarity, created warriors to protect communities, to carry out raids, and regulated behaviour between generations. It also reinforced the mystical, and judicial status and power held by the community elders. The age set system further curbed inter-group and intra-group conflict while at the same time providing models for conflict resolution and restoration of social harmony. Despite a long history of colonization and globalization, age set/grade principles continue to influence male identity and inter-generational relationships among members of this community. This paper draws upon ongoing research on the Kalenjin groups in Kenya with the interest of exploring the role that male age set identity played in the activities surrounding the 2007 Kenyan General Elections. Key informant interviews were employed to collect primary data from the Nandi sub-ethnic group of the Kalenjin between November 2007 and April 2009. The research findings indicate that politicians manipulated the age set system for political objectives and this has partly eroded the age set institution. The paper recommends the development of a new curriculum for circumcision rituals that can provide some alternative role models for members of contemporary male age sets/age grades and avoid the future misuse of the age set system. It is hoped that these new rituals and intergenerational identities can provide a foundation for a more harmonious response to future social strife especially those that relate to politics.

Key Words: Age Sets, Age Grades, Conflict, Ethnic group / community.

Introduction

Generational age sets and age grades are traditional socio-economic and political systems practiced mainly by African communities. These systems have not been studied adequately despite their significant role in stabilizing African societies. It has been argued that apart from kinship, African societies were tightly held together by generational age set systems (Chebet & Dietz, 2000). An age set is a social system that groups individuals circumcised within a specific period of time into a generational unit identifiable through a communally defined name. It refers to a named group or groups of social units comprising boys or girls who were circumcised within a given span of time and therefore go through different stages in life as a socially knit group.

Kituyi (1990:15) defines an age set as a group of men who are initiated into youth during a definite span of time and as a result, share constraints and expectations of life together as a group. The Maasai community's age sets for instance comprises Initiates who fall within

approximately a ten year time period in terms of both birth and time of initiation. Age sets are formally organized groups of men or women of comparable age. Age sets are determined by initiation. It comprises people who not only have a similar age but also share a common identity, maintain close ties, and pass through the same series of age related statuses (age grades).

The Kalenjin use the term *ipinda* to refer to generational age sets. There are however separate names for specific age sets for men and women. The Kikuyu use the term *riika* to refer to the same; a term which applies to both boys and girls who have undergone initiation in a given year. The most conspicuous and distinctive feature of the generation age set among the Kikuyu is the *ituika*, which is a handing over process held every thirty to forty years in which one age set hands over to its successor the reins of power to conduct political, judicial and religious functions for the community. This is similar to *sagetab eito* ceremony among the Kalenjin. The Embu and Mbeere of Kenya have age sets which they call *Nthuke* (Muruiki, 1976: 126-130).

There are various age sets within a given generation. Each age set comprises various age grades that mark the various stages which individuals pass through in the course of their lives. Individuals advance in age grades as permanent members of an age set and/or a generational age set. Members of an age set move up the hierarchy of age grades when new age sets are formed. Examples of age grades are junior warriors, senior warriors, junior elders, and senior elders. Age grades are therefore statuses which members of an age set go through progressively.

Age sets created life-long feelings of solidarity, identity and brotherhood among members. This communal identity contributed to the avoidance of conflict and the protection of communities. The members acted as a group during all their age grade stages and this helped to avoid conflicts within the age set. Furthermore, as the age set progressed through the youth, warrior, and elder grades, they acted together to protect their community. Junior age sets were educated to respect the authority of the elder age sets whereas the elder sets used their positioning as forms of social capital as a basis for social control. For example, the elder sets could sanction or prohibit the behaviour of junior (warrior) age sets by either providing or withholding their blessing to the warriors (*morans*) before they went to war. The age set system therefore curbed intra-group and inter-group conflict and provided models for conflict resolution and restoration of social harmony.

Who are the Nandi?

The Nandi sub ethnic community is one of the Nilotic groups that form the Kalenjin speaking ethnic community. The word 'Kalenjin' literally means 'I tell you'. The other principal groups that make up the Kalenjin community include; Tugen, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Marakwet, Pokot and Sabaot. The Kalenjin are believed to have migrated from Ethiopia and Sudan (Ng'ang'a 2006:310) and travelled through the Nile valley to Mt Elgon in Kenya. It is from here that they dispersed to their present areas of occupation in western parts of Kenya. The Nandi are referred to by other Kalenjin groups as '*Chemngal*', which means people who talk a lot (Rono 2007: 216).

The Nandi are organized according to territory (*emet*), clans (*pororiosiek*), and age sets (*ipinda*). The twelve clans of the Nandi are; *Kamelilo*, *Kapchepkendi*, *Kakittalam*, *Koileke*, *Kakipoch*, *Kapianga*, *Kapsile*, *Tipingot*, *Cheptol*, *Kipngoror*, *Kakimno* "Murk" *Ap Tuk* and *Kaptumois*.

They have settled in Wareng, Soin, Emgwen, Mosop, Aldai and Chesumei, which are parts of Uasin-Gishu and Nandi counties (Rono, 2007: 217).

The Nandi are considered a hospitable community especially when it comes to hosting visitors. Strangers who happen to pass by their community are often treated to a drink of sour milk, a valued drink within the community which is referred to as '*Mursiik*'. They are a very observant and patient people. Whenever the Nandi adopted an outsider, they performed a ceremony to integrate them within the community and the adoptee was named *Chelule*. Despite their generosity the Nandi are considered a proud people. According to Ng'ang'a (2006), the Nandi have exceptional ethnic unity and military prowess and are reluctant to associate with their neighbours. They are slow to respond to provocation but when they react, they do so with devastating consequences.

Traditionally, the Nandi are pastoralists and as such, they have often migrated to other regions and also expanded their region of settlements. Presently, the Nandi are found not only in their traditional territory in Nandi and Uasin Gishu counties, but also in parts of Tanzania, Uganda, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Despite their migration to other areas outside their traditional territory, the Nandi jealously guard their ancestral land because they consider their security and that of their territory as a primary responsibility of everyone within the community.

Methodology

The objective of the research was to specifically explore the roles that the male age set identity among the Nandi played in events and activities leading up to and during the 2007 Kenyan General Elections. The following questions were central to the study: How did politicians draw upon age set identity during the anti-colonial era struggles and pre-1992 General Elections? Secondly, what roles did the Nandi age set identity play in the 2007-2008 post-election conflicts? Finally, what role did the Nandi elders play to help in bringing resolutions to these conflicts? Consequently, what strategies are available for usage in case of future political violence?

The study collected data from thirty six key informants who were interviewed. The data collected from these interviews were analyzed qualitatively. This number was considered adequate for an in-depth qualitative research. According to Bailey (2007:65), the number of cases selected in purposeful sampling should be small for in-depth examination. Bailey recommends starting with a sample group of twenty cases and thereafter, the researcher interviews other respondents until such a situation where at least five new cases fail to add anything new to the analysis. Bogdan and Biklen (1992:68) supports this when they state that the researcher continues with additional five cases until the researcher reaches 'the point of data saturation' where additional information obtained becomes redundant.

Key informants comprised leaders of Nandi clans as well as elders and the youth. This method was used because key informants have rich information by virtue of their positions in society. An equal number of key informants were selected to represent the clans, the elders and the youth. Since the Nandi have twelve clans, twelve clan elders were selected. In addition, twelve elders and twelve youths were selected through snowballing method. They were subsequently interviewed. The age distribution of the key informants is as seen on Table 1:

Table 1: Age of Key Informants

Age bracket	Number of Key Informants	Percentage
18-35	12	33.33
36-45	4	11.11
46-55	5	13.89
56-65	12	33.31
Above 65	3	8.33
Total	36	99.97

Source: Author's Field data

The sampled key informants chosen were 33.33 percent youth, while a similar percentage represented clan leaders. Elders in total had a similar percentage but distributed in the age bracket of 35-45, 46-55 and those above 65 years. The Structural Functionalism theory guided the research

Theoretical Framework

The Structural Functionalism theory has been used to explain how social structures and institutions have a role to meet the social, economic and political needs of society. The age set system is one of the social institutions of society that exists to satisfy the needs of society and is therefore relevant to the theory. Its importance is derived from the function of maintaining the stability of society. Radcliffe-Brown explains that society is made up of parts that relate to one another and the function of the part is to maintain the whole (Radcliffe-Brown, u.d.). The theory views society as an entity composed of functionally interdependent institutions. Radcliffe-Brown sums up by noting that an institution functions to maintain society as a system. Institutions have norms and rules that guide the behaviour of individuals.

The theory however assumes that there is consensus on the purpose of social institutions and that everyone in society holds the same values, norms and understanding. Despite this criticism, social institutions have purposely aimed at contributing to the total welfare and proper functioning of society. Institutions can however fail to perform the expected roles due to factors within or outside an institution. For instance, in the case of age sets, the colonial government in Kenya banned *sagetab eito* (sacrifice of the white ox) in 1923 which was an important ceremony in the age set system. The British thought that the Nandi would use the ceremony to mobilize young men for military purposes against them. This affected the functioning of age sets as the ceremony marked a change of functions of the members of age sets.

In reality, institutions can fail to function in the way they should when individuals and groups in society compete for resources, wealth and power. Despite this, the theory explains that institutions, in cases where all other things remain equal, should perform the roles they were created to perform in an ideal situation.

The Role of Nandi Male Age Set Identity in the Colonial Era and Pre-1992 National Politics

A brief exploration of the role of Nandi age set identity in the colonial era and national politics prior to 1992 will provide the context for our detailed exploration of the role of age set identity in the activities surrounding the 2007 General Elections. Age sets were and still are important ways of stratifying men in Nandi society. During the colonial period, circumcision was a major feature that defined an age set every twelve to fifteen years. Circumcised men were stratified not only according to age sets but also according to seniority based on the period of circumcision. Thus *Changiniiek* were the senior most group within an age set. They were followed by *Kiptaro*, *Tetagat* and *Kiptaito* all of whom formed one age set (Rono, 2007:218). The Nandi age sets produced warriors who helped not only to protect the community, but also carried out raids whenever it was considered appropriate. According to Wolf (1980: 307), the age set system was a useful source of military power.

The Nandi have seven clans (*bororiosiek*) who meet whenever there is a problem affecting their community. These clans occupy Nandi and Uasin Gishu counties. The clans incorporate seven cyclical age sets, *Maina*, *Nyongi*, *Chumo*, *Sawe*, *Kipkoimet*, *Kaplelach*, and *Kipnyigeu* as shown in Figure 1.

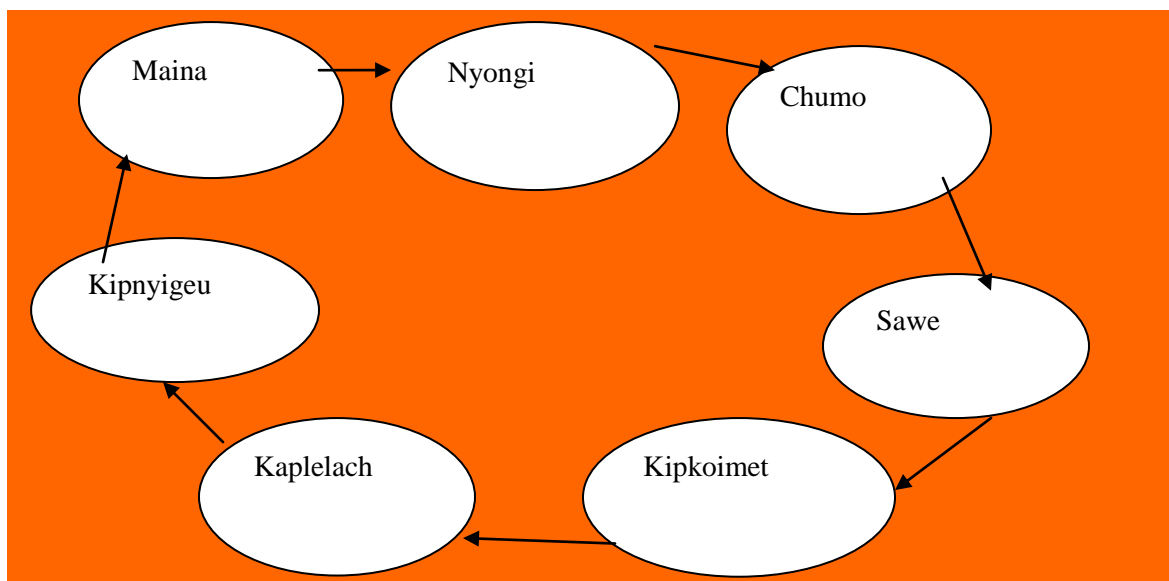


Figure 1: The Nandi Age Sets.

Source: Developed from Makumba (1989)

At the present time, most members of the *Nyongi* age set are dead but new members are expected to be born in the next decade. A few members of the *Maina* and *Chumo* age sets are alive today and are regarded as senior elders. The members of the *Sawe* age set are the current elders and the *Kipkoimet* age-set are the junior elders. *Kaplelach* and *Kipnyigeu* are the current warrior age sets. The former are within the age bracket of 30 to 45 years, while the members of the latter age sets are in their twenties.

Prior to British colonialism, Nandi participation in offensive and defensive conflicts required the cooperation of all age sets. The elder age sets blessed the warriors and advised them on war

tactics and ethics. The junior elders organized the warriors into battalions and deployed them into conflict and the warrior sets did the actual fighting. Nandi prophets (*orkoik*) were given presents and were consulted before the warrior sets were sent into battle. Both the advice of the elders and the support of the prophet were considered crucial to the success of specific conflicts. When warrior age sets came back from war, a cleansing ceremony was conducted. From the late 1800s, the Nandi drew upon the visions of their prophets and the strength of their age set system to resist and repel British efforts to occupy their land and build the Kenya-Uganda railway.

Before the clash with the British, the Nandi in the 1870s had fought and expelled the Maasai from Uasin Gishu and the areas surrounding it (Rono, 2007: 218). The region attracted the British because of its fertility and plentiful water. The strongest reason for the Nandi clash with the British was however the construction of a telegraphic line and the Kenya-Uganda Railway that ran through their territory (Rono, 2007: 218). As a result of the ferocity of the warriors, the British unsuccessfully fought the Nandi for ten years between 1895 and 1905. The Nandi were eventually defeated when Colonel Meinertzhagen tricked the Nandi leader Koitalel *Arap* Samoei to attend a peace negotiation meeting organized by the Colonel. Colonel Meinertzhagen's men used the opportunity and shot Samoei and his advisers. This was followed by punitive British expeditions on the Nandi that led to the death of 1,117 people and the loss of thousands of cattle and sheep which were captured. It also led to land alienation on the part of the Nandi community members and subsequent European occupation and settlements. This produced squatters that consequently led to the Nandi warriors uprisings between 1923 and 1938 (Rono, 2007: 218-220).

Land became a source of conflict in Kenya following the state policy of developmental colonialism which focused on the interest of European settlers at the expense of indigenous local communities. European settlers increased their acreage while young white settlers were allocated land. This continued to increase the large reserve army of landless and discontented populace in Kenya (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995:27). '*The squatters however regarded the white highlands not only as their home but also as their property. In 1946, there were 250,000 African squatters living in forests and settler land in Kenya.*' This made the colonial government to introduce anti-squatting laws (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995:27-28).

Literature indicates that the age set system and particularly the *Sagetab eito* ceremony provided an opportunity for the handing over of age set roles from one set to another. This involved the graduation of young men aged between 15 and 25 into warriors while the middle aged men (then warriors) transitioned to another stage (Rono, 2007: 222). Usually after the ceremony, the young warriors would go immediately to raid in order to prove their prowess. Koitalel *Arap* Samoei's son *Arap* Manyiei who was the Nandi Orkoiyot in 1923 was arrested and detained and later deported to Meru in Central Kenya because the British feared the military uprising that was to follow if *Sagetab eito* ceremony was to take place. This however did not stop conflicts between the Nandi and the British.

After Independence in 1963, Nandi warriors became dedicated to protecting the usurpation of their land by other Kenyans. Since the Nandi prophet, Koitalel *Arap* Samoei died in 1906, some Nandi elders now turned to specific biblical passages to support their efforts to protect their land from non-Nandi intruders. One contemporary clan elder stated that 'in the future, everyone will

go to his ancestral territory' (*Tun kuwendi chi tugul korenyin*) and quoted the following verse from the Bible as his authority

The foreigners living in ... will run away to their own countries, scattering like deer escaping from hunters, like sheep without a shepherd. Anyone who is caught will be stabbed to death. When they look on helplessly, their babies will be battered to death, their houses will be looted, and their wives will be raped.
(Isaiah 13: 14- 16)

Since 1963, both elders and politicians have influenced the participation of the warrior age sets in regional and national politics. They supported the debate in favour of creation of regional government in Kenya as a way of protecting their ancestral territory. Politicians from other ethnic groups viewed regional government as a vehicle for evicting non-Kalenjins from the Rift Valley and so they resisted this development. Nandi warrior age sets continued to resist the settlement of non-Nandi in their territory with the support of politicians including Hon. Chelagat Mutai and the late Hon. Marie Seroney. The two politicians in particular resisted Kenyatta's organized settlement of the Kikuyu community in the then Rift Valley Province in 1970s. Marie Seroney was later detained for stating in parliament that KANU, the then ruling party was dead. Although the two politicians were detained by the Kenyatta government for different reasons, the Nandi took the land issue to be the underlying reason for their detention. The detention of these politicians therefore became a rallying point for the Nandi. From that historical time, the Nandi used have used the county's General Elections and political disagreements as forums for the expression of their resistance to the presence of 'foreigners' on their land.

The Role of Age Set Identity in 1992-2008 Election Conflicts

Ethnic conflicts related to the struggle for power intensified in Kenya with the advent of multi party politics in 1992. The Nandi, like other Kalenjin sub ethnic groups, resisted the introduction of multi party system in 1992 because they perceived it as a move aimed at removing then then President Moi from power. To counter this move, the Nandi agitated for regional government (*Majimbo*) which other ethnic communities resisted as they feared the Nandi would use this system, if introduced, to evict them from Nandi and Uasin Gishu Counties. Debates on the two issues prepared the ground for violence that followed in 1992 and 1997 General Elections. Generally, the violence in the two counties was between the Nandi and other ethnic groups particularly the Kikuyu, Luhya and Luo. A brief description of cases where the Nandi age sets and politicians played a role in conflicts that took place between 1992 and 2008 is hereafter provided.

In December 1992, ethnic conflict between the Nandi and the Kikuyu erupted at Rironi in Uasin-Gishu County. Several clan elders reported that before the violence started, the Nandi warned the Kikuyu community in Rironi to vacate the area or they would face forceful eviction by the Nandi warriors. The Nandi considered Rironi their ancestral territory and were not happy with the name 'Rironi' which was given to the area by the Kikuyu community. This community was settled at this place by Kenya's first President, who was himself a Kikuyu. Senior *Kaplelach* warrior age grades from the Nandi clans from such areas as Mogobich, Chereber, Koilot, Tulwet, Kapserton, and Lessos carried out the evictions. The junior age grade of *Kaplelach* from Rironi did not participate as this group was said to have been in their circumcision camp. After the evictions, the Nandi re-named the place *Kaplelach* to signify the warrior age set that was in circumcision at

the time and to honour the senior age grades that carried out the evictions. Consequently, the Kikuyu community in Rironi became displaced and the majority of them relocated to major towns in the country. Thereafter, they either sold or exchanged their land with the Nandi who owned land in Nyahururu, Laikipia, and other places in the Rift Valley.

Between December 2007 to February 2009, violence erupted again in Kenya following the disputed 2007 General Elections. The Nandi had supported the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) Presidential candidate against the Party of National Unity (PNU) candidate. According to a youthful key informant, the Nandi age sets, particularly *Kaplelach* and *Kipnyigeu* participated in the violence as warriors purporting to evict PNU supporters. Besides, as mentioned earlier, the Nandi took the election disputes as another opportunity to reclaim what they considered their 'lost territories'. Politicians in the whole country took sides on either side of the divide in the conflict. Like others, Kalenjin politicians helped in fuelling the 2007/2008 ethnic conflicts by using proverbs that incited people through the media and public gatherings. Terms such as *murgelta* (people with coloured teeth), and *ngeta kwan* (men whose fathers are uncircumcised) were used as they were considered derogatory to other ethnic communities. The details of the actual role played by Nandi politicians in the 2007-2008 violence will never be known. Researchers observed that the Nandi are very secretive; one elder indicated that a revelation of the role of various actors in conflict would be a violation of the Nandi tradition called '*Nir Mang'et*' that refers to the situation where what happened during war cannot be revealed to anybody, particularly an outsider because word will pass from one person to another person until the whole community is exposed. The Nandi believe that violators of this tradition will be cursed with consequent death or insanity. Circumcision songs are usually sang to mention and reinforce the curses during the season for initiation.

It is however observed that the Nandi had differing perspectives on the roles played by Nandi elders in the post-election violence in Nandi and Uasin Gishu. Some believe that the elders did not condone the violence because the warrior age sets were not blessed by the *Chumo* and *Sawe* elders before the violence started while others were of the opinion that the violence was both a spontaneous and an immediate response to allegations of vote rigging. Those supporting the latter view observed that the youth were so agitated that they went to war with or without the blessings of the elders and the counsel of the *orkoiik*. One elder remarked:

The current warrior age sets were rebellious, volatile and did not listen to counsel. They were ready to go to war with or without the blessings of the elders or the counsel of the *orkoiik*. As a result, some of them engaged in looting, rape, and theft which were forbidden in conflict, according to Kalenjin traditions. This led to the loss of lives and property.

The sentiments above are emphasized by reports that the *Kipnyigeu* age grade had just graduated from circumcision and they were ready to prove their abilities to protect the Nandi territory by carrying out evictions of 'intruders' in their areas. This age set was considered very large and able to fight without assistance from any other group. The re-naming of Kamuyu settlement area that had been occupied by the Kikuyu to *Kipyigeu* in 2008 was another example which indicates that the Nandi were dissatisfied with the occupation of their land by 'outsiders'.

The reasons for the intensity of the 2007-2008 violence, in Uasin Gishu County, even after the government had deployed many policemen from non Kalenjin communities could be explained by several factors. First, the Nandi believe that warriors were not supposed to surrender and they were therefore able to fight the government soldiers. Besides, the aim of the Nandi warriors was to evict the 'outsiders' and not to kill them. Deaths that occurred were explained to have been caused by organized resistance and retaliations. Second, there were allegations of external participants such as Pokot warriors, *Mungiki* members, and the Ugandan army which is described briefly.

The Pokot, a sub ethnic group of the Kalenjin joined the conflict with their warrior age sets linking up with the Nandi warriors as a show of male age set solidarity. It is believed that politicians helped to transport the fearless Pokot warriors to Eldoret. Reports indicate that the Pokot politicians incited the volatile Pokot warriors by asserting that *if the Nandi and Keiyo have no men, then we will come to evict the non Kalenjin for them* '.

Local people in Nandi believe that the violence was also exacerbated by the presence of Ugandan soldiers who came to help the Kenyan police and army to stop the violence. This was further fuelled by allegations that a group of Kikuyu vigilante groups (*Mungiki*) were in police and General Service Unit (GSU) uniform and had been transported by PNU supporters to terrorize the Kalenjin in Eldoret. Surprisingly, apart from the Kikuyu and Kisii, the Nandi did not evict other ethnic groups. This indicates that the political influence of the violence was strong as majority of the other ethnic groups in Uasin Gishu supported the same political party (ODM) with the Nandi. Apart from reasons related to the age set system and the nature of the Nandi people, it is also noted that youth unemployment contributed to frustrations which made the youth to engage in activities which fuelled the violence

Despite the influence of politics in the age set system, Nandi elders helped in the management of ethnic violence in 2008. First, the elders who belonged to *Chumo* and *Sawe* age sets talked to the warriors' age sets and warned them against engaging themselves in acts which were against Kalenjin traditional war ethics. Thus, when the contending presidential candidates agreed to form a coalition government, the local mood for peace in Nandi and Uasin Gishu had been established and therefore the ethnic conflicts ceased although suspicion and tension persisted. This is because the issue of land and territory which have been long term sources of conflicts remained unresolved.

Interviewed clan elders reported that the Nandi age grade warriors performed their own cleansing ceremony which involved the slaughtering of oxen, eating, and singing war and circumcision songs. The songs were meant to praise their age sets, parents, friends, and the brave men in the Kalenjin community. Traditionally, it is the elders who were allowed to perform a cleansing ceremony. The 'self cleansing ceremony' therefore suggests that the warriors behaved contrary to tradition and were acting without the sanction of the elders. It also suggests that the unrestrained behaviour of the warrior sets was the result of a decline in the traditional role of the age set system and ideology.

Many Nandi people thus believe that a repeat of violence and evictions of other ethnic groups will continue again in future until there are no longer intruders in the Nandi territory. It is observed that the Nandi considered other ethnic groups who settled in 'their territory' as *toek* (visitors) and as was expected, visitors were not supposed to settle permanently but were required to visit and thereafter leave. The Nandi therefore do not understand when visitors come to stay permanently. It is also observed that, according to the Nandi, the 'visitors' in the Nandi territory include all Kenyan ethnic groups and the sub- ethnic groups of the Kalenjin who occupy the Nandi and Uasin- Gishu counties. During the 2007/2008 post election period, the Nandi age sets focused not only on the evictions of other ethnic groups but also emphasized that in future, they would target other Kalenjin sub ethnic groups, that include Kipsigis, Keiyo and Tugen who occupy land in Uasin- Gishu county.

Despite views expressed by the Nandi age sets, key informants, particularly among the elders agreed that if components of new values were introduced and taught to age sets, then the youth would be trained to focus on the need to fight other evils affecting the community rather than look at land as the solution to all problems. The new curriculum is justified because it is noted that the current Nandi warrior age sets have deviated from their traditional functions due to the following two factors: One is that the age set warrior groups no longer observed the ethics of war / conflict but deviated to acts of looting, rape, and theft which are against the ethics of war in the Kalenjin community. Secondly, Western education and religion has influenced and adulterated traditional education as age groups spend less time in circumcision and circumcision related issues due to demands of western education. The time the initiates spend learning traditional education is far too short for them to conceptualize and internalize the cultural doctrines/ teachings. Further, some elders who have been influenced by western education do not believe in age set instructions. Such people circumcised their sons in seclusion either in hospitals or their houses and exposed them to western media especially the radio, television, and newspapers. The youth who were circumcised in this manner, it was alleged, did not understand the Kalenjin traditions. Consequently, the age set system has continued to be disorganized but continue to survive in different forms.

Areas to be considered in a New Circumcision Curriculum

In the African traditional curriculum for the rite of passage for males, boys were taught how to behave as adult men because circumcision transformed them from childhood to adulthood (Gachiri, 2006: 108). This was appropriate as the initiates were normally aged between 16 and 19 years. Circumcision prepared initiates to take up new roles including the role to be a husband and parent.

In contemporary period, most initiates are aged 14-16 years (usually standard eight primary school graduates). In my opinion, it does not make sense to teach very young adolescent youth to behave like adults and yet they have not yet reached the age of adulthood. Furthermore, the traditional circumcision education teaches the initiates to be courageous in military activities which may not be relevant in contemporary society, unless the initiates were going to join the Kenya Defense Forces when they reached the desired age.

Gachiri (2006: 11) proposes a curriculum for the rite of passage for Christian males that emphasizes the need for initiates to remain together as a life long support group in good times

and difficult times. She also suggests that initiates should be taught to be courageous by persevering the pain, stress, and fear of circumcision and in life. Lastly, she recommends a rite of passage where circumcision will be there for boys who desire it. The proposed curriculum should, however, emphasize the symbolism, physical and medical aspects of the new system of education.

A new curriculum for circumcision should, therefore, focus on creating a positive change in the character of initiates. This requires the inculcation of integrated religious and traditional values that can be agreed upon by the community. Such values should be discussed and agreed upon in seminars by stake holders. Negative aspects which include ethnic chauvinism and expression of manhood through engaging in raids should be discouraged. Instead, emphasis on success in education should be central. It is hoped that religious teachings can bring change so that instead of placing emphasis on creating warriors, circumcision will create an individual with a strong moral character.

Noting that conflicts in many parts of Kenya are land related, the Constitution of Kenya which was promulgated in 2010 addresses the issue of land injustices for all communities in Kenya. Chapter five of the constitution specifically guarantees the security of land rights and encourages communities to settle land disputes through local community initiatives. The chapter requires the establishment of a National Land Policy to implement these principles. It is hoped that with new laws and a reformed curriculum for circumcision, a progressive change towards a peaceful society in Kenya shall be established.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the role of Kalenjin male age set identity, particularly the contemporary roles of age sets, among the Nandi sub ethnic group. The paper noted that politicians have manipulated age sets in various ways including using it as a campaign tool because age sets are useful in the maintenance of group solidarity. The changes which continue to take place in this system are the continued loss of control by the elders and the *orkoiik* and the new emerging role of politicians in the mobilization of age sets. The traditional roles of age sets of instilling discipline among members, as a source of stability in a community, and as a means of protecting society has been eroded by these new roles. Although age sets continue to survive in different forms, the effect of political influence is destructive to the system. This paper recommends the re-examination of the curriculum of male circumcision to ensure that changes that reinforce the positive roles of age sets are taught and negative political roles are avoided.

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The Somali Refugee Teenagers in Kenya's 'Linguistic Market'

Phylis Bartoo

Department of Literature, Languages and Linguistics, Egerton University, Kenya

Abstract

This study investigates social networks among Somali refugee teenagers in Eastleigh, a suburb of Nairobi, which is the capital city of Kenya. This is to uncover how the teenagers are coping linguistically in a multilingual country; having been pushed out by war in their country where Somali is the main language. Social networks are seen to enforce behaviour and for this study; language. Further the study sought to discover how the teenagers use language in various domains considered for the purpose of this study as linguistic market. The study takes a qualitative approach and was informed by two theories; Social network theory as proposed by Milroy (1980) and states that the social relations people make influence linguistic choices. It also used Post-structuralism as seen from the perspective of Woolard (1985), Bourdieu (1990) and Heller (1992). The teenagers were chosen because they had stayed in Kenya for most of their teenage lives. Snow ball sampling was used to sample thirty (30) respondents out of a population of over 100 teenagers. Data was collected using interviews and questionnaires. Data analysis was conducted using thematic content analysis and descriptive statistics of mean, medium and mode. It is hoped that the study will help policy makers know how refugees are coping linguistically and make informed decision relating to refugee students in Kenya.

Key words: Linguistic market, Domains, Social networks, Refugee teenager.

Introduction

This study occurs within a context in which there is a deep political, economic and ecological crisis as evidenced by the refugee problem in Africa. The flow of people in the uncertain and often temporary lives of refugee groups throughout the world calls into question; concerns of language entitlement, culture, assets and capabilities (knowledge and skills) and, at the same time, the complex ways in which the refugees engage with the issue of language within their redefined lives (Rassool, 2007). Indeed, over the last two decades, Kenya has hosted thousands of refugees, mainly from Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and at one time Uganda. Other groups of refugees include South Africans, Mozambicans, Burundians, Rwandese and Congolese. The refugee population today in Kenya is dominated by Somalis and Sudanese (Campbell, 2005). For more than a decade, Somalia which is a predominantly Muslim country has experienced a long-standing and violent civil war. Lack of an effective central government, famine and drought are the common causes of displacement for hundreds of Somalis (Chesang, 2006).

One of the many tasks refugees face is finding a place within the host community to speak their languages in a new environment with various languages. Such a context has been referred to as a linguistic market; where one is able to speak to the point and manner that fits the circumstances and objectives within the situation (Bourdieu, 1990). It is impossible for the host neighbourhood to recreate conditions of the home country for the refugees. Horvard (1998) points out that the immigrants must find a sociolinguistic niche to occupy. This social relocation has the same potential to bring about language variations as does geographic relocation. The refugees come with their own languages and cultures to Kenya. Wiklund (2001) notes that people in regular contact with one another share linguistic features and tend to borrow features of each other's

language varieties, even in situations where those varieties are different languages. In contrast, people who have less contact with one another share few linguistic features with one another. How then do the teenagers survive linguistically in Kenya? In trying to answer this question, it is important to provide a description of the linguistic context in Kenya and Somali.

Language Situation in Kenya and Somalia

Kenya is a typical multilingual state where over forty languages are spoken. The exact distribution of the languages spoken in Kenya differs according to the source. For example, CKRC (2000) gives a figure of 70 languages; Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) put it at 42; Ogechi (2008) adds Sheng as a language. The disparity could be due to various factors, which include what is considered as a language and a dialect by various scholars. In Kenya, English is an exo-glossic official language used in government, international business, and diplomacy. Kiswahili is an endo-glossic national language that is used for government administration and casual inter-ethnic communication. The rest of the languages in Kenya are used for intra-ethnic communication in the rural homes and also in the larger social environment including the urban contexts. Thus, Kenya is a multi-lingual country, with individual Kenyans tending towards degrees of proficiency in their vernacular language, Swahili and English. The vernacular is acquired at home and in the neighbourhood with co-ethnic communities in both rural and urban contexts. English and Swahili are also learned within the school system, with official policy proposing English as a medium of instruction.

Clearly, the language situation in Kenya is a complex one. English enjoys a prestigious position as an official language, the language of education and is associated with success and achievement while Kiswahili is used for inter-ethnic communication and for fostering national unity. The indigenous languages appear to be officially neglected and they continue being used extensively in intra-ethnic communication and home use in rural areas. There are strong ethno-linguistic identities in Kenya, making it difficult for the selection of any of the indigenous languages as a unifying language.

An understanding of Somalia's background is also critical in order to be able to interpret the findings. Somali is a mother tongue of over 95 percent of the population in Somalia. For the citizens of Somalia, the Somali language is the most powerful sign of their nationality; the Somalis consider speaking their language as a sufficient condition for nationality (Laitin, 1977). In fact, the first law which defines one as a Somali citizen states that a Somali should be seen as a person whose mother tongue is Somali and follows Somali customs and must be a person who by origin, language or tradition belongs to the Somali nation (Warsame, 2001). In urban areas, children were introduced to the Somali language. This was to ensure that the pupils who were living in the cities had an opportunity to practice the rural life and were in touch with the Somali heritage and cultural resources. The media also played a key role. The use of mother tongue produced a new flood of literature and released energies and talents that had been denied an outlet for expression (Laitin, 1977) by past regimes such as the Italians who had imposed their language to the Somalis.

Somali teenage refugees in Kenya are thus confronted with a situation where two multilingual set-ups; the Kenyan and the Somali ones, come into conflict. Kenya is a multilingual state whereas Somalia is a relatively monolingual state (although there are other demographically insignificant languages, different from the languages found in Kenya). Human beings are social

beings. Sociolinguists have argued that the social relations that people make influence their social behaviour, and this includes language. This is because people have to use appropriate language(s) in any social encounter, hence necessitating language shift. The refugees in Kenya find themselves dealing with the new reality and the precarious notion that they too must acknowledge the presence of a new cultural and linguistic environment. How then do the Somali refugees negotiate this social set-up and what is the linguistic outcome in a situation considered as a linguistic market?

Theoretical Orientation

The study was informed by ideas from two theories; the social network theory which portrays the teenagers as social beings, and the post-structural theory that guides the study in issues related to the placement of language in the linguistic market.

Social Network Analysis

Sociolinguistic research often examines the networks of small communities, focusing on the relation between properties of individuals' social network and their linguistic performance. Social network relations are defined as 'the variety and frequency of the interactions among people in a society that are recognized as a principal vehicle of change' (Milroy, 1980: 42). Further, Mesthrie et al. (2000) see social networks as informal and formal social relations that individuals maintain among themselves. Two criteria are particularly important for the description of networks: density and multiplexity. The density of a network is the number of connections or links in it (Milroy, 1980). In a low density network, individuals usually know the central member but not each other. In a high density network, members of the network are known to each other and interact with each other. Multiplexity measures the capacity at which members in a network are known to each other. For example, an individual can be known to another as a cousin, friend and schoolmate. These two criteria for networks are seen as norm enforcers, and in this particular study, social networks are seen to be enforcing language norms which result in language variation.

Stoessel (2002) agrees that immigrants may choose to adapt their linguistic behaviour or find some solution in order to balance the needs of their new community with their own needs of presenting the self. Thus, to answer questions about the extent to which the refugee teenagers have retained their Somali language or have changed to use other languages, the study looks at social networks among the teenagers, and correlates them to the actual language use in different domains.

Poststructuralist Approaches

From the poststructuralist point of view, the analysis of the social organization, social meanings, and individual consciousness is by means of power (Bourdieu, 1990). The implication is that any society is structured hierarchically. The subject positions we take in society are socially produced through the use of language in various domains. This way of viewing society will help explain the nature of language choices made by the Somali teenagers in the Kenyan context. Poststructuralists see an individual as diverse, contradictory, multiple, and decentred. This study further seeks to find out how the teenagers' linguistic repertoires are affected by the legitimized languages; that is, the languages which are valued in society.

In the poststructuralist framework, particular ideas from Woolard (1985), Bourdieu (1990) and Heller (1992) are utilised in the study. This is because of the inadequacy of the social network theory to address issues of language usage by refugees within the socio-economic, socio-historical and socio-political process which they find themselves in by virtue of fleeing from the crisis in their country. The incorporation of post-structuralism also stems from the fact that this study looks at how people influence others in a social set-up; hence, situations arise where the subjects can resist, change, negotiate and transform themselves and others. Post-structuralism portrays language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic and socio-cultural contexts (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004). This viewpoint emanated from the French sociologist, Bourdieu (1990) who views language as a mechanism of power. The language one uses is chosen in a field or social space.

In a linguistic market, there are thus several alternative market places which assume different language norms and assign different values to particular language behaviours and linguistic varieties (Woolard, 1985). Gal (1989) concurs with the same view, adding that speakers transform linguistic norms and their own stigmatized social identities. Heller (1992) points out that the use of language in everyday conversations creates an awareness of language, which involves the negotiation of language choice in everyday interaction. In her study in Quebec, Heller (1998) investigated the language choices that people make in private and public settings. The study revealed that people struggle to acquire a variety of languages because of the privileges that come with it. The subjects chose to acquire English or French in order to gain or retain privileged access to the same kinds of education, work place opportunities and socio-economic positions. In the present study, the Somalis are victims of these processes. How do they go about them in their daily lives in a foreign land?

Methodology

The study was carried out in Eastleigh, which is a suburb in Kenya's capital city, Nairobi. The population was Somali refugees within Eastleigh as they interacted with other Kenyans. Snowball sampling was used to draw a sample of thirty (30) respondents. Snowball sampling ensured that a small number of the targeted populations were contacted; this group then assisted me in obtaining access to the others with the same characteristics (Walliman, 2001). This was done until it reached theoretical saturation, where new additional samples provided no new information, which Blanche et al. (2006) refers to as 'sampling to redundancy'. The study collected qualitative data using interviews and quantitative data using questionnaires. This triangulation process enabled the researcher collect enough data relevant in the study which was then analyzed using thematic content analysis and descriptive statistics.

Research Findings and Discussion

Findings and discussion of the study are presented in the sections that follow. After analysis of the social networks, language usage in various domains and networks are discussed. Of particular interest is looking at the teenagers' language use with family members as well as language use with friends. This is observed within the contexts of the school, the neighbourhood and the mosque.

The Social Networks

Mapping out the teenagers' networks is a complex process. In this study, the teenagers were told to give nine people they interacted closely with in their lives in various domains. This is considered to be the social networks of an individual and would influence the language choices the teenagers make. The domains were home, school, neighbourhoods, family and an organization (religious). These domains were considered to be of great influence in the lives of Somali teenagers in the study because they were likely to change social behaviour (including linguistic behaviour). Similar domains were utilized by Milroy (1980). She considered them to be sites where 'very intimate' relations among the individual teenagers took place in their daily lives. It is presupposed that individuals make social contacts in a social environment for various reasons. By looking at the social networks, we define the social environment of the individuals to see how the linguistic make-up is affected and the individuals subjected to the dictates of the environment where they interact.

The teenagers were told to identify at least two people whom they interact with in the five domains. Furthermore, they were required to say whether the contacts knew one another to establish the frequencies of interaction and the influence it would have. In measuring the networks, the network links are first examined to find out which languages are in use. The subjects of the study were first asked to indicate the number of people from different categories: neighbours, relatives, schoolmates, members of organization and other relations. The questions to be examined were: Do the social networks extend outside the community or are they established networks within the community? Do the contacts know each other? The questions are relevant in the study because they help map out the networks which in turn explain the language a teenager chooses in a particular domain.

The people named by the respondents were given labels ranging from A to J. They also indicated whether these people were Somalis or Kenyans. This information is captured below:

- a) Neighbours (=A and B)
- b) Relatives (=C and D)
- c) Schoolmates (=E and F)
- d) Others (=G and H)
- e) Organization (=I and J)

The information given is an indication that a maximum of ten people interact with the respondents on regular basis. The study was meant to uncover the structures to find out whether the relationships are affiliated to their own linguistic group or to the Kenyan linguistic group. It is assumed that the tie an individual makes is supposed to create a social environment in which to operate.

From the description of their social networks, the Somalis were found to have 'dual integration', a situation where the teenagers have social networks from both Kenyans and Somali social relations at the same time. This was further evidenced by the nature of the relations they maintain in Kenya. The study also established that teenagers socialize in clubs related to their Somali communities and Kenyan communities. The network analysis paved way for reflecting language usage in the domains.

Language Usage in various Domains and Networks

The social environment of a person is located within domains. The study of an individual in the chosen arenas portrays an individual (Lippi-Green, 1989) and also domains the ability to predict the degree of normative influence exerted on the individual. A domain is a construct which refers to the sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and the role relationships. The linguistic behaviour of teenagers is discussed in relation to the language choices they make in various domains. Some domains are generally formal (school) whereas others are informal (home, neighbourhood, family) and hence some languages dominate in some domains more than others. The domains utilised in the study have been referred to in diverse ways by different researchers: Community of practice (Eckert 2000); Speech community (Patrick, 2000); Subgroups- Belfast Speakers (Milroy 1980); and frames of reference (Goffman, 1974). All of them agree that domains are sites where various people interact and languages come together.

In the discussions that follow, the languages are abbreviated as: Som, Somali; Kis, Kiswahili; Arab, Arabic; Eng, English.

Language Use with Family members

Four languages were established to be in use in this particular domain. From the interviews and the questionnaires, it was found that Somali is the dominant language within the family. About 93.3 percent of the teenagers confirmed that their language of choice was Somali. The Som/Kis/Arab combination yielded a score of 3.3 percent. Som/Kis/English also scored 3.3 percent. The implication is that the Somali still retain their language and hence other languages have not infiltrated so much into these domains. In a few cases, Arabic and Kiswahili were reported to be used by the teenagers at home. These were seen as instances when they have relatives who are Arabs. The majority of the teenagers came to Kenya about ten years ago. It was expected that other Kenyan languages would have made their way into this domain given such a long period, but this was found not to have been the case. In Kenya's urban areas, the majority of speakers (including the youth) are from diverse backgrounds and use Kiswahili and English. The youth use English and Kiswahili or both. According to Ogechi (2008), 'they code' when the two languages are used in isolation and they use 'in-between codes' when they code-mix and code-switch (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The Somali teenagers seem to be the exception, rather than the norm. The majority of them have close associations with their family members who happen to be Somalis, thus contributing to mother-tongue retention.

Language Use by Teenagers with Friends

The friendship domain portrays language use among teenagers and their close friends. These friends are categorized as those who are very intimate and participate in activities together. It is a relational domain, as one can choose friends and make decisions on which ties to strengthen. The friendship domain had the highest distribution of language. English and Kiswahili are the dominant languages as 20 percent of the teenagers reportedly use a combination of English and Kiswahili with their friends. 20 percent use Kiswahili whereas 13 percent use Somali. It was expected that in this domain, the Somali language would be the least used although it did not seem to be the case. The respondents also interacted with Somali friends who originally hailed from Kenya. This could explain the reason why Somali is still a popular language in the friendship domain. However, there are situations when the teenagers relate to friends who are not

necessarily Somalis and that calls for the use of a language which communicates with them all, hence the intrusion of other languages.

A notable innovation in this domain is the use of *Sheng*. As mentioned earlier, *Sheng* is a slang language which is a combination of many languages and is popular among the youth in Kenya's urban areas (Ogechi, 2008). *Sheng* was found in this domain though in a very small percentage (3.3%). This is a very interesting finding in the sense that it is expected that such a language should be used by the majority of the teenagers, especially the male teenagers as they have room to interact widely because their culture does not restrict men as it does women. This raises the question of integration; it may suggest that Somalis have not fully integrated into the mainstream society of the Kenyan community.

Language Use in School

The teenagers in the study attend various schools within Eastleigh, like Soyol, Muslim Academy, and Eastleigh School. The languages used in school outside the classroom are English, Kiswahili, and mother tongue. The use of language in this particular domain depends on who is interacting with whom. First, where the teenager's networks are Kenyan-based, the language choice is either English or Kiswahili. Second, where the networks are Somali-based, they speak Somali. They also switch codes between English, Kiswahili and Somali. The teenagers become increasingly involved in the use of Kiswahili and English because of their encounters in school. English is used as the medium of instruction in Kenyan schools and Kiswahili is taught as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. The teenagers were asked to report the use of language when they are outside the classroom. This is because when they are in class, they use either English or Kiswahili. 76 percent indicated that they use both Kiswahili and English. 26 percent use English whereas those who use Kiswahili and Somali are 3.3 percent. Somali is still found in the school domain and even threatens to outdo Kiswahili. Some of the teenagers see Kiswahili as of no economic value to them. They reported that they prefer English because they can use it to acquire jobs abroad.

It was noted that the teenagers maintain social networks with their Somali counterparts in school. This serves as a way of maintaining their language and culture as there is a continuous link with their Somali counterparts and ideological resources. However, where topics of discussion are outside the Somali cultural experience, other languages are used. Interestingly, 15 percent of the respondents indicated that they could speak *Gikuyu*, which is one of the local languages in Kenya with a big population of speakers. Most people from the Kikuyu community do business in Eastleigh as observed in the study; hence, there is the possibility of their building networks with the Somalis in Eastleigh. Also *Gikuyu* was used to exchange pleasantries and greetings. The teenagers also attend the same schools as some of their neighbours and relatives. This is what Milroy (1980:94) regards as 'multiplexity ties'; that is a situation where an individual is known to another in more than one capacity, for example as a neighbour and schoolmate. This is bound to exert more pressure on the language choice.

Most of the teenagers indicated that they speak Somali with their schoolmates if they come from their ethnic group and English or Kiswahili if they do not share the same mother tongue. It was also established that the close network ties among the teenagers in school are with those from their ethnic group. Male Somali teenagers relate to male Somalis and females relate to female Somalis. It was noted that their status as refugees still impacts on them even when relating in

school. They do not want to expose themselves lest they find themselves in trouble. One of the teachers reported that the Somalis do not want to disclose their status as refugees in school. Hence, they make friends with their counterparts in order to prevent their identity from being questioned. This is because they fear for their security.

Though the teenagers reported that they used Somali in the school domain, English and Kiswahili are specifically reserved for academic purposes. Classroom opportunities to use English and Kiswahili are given by the teachers and the peers but the teenagers can also resist this tendency. English and Kiswahili are used in Kenyan schools as media of instruction and are compulsory subjects in the curriculum. It was expected that the teenagers would use the two languages exclusively in school and reserve their language for other domains like the home and the family. This could be as a result of many factors such as the lack of proficiency and identity construction. Researchers in the post-structural framework argue that use of language is not uniform and language users can resist the use of the powerful language in certain contexts such as the school (Norton, 2000; Heller, 1992; Gal, 1991). This is evident from the importation of languages such as Somali into the school context. The teenagers use English and Kiswahili for academic purposes only and within the classroom.

Language Use with Neighbours

The neighbourhood networks involved those contacts which the teenagers establish regularly from time to time by correspondence as in the use of mails, phone calls or face-to-face interaction. Such associations enable the subjects to turn for help and advice when there are problems. Neighbours provide social support and serve as buffers against various forms of adversity. In such a case, teenagers would be expected to make links with 'good' neighbours who will not jeopardize their situation as refugees. It was established that Somali parents are very strict in the upbringing of their children and are concerned with who they associate with. Many even wanted to be the ones to speak on behalf of the children; thanks to the friend-of-a-friend method where the researcher managed to be enmeshed in the rights and obligations of community. Living in a society implies knowing who your next door neighbour is and also how one is socialized. Taylor (2000) describes socialization as a process where people become aware of the social norms and learn what is expected of them in the society. The way the Somalis have socialized their children goes all the way in shaping them on how to relate with their neighbours.

Eastleigh is a mixed community estate but the majority of the inhabitants are Somalis. Findings from the research indicate that two languages; namely, Somali and Kiswahili (26.7%) are dominant in this context. Even when combined, the two languages still retained a score of 10 percent each. As in the friendship domain, the teenagers reported the choice of *Gikuyu* as one of the languages of interaction. This is associated with those teenagers who reported living with Kikuyu neighbours.

Language Use in the Mosque

In the domain of religion, Kiswahili, Somali, English and Arabic are used, but the majority reported that they use Arabic and Somali, which had the highest score of 20 percent. Somali on its own scored 16.7 percent and Arabic 10 percent. There was no case of English being used on its own. The Somalis do not use Arabic in their daily conversations but they teach their children from early childhood to memorize verses from the Quran. The children are enrolled in Madrassa classes and it is the duty of every Somali parent to send their children for the lessons every day

after school. Madrassa classes are those lessons which are offered to children in order for them to learn matters of religion. Most respondents could recite a full verse in the Arabic language but could not construct a sentence in Arabic outside the Quran.

Somali and Arabic are the most frequently used languages, with the latter used to pray in the mosque. Though the Quran is in Arabic, the Somali language is mainly used to explain the Quran for those people who do not understand Arabic. The Somali children attend Madrassa schools to be taught Islam. Here the medium of instruction is Arabic. They are taught at an early stage to memorize the Quran; in fact, most of those interviewed indicated that they can do so for all the prayers. This could perhaps explain the reason why the Arabic language is more popular. However, it is rare to find them using Arabic outside this domain (religion). Other languages like English and Kiswahili also emerged. These were used by teenagers with their friends from other estates who attend the mosque as well. The social networks the teenagers gave showed that they relate with teenagers from Nairobi. They also attended mosques located anywhere within their reach and hence it was possible to meet varied people, which may necessitate language adjustments.

The Teenagers and the Linguistic Market

Languages have different values depending on the contexts (Bourdieu, 1990; Heller, 1992; Norton, 2000). Teenagers use language varieties depending on the social networks activated at a particular time. This calls for a different language to be foregrounded; be it Somali, English, Kiswahili or Arabic, in different social set-ups. In the language domain study, it was established that the Somali teenagers use different languages depending on the social set-up. Bourdieu (1990) reinforces the idea that all human activity, inclusive of language, takes place within a web of socially constructed fields; family, community structures, educational systems and institutions, and corporations and businesses, all of which change with time and circumstances. As a consequence, an individual is placed in different fields in the society in different capacities whether child, student, or parent, and language is used to negotiate the position of power in the societal structure. Bourdieu (1990) argues that this situation in society shapes people's behaviour so that the teenagers know which language to use with whom and when.

The sum total of all social and cultural experiences as well as the habitus thereby determines which language is appropriate at what time. The linguistic choices made by the teenagers are therefore not a matter of preference but the collection of factors in the society. The teenagers chose the varied languages depending on the dictates of the domains. However, this does not occur in all situations. There are instances like the friendship domain where the teenagers are free agents and make their own linguistic choices.

The symbolic values of the languages in each domain as referred to by Bourdieu (1991) are not fixed; one language has more value in one context and less value in another. The teenagers' acquisition of many languages gives them power to use various languages depending on the context and enables them not to be excluded in the social organization of their Somali community and the host country (Kenya). The resultant effect is that languages in different domains wield different powers. The Somali language, for instance, is powerful in the home domain and less powerful in others like school. Somali registers the highest use in the home domain and declines in other domains.

Bourdieu (1991) asserts that all symbolic domination presupposes on the part of those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values. The teenagers adjust to the sanctions of the linguistic market without any calculation or consciously experienced constraint. The currency is the linguistic capital, which is the language that is considered to be more valuable. English, Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic have different values depending on the domain. Arabic, for example, has least value in school, but more value in the Mosque. English is used in the school domain as a medium of instruction whereas Arabic serves as a sermon language in the Mosque. Canagarajah (2004) points out that the dominant groups confirm and sustain the hegemony since any group wanting to obtain these goods will aspire to use the codes. In most cases, the teenagers have limited knowledge because they are exposed to the languages later in life. English in Kenya is a compulsory subject but the use by the Somali teenagers is restricted only to the school domain.

The linguistic markets also dictate the nature of linguistic capital and the intensity required in the linguistic exchange. Those who have high levels of linguistic capital speak with command and influence (Rassool, 2007). In this study, various languages are dominant in various contexts. The right linguistic market can transform the otherwise 'worthless' utterance into one that may command attention in powerful circles. As much as the Somali language could be seen as powerless in domains such as school, it wielded a lot of power in other domains like the family, home or neighbourhood. In fact, one of the respondents indicated that in the home domain, he could not speak or allow himself to be heard by his parents speaking English because it would make them feel that he was being rude. Yet another respondent was emphatic on the place of English and Somali when he uttered the following; English is for school and Somali is for home!

Conclusion

The study endeavoured to uncover the social relations teenagers make in various domains in order to understand language usage in the various contexts. Social networks enforce behaviour and in the study linguistic behaviour in various domains. The diverse contexts of language usage were referred to as the market where the relevance of a language is put to scale to determine its 'price'. It was established that the teenagers use multiple languages but varied according to the context where the language is spoken. Thus the price of a language shifts depending on the domain it is in use. Therefore the study found out that the teenagers have acquired varied languages like the Gikuyu language even though Somali language is still very popular in almost all the domains. The languages help the teenagers cope in Kenya's linguistic market and also shape the identity an individual would wish to portray in any context.

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Conversational Songs of Meru Men: The Hidden Proverbial Wisdom in the Performers' Pragmatic Rivalry

Albert Mugambi Rutere¹ and Eliud Kirigia²

¹The Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA), Kenya

²Laikipia University, Kenya

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to examine the social significance of conversational songs as sung by Meru men in the Meru community of Kenya, while making a critical linguistic and literary analysis of them. Meru men have a variety of song performances which address the community's daily activities and are very popular for their educative and entertainment value embodying the community's accumulated experience passed from one generation to the next. To name a few, there is reenta performed by elderly men, auuthi performed by young, energetic, newly circumcised men and kirarire and Kiama performed across age groups. Though performed in different styles and instrumentation by different age groups, the songs are similar in form and content and take a protracted conversational structure, involving the soloist, the respondent and the choral audience. Proverbial wisdom characterizing the songs is replete with aphoristic expressions, which are highly rated as a source of knowledge. The songs comprise the soloist's witty lines punctuated with repetitive affirmative syllables aaha -iiihi characterized by a rousing rhythm and a lilting tune. The songs are rich in analogy and metaphor, revealing the community's verbal economy, in which word power is mystic. The data for this paper was collected by the first author for a period of ten years as a participant as well as a performer in his own right. The songs are used to demonstrate the proverbial knowledge underpinning the pragmatic (mock) rivalry between the soloist and his interlocutor in passing Meru community's knowledge from one generation to another. This paper demonstrates the vibrancy of Meru men's creative impulse as custodians of the community's wisdom. A.L. Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and H.P. Grice's (1975) Theory of Conversational Implicature are used to analyze the songs.

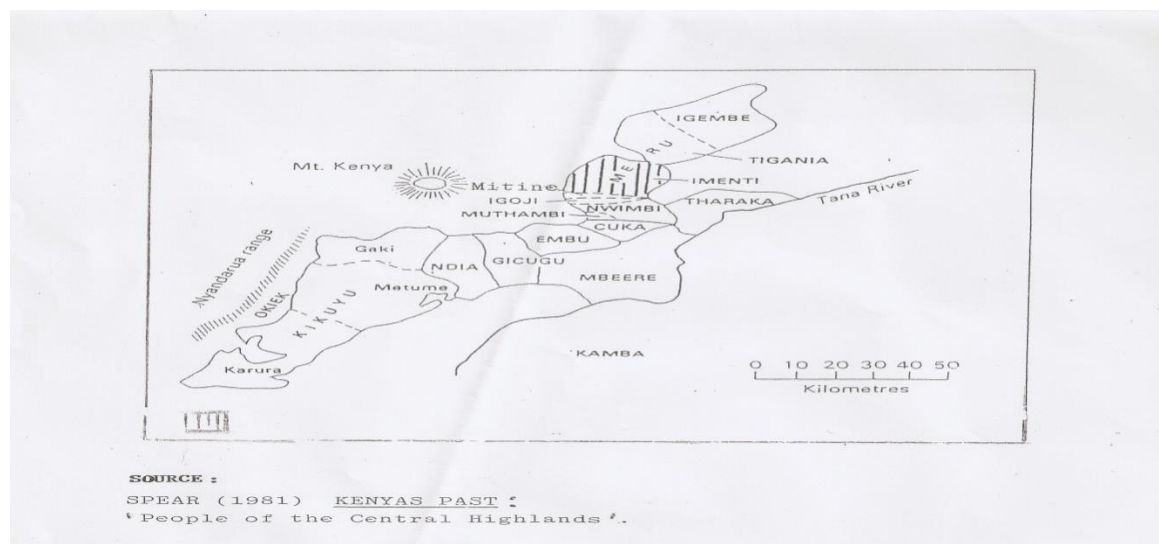
Key words: conversational songs, proverbial wisdom

Introduction

The paper discusses proverbial wisdom in conversational songs by Meru men using Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and Grice's (1975) Theory of Conversational Implicature. Songs and dances are very popular in Meru community and represent the Meru world view. Arguably in many African societies, songs and dances represent the most pervasive genre of literature across both time and space, and have many facets and roles such as enhancing the process of identity; be it cultural, ethnic, national, religious and/or gender. The songs and dances explore social cosmology, worldviews, class and gender relations, interpretations of value systems and other political, social and cultural practices, even as they entertain and provide momentary escape for audience members (Mbiyu, 2011). *Kirarire*, for example, is a protracted ritualistic song sang by men on the eve of circumcision and contains instructions to the initiates (Nyaga, 1997).

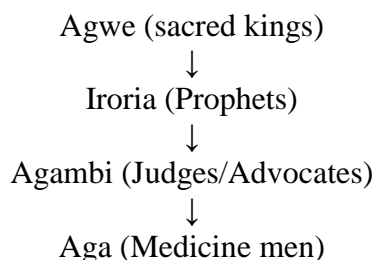
The Meru belong to the Kenya Bantu linguistic group living in the eastern slopes of Mt. Kenya. The Meru society is highly patriarchal and its social, political and economic affairs are directed by a council of men elders known as *Njuri ncheke*. Meru men are the custodians of Meru culture.

The cultural contests and modes of their mediation through proverbs are expressed in contexts such as songs. Below is a map showing the major subgroups of the *Ameru*.



Meru comprises nine major territorial subdivisions based upon dialectal differences, variations in culture traits and tradition. These subdivisions are formally recognized as sub-tribes. Proximate to the Kenya Central Highlands and circling the slopes of Mount Kenya to the northeast, between 1200 to 1500 meters above sea level, live the Imenti, Miutine, Igoji, Muthambi and Chuka. These territories are made up of chains of east-west extended clan clusters separated by eastward flowing rivers and streams of various sizes. The Igembe occupy a similar altitude to the north in the Nyambene ridge. The Tigania and Tharaka occupy the lower north-eastern and northern plains in the adjoining lowlands (Spear, 1981). Although the Chuka and the Tharaka sometimes consider themselves non-Merus due to different myths on the origin of their language, their cultural practices are similar to the other groups. Meru's neighbours to the south and around Mt Kenya are the Embu, Mbeere and the Kikuyu, and to the east are the Kamba. To the north are the Borana and Samburu.

In traditional Meru community, knowledge embodied in proverbs was derived, preserved and cascaded in part from various institutions of leadership as indicated below:



(Adapted from M'Imanyara, 1992)

According to M'Imanyara (1992), the sacred king was identified as the head of the theosophy since Meru was a theocratic state. The judiciary was managed by legal experts (*Agambi*) while

religion was managed by *Agwe* (sacred kings), *Iroria* (prophets) and *Aga* (medicine men). Politics was controlled by *Njuri Ncheke* (council of elders) who made policy, which was executed by *Kiama* (military council).

Method of Study

This study involved conversational songs as sung by Meru men. In this case, there was a set of three types of songs namely; *Kirarire i*, *Kirarire ii* and *Kiama*, which were collected through a personal diary for over a period of 10 years (*note kiama is an ambiguous term referring to military council, a song and a secret organization*). This data was collected from both young and elderly performers. The main objective of the paper was to examine the form, content and social significance of the conversational songs. The specific objectives were two, namely: To examine the form and content of conversational songs by Meru men; and to find out the social significance of these songs.

The full text of the Meru men conversational songs analyzed in this study is as below:

Kirariire Song 1

- A. *Jii jii, tuuriiria naa turaare cubuuria nii yaa Mareete.* line 1
 We shall sing and sleep over (as we feast) because the pot belongs to M'marete (bringer of plenty).
 C.Aaaa.line 2
- A. *Jii jii teeka nkwijiite kweenu nii mururuumo jwa mbeere ndaiigua.* line 3
 I was not coming to your home. I have only heard the sound of jingles.
 C.Aaaa. line 4
- A. *Jii jii kithaaria kioona kiingi niitaa muruukio ciimbaa.* line 4(b)
 When a performer sees an equal is like a lion sensing another one.
 C. Aaaa. line 5
- B. *Jii jii turiciindaana unthuure naa mwaari waa nyaakwe ngaambie.* line 6
 We shall compete, you get annoyed, and ultimately I will court your sister.
 C.Aaaa. line 7
 D.Toonya.line 8
 Attack.
- A.*Jii jii kithaaka ntiikuuriithia ntigiiria baiite ariithia.*line 9
 I cannot prevent my friend to graze where I have no interest.
 C.Aaaa. line 10
- B. *Jii jii juukia mwaari waa ciao ugaambie noo mwaari waa nyaakwe urii uuntu* line 11
 You are free to court my sister. However, your sister is an issue.
 C.Aaaaa. line 12
- A.*Jii jii mbitaagwa kauuna meetho nii nkéenye ciao ntuura etu.* ... line 13
 I am known as a winker by girls of my village.
 C.Aaaa. line 14
- B.*Jii jii kaa njeenu irii kithiooro nkomboore baicikiiri.* line 15
 Does your way to your home have bends for me to hire a bicycle?
 C. Aaaa. line 16
- A. *Jii jii mwaari waa ciao nii muthoongi agambaagwa jumamoci.* line 17
 My sister is beautiful, and she is only available for courting on Saturdays.
 C.Aaaa. line 18

- B. *Mwaari waa ciao nii kabuteeni naani cekiini minjaa.* line 18 (b)
 My sister is a Captain and I am a Sergeant-Major.
 C.Aaaa. line 19
 D.Toonya. line 20
 Attack.
- B. *Jii jii naa riiria tukuugambia tutiigambaagia utii curuuari.* line 21
 Although we are courting we cannot accept those without innerwear
 C.Aaaa. line 22
- A. *Jii jii baamo njeetu nii ta mucii jwaa njuura jutikiagaaira maarwa ruuri.* line 23
 My friend our home is like a beehive and cannot prepare millet beer for loafers.
 C.Aaaa. line 24
- B. *Jii jii baamo nii mwaathi waa mauugu agwimaaga miiti iguuru.* line 25
 My father is a hunter and he hunts beehives on top of trees.
 C.Aaaa. line 26
- A. *Jii jii twetiire twauuma maguuru tugikiira kwaaria uroongo.* line 27
 We have gone to far and wide, fearing to lie.
 C.Aaaa line 28
- B. *Jii jii ndikuthiurukia turiima baaruga ituure kwijja.* line 29
 I will take you round the mountains and consequently receive letters.
 C.Aaaa. line 30
 D.Tonya. line 31
 Attack.
- A. *Jii jii ntireei naa ntikwii cieaja ciao iguuru ngwaate.* line 32
 I am not tall or short; therefore I will catch whatever comes above.
 C.Aaaa. line 33
- B. *Jii jii baamo mbitagwaa reenyua ndijaaga miiti ithuumbi.* line 34
 My friend I am called a giraffe because I eat the tops of trees.
 C.Aaaa. line 35
- A. *Jii jii turiima nii twiiri Gwaamba mbathiira kauu kaangi.* line 36
 There are only two mountains in Gwaamba. Where is the other?
 C.Aaaa. line 37
- B. *Jii jii kaamwe nii Kiraitu Meeru naa KANU yatuunywaa iraatu.* line 38
 The mountain is Kiraitu in Meeru, and KANU lost its shoes.
 C.Aaaa. line 39
- A. *Jii jii mbeere yaakwa nikuriiama niurugiirwee maarwa ikuunde.* line 40
 My jingles are pausing, brew millet beer for them to drink.
 C.Aaaa. line 41
- B. *Jii jii ruumaagia ng'oondu cumbii gwatuuka ikuruumiire.* line 42
 Give the sheep salt, when night comes it will follow you.
 C.Aaaa. line 43
- A. *Jii jii munyaaki juuri ngiriine ntithaagirwa ucuuru naa nguoo.* line 44
 With plenty of millet in Ngiriine, you cannot hide gruel for me in your clothes.
 C.Aaaa. line 45
- B. *Jii jii tukuubundiithia ikuurema noo Kithiruune ikweenda.* line 46
 We have taught them well, but they still desire Kithiruune (a despised place).
 C.Aaaa. line 47
- A. *Jii jii ndumaagia utinguntiimba kaa muuntu aguukua akauura.* line 48

Give me when you are alive, because a person gets lost when he dies.

C.Aaaa. line 49

B. *Nii Kithiruune kiauuga njoogu nii muriimo oriire.* line 50

It is Kithiruune which claimed the elephant died of sickness.

C.Aaaa. line 51

A. *Jii jii nkwijiite ndii umuthoongi ndethiira unkuruukite.* line 52

I came thinking I am the best, but I have found another beyond me.

C.Aaaa. line 53

B. *Jii jii kithaaria gitii mwiiri noo mitii yaa mbaaru ikweeba.* line 54

A performer has no body, only the ribs are gently moving.

C.Aaaa. line 55

A. *Jii jii kaguutu kamwee gaiika kariira tuungi bwauura.* line 56

One girl gets married, and she tells her age-mates that they are doomed.

C.Aaaa. line 57

D.Tooo. line 58

Enough.

B **Ajia murogi ukuundoga urokiinywa nii ndamba. Nangakua utiinduma nii muuthwa wathinjira.** line 59

Woe unto you, you sorcerer bewitching me, if I die you will not eat me. Instead you will have me slaughtered for the ants.

Kirariire Song 2

A. *Guguukia gukuthiira naa makuii.* line 60

The dawn is very visible and its indicators are glaring.

B. *Eee.* line 61

A. *Kariinguri nkiiri yaa taata ndiuuga nguutatiiree kiaao gitiindeka.* line 62

Small boy of my mother, I want to ignore you but I feel for you

C.Eee. line 63

A. *Ndauuga nkwereekere kiruumba na mbooru.* line 64

I think of facing you, but your odour is too much.

C.Eee line 65

B. *Agwee Namiiruri mwaaria nkaanya utii kimaamo kieega.* line 66

C. You Namiiruri (name of a singing bird) the sweet talker, you have no good sleeping place.

D. *Toonya.* line 67

Attack

A. *Kariinguuri nkiiri yaa taata urii muriingi waa kirariire kaaana urii kathanduuri nkiina miuunda yaa kiriindi ncooga ikiithaanduura?* line 68

Small boy, the pride of my mother, is you a performer of kirariire or you are a monkey shelling green grams in peoples' farms?

C.Eee. line 69

A. *Kaana nii mbaaki mbiithi itiirathiira ng'aana.* line 70

Or you are raw tobacco whose bitterness is live?

C.Eee. line 71

B. *Ndikwiingainga naa tuguuru twaaku urii naa tuu utoonye ndiia uurie kauura mwaathi wa ruuji gikaaro niikuu.* line 72

I will chase you with your legs until you enter deep waters and ask the frog, the king of water where you can rest.

C.Eee. line 73

B. *Akuuüre mukuui naa nkaai niwanduumiire riiria bwathambaagia mwari waa nyaakwe.* line 74

He will tell you, the dying man with testicles, I will not help because you stepped on me when you were bathing your sister.

C.Eee. line 75

B. *Ncooke nkwiingaiinge natuu utoonye itiiri uriie nthingiiri mwaathi waa kieeni gikaaaro niikuu.* line 76

I will still pursue you until you enter the field and ask the ant, the king of open grounds where you can rest.

C.Eee. line 77

B. *Akwiiiree niwambaatiire ncaabu riiria wataanagwa.* line 78

He will tell you that you refused to give him a bit of your foreskin when you were getting circumcised.

C.Eee. line 79

B. *Ncooke nkwiingaiinge natuu utoonye gaaru withiire abaagu naa nyakwee bakiraaitha thoo.* line 80

Even further, I will pursue you until you enter the hut and find your father and mother doing the manual lumbering (making love).

C.Eee. line 81

B. *Ituu muuthi muuga uu muuga.* line 82

Please (you) the performer, I greet you and I greet you (again).

C. *Muuthi muuga uu muuga.* line 83

(You) the performer, I greet you and I greet you (again).

A. *Kirimaara kiraari bwaa ruguuru nikuu kiauuma gaiiti.* line 84

(You said) Mount Kenya was in the West why do you now say it is in the East?

C.Eee. line 85

A. *Ndiirwa nii muuri waa baatiiri wakiriingiree mbiicha kirenaama gaiiti.* line 86

I hear when the bastard Catholic father photographed it, it relocated to the east.

C.Eee. Line 87

B. *Ndauumiire auu ndeeta kwaba muntuweetu ndoorua nthaaka niitumagwa kaana itutumagwa.* line 89

I travelled to the home of my uncle and I was asked if circumcised men can go for errands.

C. *Eee.* line 90

B. *Ndauuga niitumagwa.* line 91

I agreed they can go for them.

C. *Eee.* line 92

B. *Ndaaneenkerwa mwaari Kanyiiri tukariithie Muuti jwa kiama.* line 93

Consequently, I was given a girl called Kanyiiri to take the herd to Muuti jwa kiama (place name)

C. *Eee.* line 94

B. *T haa thiita ciakiinya ndooria mwaari Kanyiiri niaatia utiikuutheeka.* line 95

At midday I asked Kanyiiri why she was not laughing.

C.Eee. line 96

- B. *Ndaiikaiikia njaara ndagwaata kioongo ambiira nii magaanjo jaa riuua.* line 97
I stretched my hand and touched her head upon which she told me (that was not the right place to touch since) that was the old place for the sun.
- C.*Eee.* line 98
- B. *Ndakaaiikia njaara kaiiri ndagwaata nkiingo ambiira nii magaanjo jaa mikaathi.* .line 99
Again I stretched my hand and I touched the neck, and she told me (that again was not the right place to touch since) that was the place for necklaces.
- C.*Eee.* line 100
- B. *Ndaiikaiikia njaara kaiiri ndagwaata kiuu ambiiraa nii magaanjo jaa biakuuria...* line 101
Further, I stretched my hand and touched her stomach, and she told me not to touch there either since) that was the place for food.
- C.*Eee.* line 102
- B. *Muukui naa nkaai ndaiikaiikia kaairi ndagwaata mutendeeria kinuu.* line 103
Even further, I swear by my testicles, I extended my hand and I touched her pubic region (and she consented).
- C.*Eee.* line 104
- B. *Niaatia karuume ndaiigua ndookia.* line 105
How I became sexually aroused.
- C. *Niaatia karuume ndaiigua ndookia.* line 106
How I became sexually aroused.
- A. *Ndaigaambairia bwa Kioorone ntiuumba nguutu ntuura yaa Kiuuga.* line 107
I was courting at Kioorone (place name), and I do not want gossips of Kiuuga village.
- C. *Ndaigaambairia bwaa Kioorone ntiuumba nguutu ntuura yaa kiuuga.* line 108
I was courting at Kioorone, and I do not want gossips of Kiuuga village.
- A. *Iii Muriiruu iii Mutabuui.* line 109
(I swear by) Muriiruu and Mutabuui (as said elsewhere Muriiru and Mutabuui are the mythical forefathers of the Meru people).
- C. *Iii Muriiruu iii Mutabuui.* line 110
(I swear by) Muriiruu and Mutabuui
- Ituu waiigua Muriiruu Mutabuui ncaabu yaa mwaana irii nthii.* line 111
When you hear Muriiruu (and) Mutabuui, the foreskin of the child is down.
- C.*Eee.* line 112
- B. *Riuu ummenye njaara kjuukia nii taa muguguuku.* line 113
(Also,) now know that the hands are stretched to take the way overgrown grass takes.
- C.*Eee.* line 114
- B. *Mumeeero kumeeria niita ngitiriithua.* line 115
Further, the throat swallows like when one is fucking.
- C.*Eee.* line 116
- B. *Buuria ukoorua utiigaakane.* line 117
So what you will be asked, do not deny.
- B. *Buuria ukoorua utiigaakane.* line 118
So what you will be asked, do not deny.
- C. *Tooo.* line 119
Attack.
- D. *Muuthi ukuutha reekia kiuuthi kuuri muuthi uungi ukweenda kuutha.* line 120
The player who is playing, leave the play because another is keen on playing.

- C. *Muuthi ukuutha reekia kiuuthi kuuri muuthi uungi ukweenda kuutha.* line 121
The player who is playing, leave the play because another is keen on playing.
- E. *Ukaiigua nkeenye cietaana bagitiindo kithiciiro ikimwee.* line 122
If you hear girls calling each other friends of the day, their fucking place is one.
- D. *Tooo* (attack) line 123
- B. *Muuthi muuga oomuuga.* line 124
The performer, I greet you and I greet you.
- C. *Muuthi muuga oomuuga.* line 125
(you) player, I greet you and I greet you.
- B. *Muuuthii muuga ngukethie kaiiri naa kathaatu muuntu utaani atikethagua rimwee kiinya utaani waa muuka.* line 126
(you) player, I greet you once, two times, and threefold... because a circumcised man is never greeted once, even if it is a circumcised woman
- C.Eee. line 127
- B. *Niiku kanyooni gaaka kauuma keeja gukuura tuungi miriiri iii Njaagi?* line 128
Where is this bird coming from to start removing others feathers, I swear by Njaagi (proper name)?
- C. *Iii Muriiruu iii Mutabuui.* line 129
I swear by Muriiru and Mutaabui.
- E. *Mbitaagwa Mugambi mwaana waa M'Rutere naa rukuungi ntiiri.* line 130
I am Mugambi son of M'Rutere and I have no mental sickness.
- C.Eee. line 131
- E. *Rukuungi rwa gwikiirwa tiiru rwa muciarwa.* line 132
An imposed mental sickness is not like the one by birth.
- C.Eee. line 133
- E. *Ntaano ni makwiiri makuthaatu ruuria ukweenda rwiiku.* line 134
There are two and three-fold circumcisions styles; so, say which one you want.
- C.Eee. line 135
- E. *Urieenda ruuru rwa mwicuuka kariinga kathiige?* line 136
Do you want the one of Chuka, a pruned tree?
- C.Eee. line 137
- E. *Kaana nii ruuru rwa mweembu nkaraanga itii maatu?* line 138
Or the one of Embu, a basket without ears?
- C.Eee. line 139
- E. *Kaana nii ruuru rwa nkorothooro raa baa juuju beetu?* line 140
Or this one of our forefathers, of full (foreskin) removal.
- C.Eee. line 141
- D.Tooo. line 142
Attack.
- B. *Ikaaba twijiire gwa Muthoomi kariimba wanoora kuuria Ncincigiiri ikuugwa ikooja mpiindi yaa mweere mambuura kuuria nakwaambamba.* line 143
It is good we came at Muthoomi's, Muthomi is a self sufficient person, where Ncincigiiri the bird lands and picks a grain of millet; ceremony is to eat and move around happily.
- C. *Mambuura kuuria naa kwaambamba.* line 144
Ceremony is to eat and move around happily.

- E. *Iitu kariinguri nkiiri yaa taata naau ukwaambamba tiino tuuri ndakiira buuria maraandu ii Njaagi.* line 145
 Kindly, small boy, the pride of my mother where you are trotting is not where we are; I fear that you may incur debts, I swear by Njaagi
- C. *Iii muuri iru iii mutaabui.* line 146
 I swear by Muriiru and Mutaabui.
- B. *Ndikuuria bukaiiriima kaana butiriima.* line 147
 I am wondering whether you will endure or not.
- C. *Eee.* line 148
- B. *Bukairiima micariica yaaba Cioondaatu igambaaga manida agiikia kaana butiriima?* line 149
 Will endure the cracking whips of Cioondaatu which crack during small hours of the night or not?
- C. *Eee.* line 150
- B. *Mwiji wandumiire uuri cukuuru geeta mwaarimu agutethie.* line 151
 Boy you insulted me while in school now call the teacher to help you.
- C. *Mwiji wandumiire uuri cukuuru geete mwaarimu agutethie.* line 152
 Boy you insulted me while in school now call the teacher to help you.
- E. *Naagwe kiuu kineene M'Ituuru utiteethia kaana uteethia uungi iii Njaagi.* line 153
 You the big stomach M'Ituuru you cannot help yourself or others, I swear by Njaagi.
- C. *Iii Muriiru iii Mutaabui.* line 154
 I swear by Muriiru and Mutaabui.
- B. *Baamo naayo nkooma ikaaria ndamitiira ikoone ndaau kwaa Muruunga.* line 155
 My friend if the devil talks, I will hit it, and later it will be punished by God.
- C. *Nkooma ikaaria ndamitiira ikoone ndaau kwaa Muruunga.* line 156
 If the devil talks I will hit it, and later it will be punished by God
- D. *Tooo. Toonya. Muruugi maarwa tii muthuuku baata yaraara nthii naa mukiiki....* line 157
 Attack and attack. The brewer of millet beer is not bad, but the problem is only with the person sharing it out.
- C. *Muruugi maarwa tii muthuuku baata yaraara nthii naa mukiiki.* line 158
 The brewer of millet beer is not bad, but the problem is only with the person sharing out.

Kiama Song

- A. *Kiama nijaa ndwaari muthenya muui naa mweega.* line 159
 Kiama is like sickness a good day or bad.
- B. *Abaagu waa kiama nuriiku keenda tukameenya kugaamba?* line 160
 Who is your father of kiama so that we can argue?
- A. *Ndiia irii Mutoonga iriigwuura ithaagu ikagwiika.* line 161
 The deep waters in Mutoonga raise one wing and close.
- B. *Muriigi jwaa gicaancana jutiteemekaga nii iriigi.* line 162
 A rope of a tender plant cannot be cut because it is raw.
- A. *Kajiji kaa mbuuri ntuurutu/mbuuri mpoonda nii ciao mbuuri ukuuthuta?....* line 163
 A penis of a thin goat, whose goats are you fucking?
- C. *Toonya.* line 164
 Attack

- B. *Niaatia ntigwiiritue riiria ngweete muthuuri naa kauujo?* line 165
Why should I not be happy when I am holding a bowl of soup?
- A. *Karacianaanga uncuuku karaigiriira magaamba.* line 166
It garnished itself and got into problems.
- B. *Ntiriika yaaba ngiiti itiiriima igikuunjwaa.* line 167
An idiot of stubborn man, I wonder if you will endure.
- C. *Taanda nyaama twiriire tii mwarouari waa nyaakwe ukuriirwa.* line 168
Cut the meat so that we can eat, it is not being eaten in honour of your sister.

Analysis and Discussion

Conversational songs by Meru men present a narrative of the Meru as a proud people with no reference to any other 'superior' culture in capturing their own realities and in their interpretation of the cosmos. The Meru conversational songs are characterized by a performer taunting his interlocutor with witty statements (proverbs). *Njuno* or proverbs in Kimeru are 'wise sayings' whose meaning is 'difficult to unravel' unless one is properly schooled in the 'ways of knowing' of the community. Proverbs are a kind of 'secret or allusive language' (Finnegan, 1970). These proverbs, like other artistic expressions, 'are a rich source of imagery and succinct expression' expressed through 'compressed and allusive phraseology' (Finnegan, 1970: 390).

In Meru community, proverbs are very common in adult speech. Indeed, knowledge of proverbs demonstrates the user's linguistic prowess and wisdom. Somebody was regarded mature, intelligent and linguistically competent in the language of the community if they knew how to use proverbs. Proverbs draw images from real life and are a popular genre of literature throughout Africa. As Madu (1992: 190) observes '[P]roverbs originate in all life circumstances, social and historical, and thus reflect the various viewpoints'. Further, it is observed that a proverb is 'a proposition or group of propositions deriving from the experiences of the wise men of the society affirming either clearly or metaphorically popular indisputable truths (Mulyumba Wa Mamba quoted in Madu, 1992: 19). 'Wise men' and 'indisputable truths' are controversial concepts since women can also be wise. However, in the context of highly patriarchal societies, one can appreciate the use of the term.

As various strands of knowledge are commonly communicated in speech, any adult ignorant of proverbs in Meru is assumed to be an idiot. Ignorance of proverbs is also inexcusable because from an early age, children are instructed by use of proverbs. Although children in Meru and elsewhere in Africa may not regularly use proverbs and other aphoristic structures used by adults in speech, the children still understand the messages put across in proverbs. Boateng (1952: 330) argues that '[P]roverbial sayings' are an aspect of traditional education passed from one generation to another.

Use of proverbs in Meru is a highly respected art ingrained in the culture of the community. Proverbs are valued for their educative value to ensure social harmony, an idea supported by several scholars. Reinforcing the use of proverbs among the young and old, Boateng (1952) for example, observes that among the Fante and Asante of Ghana, it is common for adults to moralize and communicate indirectly to children by the use of proverbs (quoted in Samjumi and Rutere, 2011: 3).

Even further, the underpinning of proverbs in enriching speech and for educational utility is cited and discussed by other scholars. Emphasizing the value of proverbs in Igbo language, Achebe (1994: 1) observes that ‘proverbs are like palm oil in which words are eaten’. Essentially, when palm oil is used for cooking food, it makes it tasty, tender and easy to swallow. Also, by similar additive principle, when proverbs are incorporated in speech, they make it interesting and economical because messages are delivered in few words.

In support of Achebe’s view, Ene (2006) contends that ‘[...] in Igbo society of Nigeria in West Africa, proverbs are used in speech for the purpose of inspiring and entralling the audience as well as showing the linguistic prowess and wisdom of the speaker’(quoted in Samjumi and Rutere, 2011: 1). Among the TIV people of Nigeria, a person who exhibits ability in utilizing proverbs competently ‘in all social situations gains respect, not only of his peers but also of his juniors and seniors as well’ (Bergsma, 1970: 162).

Samjumi and Rutere (2011) acknowledge the indispensable role of proverbial wisdom encoded in pithy, witty expressions popularized by accurate and frequent use in communicating ideas. Understandably, proverbs constitute a major linguistic input of many languages in Africa since they communicate messages clearly, precisely, and truthfully in addition to imparting wisdom in a reciprocal way to both the user and the listener. The users and listeners are both the young and old.

***Kirarire* and the Embedded Proverbial Wisdom**

Kirarire contains advisory instructions coded in proverbs and imagery and is sung on the eve of circumcision with parts of it repeated at various moments in the morning while taking the candidate to the river to wash and in the circumcision field during circumcision itself (Nyaga, 1997).

Expert performers give moral instructions to the candidates through this song. The candidates are not only taught rules of good conduct befitting a circumcised person, but they are also instructed on the importance of maintaining one’s dignity as well as ‘impressing on the candidates that their years of childhood had gone and that, besides beginning a new life, they had to maintain high moral standards so as to keep on the same moral level with their forefathers’ (Nyaga, 1997: 58). The Meru, like other African communities believed that it took the whole community, and not an individual, to bring up a child.

Kirarire is sung after all other songs and dances have stopped. It is sung with everyone sitting or standing quietly, and is done in a serious tone in front of the house of the candidate’s mother. The candidate, together with others, is supposed to be either inside the mother’s house, or somewhere among those nearest to the entrance. Nyaga (1997) notes that *Kirarire* is a really fascinating song and everybody, young and old, loves it because of its melodiousness and sublime moral teaching. Due to the nature of this song, crowds of people are often seen flocking to spend the night in the village where it is being sung. Parts of this song sometimes have a mythical character and because of its allegoric nature, it is very difficult to give it a direct English translation; in fact, such translation would not make sense. The song is long and complex and is sung in various tones intermixed from verse to verse.

Intonation and Words of *Kirarire*

In analysing the words and intonation of kirarire and other songs Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and Grice's (1975) Theory of Conversational Implicature will be used.

In the Speech Act theory, the effect of utterances on speakers and hearers takes a threefold distinction:

- (i) Locutionary Act; This is the act of making an utterance or a meaningful linguistic expression in which S (speaker) says X (an utterance) to H (hearer). For example, X can be equivalent to, say a curse, as in *urokinywa nii ndamba* 'may you be inflicted by a bug' (directed at a perceived sorcerer). (Line 59)
- (ii) Illocutionary Act; This is the force / value of the utterance or the intended / import of the utterance in which case an act is performed in accomplishing P (the action) by saying X. For example, P can be equivalent to *Kirumi, the curse*.
- (iii) Perlocutionary Act; This is act of having an effect of the utterance on the hearer i.e., an act is performed by making H believe in P. For example, H believes that he is cursed *naarumi* (he is cursed) by S.

In Leech's (1983) theory, words in conversation may imply rather than directly state certain beliefs. In the politeness principle stated in his theory, positive formulations / beliefs should be maximized, in certain circumstances, while negative formulations/beliefs should be minimized in other circumstances.

The words used in *Kirarire* differ slightly from place to place but the substance of its teaching remains the same. Before the soloist starts singing, he first draws the attention of his audience to the fact that he has brought blessings to the home of the boy to be circumcised (see Leech's op.cit. politeness principle). The song starts in the following manner:

Soloist: like the one starting	ntiambagia
To weave a basket,	kirumi,
I don't begin with an insult	muchii jwa mukabua,
In such a home	ta mwambia,
Which will turn out well	wa katheti.

Chorus: That is true. Eee

In this verse there is deliberate attempt to lighten up the tension that has built up due to the seriousness of the occasion and in a way observing Leech's (op.cit.) Politeness Principle.

Continuing with his song, the soloist changes tune and tells the mother of the candidate, and everybody else, in a rather serious tone the following:

Soloist: when you hear it sung and said:	waigua, iimuriru-
I, When you hear (iimuriru-Iimutabui) said, then, know that	ii muta-buui
The foreskin of your child is	umenye nchabu
Already cut and dropped down	ya mwaana iri nthi.
Chorus: That is true	Eee.

Here Austin's (1962) Illocutionary Act takes effect demonstrated by the *fait accompli* nature of *ii Muriru ii Mutabui* words. Once these special words of circumcision are uttered, it signals that the operation has been accomplished. Circumcision can never fail to take place once such words have been uttered.

Kirarire could also start as follows:

Soloist: Eh Njagi, oh, it is dawn,	li mukui-I, ii Njagi,
Chorus: Eh Njagi, oh, it is dawn.	li mukui-I, ii Njagi.
Soloist: Eh Njagi, oh, it is dawn,	li mukui-I, ii Njagi,
Chorus: Eh Njagi, oh, it is dawn.	li mukui-I, ii Njagi.
Soloist: Eh, dawn has risen, it has arisen,	li mikui yatema uu yatema,
Chorus: Eh, dawn has risen, it has arisen.	li mikui yatema uu yatema.
Soloist: The council had enmity	kiama kirari uthu na mutethia.
With the one who assists it.	
Chorus: The council had enmity	kiama kirari uthu na mutethia.
With the one who assists it.	
Soloist: Eh, snakes go up the pool,	li miraru iraitia na ia,
Chorus: Yes, that is what is required.	Yii –iii –uu-i.
Soloist: If you cannot take a plunge into	li ndia ikarema uchierie nteere.
the pool, bathe at the sides.	
Chorus: If you cannot take a plunge into	li ndia ikarema uchierie nteere.
the pool, bathe at the sides.	

(Nyaga, 1997)

Kirariire and *Kiama* songs are open performances to any willing and able performer. The participants comprise the soloist and a choral group doubling as the audience and interlocutors. The performance is done in conversational turns, and in all cases it is an engagement of two participants and a back up chorus which acknowledges every proverb (*njuno* in Kimeru) a performer expresses. Elders in the homestead where *Kirarire* was performed assessed if it was well conducted or not and would order for more food to be brought if they were impressed. Besides moral teaching, *Kirarire* was intended to encourage the candidate to face circumcision courageously, to be industrious, and to be of high moral standing among others.

The soloists in *Kirarire* engaged in mock rivalry, which at face value appear to be engaged in a rivalry to outdo each other in respect of their knowledge of proverbs with the best advisory value. The chorus comprises circumcised men who gather for *Kirarire*. Many a time, if a proverb is not well expressed, a member of the chorus may interject to correct it. If the proverb is perfectly put across, the interjector utters the word *too* or 'attacks' to encourage the immediate performer/soloist to carry on with more witty proverbs to challenge his 'rival'. Conversely, when the alternate soloist is challenged, he endeavours to counter the challenge accordingly.

Since challenges and responses are instantaneous, a performer is supposed to be alert in structuring the part due to him. However, when a performer cannot produce a proverb with the required wording, he can creatively come up with an acceptable equivalent. Of course the chorus/audience will cheer him for this achievement; thus, approving the continuity of the performance. Although the deviation from the required song wording is excused, it is not

encouraged to go for long because it may spoil the quality of the song. Thus, one of the roles of the chorus is not only to audit the quality of the song, but also to keep the tempo of *Kirarire* high and lively.

In general, success of *Kirarire* is judged by the accuracy of the wording, originality and excitement elicited by use of proverbs in instructing the candidates. There is no formal structure for which one has to conform to or deviate from. Women and children cannot be soloists, audience or judges, but they can act as spectators.

Meru conversational songs such as *Kirarire* and *Kiama* address the moral aspect of behaviour and are sung to initiate deep discussion in important topics such as how to live within the family and the community. The songs focus closely on the fundamental and recurrent problems of social relations; the qualities of love, the nature of obedience, the ethics and sanctions of social relations, etc. Sometimes they focus on questions arising from the mishandling of either relationships or problems brought about by misfortune.

If a *Kirarire* or *Kiama* song is sung badly, the bad singing will be seen as an affront or compromise to the continuity of the community's tradition of passing knowledge to the next generation through song. The audience will respond with judgements that impugn the legitimacy, veracity as well as the fluency of the artist/soloist. Virtue, in the context of the Meru conversational songs, resides both in the ability to sing eloquently and in the ability to demonstrate a command of performing the tradition of men's conversational songs. What matters is the flow of the songs in raising moral issues or recreating the issues through proverbs and not necessarily in offering a solution. Through song, the customary practices of the community are rehearsed and celebrated, time and time again, from one generation to another.

Each soloist who participates in a men's conversational song tries to use proverbial wisdom to put his interpretation of the situation in the best possible light. There is no argument over the facts of the issues of the conversation as the artists are free to interpret events the way they feel best. The group's direction of events becomes something of a corporate process in which an influential member expresses the mood of the group to which everybody assents because of his 'eloquent summation' (Abraham, 1983).

The lines in the songs are short and sharp and the message is usually clear and epigrammatic. Many of the moral songs reflect upon the condition of the community such as how people act in times of insufficiency. Most important is the emphasis placed on the sharing of resources, which is usually illustrated by the selflessness of one character or another.

Analysis of Sample Lines from *Kirarire* and *Kiama* Songs

Many lines in the proverbs are poetic in form and are replete with figurative language. In *ndiia iiri Mutonga iriigwuura iithagu ikagwiika* (*the deep waters at Mutonga river raises its wings and covers them*) (line 161...), deep water is metaphorically given animate qualities of a bird with wings. Deep waters in Meru are feared and sometimes used as places of drowning wayward people. Indeed, the soloist is forewarning his opponent about his potency to engage in 'endless' song. This proverb teaches us not to underestimate other people's ability.

In another case, the soloist wants millet to be brewed for his jingles to drink; '*mbeere yaakwa nikuriiama niurugiirwee maarwa ikuunde*' (line 40), (brew millet beer for my failing jingles). This is a polite way of demanding payment to begin a performance and therefore observing Leech's (1983) politeness principle. Jingles are important musical accompaniments in the Meru community and 'brewing millet beer' for them attests to this importance; hence the need to give millet beer to the performer who is entertaining was considered a gesture of goodwill. The proverbial wisdom underlying line 140 is that a good turn is repaid with another good turn as in the English saying, 'scratch my back I scratch yours'.

Some metaphors have political overtones such as '*turiima ni twiiri Guuamba (a mythical place)...Kamwe nii Kiraitu Meru naa KANU yatuunywa iiratu*' (line 38); meaning, (there are two mountains in Guuamba; one is Kiraitu (Murungi) who is a popular politician in Meru, who among other things campaigned to dislodge KANU supremacy in Meru in 2002 General Elections. So literally put, Kiraitu robbed KANU (a former ruling party in Kenya) of its shoes. Whereas KANU is metaphorically presented as a person and a loser, Kiraitu is immortalized by being a mountain in Meru politics because of his relentless fight for the interests of the Meru community in post Moi era in Kenyan politics. The hidden proverbial wisdom in this song line is that heroism is a virtue and well recognized in Meru community.

In '*Kajijiji ka mbuuri nturutu ni mburi ciau ukuthuuta?*' (Line 163) (... the penis of a cursed goat, whose goats are you mounting?) is a case in which the penis of a goat is metaphorically addressed as if it were a human being. In this song line, and others of a similar kind, Leech's (1983) politeness principle is suspended so as to lighten the seriousness of certain taboo topics such as sex. This proverbial expression is a light warning (its illocutionary force) to circumcision candidates to avoid indiscriminate sex.

In '*Njeetu nii ta mucii jwa njuura (our home is like a beehive...)*' (line 23), a soloist's home is compared with that of a bee hive because there is plenty. Having plenty is a mark of wealth and the import of this expression is to encourage search for wealth. Similarly, in '*Kiama nita ndwaari*' (line 159), *kiama*, which is a secret organization, is like an illness in which there is an indirect comparison (simile) of 'illness' sickness and '*Kiama*'. Just like one cannot avoid illness when it comes, so one cannot avoid participating in *Kiama* song when it is initiated by the opponent. The proverbial song line underlines that you cannot run away from responsibility.

In '*... nthaaka nitumaagwa kaana ititumagwa...?*' (line 89), the question on whether circumcised men are sent on small (domestic) errands or not, the illocutionary force of this statement (see Austin's, op.cit. illocutionary act) is a warning to mothers and other unauthorized people which is given in the form of a rhetorical question. In Meru culture, it is an affront to male integrity to send circumcised men on domestic errands.

In '*Kirimaara kiirari bwa ruguuru, niku kiauma gaiti..?*' (line 84), 'Mount Kenya has always been on the west, how come (you say) that it is now in the east', is a rhetorical challenge; an indirect indictment on the part of the interlocutor, and indeed for anybody who gives falsehood.

In '*uukariiwa nii muuthwa*' (line 59), (you will be eaten by ants); *The illocutionary force of this statement is a reminder about the mortality of human life. Ants are perceived as carnivores capable of eating human beings in which 'hyperbole and exaggeration are frequent motifs'* (Finnegan,

1970). The idea here is to educate the audience on the worthlessness of a dead body and therefore to know that it is advisable to be good while one is alive.

In many of the songs, the mood is light-hearted as in ‘*mbeere yakwa niurugirwe marwa ikuunde*’ (brew millet beer for my jingles) (line 40), in which the main interest of the audience is the rhythm and melody of the song. Here the main audience comprising men and spectators who are largely women and children standing a safe distance away are invited to enjoy the rhythmic sound of jingles as the stage is being set for a more serious encounter. Repetition of the lines is very common, especially for choral responses.

In many songs, there is a series of antiphonal love lines in which there is an exchange between the soloist, the audience and the alternate soloist. The soloist is in control of the song, deciding its direction, in contrast with the chorus which is more or less fixed. The soloist often improvises his part as he pleases. Sometimes his lines are deliberately fragmented, leaving the listener to fill in for themselves, especially the missing lines in love songs or other lines with explicit sexual overtones. In some cases, the words are mumbled (or ‘swallowed’ in Kimeru idiom) to avoid explicit expression.

Several songs retain their original form as sang in the Meru community but words can change with different soloists to reflect new realities in the community or to change the mood of the song. Finnegan (1970: 267) argues that ‘even with a familiar song, there is room for variation on either words or tune in actual delivery so that each performance in a sense is a ‘new’ song’. Creative variation in the choice of words and /or tune is quite common in Meru songs and the main idea is to avoid the monotony of some familiar song line. New verses may be added arising from the basic theme recognized in the song. Unless there is reason to retain sanctioned or fixed words as in the fixed renditions in actual circumcision, there is variation in each performance depending on the creativity of the soloist.

In *Kirarire* and *Kiama* conversational songs, the performer is urged on by the chorus/audience with ‘nonsense’ chants of *Eee, Eee*, upon which the alternate soloist is worked up into a frenzy to come up with a more witty response. Another performer is inspired and joins into the fray with even more witty lines. Evidently all these responses underline proverbial wisdom. Note how the following lines show a soloist working another soloist into frenzy:

- B. *Thaa thiita ciakiinya ndooria mwaari Kanyiiri niaatia utiikuutheeka.*** line 95
At midday I asked Kanyiiri why she was not laughing.
- C.Eee.** line 96
- B. *Ndaiikaiikia njaara ndagwaata kioongo ambiira nii magaanjo jaa riuua.*** line 97
I stretched my hand and touched her head upon which she told me (that was not the right place to touch her since) that was the old place for the sun.
- C.Eee.** line 98
- B. *Ndakaaiikia njaara kaiiri ndagwaata nkiingo ambiira nii magaanjo jaa mikaathi...*** line 99
Again I stretched my hand and I touched her neck, and she told me (that was not the right place to touch her either since) that was the place for necklaces.
- C.Eee.** line 100
- B. *Ndaiikaiikia njaara kaiiri ndagwaata kiuu ambiiraa nii magaanjo jaa biakuuria.*** line 101

Further, I stretched my hand and touched her stomach, and she told me (that it was still not the right place to touch her since) that was the place for food.

C.Eee. line 102

B. Muukui naa nkaai ndaiikaiikia kaairi ndagwaata mutendeeria kinuu. line 103

Even further, I swear by my testicles, I extended my hand and I touched her pubic region (and she consented).

C.Eee line 104

B.Niaatia karuume ndaiigua ndookia. line 105

How I became sexually aroused.

B. Niaatia karuume ndaiigua ndookia. line 106

How I became sexually aroused.

Some lines in the songs are short and sharp as in the actual circumcision and the proverbial message is usually clear and epigrammatic as in ‘*iii Muriiru iii Mutabuui*’ (line 109) ‘I swear by *Muriiru* and *Mutabuui*’. *Muriiru* and *Mutabui* are mythical fathers of the Meru community. In invoking the names of the forefathers of the Meru community, a solemn stage is being set for an important function; that of circumcision. However, the physical act of circumcision on its own, both for men or for women, may not have any significant biological benefit as such, and can even be harmful to women, but its socio-cultural and symbolic value for the Ameru is enormous and complex. Without a suitable replacement to circumcision, age-old knowledge expressed through song in its context may be lost forever.

The thread of proverbial wisdom running through most of the conversational songs captures various themes such as reciprocity, knowledge retention, truthfulness, generosity, respect for the old, etc. In particular, many of the moral songs reflect upon the condition of the community such as how people act in times of insufficiency and the most important thing is the emphasis placed on the sharing of resources, usually illustrated by the selflessness of one character to another. Thus in *Turiina na turare* (we shall sing and sleep over), and *Nyongu nii ya M’Marete* (the pot belongs to M’Marete); ‘sharing’, which is considered a virtue in the Meru community, is demonstrated by M’Marete’s generosity (M’Marete is a fond name for a generous person).

A related theme to that of ‘generosity’ is that of ‘do-unto-others what you would like them to do to you’, a form of reciprocity or lack of it as demonstrated by *Jukia mwari wa chia ugambie* (you are free to court my sister), and *waaku niwe uriuuntu* (but your sister is a problem) (line 11). Some people like to benefit from others but such people become stingy when it comes to their turn to have other people benefit from them; hence the analogy of refusing to have one’s sister courted yet one wants to court other men’s sisters. The deep sense of sarcasm is therefore expressed by the soloist with his curting, proverbial remarks as a general castigation of a person who wants to benefit from others but he himself is averse to letting others benefit from him.

In Meru community, certain expressions such as those involved in making certain commitments in such ceremonies as marriage, paying or receiving debts, naming, burying, etc, are taken very seriously for their expected ‘truth value’. Such expressions find themselves in certain songs and are ‘equivalent to actions’ (Austin, 1962). Austin observes that saying is equal to doing.

In Austin’s Speech Act theory, much of language is used as a tool to do things with words. Indeed, in Meru conversational songs by men, language is used to admonish, to counsel, direct,

swear, declare, just to mention a few. This theory demonstrates that even in these songs, knowing a language is not simply knowing how to literally encode a message and to transmit it to a second party. Language is interpreted differently according to the circumstances of its use. The Meru songs indicate that language has verbal power over certain aspects of life in the Meru community.

In invoking the names of the forefathers who founded the Meru tribe (as *in ii Muriiru ii Mutabuui..!*) at the start of a male circumcision ceremony, for example, an illocutionary act is performed because without uttering these words, then circumcision is not perceived to have taken place. Consider the complete circumcision song below:

Ii Muriiru ii Mutabuui! X 2 (in the name of Muriiru and Mutabuui)
Waigua Muriiru na Mutabuui umenye ncaabu ya mwaana iri nthii (when you hear the names *Muriiru* and *Mutabuui* know that the foreskin of the child is down) (line 111).

Circumcision cannot be considered complete without such an utterance said by the right people at the right time and at the right place; what Austin refers to as ‘felicity conditions’ for an act to be valid.

Another theme is one where the beneficiary of a good deed may answer his benefactor with scorn or even harm.

Nthenge irii nyiro yatunga muriithi (a well fed goat gores the shepherd)

Many of the songs focusing on aspects of living ‘correctly’ and ‘collectively’ reveal consequences of a contrary behaviour. Consider how a curse constitutes the illocutionary force (Austin, 1962) of the following statement:

Murogi ukundoga, murogi ukundoga---urokinywa nii ndamba naa ngakua utinduuma nii muthua wathinjira (you sorcerer, you sorcerer bewitching me, you shall be inflicted by a bug because if I die you cannot eat me, you only slaughter me for ants). (Line 59)

Some songs emphasize truthful and honest behaviour to avoid bad consequences; consider *Muntu wa muromo twamutiigire Kianiangiiri* (we threw the gossip in the Kianiangiiri water fall).

Certain songs castigate selfishness. For instance, *Kaguutu kamwe gaika kariira bangi bwaura* (one girl weds and tells the others that they are doomed) (line 59). This is equivalent to ‘on your way up remember those behind you because you might need them when you are coming down’ or ‘do not burn your bridges.’

Although in many societies certain words or behaviours are frowned on, forbidden or considered taboo (Fromkin et. al. 2011), there is a ‘licence’ to use sexually expressive language in Meru male circumcision songs to lighten the seriousness of the moment. This also helps to shed off shyness from the initiates as they prepare to face adult life of courtship. According to Fromkin et. al. (2011: 472), people know ‘the social situations in which they are desirable, acceptable, forbidden, and outright dangerous to utter’. Consider the following:

...muukui na nkai ndaikaikia njaara ndagwataa mutenderia kinuu—niatia karume ndaigwa ndookia!(line 103 and 105) (I swear by my testicles, I extended my hand and I touched her pubic hair—and how, my buddy, I felt horny!)

Such sexually expressive language is also characterized by euphemisms and implicatures. Fromkin et. al. (2011.) argue that the emergence of taboo words and ideas motivates the creation of euphemisms. In Meru, euphemisms become morally expedient whenever it is not suitable to use taboo language. In the male conversational songs, for example, *gukunda mbaaki* (literally ‘to take tobacco’) is a euphemism for ‘sexual intercourse’).

Use of euphemistic language further echoes what intrigued Grice (1975) in his *Cooperative Principle* that despite people being expected to be ‘cooperative’ in their conversation, they were not always forthright in their contribution. Instead they say less than expected and listeners are forced to draw inferences from what has been said concerning what has not been said. In Grice’s theory, there are overriding principles in people’s conversations; being informative, relevant, clear and truthful but sometimes these principles are violated to uphold certain polite ‘guidelines’. Leech (1983) calls these guidelines ‘politeness principles’ which simply address the issue of maximizing one’s polite beliefs in stating something positive as well as minimizing ones impolite beliefs in stating something negative.

Leech (1983) came up with his *Politeness Principle* to explain why speakers are not always ‘cooperative’ in their communication by apparently withholding some information. He concluded that speakers withhold some information out of politeness since giving full information might hurt others. In the politeness principle, positive formulations / beliefs should be maximized while negative formulations/beliefs should be minimized. The latter is achieved through euphemisms as in referring to having sex being referred to in Kimeru as ‘taking tobacco’.

Conclusion and Way Forward

This study has demonstrated that the Meru have a unique genre of songs identified as conversational songs performed by adult males. Important knowledge materials such as advisory information, is passed on from generation to generation through these songs. The language of the songs is aphoristic (proverbial) in nature and its melody and poetry is quite appealing to the audience who comprise initiates in male circumcisions. The import of this study is to demonstrate how knowledge can be passed in the medium that is appealing to the culture of a people: conversational songs in Meru, for example. Meru men are portrayed as disciplined and respectful and conversational songs are one way through which such virtues are acquired. Conversational songs and their song structure should be preserved and encouraged for use in schools as an important method of knowledge delivery. Much more research should be done on other songs with similar value performed by adult males from the Meru community.

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Notes

The following resource people (adult men) from the Meru community who were performers of the conversational songs helped in data collection:

1. Counsellor Gachaura - 60 years - Mitunguu location
2. Father Joseph Kabeeria - 56 years - Maua location
3. Mbae Kirito - 70 years - Nkuene location
4. Tarasisio Maching'a - 40 years - Mikinduri location
5. Musa M'Ithinji (now deceased) - 80 years - Mitunguu location
6. Mburugu Nyonta - 57 years - Nkuene location
7. Silas Kinoti (deceased) - 54 years) - Nkuene location
8. Julius Kathia - 58 - Mikumbune sublocation
9. M'Riria Nkamani - 70 years-Mikumbune sublocation
10. Joel Meme – 62 - Mikumbune sublocation

Although the full text of conversational songs by Meru men and their literal translation are available and were fully analysed, *Kirariire* songs (version i and ii) and one *Kiama* song have been presented for this paper. *Kirariire i* and *kirariire ii* differ in style and mood of delivery. These songs were chosen because of their popularity and versatility. They have been sung with changing imagery incorporating modern life styles and have easily been adapted to fit noncircumcision contexts such as church weddings and other occasions. Other songs such as *reenta* by the elderly and *nchiibi* by the very elderly are now obsolete. The selected songs have been translated to English in their literal sense and analyzed to unravel the hidden proverbial wisdom in each of them.

Key: A and B are performers, while C is the chorus and the audience. D is an interjector who directs the song performance in terms of correction or incitement or finality. He is any respected or acceptable member of the audience. E is another performer who intervenes to rescue a poor performer. Note that, the structures, optional *Jii jii* or you you, which is an emphatic alert of one performer to the other about the point to be made, and the responses *Aaaa* and *Eee*, which means structural words which underline proverbs.

Effects of Experiential Cooperative Concept Mapping Instructional Approach on Secondary School Students' Motivation in Physics in Nyeri County, Kenya

Patriciah W. Wambugu¹, Johnson M. Changeiywo¹ and Francis G. Ndiritu²

¹Department of Curriculum, Instruction & Educational Management, Egerton University, Kenya

²Department of Physics, Egerton University, Kenya

Abstract

The study of Physics in Secondary Schools is necessary in building up knowledge, basic skills, attitudes and competencies necessary for human resource needs in socio-economic development. Students in Universities and Tertiary colleges should therefore be motivated to enrol in Physics and pursue courses that require Physics. Although learner centred instructional approaches have been encouraged in teaching secondary school Physics, there has been low student enrolment in Physics at Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). This study aimed at finding out the effects of Experiential Cooperative Concept Mapping (ECCM) on students' motivation to learn Physics. Solomon Four Non-equivalent Control Group Design under the quasi- experimental research was used. A stratified random sample of 12 Secondary Schools was drawn from Nyeri County. Four boys' alone schools, four girls' alone schools and four co-educational schools were randomly assigned to four groups with a total of 513 Form Two students. Students in all the groups were taught the same Physics content of Magnetic Effect of Electric Current. The experimental groups were taught using ECCM approach while the control groups were taught through Regular Teaching Methods (RTM). Two groups were pre-tested prior to the implementation of treatment. After five weeks, all four groups were post-tested using the Student Motivation Questionnaire (SMQ). The instrument was validated and pilot tested before use. The reliability coefficient for SMQ was 0.81. The instrument was scored and data analyzed using t-test, one-way ANOVA and ANCOVA at a significance level of alpha equal to 0.05. The results of the study showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the motivation means of students who were taught through ECCM and those taught through RTM. The researchers recommend the use of ECCM in addressing motivation of students towards learning physics and the current low enrolment in the subject in Kenya.

Key words: Experiential Cooperative Concept Mapping (ECCM), Regular Teaching Methods (RTM), Secondary School students, Physics, Motivation, Nyeri County.

Introduction

Physics is an important subject in the secondary school curriculum because it helps learners apply its principles; acquire knowledge and skills to construct appropriate scientific devices from available resources (Feinstein, 2011; Muni et al., 2006). In addition, it prepares learners for scientific and technological vocations, which play a major role in technological, socio-economic and industrial development in many countries of the world (Waititu et al., 2001). Physics is a key discipline in producing qualified engineers, scientists, teachers and researchers among others. It should therefore be positioned in such a way as to attract many students to pursue it. In many countries, there has been a decline in interest to study Physics and lack of enthusiasm to take it as a course in higher levels in schools. This reduces the number of students wishing to continue with Physics in higher levels (Reid, 2003; Semela, 2010; Soong, 2010). In Kenya, many students shun the subject as compared to Biology and Chemistry. This has led to the low enrolment of the

subject at the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination (KCSE) as compared to that of the other two sciences as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: KCSE Students' Examination Candidature by Subject for Year 2008 to 2010

Year	2008		2009		2010	
Total of No of students and %	305,015	%	337,404	%	357,488	%
No of students in Physics	92,648	30.50	104,188	30.88	109,072	30.51
No of students in Biology	271,735	89.09	299,302	88.71	315,063	88.13
No of students in Chemistry	296,360	97.16	328,922	97.49	347,378	97.17

Source: Kenya National Examinations Council (2009, 2011)

As shown in Table 1, the KCSE examination analysis indicates that the percentage of students opting for Physics is below 30 percent, while those opting for Biology and Chemistry are over 88 percent and 97 percent respectively. A number of reasons have been identified by previous researchers as contributing to this lack of interest. Smithers (2006) noted that the study of Physics in schools and Universities is spiralling into decline as teenagers believe it is too difficult. There is a perception amongst students that the subject is too difficult to grasp conceptually. Williams et al. (2003) observed that the major reason for students finding Physics uninteresting is that it is seen as difficult and irrelevant. Another reason identified is that the teaching method used may not be interesting therefore resulting in more students dropping Physics in upper secondary (Gunasingham, 2009). The concern is how to motivate students and make Physics popular amongst secondary school students, thus reducing this decline in interest.

Findings of researchers who focus on teaching various topics in Physics indicate that regular teaching methods hardly improve the teaching of principle concepts in Physics (Crouch & Mazur, 2001; Tanel & Erol, 2008). The foundation for increased interest in Physics takes its root from the first two years of the secondary school cycle. The Physics curriculum at this level emphasizes the development of lower level cognitive domain; that is knowledge, comprehension and application, before that of the other higher levels, which comprise analysis, synthesis and evaluation (Muni et al., 2006; Wambugu, 2011). This enables the students understand Physics concepts at their early introduction to the subject. The teaching method employed by a teacher has been shown to reflect on students' understanding of the subject. It is also important for teachers to understand and interpret the objectives of Physics. Lack of attention to these aspects of the Physics curriculum by the respective Physics teachers could lead to students' perception of Physics as a difficult, irrelevant and boring subject, thus making them lose interest. It is therefore necessary to use methods which utilize instructional activities whereby students are involved in doing and thinking of the applications of what they are carrying out. Instructional strategies need to be participatory where all the domains of the student are engaged in learning (Muindi, 2008). Adesoji and Ibraheem (2009) are of the opinion that the teaching method adopted by the teacher in order to promote learning is of utmost importance. They therefore concluded that there is need to introduce, adopt and adapt the latest instructional techniques that are capable of sustaining the interest of learners.

The level of cognitive engagement and motivation of students is affected by the teacher controlling almost all activities, assigning a passive role to the students (Hanrahan, 1998). One of

the most important psychological concepts in education is motivation. Research has shown that motivation is related to various outcomes such as curiosity, persistence, learning and performance (Guay et al., 2008). Motivation plays an important role in determining how much the students will participate as well as the level of achievement. Self determination theory proposes three categories of motivation; amotivation, extrinsic motivation (which is itself made up of four different types of regulations; external, introjected, identified and integrated) and intrinsic motivation. Each type of motivation varies with regard to the amount of autonomy associated with it and thus lies along a continuum ranging from low (amotivation) to high (intrinsic motivation) self determination (Deci & Ryan, 2008).

Both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, which could lead to deep involvement in learning, may be constrained by a preponderance of teacher oriented method of instruction. This is because teachers play a significant role in inspiring and motivating students to learn. They are also responsible for creating opportunities that support learners' motivation (Jang, 2008). A teaching approach that a teacher adopts may motivate students to learn. This could consequently improve on the students' interest, perception of relevance of the subject matter and satisfaction during instruction. If students are motivated to learn Physics, not only are they likely to do well in the subject, but they may also opt to take it as an examination subject in KCSE. In addition, they are likely to pursue it later in higher education, and so end up in careers that require physics. There is need for classroom practices that would arouse students' interests and attention, as well as raise their ability to believe that they can accomplish tasks and raise their expectancies of academic work. Classroom tasks, on the one hand, can be structured in such a way that students are forced to compete with one another, work individually or cooperate with one another to obtain rewards that teachers make available for successfully completing these tasks. On the other hand, individualist and competitive classroom practices encourage students to work alone without caring either about others, or students trying to outdo others. These perceptions may cause some students to either avoid challenging subjects or tasks, or give up in the face of difficulty or reward themselves only if they win a competition and believe that their own successes are due to ability; whereas success of others are due to luck (Ames & Ames, 1984; Dembo, 1994; Dweck, 1986; Hohn, 1995; Spaulding, 1992).

ECCM is a composite instructional approach which combines experiential learning, cooperative learning and concept mapping. The amalgamation of ECCM is such that the elements of experiential learning are combined together with those of concept mapping and cooperative learning. The diversity of learning styles which characterize students' populations makes it necessary for teachers to constantly look for variety in the methods they use (Biggs, 2003). The full involvement of students in the learning process could be achieved through active rather than passive learning approaches. Research findings in Science Education show that active learning has many positive outcomes. It can enhance motivation, increase inquisitiveness, facilitate retention of material, improve classroom performance, and foster development of critical thinking skills. Active learning experienced in ECCM promotes the personal relevance and applicability of course material to students and often improves overall attitudes toward learning (Kalkanis, 2002; Kokatas, 2002; Minas, 2003 & Vlachos, 2004).

In this study, experiential learning is amalgamated with cooperative learning and concept mapping. The integration of the elements of these three instructional approaches would provide a

teaching strategy which supports contextualization of concepts, which are discussed in interactive groups and therefore provide an appropriate environment for meaningful learning (Keraro, 2008). This may improve students' motivation to learn Physics. The use of ECCM may make students active participants in knowledge construction and facilitate learning of scientific knowledge as well as assist the students to extend the knowledge by applying it in their everyday lives. In this instructional approach, students participate in the learning process by being provided with opportunities to engage in appropriate concrete experiences as they work in groups. They then draw concept maps and relate the acquired knowledge in their existing knowledge as they apply it to real life situations. The strategy enhances the development of need achievement, self confidence, and self-direction as they present the group concepts maps, through self-determination. The strategy also emphasizes group activity, investigation, social interaction and application of concepts into the real life situations thus making learning interesting (Deci & Ryan, 2008).

A cooperative learning atmosphere, accompanied with prior experiences and application of knowledge to real life situation motivates students out of a sense of obligation, autonomy and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997; Bandura & Eccles, 2002; Wambugu, 2011, Weinberg et al., 2011). ECCM allows students to know what they are to do, how to proceed through the cycles of learning and how to determine when they have achieved goals. It gives the students an opportunity for the satisfaction of deficiency needs, as they work together in groups towards self actualization. It also allows for learning experiences that give feelings of success and encourages an orientation towards achievement, and strong sense of self-efficacy.

Statement of the Problem

Physics is a fundamental science subject and is also an important base for Science and Technology. The learning of Physics also enhances economic, industrial and technological development. Despite all these, students' enrolment in the subject at KCSE has continued to remain low over the years. Prominent among the factors which have been identified as contributing to the lack of motivation and hence the persistent low enrolment in Physics, are the instructional strategies adopted by Physics teachers. It would therefore, be necessary to search for effective strategies which may be suitable and efficient for improving motivation to learn Physics to the satisfaction of the current Physics curriculum requirements. The use of instructional approach such as ECCM may help to solve the problem of motivation to learn the subject although this has not been determined in Nyeri County. The study was therefore intended to fill this gap in knowledge, by applying ECCM instructional approach in the teaching of Magnetic Effect of Electric Current in Form Two and establish its effect on students' motivation to learn.

The objective of the study was to compare students' motivation to learn Physics between those taught using ECCM and those taught using Regular Teaching Method (RTM). The null hypothesis as stated below was tested at significance level of alpha (α) equal to 0.05.

Ho1: There is no statistically significant difference in motivation to learn physics between students exposed to ECCM and those that are not exposed to it.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used in this study was based on constructivist model of learning and the systems approach theory of learning. The knowledge of the learner needs to be probed by exposing them to an instructional approach that will not only allow discussions as in cooperative learning groups, but will give them an opportunity to consciously and explicitly tie the new knowledge to relevant concepts and propositions they already possess (Novak et al., 1983). This study was based on the assumption that an instructional approach that involves students' cooperation and activity, using concept mapping and applying the new knowledge to real life situations may lead to more worthwhile learning than a transmission approach (Hanrahan, 1998). Systems approach to instruction involves setting goals and objectives, analyzing resources, devising a plan of action and continuous modification. ECCM allowed the learners to go through the four-stage learning cycle in order to effectively learn and apply concepts to real life situations. This was done through doing, reflecting, thinking and planning. Assessment of the content covered was done to ascertain how much the learners learnt. Diagrammatic representation of the framework is shown in Figure 1.

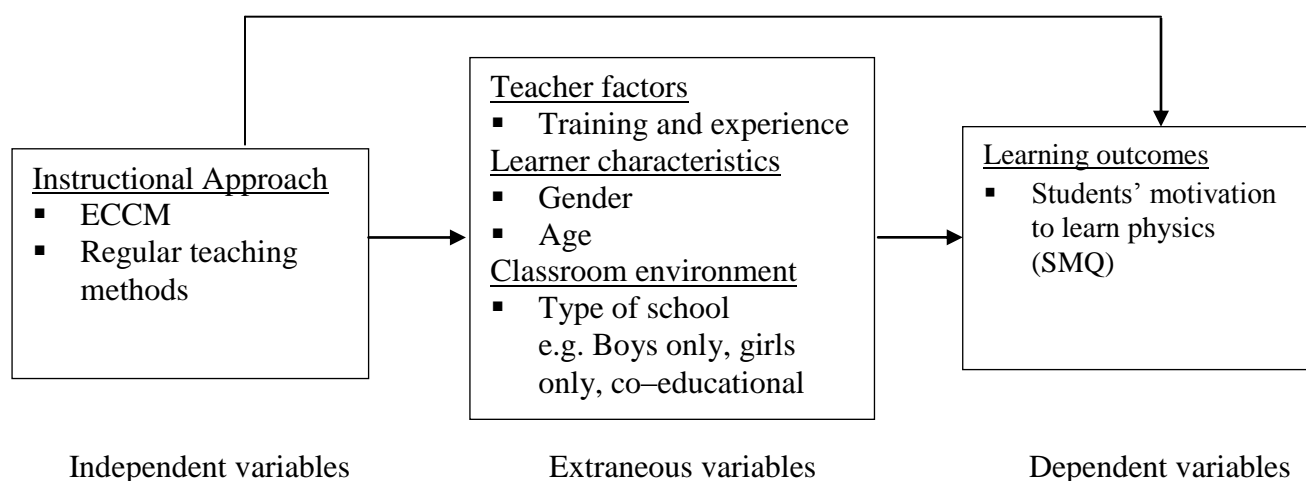


Figure 1: Conceptual framework for determining the effect of using ECCM instructional approach on students' motivation to learn Physics.

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework that relates the various factors considered to have an effect on students' motivation to learn Physics. The extraneous variables in this study were teacher characteristics, type of school, age and gender of the students. The teacher characteristics were controlled by involving trained teachers who have taught secondary school Physics for a period of at least one year. The age of the students was controlled by involving Form Two students who had comparable age. The type of school and gender of the students were studied by involving the three types of school categories namely boys alone, girls alone and co-educational in the study of students' motivation to learn Physics. The instructional approach used then influenced the students' motivation to learn Physics.

Methodology

Under methodology, the research design, sampling procedure and sample sizes, instrumentation, construction of instructional materials and their use as well as data collection and analysis are discussed.

Research Design

The research design used in this study was quasi-experimental. The researcher used Solomon Four Non-equivalent Control Group Design. This design is particularly strong in quasi-experimental procedure because it ensures the administration of pre-test to two groups and post-test to all the four groups (Gall et al., 1996; Lammers & Badia, 2005; Wachanga & Mwangi, 2004). The design was appropriate because random assignment of the subject was not done due to the fact that secondary school classes once constituted exist as intact groups and they cannot be reconstituted for research purposes (Trochim, 2006). The research design may be represented as shown in Figure 2.

Group 1	0_1	X	0_2
Group 2	0_3	–	0_4
Group 3	–	X	0_5
Group 4	–	–	0_6

Figure 2: The research design used in the study

In figure 2, 0_1 and 0_3 were pre-tests, whereas 0_2 , 0_4 , 0_5 and 0_6 were post-tests. X represents the experimental treatment, where students were taught using Experiential Cooperative Concept Mapping approach (ECCM). The broken lines indicate that the experimental and control groups were not formed randomly. The groups are explained as follows:

- (i) Group 1 was the experimental group which received a pre-test, the treatment condition X and the post-test;
- (ii) Group 2 was the control group, which received a pre-test followed by the control condition and a post-test;
- (iv) Group 3 was the experimental group which received the treatment X and a post-test but did not receive the pre-test; and
- (v) Group 4 was control group which received the post-test only.

Group 2 and 4 were the control groups who were taught using regular teaching method while Group 1 and 3, the experimental groups were taught using ECCM.

Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The sampling unit was the secondary school and not individual students since schools operate as intact groups. The sampling technique that was used in the study was stratified sampling procedure (Sanders & Pinhey, 1979; Trochim, 2006). The various types of schools were considered as groups (strata). The independent samples were selected from within each of the stratum using simple random sampling. This enabled the researchers to have three strata, namely; boys alone, girls alone and co-educational. There were eight boys' only, nine girls' only, and thirty co-educational schools that were selected. Four schools from each category were randomly

selected. The four schools in each category were randomly assigned to the experimental and control schools such that each group in the experiment had three schools; one boys' only, one girls' only and one co-educational school. A summary of the school type and number of students is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of School Type and Number of Students Involved in the Study

School	Female	Male	Total
Boys' only	-	176	176
Girls' only	168	-	168
Co-educational	79	90	169
Total	247	266	513

A total of 513 form two students were assigned to the four groups as follows;

Group 1 (Experimental group)	N= 125
Group 2 (Control group)	N= 130
Group 3 (Experimental Group)	N= 129
Group 4 (Control group)	N= 129
Total	N= 513

All the form two students were exposed to the same content of magnetic effect of electric current.

Instrumentation

The instrument used was composed of a Students Motivation Questionnaire (SMQ). The instrument was developed and validated before the commencement of the study. SMQ was constructed using Keller's ARCS motivation theory (Hohn, 1995). The researchers developed the SMQ and were guided by the ones used by Kiboss (1997), Wachanga (2002) and Bunting et al. (2006). SMQ contained 60 five point Likert-scale items on favourable and unfavourable statements of the students' motivation towards ECCM versus Regular Teaching Methods. SMQ was pilot tested in schools where the respondents who were not involved in the research study had similar characteristics with those of the respondents in the study. Cronbach's coefficient alpha method was used to estimate the reliability of the questionnaire. The alpha value was 0.806 which rounds off to $\alpha = 0.81$. This value of reliability coefficient was acceptable for the study according to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000).

Construction of Instructional Materials and their Use

The instructional materials used in the study were based on the Kenya Institute of Education syllabus (KIE, 2002). The Physics topic of Magnetic Effect of Electric Current, which is normally covered in form two, was chosen for the study. The topic has been reported to be difficult by the Kenya National Examination Council in their analysis of the KSCE results (KNEC, 2009; 2011) and yet it is a foundational topic that combines the effects of magnetism and electricity. The instructional materials included a training manual on ECCM for teachers and a teachers' guide to implementing ECCM on magnetic effect of electric current. The manuals were used throughout the treatment period.

The teachers in the experimental groups were trained by the researchers on skills of ECCM for one week. Due to ethical reasons, all the physics teachers in the experimental groups were

trained on the use of ECCM instructional approach even if they were not teaching form two classes. After the training, the students were taught using ECCM on a different topic other than Magnetic Effect of electric Current. This was to enable them master the skills. The treatment started and the experimental groups were taught using ECCM while the control groups were taught using RTM on the topic of Magnetic effect of Electric current. The lessons for the experimental groups were planned in such a way that the learning process involved the four cycles of experiential learning and students held discussions in their various groups. The students also discussed and drew concept maps that were later presented on the chalk board for further discussions. The control groups were taught through the regular teaching methods for the same period. At the same time, all form two students in the schools involved in the study were taught using a similar method.

Data Collection and Analysis

Pre-tests were administered to groups 1 and group 2 before the treatment condition. After five weeks of treatment condition, a post-test was administered to all groups. The researchers then scored SMQ and generated quantitative data, which was analyzed. Data was analyzed using t-test, One-way ANOVA and ANCOVA. The Least Significant Difference (LSD) Post Hoc test was done to establish where the difference in mean scores existed. ANCOVA was used to cater statistically for initial differences among the groups. ANCOVA is a superior method that is used to compensate for lack of equivalence (Ary et al., 1979). All tests of significance were performed at a significant level of alpha equal to 0.05.

Results and Discussion

The Solomon four-group design used in this study enabled the researchers to have two groups sit for pre-tests as recommended by Gall et al. (1996). This enabled the researchers to assess the effects of the pre-test relative to no pre-test and assess if there was an interaction between the pre-test and the treatment conditions. The results of the t-test are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Independent Samples t-test of the Pre-test Score on SMQ

Scores on SMQ	Group 1, N= 125		Group 2, N= 130			
Variable	Group	Mean	sd	df	t-value	P- value
SMQ	1	197.49	15.16	253	0.038	0.97(ns)
	2	197.40	20.83			

sd =Standard; df = 253; t-critical = 1.96; P < 0.05

The results of table 3 reveal that the mean scores of groups 1 and 2 on SMQ are not statistically significantly different since $t(253) = 0.038$, $P > 0.05$. This means that groups used in the study for SMQ exhibited comparable characteristics. The groups were therefore suitable for the research study.

Effects of ECCM on Students' Motivation to Learn Physics

The Hypothesis H₀1 of the study sought to examine the effect of ECCM on students' motivation to learn Physics. This hypothesis indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between students exposed to ECCM and those that were not. The post-test SMQ scores were analyzed. Table 4 shows the results of the mean scores for the four groups on the SMQ post-test.

Table 4: Mean Scores for Post-test on SMQ

Group	N	Mean	sd
1	125	225.18	14.83
2	130	194.96	22.21
3	129	224.43	15.47
4	129	195.71	24.45

sd= Standard Deviation

In order to establish whether the differences between the groups were statistically significant, analysis of variance was done. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of the Post-test SMQ Scores

	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	P- Value
Between Groups	111934.52	3	37131.51	95.4	0.00
Within Groups	198105.51	509	389.21		
Total	309500.04	512			

df=(3,509; F-critical = 2.70; P<0.05

The results show that there was a statistically significant difference within the four groups. Post-Hoc multiple comparisons were thereafter done to establish where the differences were. The results indicated that the pairs of SMQ mean scores for Groups 1 and 2, Groups 1 and 4 and Groups 2 and 3 with an alpha level of 0.05 were statistically significant different. However, there was no statistically significant difference at alpha level of 0.05 in the mean scores of Groups 1 and 3, and 2 and 4. Since the study involved quasi-experimental design, it was necessary to carry out analysis of covariance. The analysis was carried out by performing the analysis of covariance on the SMQ post-test with KCPE scores as the covariate. The results of the adjusted mean scores for SMQ are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Adjusted SMQ Post-test Mean Scores in the ANCOVA

Group	N	Mean	Std. Error
1	125	224.29	1.77
2	130	196.02	1.75
3	129	223.62	1.74
4	129	196.31	1.73

The data in Table 6 shows that the mean score for the experimental group is higher than the control group for post test SMQ means scores after adjustments. With the adjusted means, the researchers did the analysis of covariance of the post-test. Results of this analysis are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Analysis of Covariance of the Post-test Scores on the SMQ

	Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	P- Value
Group	90459.29	3	30153.1	78.84	0.00
KCPE	3827.23	1	3827.23	10.00	0
Error	194278.28	508	382.44		

df=(3,508); F-critical = 2.72; P<0.05

The results indicate that there was a statistically significant difference between the groups $F(3,508) = 78.84$, $P < 0.05$. To establish where the differences were, a Post Hoc pair-wise comparison was carried out. The results indicated that the results of ANCOVA were statistically significantly different at alpha level of 0.05 between Groups 1 and 2, between Groups 1 and 4, Groups 2 and 3, and Groups 3 and 4. However, there are no statistically significant differences at alpha level of 0.05 between Groups 1 and 3, and Groups 2 and 4. These results agreed with those of ANOVA; they indicated that the experimental groups had higher motivation to learn than the control groups. This therefore means that ECCM instructional approach had an effect on students' motivation to learn Physics. The results of the analysis of variance and those of analysis of covariance for SMQ post-test mean scores indicate that ECCM had an effect on students' motivation to learn Physics. Hypothesis H_{01} is therefore rejected. This means that ECCM instructional approach motivated students to learn Physics as compared to RTM.

The results of this study indicate that ECCM instructional approach increases motivation towards learning Physics. This is probably due to the fact that when students work in groups, and as they draw the concept maps and apply the experiences to real life situation, they feel that they can depend on each other for help and that the concept learnt could also have meaning to their daily lives. This increases their confidence in performing tasks and solving problems in Physics. ECCM actively involves students in the learning process. These findings are consistent with the findings of previous researchers such as Ifamuyiwa and Akinsola (2008), Anderson 2006; Keraro et al. (2007); Kelly and Kolb (2002) and Berger and Hanze (2007).

ECCM instructional approach provides a balanced approach to instruction that serves as a motivating force for many students to engage in the learning process. Unlike the regular teaching method, this approach resulted in higher students' motivation. The regular methods of teaching assume that the teacher is the person in authority in the classroom whose job is to impart knowledge and skills to the learners. Students tend to see their role as relatively passive recipients of the knowledge and they expect the teacher to be in charge of their learning. Students learn but the cooperation amongst them is limited by competition for grades. In contrast, ECCM provides intrinsic motivation and self directed learning. Learners see themselves as increasingly competent and self determined and assume responsibility for their own learning. This is provided by the elements of each of the instructional approach contained in ECCM. Experiential learning offers students opportunities to learn in real life application. The four stages that are involved in the learning process concretise experience, which provides learning by intuition with emphasis on personal experiences. The activities that support this approach include group discussions which cooperative learning caters for. Reflective observation, where learning is done by perception, focuses on understanding ideas, concepts and situations by careful

observations. This is also achieved through construction of concept maps which are done in cooperative groups. This increases students' satisfaction and motivation to learn.

Abstract conceptualization is where learning requires rigorous thinking using a systematic approach to structure and frame phenomena. Concept mapping allows accomplishment of this stage since it emphasizes on linking concepts and ideas with words in the maps. The fourth stage; active experimentation is where learning is attained through action. This involves learning through transfer of learning and application to the real world. This consequently led to increased motivation when ECCM was used as compared to use of regular teaching methods. These results concur with those of Clinton and Kohlmayer (2005) in their study on the effects of group quizzes on performance and motivation to learn. These findings also agree with those of Gahr (2003) who found out that the students in a cooperative chemistry concept mapping class were motivated to learn and hence performed well.

ECCM employ a variety of motivational techniques to make instruction more relevant and students more responsible. This kind of instruction strategy encourages students to see their ability in performing the task to completion, hence increasing their self-efficacy which leads to increased motivation to learn. Also, when students work in groups, they can role model each other; a student is able to observe others doing an activity and therefore gets encouraged to do equally well. The role played by the teacher is that of a facilitator, hence the teacher has minimal control over the working of groups. This encourages autonomous group work and increases self determination. According to Deci and Ryan (1985), the level of intrinsic motivation increases when students act by self determination. Forsyth and McMillan (1994) emphasize intrinsic motivation as a key element in teaching and learning. They note that successful intrinsic motivation develops attitude, establishes inclusion, engenders competence and enhances meaning within diverse students. ECCM is therefore an instructional approach that can enhance intrinsic motivation, as proved by the results of this study.

The primary benefit of cooperative learning in ECCM is that it enhances students' self esteem and satisfaction with the learning experience by actively involving students in designing and completing class procedures and course content (Johnson & Johnson, 1998). Experiential learning motivates students to learn in that it stresses the full involvement of students in the learning process. This is achieved through active learning as opposed to passive learning as it is reflected in findings of Mckeachie (2001). Findings of research studies in Physics education also point out that active learning has many positive outcomes such as enhancing motivation, improving classroom performance and development of critical thinking (Kalkanis, 2002). The results of this study concur with the findings of these researchers, since ECCM enabled the students not only to be actively involved but also encouraged groups working together throughout the learning process.

Concept mapping as an instructional strategy, combined with cooperative learning motivates students to learn. This is because concept mapping as a learning strategy stimulates learners' commitment and involvement in negotiation of ideas, which is very important if learning is to take place meaningfully (Cansas et al., 2004). This study therefore found out that if each of the instructional approaches in ECCM has the potential of motivating students to learn, then when integrated in an organized way, they may help students to perceive the relevance of Physics to

their lives as well as be highly motivated to learn. This concurs with the finding of Kolb and Kolb (2005); Kayes, et al. (2005); Fuifong and Hong Kwen (2007) and also those of Berger and Hanze (2007). Their findings indicate that students through experiential learning, cooperative learning and concept mapping are more engaged in the learning process, achieve better understanding of Physics concepts and their motivation to learn increases. It can therefore be concluded that ECCM provides many advantages to teachers and learners in relation to the teaching and learning of Secondary School Physics, since it incorporates all the elements of the three strategies. The ECCM instructional approach also resulted in better student-student, student-teacher interactions; helped students to understand, integrate and clarify Physics concepts; and also enabled students have a critical link between classrooms and the real world. This improves students' motivation as was shown by the results of SMQ in this study.

This study has also shown that the instructional approach resulted in an improvement in the four conditions which exist in a motivated learner. These conditions are Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction (Hohn, 1995). Students' attention improved as they drew concept maps in cooperative groups and in their discussions on the application of learnt concepts on magnetic field due to current and electromagnets to real life situations. The goals of each group were set with the involvement of the students in advance. This made the members feel that the course content was valuable to them. Through application to real life situations, learners appreciated the fact that the skills and knowledge acquired will have future usefulness. Encouragement from fellow group members increased the students' confidence. This was also enhanced by the feedback which came from the presentation of the concept maps and applications of learnt knowledge by various groups (Appendix A).

Satisfaction of the students was as a result of the achievement of goals and the students' feeling that the skills and knowledge were useful. They also felt less patronized by their teacher. The higher motivation acquired by students who were taught through ECCM instructional approach strengthens the case for the implementation of this method in teaching secondary school Physics. Motivated students will want to continue with the task even when it is difficult. An important note of the instructional strategy used in this study is that of intrinsic motivation and self-directed learning. The learners, as they go through the learning cycle, in their respective groups are able to see themselves as competent and capable as they assume responsibility for their learning.

Conclusion and Implications

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that students who learnt Physics under ECCM instructional approach have higher motivation to learn than the students who learnt through regular teaching methods.

The findings of the study provide evidence that ECCM instructional approach improves motivation to learn Physics in secondary schools. The increased motivation to learn physics would lead to a better representation in scientific occupation, even as Kenya looks forward into achieving Vision 2030. The superiority of ECCM instructional approach over the regular teaching method could be attributed to the fact that it is an integration of three teaching approaches. Its strength is therefore in the elements of cooperative learning that make students develop more positive attitude toward the self and learning in general. On concept mapping, students are engaged in knowledge construction as they find new ways to link concepts, while in

experiential learning, students learn through experience as they conceptualize what they learn and apply it to real life situations. ECCM instructional approach by its nature, promotes self efficacy and self determination, which in turn fosters intrinsic motivation to perform tasks in Physics. This type of instructional approach moves beyond rote memorization and goes to the level of understanding, linking and integration of concepts. The Ministry of Education in its effort to make teaching more effective should therefore encourage Physics teachers to use this method.

Recommendations and Areas for Further Research

Pedagogical competence of Physics teachers stands as a major challenge. The teachers need skills to concretize theoretical and practical notion of Physics in a manner that links acquired knowledge, skills and attitude to students' everyday life situations. Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations have therefore been made;

- (i) Teacher education programmes should be focused towards preparing Physics teachers to acquire appropriate skills in instructional strategies such as the ECCM instructional approach which could promote effective teaching-learning process. ECCM instructional approach should be included in the methods courses in training of Physics teachers at University and Teacher training Colleges. The teacher preparation course must emphasize the importance of using all components of ECCM instructional approach for positive student learning.
- (ii) Textbook writers should shift emphasis from teacher activities to students' activities as well as incorporating principles of ECCM instructional approach in new Physics text books to be produced.

The findings of the study indicate that ECCM instructional approach is effective in improving Physics instruction thus motivating students. However, there are areas that warrant further investigation. These include the following;

- (i) How ECCM instructional approach would lead to a significant increase in the choices related careers by students, especially girls.
- (ii) How to improve psycho-motor objectives through ECCM. This would improve on the acquisition of science processing skills.

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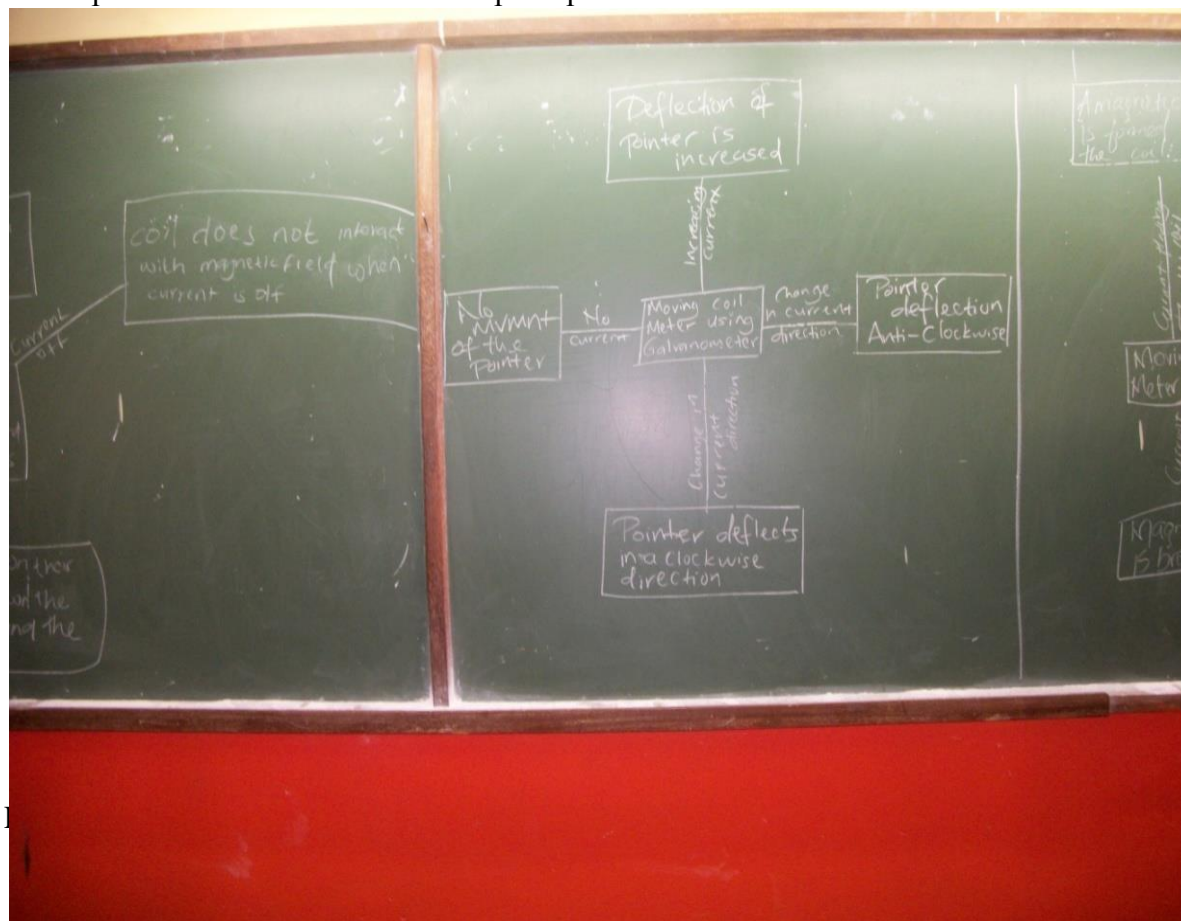
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Appendix A

A Sample of students' modified concept maps



The 2010 Constitution and Electoral Governance in Kenya: Prospects for the Prevention of Electoral Violence

Nzau Mumo¹ and Stellan King'oro²

¹University at Buffalo, the State University of New York, USA

²Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST), Kenya

Abstract

Since the advent of multi-party politics in the early 1990s, Kenya has experienced a series of violent episodes characterized by loss of lives, destruction of property and internal displacement. Interestingly, these spates of violence seemed to be associated with electoral politics, particularly before or immediately after General Elections. The worst of these cycles was that witnessed in late 2007 and early 2008 in which nationwide violence led to 1,300 deaths and the internal displacement of at least 630,000 people. In February 2008, the two main contending sides- Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU) - agreed to the enactment of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act; a move that brought an end to violent hostilities among their supporters, thereby averting full-scale civil war in the country. The Accord underscored among other issues, addressing fundamental and long-term causes behind the violence, including legal and constitutional reforms. It was against this background that the country promulgated a new Constitution in August 2010. In this paper, we interrogate pertinent issues surrounding electoral governance in Kenya with specific reference to the ability of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya to secure a favourable, sustainable and institutionalized electoral governance environment in the country. At the core of the discussion is the question of whether or not electoral violence can be mitigated, prevented and effectively handled under the new constitutional dispensation.

Introduction

Kenya is a relatively mature state by chronological standards having attained independence nearly five decades ago, in 1963 from Great Britain. It generally followed the western system of managing state affairs; a republic of the commonwealth tradition and of the liberal representative democratic kind. At independence, its Constitution (the *Majimbo* Constitution) had a regional orientation but it was almost immediately amended to acquire a unitary character following Constitutional of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964. These developments were mainly driven by the challenges of state formation that faced the immediate post-independence regime and its continued survival (Munene et al., 2006). Major parties were merged and the Kenyatta regime maintained a *de facto* single-party system while the Moi regime maintained a *de jure* one-party system thereafter. This trend was continued, institutionalized and sustained for 3 decades (1960s to 1980s), thereby engendering much disagreement and discontentment as far as political inclusion and exclusion as well as overall the management of public affairs was concerned. The advent of multiparty politics in 1992 broadened the political space and popular participation, but it failed to institutionalize crucial political processes and/or structures necessary for the full attainment of liberal democracy (Chege, 2007; Nzau, 2011).

Such failure is that associated with the process of selecting public office holders in elections. More often than not, the electoral process in Kenya has been largely informed by the elite and ethnically driven patronage machinations, force, blackmail and blatant crime (Okondo, 1995; Waruhiu, 1994). Unfortunately, the manifestation of this style of handling national affairs landed

the nation in a series of misfortunes that include ethnic violence, human rights abuse, mass destruction of personal and state property, mass internal displacement of populations, gross economic decline and a negative regional and international image mainly between 1992 and 2007 (Republic of Kenya, 1992; Republic of Kenya, 1999). These regrettable episodes of widespread violence seemed to take a cyclic and repetitive pattern every election year (five years apart) since 1992 but with the exception of the 2002 General Elections. It is noteworthy that although 2002 is regarded a peaceful election year, there were tensions and eviction threats in a number of instances in parts of the Rift Valley Province. Nonetheless, the 2002 General Elections marked a new beginning for the country and its relations with key allies both regionally and internationally. The popularly elected National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government rose to power through a platform of change, transparency, accountability and rule of law. It appeared as though the country was now in the hands of an inspired and genuine political leadership (Nzau, 2011).

Under the NARC dispensation, Kenya seemed to have got back on the democratic course; her economic growth rate per annum was headed for 6 percent and domestic revenue collection seemed sufficient to cover the fiscal budget (Central Bank of Kenya, 2008: 114-117). However, barely a year or two later, dangerous cracks began to appear on the Kenyan governance landscape. A Constitutional Referendum later in the year 2005 fuelled by elitist trajectories for power, amid serious accusations of grand corruption on the part of top leaders in government appeared to kill the spirit of the 2002 ‘moment of change’ (Murunga & Nasong’o, 2007: 9-11; See also Nzau, 2011). This culminated in the December 2007 post-election violence over the disputed elections results, which opened the country’s ‘horrific closet’ elite engineered ethnic violence that led to mass deaths, rape, hatred and destruction among rural and urban impoverished populations (Republic of Kenya, 2008).

Following these events that brought the country to the brink of total civil war, a national reconciliation process was engendered under the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process. In this direction, the country conducted a National Referendum that ushered in a new constitutional dispensation and its subsequent promulgation in August 2010 (South Consulting, 2012). This paper critically interrogates pertinent issues surrounding electoral governance in Kenya, with specific reference to the ability of the newly promulgated Kenya (2010) Constitution to secure a favourable, sustainable and institutionalized electoral governance environment in the country. At the core of it is the question of whether or not electoral violence can be mitigated, prevented and effectively addressed under the new Kenya Constitution.

A Conceptual Framework

The Westminster model of democracy that Kenya was bequeathed by Great Britain at independence has a fairly old tradition in political philosophy. Throughout the nineteenth century, Western Europe, which is representative democracy, and is a brand of politics that operationalizes the theory of political pluralism, was seen as a mechanism through which citizens would protect themselves from the encroachments and excesses of government. This view appealed to the early liberal/pluralist thinkers whose overriding concern was to create and promote the idea of individual liberty. Political philosophers of this thought like Locke, Rousseau, Hobbes and Montesquieu were popularly known as the Social Contract Theorists (Lawson, 2006; Heywood 2002: 79). Locke particularly held that the right to representation was based on the existence of natural rights; particularly the right to life, liberty and property. To

him, there ought to be an extent to which the state can interfere with these fundamental freedoms of the individual. Protective democracy thus pointed to the centrality of the consent of the people through representation, which in modern times is operationalized through regular, open and free voting in competitive elections. In other words, it is but a limited and indirect form of democracy (Sabine, 1961).

Another strand of representative democracy is ‘developmental democracy’. It is closely related to protective democracy in the sense that it is also a form of rule that points to limited and indirect rule. The difference between representative democracy and developmental democracy is the fact that developmental democracy is more specific to questions of equality and economic well-being. In other words, its focus is beyond the individual to a concern with broader socio-economic development. On this, Rousseau contended that citizens were ‘free’ only when they participated directly and continuously in shaping the life of their community. He further pointed out in one of his writings that developmental democracy did not merely point to political equality (in the protective democracy sense), but a relatively high level of economic equality. In this direction, he posited thus ‘No citizen shall be rich enough to buy another and none so poor as to be forced to sell himself’ (See Rousseau [1762] 1913: 96; in Heywood 2002: 79). In other words, it may be argued that developmental democracy is a model of democracy that goes beyond democracy in the political sense, but rather points to social equity and general economic well-being of the governed. In this sense, elections should translate to governments that uplift the living standards of the people and their general socio-economic welfare. This tenet of democracy is almost entirely lacking in Kenya’s political cosmology. The argument here is that elections are not an end in themselves.

There seems to be a sense of insecurity associated with losing elections in Kenya (Centre for Governance and Democracy, 2004). Subsequently, the political and economic elite seem to have engrained on the people’s mind the blind belief that it is either ‘we win’ or ‘our’ [ethnic] group will be ‘out in the cold’; hence winning the election is a matter of ‘life and death’. Thus, the noble idea(s) for electing public officials is lost in a language of ‘we win by all means possible and we can’t lose’ and nothing beyond that. In fact, one may rightly observe that the rationale for elections, campaigns and voting is differently understood cross the Kenyan electorate (Republic of Kenya, 2008a). Elections and their utility in the political process actually have different meanings to Kenyans. In this context, we argue that Kenya has strived to meet the tenets of representative democracy albeit with limited success.

In any effort to construct a conceptual outlook in a discussion on ‘the constitution and prevention of electoral violence’, we are faced with a tricky and challenging question; ‘Is electoral violence not simply political violence?’ Perhaps it is least challenging to make a rational explanation for some form of political violence, as opposed to the more specific discourse on electoral violence. Hansen (2009) maintains that identifying the causes of political violence is a problematic task. To him, any attempt to ‘explain’ a phenomenon such as political violence can be subjected to the objection that attempting to establish causal connections to certain economic, social, or political realities is simply the wrong way of approaching political violence. Viewing political violence as an outcome of particular societal features easily gives way to the perception that the emergence of political violence is unavoidable. Nonetheless, the reverse position is also problematic. Mass violence is not simply irrational and unexplainable and it remains a fact that political violence

seems to occur persistently in some countries and not, or to a much smaller extent, in others. In any case, some scepticism is justified whenever studies pursue the 'explanation' or 'identification of causes' of such a phenomenon.

Hansen (2009) further contends that more often than not (and especially in developing political systems) support and resistance to political leaders is conditioned by several factors; the most outstanding being ethnic orientation. Subsequently when forming governments, power holders reward certain individuals whom they consider to be the 'authentic' representatives of supportive ethnic groups with power, money, jobs and all the niceties of being regime insiders, while marginalising or excluding individuals belonging to ethnic groups associated with political opponents. This way, gaining political office is seen as 'a struggle for survival'; if power is obtained, the perception is that access to scarce resources is ensured and if not, marginalisation and exclusion is reckoned to follow. Hence, when 'your person' takes over power, this translates to power, jobs, land and entitlements.

The African post-independence experience has demonstrated that this state of affairs has led to a situation in which the acquisition of presidential power is perceived both by politicians and the publics they represent, as a zero sum game in which losing is seen as hugely costly and is not accepted. Yet, this perception either by the many who regard themselves as insiders or the few who feel excluded and/or vice versa is a gross miscalculation of political gain and a miscarriage of the ethos of modern statehood. In the real sense in fact, only a handful of regime elite who in many cases do not really care about the masses the purport to represent in grand ethnic, religious or region patronage schemes are the ultimate beneficiaries (discussed variously by Chazan, 1999; Shraeder, 2004; Ndulo, 2006). In this way, electoral violence (which is a form of political violence) in Kenya may pass to be a manifestation of (fundamental) root-causes that are deeply embedded in Kenyan society. Nyawalo et al. (2011) for instance hold that the causes of conflicts during elections revolve around poor governance, unemployment and poverty. Weak governance and leadership is evident in the centralization of power and control of public resources and decision making in the public institution of the presidency across all the political regimes. More proximate factors also account for electoral violence. UNDP (2009) for example, argues that party politics driven by tribe, personalities, male domination and money increases propensity for the triggering of violence during election times.

However, some studies reveal that in cases where dictatorships have used elections as mere rubber-stamps for cling-on to power, a reaction to such elections may precipitate the [incumbent] regime breakdown and enhance the possibility of democratic transformation. This may be achieved through actions outside of the electoral arena, if opposition parties successfully mobilize voters to protest stolen elections (Bunce & Wolchik, 2006; Beissinger, 2007). To these scholars, an informed reaction to stolen elections can lead to revolutionary outcomes (Thompson & Kuntz 2004: 162; Gandhi & Lust-Okar 2009: 415). This explains what ODM termed 'mass action' in reaction to the declaration of PNU's Mwai Kibaki as the winner in the presidential race on December 30th 2007 and consequently sworn-in at dusk the same day. Yet the aftermath of it all brought to the fore, the stark realities of the thin line separating genuinely informed protest on one hand; and destructive and criminal acts ranging from looting, arson, and rape to crimes against humanity on the other.

Subsequently, we argue that the 2007 General Elections in Kenya demonstrated that immediate causes of the violence that followed could strongly be associated with what over the years appeared to be seemingly simple. In reality however, these were extremely important procedural and circumstantial issues that are perhaps quite remotely related to the so called ‘deep-seated historical issues and/or injustices’. This points to the lack of consciousness and a calculated unwillingness to have in place a well institutionalized and constitutionally anchored process of counting and tallying of votes and reporting of electoral outcomes. True enough, the actual voting exercise on December 27th 2007 was largely peaceful throughout the country. As such, the violence that ensued following the announcement of the presidential results was indeed to a large extent the product of the lack of the conscious and calculated unwillingness on the part of a section of Kenya’s ruling elite to have in place a well institutionalized and constitutionally anchored process of counting and tallying of votes and reporting outcomes. This state of affairs hence became manifest in the confusion associated with the real or imagined perception among Kenyans that the electoral outcome was not a true representation of the popular will. Pursuant to this line of thought, it is well possible to interrogate the nature and dynamics of the electoral governance *problematique* in Kenya with specific reference to the 2010 Constitution. Nonetheless, the next grand question would be; to what extent can a constitution mitigate and prevent electoral violence? If it can, why did 2007 post-election violence occur? Subsequently, how can the post-2010 constitutional dispensation in Kenya prevent a recurrence of the 2007 scenario?

At this level, it appears quite problematic to reach a consensus as far as an express theoretical standpoint that would account for a clear causal and/or relational mechanism between constitutions and electoral governance is concerned. A strong line of argument that would solve such a puzzle lay in the answer to the question: Have ‘questionable’ or mishandled elections been conducted and the outcome announced without recourse to violence among aggrieved parties? The answer would be ‘yes’ but exceptionally and rarely so. The obvious ‘no’ part of this answer is most easily supported by the ‘rich’ theatre of post-election violence in Africa; for instance in Ghana, Cote d’Ivoire, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe just to mention a few (Bekoe, 2010).

For starters, where has the ‘Yes’ occurred and how can it be explained? The 2000 Presidential Election in the United States comes to mind. And although in the strict sense espoused by seminal works on democratization and political development (Duverger, 1954; Huntington, 1968; Almond & Verba, 1963), it is discouraged to compare a mature democracy such as the US and ‘[African] non-democracies’. In a nutshell, the two contestants; Democratic Party’s Al Gore and Republican Party’s George W. Bush were involved in a very tight race to the point that one vote (that of Florida State) at the Electoral College level was supposed to make the difference between Bush’s 271 and Al Gore’s 266 in meeting the minimum 270 Electoral College Votes required to win the Presidential Race. According to Al Gore, the Florida electoral vote, which was not well handled, had given Bush the undue advantage. It is noteworthy that these events were taking place at the very final and extremely critical moments of the election. The ultimate decision was made by the United States Supreme Court, which overruled the decision of a subordinate/state court (the Florida Supreme Court) and while acknowledging that based on different interpretations of how the votes were counted and reported in Florida, any of the two presidential candidates would have won. It ruled in favour of George W. Bush, making him the

43rd President of the United States. There was no post-election violence in the US despite deep-seated grievances that surrounded that election and the court decision that ultimately put the matter to rest. 309 million Americans were bound by this decision, and in principal had accepted this verdict (Abramson et al., 2002).

In accounting for these ‘No’ and ‘Yes’ parts of the answer, we propose the theoretical argument enshrined in the concept of [national] sovereignty. Though ‘sovereignty’ is a contested concept in political philosophy (while some scholars regard it to be a purely legal concept, others think it is a purely political concept), the practice of modern representative democracy has shown that the nationwide acceptance of a decision such as that of the Supreme Court in the 2000 Presidential Elections in the United States lay in ‘what most the people regard to be the ultimate sovereign’ (Sabine, 1961; Lipset, 2001; Cohen, 2001). The ultimate sovereign in the United States for instance, is the Constitution, which lays out the best possible channels of its own interpretation; the sole and most highly regarded, revered and respected institution on the land being the United States Supreme Court that is the highest and ultimate interpreter of the US Constitution.

We strongly contend (for purposes of this discussion) that the key to this puzzle lay in what most of the people within a political system regard to be the ‘highest sovereign’ in the state and the degree of support they accord such a sovereign as part of their national political culture. If the words of the ODM at the height of the post-election violence are anything to go by; that ‘we cannot take this case to court because we have no confidence in the local justice system’, then it is well possible that overhauling the constitution, legitimizing it through a nationwide and transparent referendum process and upholding its letter and spirit by should provide the most favourable environment better electoral governance. This can be done by first enacting laws as laid down by it (as Kenya did with the 2010 Constitution), and secondly, by establishing institutions as stipulated therein (such as the establishment of a new governing environment of the judicial system). In this way, in the event that ‘electoral controversies emerge, though in exceptionally rare circumstances since credible electoral laws and institutions are already in place, then post-election violence need not occur (Powel, 2000). The last ingredient to this recipe than could be: where is the mature and favourable environment that should make these institutions work? Where is the ‘supporting’ national political/electoral culture to mid-wife proper electoral governance under a widely accepted constitution? Before examining the Constitution itself, this part of the question needs to be analyzed at length.

A Background of Kenya’s Electoral Environment

Kenya’s post-independence experience reveals that more often than not, electoral processes have been riddled with tensions, conflicts and acts of violence (Ogot & Ochieng, 1995; Ochieng, 1998). It must not be forgotten that this trend has increasingly grown manifest itself in other forms of electoral processes such as those conducted locally for varying purposes by Farmers’ Cooperatives such as *Mboi-Kamiti* in Kiambu, or local football clubs and sports associations such as Kenya Football Federation (KFF) among others. These have from time to time been marred by violence, bribery and blackmail; a phenomenon that sadly mirrors the national electoral scene. We argue that the problem of violence during national general elections in Kenya is a culmination and incremental manifestation of decades of aberrations on the part of the political, legal and administrative actors that are charged with the responsibility of overseeing

democratic representation and electoral processes. Over time and more so in the past two decades, the integrity of the electoral system and the general conduct of actual elections (including party elections and pre-polls preliminaries and nominations) seem to lack a concrete set of institutionalizing principles.

Over the years, the Constitution was watered down with amendments that only spelt doom on electoral governance in Kenya (Constitution of Kenya [Amendment] Act No. 5 1969; Constitution of Kenya [Amendment] Act No. 1 1975; 1982 Constitution of Kenya [Amendment] Act No. 7 1982; Constitution of Kenya [Amendment] Act No. 6 1986; and, Constitution Amendment No. 14 1986). Between 1963 and 1991, the Constitution of Kenya was amended 24 times mainly to ensure regime sustenance and survival. The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act of 1969 vested the duty of appointing members of the Electoral Commission of Kenya on the President; while the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 1 1975 allowed the president to overturn decisions of an Elections Court (See also Munene et al., 2006).

Starting 1992, the electoral environment was increasingly punctuated by threats, harassments and violent clashes that led to the loss of lives and internal displacement. The 1997 General Elections were preceded by the ‘infamous’ tribal clashes. Six months prior to the General Elections, KANU party activists allegedly organized armed gangs who attacked ‘non-native ethnic groups’ at the Coast Province, causing the deaths of more than 100 people and leading to the displacement of more than 100,000 people (KHRC, 2010). From time to time, between 1992 and 2002 in the Rift Valley Province, acts of politically instigated violence occurred particularly in areas where parliamentary contestants from those communities who purportedly supported the opposition had won over those from communities that supported the then ruling party; Kenya African National Union (KANU). Reports from human rights organisations indicated that this violence was endorsed and supported by political leaders while no meaningful action on the part of law enforcement establishments such as the Kenya Police was taken to halt the violence (Kenya Thabiti Taskforce, 2009).

Despite a history of electoral violence, the post-election violence of late 2007 and early 2008, (because of its relationship to the contested election results and its speed and scale) seemingly came as a surprise and shock for many Kenyans and the outside world. The violence erupted even before President Kibaki was declared winner (this could have been triggered by the delayed counting, tallying and reporting of cast votes) and increased in scale following the announcement. It was in the Rift Valley, in particular around Eldoret, Wareng District that violence first erupted. This violence took strong ethnic dimensions between Raila Odinga’s supporters from the Kalenjin ethnic group and supporters of Kibaki, who were mostly from the Kikuyu ethnic group among others (Klopp et al., 2010).

It is noteworthy that the 1992 and 1997 violence took place within the election years but mostly before the actual time of the General Elections. In fact, the 1992 violence was not a reaction to any election results. It was mainly a move to forestall the possibility of the opposition winning in the December Polls. To such an extent therefore, the 1992 violence revolved around electoral issues but at a different chronological setting. The same applied to the 1997 violence that took place in parts of the Rift Valley and the Coast Province. The outstanding character of these election-related spates of violence was that they broke out just a few months before the actual General Elections. Perhaps the election results did not necessitate or provide ripe moments for

further violence. After all, the incumbent KANU regime easily defeated a largely divided opposition thereby maintaining the status quo and securing its grip on power (Wanyande et al., 2007).

These earlier waves of electoral violence were different (though not radically so) from the 2007 scenario in the sense that the latter was a typical post-election violence scenario. In fact, this violence did not in any way have to do with the actual casting of votes as already discussed. However, in the 2007 general elections, there seemed to be a regrettably serious disconnect between the casting of votes, the tallying of votes at the constituency level and the final counting and/or tallying of votes at the national level. Subsequently, these elections represented one of the most seriously flawed systems in the management of electoral information (and public information for that matter) in post-independence Africa (South Consulting, 2009). Generally, Kenya failed the test of a favourable electoral governance environment. But how did this poor electoral governance national culture emerge despite there being a constitution and laws anyway?

While such an explanation may be dismissed as trivial and simplistic; it is imperative to re-visit how this violence actually occurred. For violence to take the nature and magnitude that the 2007 post-election violence did, there ought to be some fundamental/requisite prevailing conditions necessitating such an event. Some pertinent questions come to mind. First, has such violence taken place before? The answer is yes. It follows therefore that the many actors involved in electoral violence in Kenya have learnt and perfected such violent tendencies and tactics through repeated and familiar experiences. It is possible to argue that in a remote sense, the events of 1992 and 1997 did inform the 2007 post-election violence. Second, who plans such violence? Who executes it and why? In answering these questions, one ought to be prudent that it is not always the case that violence occurs because it is planned. In fact, many such violent events happen spontaneously. Nonetheless, such violence can begin in a spontaneous fashion but soon acquire an organized and well orchestrated character as it gains momentum.

It follows therefore that electoral violence in many cases is a well orchestrated and organized process that calls for human and material resources in terms of planning and/or coordinating. Such processes mostly involve public office contenders and groups they represent getting into violent confrontations aimed at influencing election outcomes or reacting to the outcome of such elections. The foot soldiers in such violence are mostly able-bodied persons (mostly young adults) who invariably unleash terror on their adversaries. Why then all this violence? It is assumed that such violence is the best medium in taking revenge on political adversaries and to send a deterrent message that a certain person (or group of persons) is aggrieved or agitated by the elections outcome or wishes to influence such an outcome in his/her favour. One underlying character of the youths who are lured into carrying out such violent activities is that they are mostly poverty-stricken and gullible individuals who by virtue of their low socio-economic status and narrow worldview can do anything for money or misdirected incitement. Thus, structural factors such as poverty, destitution, illiteracy and general social vulnerability are real among the majority of Kenyans. They are more often than not moribund until such contentious situations and/or events as disputed election results ignite their more overt manifestation; violence.

In this way, unemployment, ignorance and general socio-economic vulnerability makes the youth easy prey to gangs, vigilante groups and organized criminal syndicates which easily acquire a manifest character during election campaigns and the entire electioneering period. In this direction, the 2007 general election outcome was a more of a manifestation of a moribund conflict situation that was only lying in wait for the ripe moment to trigger its more manifest setting, which is widespread violence. According to the UNDP (2009), many structural problems and challenges persisted since colonial times to the present. The following have singularly or collectively inhibited past elections in Kenya: Land ownership; scarcity of water and pastures for pastoral communities; corruption; economic marginalization of certain minority groups; socio-economic deprivation and inequalities; the formation of political parties along ethnic lines and subsequent zoning of populations in this light; lack of institutional capacity to manage political and social conflicts effectively; and general impunity among the political class.

The next question would then be to interrogate why the violence of such magnitudes, and yet there was the Constitution and the laws that give it operational character? Were such laws well enforced? Generally, the high incidence of violence in elections has been blamed on lack of strong mechanisms to mitigate election-related conflicts. Previously, the now disbanded Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) formed constituency-based Peace Committees to help engender transparent, free and fair elections. However, the role of these committees lacked focus on preventing conflicts. Apparently, the ECK did not provide proper guidelines on how the Peace Committees were expected to deal with conflicts and how best to identify early warnings on impending election-related conflicts. The lack of effective, proactive and coherent violence prevention policies and programmes led by the state at national and local levels effectively contributed to the recurrent cycles of election-related violence (Owiti, 2008: 40-55).

Further, the Electoral Code of Conduct Enforcement Committee and the Mediation and Liaison consultative meetings that the ECK relied on to manage election related conflicts were ineffective, especially when dealing with violations of the electoral code of conduct. Subsequently, only a meagre monetary fine was meted out to offenders in the campaign period. However, many blatant violations of the electoral code of conduct went unpunished, thereby reinforcing a culture of impunity. A weak electoral system and poor management of the electoral process has therefore been blamed for paving the way for the establishment of corrupt legislatures. Corruption in elections is manifest through denial of national identity cards to some communities, vote buying through handouts and money, vote rigging, manipulation of voters' registers, harassment of voters and blackmail in vote counting (see also Republic of Kenya, 2008; Owiti, 2008).

In many ways therefore, the pre-2010 constitutional dispensation had several weaknesses in the sense that it created a weak institutional framework for the management of elections and the vindication of electoral grievances. Most outstandingly, the Chief Executive (the President, be it Kenyatta, Moi or Kibaki) seemed to enjoy a lot of latitude in the appointment of Commissioners to the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), top judicial officials, as well as other Constitutional Office holders. In fact between 1997 and 2002, despite the reforms made under the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) talks, the composition and appointment of the commissioners in the ECK was largely the product of political bargaining and/or machinations; one in which the overarching powers of the Chief Executive over the composition of the ECK

remained largely intact. This state of things, which remained uncorrected, strongly undermined the performance of the Commission in the 2007 national polls. Given this state of affairs, it appears that the constitutional provisions and legislative mechanisms that oversaw the management of Elections in Kenya could not guarantee impartiality and professionalism in the handling of electoral affairs in the country (See also Owiti, 2008: 40-55). As such, the pre-2010 constitutional dispensation in Kenya appears to have had serious loopholes that engendered electoral impunity, hence the post-election violence of late 2007 and early 2008. But before passing a blanket judgment on the constitutional and legal environment before 2010, it is crucial at this juncture to examine exactly what the new dispensation has to offer (see also South Consulting, 2009).

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010

Section 86 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2010a) declares that: At every election, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission shall ensure that whatever voting method is used, the system is simple, accurate, verifiable, secure, accountable and transparent. It also declares that the votes cast are counted, tabulated and the results announced promptly by the presiding officer at each polling station; the results from the polling stations are openly and accurately collated and promptly announced by the returning officer; and appropriate structures and mechanisms to eliminate electoral malpractice are put in place, including the safekeeping of election materials. Further, section 87 prescribes that Parliament shall enact legislation to establish mechanisms for timely settling of electoral disputes. The Constitution therefore lays down the foundation for the conduct of credible elections right from the voting exercise, counting, and tallying, right up to the reporting of election outcomes. However, the Constitution lays down the parameters and Parliament legislates. In this light, Parliament legislated 'The Elections Act of 2011' (Republic of Kenya, 2010b). The 2010 Constitution also established the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), whose members were publicly and openly interviewed and finally vetted by Parliament before taking up the public office (South Consulting, 2012).

Most important in a discussion of 'Implications for the Prevention of Electoral Violence' is sections 56 to 68 of the Elections Act of 2011, which are dedicated to the mitigation of electoral violence among other election related actions, inactions or omissions. By all standards, the Act is very elaborate and firm on these issues (South Consulting, 2012). Section 56 particularly protects the sanctity of election materials. It declares thus that:

A person who without authority makes, prepares, prints or is in possession of a document or paper purporting to be a register of voters; without authority makes, prepares or prints a document or paper purporting to be a voter's card; not being a person authorised to be in possession of a voter's card bearing the name of another person or which has not been written in the name of any person, has such voter's card in his possession; without authority supplies a voter's card to any person; without authority destroys, damages, defaces or makes any alteration on a voter's card; sells or offers for sale a voter's card to any person or purchases or offers to purchase a voter's card from any person; knowingly makes any false statement on, or in connection with any application to be registered in any register of voters; or aids, abets, counsels or procures the commission of or attempts to commit any of the offences referred to in paragraphs to, commits an offence and is liable on conviction, to a fine not exceeding one million shillings and to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six years or to both.

Further, Section 57 declares a penalty of not exceeding one hundred thousand shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or to both for double registration as a voter. Similarly, Section 58 guards against forgery, counterfeit, defacing or destroying ballot papers as well as the official perforation, stamp or mark on any ballot paper. Also, any unauthorized handling, opening possession, printing, manufacture, supply, sale, purchase of ballot papers and ballot boxes, official stamps and marks attracts a fine not exceeding one million shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six years or both. Section 59 is equally dedicated to one of the greatest immediate trigger of the 2007 post-election violence. It talks about electoral officials involved in blackmail and falsification of electoral information. It expressly prohibits IEBC officials from adversely abrogating the formal declaration of election results (see also Ongoya & Otieno 2012: 42-67). It declares thus that:

[Any official of the Commission] who without reasonable cause does or omits to do anything in breach of his official duty; colludes with any political party or candidate for purposes of giving an undue advantage to the political party or candidate; wilfully contravenes the law to give undue advantage to a candidate or a political party on partisan, ethnic, religious, gender or any other unlawful considerations; or fails to prevent or report to the Commission and any other relevant authority, the commission of an electoral malpractice or offence committed under this Act, commits an offence and is liable on conviction, to a fine not exceeding one million shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or to both.

Additionally, Section 60 further lays out the rules governing the conduct of IEBC officials. It posits thus that:

Every elections officer, candidate or agent authorised to take part in any proceedings relating to the issue or receipt of ballot papers or to attend at a polling station or at the counting of the votes shall, before so attending, make an oath of secrecy prescribed in the Third Schedule. Every officer, candidate or agent in attendance at a polling station shall: maintain and aid in maintaining the secrecy of the ballot; and not communicate, except for a purpose authorised by law before the poll is closed, any information as to the name or number on the register of voters, of any voter who has or has not applied for a ballot paper or voted at that station or as to the official mark.

Sections 62, 63, 64, 65 through to 68 of the Act point to issues of voter bribery, intimidation of voters and other forms of electoral corruption especially on the part of candidates and party agents (see also Ongoya and Otieno 2012, 42-67). Section 62 thus declares that:

A candidate who corruptly, for the purpose of influencing a voter to vote or refrain from voting undertakes or promises to reward a voter.....pays, undertakes or promises to pay.....any voter, giving or providing any food, drinks refreshment or provision of any money, commits the offence of treating.”

It further declares that:

A voter who accepts or takes any food, drink, refreshment, provision, any money or ticket, or adopts other means or devices to enable the procuring of food, drink, refreshment or provision knowing that it is intended to influence them commits the offence of treating.

Even more importantly, section 63 provides that:

A person who, directly or indirectly in person or through another person on his behalf uses or threatens to use any force, intimidation, violence including sexual violence, restraint, or material, physical or spiritual injury, harmful cultural practices, damage or loss, or any fraudulent device, trick or deception for the purpose of, or on account of: inducing or compelling a person to vote or not to vote for a particular candidate or political party [etc] at an election commits the offence of undue influence.

It also states that:

A person who directly or indirectly by duress or intimidation: impedes, prevents or threatens to impede or prevent a voter from voting; or in any manner influences the result of an election, commits an offence; and, a person who directly or indirectly by duress, intimidation or otherwise compels or induces any voter who has already voted at an election: to inform that person or any other person of the name of the candidate or political party for which the voter has voted; or to display the ballot paper on which the voter has marked his vote, commits an offence.

From the foregoing, the Election Act of 2011 represents a firm, decisive and well informed piece of legislation as far as preventing and punishing electoral violence is concerned. Sections 64 through to 68 actually prescribe high fines and jail terms ranging from at least 100,000 KES to higher fines of 500,000 KES and 1 Million KES. Though the fines look seemingly high, this may not be enough. True enough, the 2010 Constitution and its attendant legislation; the Elections Act, 2011, have laid down truly firm and highly punitive measures towards preventing and punishing electoral violence among other offences. But it is also true that documents in themselves neither act nor talk. They can only be implemented and turned into living documents by the people whom they serve. Subsequently, a peaceful election in March 2013 is no option for Kenya. Kenya promulgated a new Constitution, and so they can only affirm, protect and obey laws and institutions emanating from it (Kennedy & Bieniek, 2010; Oloo, 2012).

We therefore hold that at the end of the day, these are ‘only laws’ and the most a good constitution can do is to lay out a foolproof environment that would guarantee a well governed electoral environment. Armed with this setting, it is the duty of all Kenyans to be conscious of these realities. The assumption made is that by promulgating a new constitution, the Kenyan people are conscious of these facts. It follows therefore, that the institutional environment that oversees the conduct of national elections [by virtue of having been established under the confines of the same constitution] should be able to impartially conduct, oversee and deliver the vote without consciously doing anything that would abrogate the people’s mandate under the laws governing them as well as the letter and spirit of the Constitution. In this way, any aggrieved party (or parties) at any level of the electoral process will seek recourse in the judicial institutions, which have been established and/or reconstituted under the same 2010 Constitution (Kennedy & Bieniek, 2010; Bekoe, 2010).

With such machinery in place, electoral violence of the scale of the 1992-2007/08 periods would be prevented. While the potential to actualize such a goal is imminent in the post-2010 constitutional dispensation, we acknowledge that building a strong and mature political culture that may actualize these ideals in a society exhibiting strong signs of ungovernability, seems an uphill task. Mass poverty, unemployment and gross inequality, poorly funded public institutions

and irresponsible leadership do not make help to make it easy either. The latter half of 2012 witnessed the killings of 47 Police Officers by armed bandits in Baragoi, Samburu District; communal violence in Tana River District which claimed over 100 lives; a heightened state of insecurity in the face of organized criminal gangs and vigilantes such as the *Mungiki* in parts of Central Province; and the unresolved plight of hundreds of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in transit camps, all seemed to paint a grim picture for the concluded 2013 General Elections.

Conclusion

While the pre-2010 constitutional dispensation exhibited many fundamental flaws especially the inability to secure impartiality, transparency and accountability in electoral governance, it is also true that constitutions do not operate in a vacuum. True enough, we conclude that the political culture of a state is crucial to the success of such a dispensation. Important triggers of electoral violence such as electoral misconduct and crime by election officials, general intolerance by the Kenyan electorate, political posturing by candidates, incitement, intimidation and manipulation, disenfranchisement, undue use of state resources by incumbent public office holders can and must all be avoided as part of national culture. This would uphold the spirit of the Constitution and the laws and institutions that emanate from it which would include the new Judiciary and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). Engendering such a culture cannot be left to the Kenya Police Service. Of course, the IEBC and all other political and civic actors in the country must actively conduct civic education aimed at enhancing the state of electoral governance. In this direction, the participation and will of public actors and/or institutions including political parties, civil society agencies; the academia and key government ministries in this discourse is most imperative. The post-2010 Constitutional dispensation in Kenya provides the best environment for mitigating and preventing post-election violence. However, the Constitution cannot ‘implement itself’ in the literal sense. This is the core argument of this paper.

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Strengthening Institutions for Good Governance: Representation and Electoral Processes in Kenya

Rose Mutiso

Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), Kenya

Abstract

The end of the cold war not only signified an end to the conflict between the 'East' and the 'West' but also marked the beginning of an era where authoritarian regimes were being challenged by the emphasis on more accountable and transparent systems of governance and democracy became a 'catch' word in International politics. Consequently, many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are in the process of institutionalizing democracy and a democratic culture through various means; the most notable being the change to new constitutions that entrench democratic principles. The objective of this paper is therefore to evaluate the current political reforms in political representation and electoral processes in Kenya, as well as the challenges in these processes, while at the same time highlighting the role of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) in these processes. In particular, the paper focuses on two key areas; Representation and Electoral reforms in Kenya. Concerning Representation, the paper seeks to address the issue of greater inclusivity and equality with a focus particularly on the inclusion of women and minorities in political representation and decision making processes. On Electoral processes, the paper seeks to address the entrenchment of well organized, transparent and sustainable election processes, with particular emphasis on the need for a strong, independent and trusted election body as well as the legislation to support its work. The paper has made use of qualitative data and research conducted by the Centre for Multiparty Democracy as well as a review of existing literature.

Key Words: Democracy, Governance, Electoral Reforms, Women's Political Representation, Political Parties.

Introduction

Since the end of the cold war in 1989, almost all international donors have insisted on foreign aid allocations taking into consideration democracy, good governance and human rights in recipient countries- otherwise known as forced democratisation. This contributed to changes in many African countries whereby democracy was pursued as a means of transforming the political and economic systems in Africa. 'Whereas pro-western authoritarian regimes had long been praised for their allegedly higher rates of capitalistic oriented economic growth and superior potential for eventual democratization, bilateral donors especially the United States suddenly exalted the virtues of rapid democratization' (Brown 2007: 301). Consequently, the 1990s witnessed the ushering in of multiparty politics in many African countries; in Kenya, there was a transition from the control of the entrenched one party system to multi-partism. The first multi-party general elections in Kenya were held in 1992 amidst great euphoria and hope for change. These national elections may not have brought much change in the political system and in fact returned the incumbent president under the dominant Kenya African National Union (KANU) back into power, but nevertheless, history was made in that the formation of the 'seventh parliament' as it was popularly referred to, was also composed of Members of Parliament (MP) from the opposition. Other multiparty elections were held in 1997, 2002, and 2007 amidst the clamour for a new constitutional dispensation that would further entrench democratic principles.

The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya on the year 2010 hailed the entry of Kenyans into a new era, as it amongst other things, marked the end of a twenty year struggle for a more open, just and democratic society. The Constitution (GOK, 2010), has introduced many substantial changes which will impact on the nature of politics in Kenya. The Government has also been devolved to forty seven counties, each with their own mandates and budgets, for which citizens elect governors and member of county representatives. It was stipulated that there would be 290 members of Parliament, 47 elected women MPs from the 47 counties and 12 persons nominated by Political parties representing special interests. The Senate would have a total of 67 senators, 47 being elected in the counties and 16 seats for women nominated by political parties while two persons of either gender would represent the youth and two persons also of either gender representing persons with disabilities (Burungu 2010: 2). Whereas Kenya was to continue having an executive president, the powers would be severely restricted because of the consent required from parliament for many decisions. The government would also be restricted to fewer ministers who would no longer be members of parliament.

The new Constitution is a document with a promise for a better Kenya as among other issues; it particularly addresses the needs for representation of women and other marginalized groups in public office. However it is important to note that embracing the constitution does not necessarily mean that the political environment will change overnight and that the myriad of political and economic problems will be automatically resolved. This is mainly because of the strongly entrenched political, social and cultural attitudes that continue to obstruct political, economic as well as social equality. Moreover, despite the importance of democracy and democratic solutions, poorly designed democratic institutions can inflame conflicts rather than ameliorate them. This seems to be the case in Kenya and indeed in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa where efforts at democratization continue to be made. The introduction of democratic politics can be used to mobilize negative ethnicity often turning elections into a 'Them versus Us' situation.

The focus of this paper is therefore on the changes that will impact the political system, particularly in the area of political Representation and Electoral reforms with the overall objective of promoting democratic governance. This paper also examines the role of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) in Kenya, in strengthening political parties as a means of promoting democratic governance. CMD's work in the last five years has particularly focused on working with political parties to strengthen their internal democratic mechanisms as well as the participation of women, the youth and other marginalized groups in public and appointive positions.

Political Representation

Political representation is defined as the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions and perspectives present in public policy making processes (Almond, 2004). Representation is key in Democracy because if people are not or do not feel adequately represented, then this forms a basis for conflict. According to (Gerzon, 2006: 14), the promotion of democratic principles is key to mediating crisis. It is generally argued that democratic systems of governance can help develop habits of compromise, cooperation and consensus building. Democratic structures can also offer an effective means for the peaceful handling of deep-rooted conflict through inclusive,

just and accountable frameworks. Democratic systems of government also enjoy a high degree of legitimacy. The focus of this paper is on the unequal gender representation in politics where women are not adequately represented in Kenya. This takes into account the fact that women's involvement in politics and governance is a central feature of democratization. Miguda (2007) argues that the level of women's participation in governance is often taken as an indicator of the general level of democracy in a society.

Before looking at the particular issue of women's political representation, it is important that we look at the conceptual approaches to the subject matter of gender and how it is constructed. There are different approaches used to understand gender relations in society, but for purposes of this analysis, gender is viewed as a socially constructed reality whose maintenance and practice manifests itself in personal identities and interactions in the social realm. In conceptualizing and trying to understand gender relations, Nasongo and Ayot (2007) look at two perspectives. One perspective seeks to theorize the differential roles of men and women in society and views them as socially constructed. In this perspective, cultural socialization experiences transmitted through different agencies such as parents, schools, peers, and media, usually orient girls towards feminine, mothering and wifely roles while encouraging boys into masculine roles that include being aggressive, ambitious and venturing beyond the domestic arena. The second approach, which is the institutional perspective, seeks to go beyond the role of socialization and sees gender as an institutional and interactional enterprise. According to West and Zimmerman (1987: 137), gender is an institutional and interactional enterprise whose idiom is drawn from the institutional arena in which social relationships are enacted. They therefore conceptualize gender as a routine methodical recurring accomplishment. Whereas the earlier theories focus on the individual, this approach focuses on the institutional/macro structural perspective. These approaches are critical in understanding the hindrances against women's political participation and the stereotypes that have informed the debates on gender equity.

The ushering in of the new constitutional dispensation in Kenya not only marked a new era for democratic governance but also the end of decades of marginalization of certain groups in society such as women, the youth, and people living with disabilities and other minorities. The recognition of these groups was achieved through the entrenchment of a value system that recognizes human dignity, equality, non-discrimination and social justice as the guiding principle for State policy, legislation and the citizens own behaviour and attitudes towards each other. Key to representation is the struggle for political representation by women.

Since the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the issue of women's political representation has progressively gained importance and many countries have embarked on improving female representation in their political processes. In comparison to the developed countries, developing countries especially in Africa have clearly lagged behind in this agenda. Until the ushering in of the new constitutional order, Kenya for instance hardly made any effort to promote the inclusion of women in politics. Countries like Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda on the other hand seem to have put more effort in this regard. By getting the highest proportion of female parliamentarians (at 48.4%) globally in 2003, (Dahlerup: 2006), Rwanda surpassed the record set by the Nordic countries. This brought renewed interest on the matter and provided the much needed impetus for other African countries, especially in the use of affirmative action to increase the participation of women in politics. Globally, 30 percent is

accepted as the minimum critical mass of women's representation in decision making, which includes, yet Kenya still stood at 8.1 percent as at 2007 (Dahlerup, 2006; 2002). The African Union (AU) recommends 50 percent representation; a number of African countries are moving very well in this area mainly due to affirmative action. In the 2013 General Elections in Kenya, there was some slight improvement because of the women seats. 87 of the 416 seats in the newly established National Assembly and Senate are held by women, whereas previously, there were only 22 women in parliament. It is however important to note that the constitutional threshold of two-thirds is still not met.

Politics in Kenya is characterized by what Miguda (2002: 111) refers to as gross inequality in the representation of women. There has also been a particularly slow rate of numerical increase of women members of parliament. In analyzing the causes of this marginalization in Kenya, Miguda (2002: 111) identifies the post colonial structures as particularly playing a big role in the marginalization of women in politics and public offices in general. He argues that the story of women's marginalization in Kenyan politics began with the advent of colonialism when the British rulers introduced modern institutions and structures of state that were associated with men. Colonialism drove African women out of the consciousness and mental maps associated with the newly introduced colonial public structures and institutions, notably parliament. Though women were active participants in the struggle for independence, the emerging post-colonial political system relegated women to the back seat of political life (Miguda, 2002: 109).

Oduol (1992) notes that the male dominated post independence parliament rejected any attempts to ensure reservation of seats for women nominees in parliament. Nzomo (1998) in looking at the post-colonial era argues that the reality of women's exclusion from formal politics and power reflects the gendered nature of the State. This is contrasted with the pre-colonial Kenyan society where according to Nasong'o and Ayot (2007), women enjoyed a status of respect and dignity where for example, women had areas of life where they predominated. They had their own political, economic and cultural institutions whose very existence was unknown to external observers (Likimani 1985: 15). Likimani argues that to the alien observer, politics in pre-colonial Africa may have looked like it was the preserve of men due to the male dominance that prevailed in patriarchal societies but a closer inspection of the intimate details indicates that in different African cultures, women were allowed to participate in politics.

Despite the obstacles Kenyan women experienced in the immediate post-colonial era, they have persistently brought up the matter of women's political representation in parliament and other forums. According to Miguda (2002: 113), as early as the 1960s, Kenyan newspapers were filled with reports in which women demanded representation and countered the conventional argument that there were no qualified women to be elected to parliament. In 1964, the daily nation of 25th April reported that a member of parliament chastised members for promising women a non-existent seat in parliament.

The process of democratization that began in the 1990s expanded the space and opportunities for women's political representation and also witnessed attempts to include more women in politics spearheaded by women politicians. Hon. Charity Ngilu moved the motion in 1996 on the implementation of Beijing Platform for Action in Parliament. This was clearly an attempt to introduce affirmative action as a means of enhancing the numbers of women in parliament. This

motion did not however pass. In 1997, Hon. Phoebe Asiyo tabled the first affirmative action bill in parliament and it also failed to achieve anything. Many attempts have been made following these noble actions but Kenyan women have not achieved much success and the progress for women to be in mainstream politics has been slow and challenging. Kenyan women continue to encounter numerous barriers to their full political participation. Attempts have been made to put in place a legal and institutional framework aimed at addressing the continued marginalization of women. Although Kenyan women may be aspiring and working towards new heights of political power, old attitudes and stereotypes still remain.

Kenya's poor record in women's political representation can be attributed mainly to the deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes and practices that continue to work against women in all areas, especially economic and political empowerment. Women who become powerful are frequently ridiculed and are only accepted when they support men in politics. Mama (1997) argues that while the male dominated state in Africa has been the prime instrument of acquisition and distribution of power and status, it has virtually blocked the majority of women from entering the ruling class. As a result, women's quest for status and wealth heavily depends on aligning themselves with powerful men. The ridiculing of vocal women is a hindrance to political participation. For instance, while profiling former Justice and Constitutional Affairs Minister Martha Karua in 2008 after she was appointed to the cabinet, one *Daily Nation* columnist described her as being 'the only man in Kibaki's cabinet'. To make matters worse, the ridiculing is done not just by men but also by women. This clearly illustrates that the Kenyan woman like many other African women faces severe socio-cultural as well as economic constraints in accessing political power. These can be broadly summarized and discussed under socio-cultural constraints, economic constraints and a violent electoral culture.

Socio-cultural Constraints

According to Nasong'o and Ayot (2007), the social division of labour where women's primary responsibilities are confined to being wives and mothers limits women's engagement in politics. A political career comes in as a second or third job. The situation is further compounded by the dichotomization of social space between the public and the private spheres where women are meant to belong to the latter. Old attitudes, stereotypes and cultural perceptions on the 'unsuitability' of women in leadership remain strong. These sentiments unfortunately are strongly held by women themselves owing to a strong and long history of social-cultural conditioning of which women themselves are custodians as they are the primary socializers of the young especially at the family level. In fact, this has frequently led to the argument that women are 'their own worst enemies' in politics as they do not support one another despite being the majority of registered voters. Owing to the dictates of patriarchy, it is sadly women who continue to perpetuate these negative values and norms by instilling them in the young. This leads to the strong entrenchment of these stereo-types and perceptions which remain one of the strongest barriers to women's political participation. A survey by Infotrack Harris (2011), at the height of the debate on affirmative action, in response to the question on whether one would vote for a woman presidential candidate, 75 percent of the interviewees indicated that they would readily vote for a woman candidate in 2012. This was a survey sponsored by the CMD, in eight counties. However, the March 2013 elections have proved that this was not the case as women performed dismally in the single member constituencies. Only fifteen women were elected into Parliament apart from the women seats and the nominative positions. The only woman

presidential aspirant did not fare also well (Centre for Multiparty Democracy & Infotrack Harris 2011).

Economic Constraints

Women who have gathered enough courage and attempted to enter the political arena in Kenya have encountered numerous economic barriers. The female face of poverty is a significant barrier to access to public and political life for women. Economic statistics reveal that women are poorer than men in Kenya. Of the active population in Kenya, 69 percent of women work as subsistence farmers compared to 43 percent of men (Nasong'o, 2005). It is therefore difficult for women to obtain resources to put into politics due to this and a variety of other reasons such as the fact that culturally, women do not also own property, particularly land.

Concerning material resources, it is noted that until recently, women were also by custom and tradition not entitled to inheritance of their family's assets. The aspiration for ownership of land and other valuable assets even if they were able to purchase these by themselves was also culturally frowned upon. As a result, women did not endeavour to do so for fear of social and cultural reprisal. Consequently, they were not able to access credit, which limited their financial status.

Women are also vastly outnumbered by men in government and other institutions including the civil service and are thus not as well networked as men when it comes to mobilizing resources including connections and material resources. The political process in Kenya is a very expensive one for aspirants and without access to these vital assets, funding one's campaigns and other electoral activities by mobilizing financial resources including access to credit becomes an uphill task.

Violent Electoral Culture

The ability to attract good female candidates is also limited by the past episodes of violence meted out on women candidates. Brute force in the form of physical as well as emotional and psychological violence has been frequently used against women political aspirants during electoral process to 'discourage' them from entering arenas 'not meant for them'. This has made women very wary of joining elective politics. The legislation on election violence is a good step towards addressing this vice though it needs to be implemented well so as to ensure a safe environment for all candidates and especially women candidates who have had nasty incidents such as having their hair pulled out and have been violated in many other ways.

Affirmative Action and Representation

The constitution recognizes women's social, economic, cultural and political rights in all institutions of Governance including Political Party structures and other organs of decision making. It entrenches the two thirds principle for either gender in appointive and elective positions. Chapter seven (7) of the Constitution (GOK, 2010) spells out the principles that the electoral system should comply with. Among them is the principle of Gender equity; that is the not more than two thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. The Constitution therefore offers a reasonably large scope for promoting women's political representation.

The need to accelerate women's representation in decision making is supported by many International instruments including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform of Action and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Beijing platform of Action in particular required governments to work towards gender parity in public administrative and legislative bodies. It also encouraged governments to establish targets and take measures to integrate women into elected and non-elective positions. Global requirements for gender parity are given support by regional women's rights movements and intergovernmental bodies.

Article 27(8) of the Kenyan Constitution stresses on the equality provisions by requiring the State to enact laws and take other measures to implement the principle that not more than two thirds of the membership of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. The Constitution therefore provides for affirmative action to comply with the gender requirement. With regard to women, in both the National Assembly and the Senate, a number of seats are set aside for women candidates which are 47 for the National Assembly (Article 97 (1) (b), and 16 for the Senate (Article 98 (1) (b). The National Assembly seats are filled through elections at the county level in which only female candidates participate. The 16 Senate seats are filled through party based nominations according to the proportion of each party's elected membership in the Senate.

With the above background on the Constitution of Kenya and women representation in both the National Assembly and Senate, we look at the concept of affirmative action. The definition of affirmative action is very contextual in the sense that different people in different circumstances may define it differently. Affirmative action for purposes of this paper is defined as a set of measures adopted by governments, public and private institutions such as political parties, educational establishments, corporations and companies to redress a history of systemic discrimination and exclusion of particular social groups, or to encourage the efforts of particular social groups in the interest of certain development goals (Dzodzi 2009:5). Affirmative action is expected to improve development indicators by reducing inequalities and facilitating the contribution of particular social groups. Whereas affirmative action may or may not arise from the agitation of disadvantaged groups, the state and its institutions are central to its design and implementation.

Affirmative Action is a strategy used worldwide to ensure increased participation of marginalized groups in different sectors including political office. In recent years, affirmative action in politics is implemented in the form of Quotas. This means that a State puts in place a legal requirement either through the Constitution or political parties to ensure that a certain minimum of political parties candidates are women. Quotas for women entail that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body whether it is a Political Party candidates list, parliamentary assembly committee or government. Quotas draw legitimacy from the discourse of exclusion according to which the main reasons for women's under-representation are viewed as the exclusionary practices of political parties and political institutions as a whole (Dahlerup 2011: 141).

The two most common types of quota systems for women's political representation are candidate quotas and reserved seats. Candidate quotas specify the minimum percentage of candidates for

elections that must be women and apply to political parties' lists of candidates. Reserved seats set aside a number of seats for women among representatives in legislature specified either in the Constitution or by legislation. For example, in the Kenyan case, there are the 47 women seats for the National Assembly and 16 women seats in Senate.

Emphasis on the use of quotas represents a relatively new shift in addressing political representation for women and is seen as a means of 'fast tracking' the inclusion of women into political office as quotas place the burden of candidate recruitment not on the individual woman but on those who control the recruitment process. The 'incremental track' method used in developed countries like Sweden and other Scandinavian countries though successful is challenged by the fact that women do not have the same political resources as men. According to Dahlerup (2006:192), the incremental track is associated with the classic liberal notion of equality ('equal opportunity') or ('competitive equality'), whereas quotas represent a shift towards 'equality of results'.

Around the world, quotas have become a part of the electoral landscape. The adoption of quotas for women reflects a growing consensus that women should have greater representation or even equal representation with men. Quotas are supported by the arguments that they compensate for the actual barriers that prevent women from taking political seats as well as the arguments that women just like other individuals in society have a right to equal representation.

Other arguments are based on the premise that women's experiences are needed in political life and that women in decision making positions will tend to generally advocate for women's issues. It is argued that this is one of the reasons why the Nordic countries where affirmative action strategies for women's political representation have been effectively implemented, have the highest quality of life and political stability in the world. On the contrary, men dominated legislative bodies will champion the interests of men. The political representation by women brings into politics, perspectives, experiences and interests that are particular to them. Women are also more likely than men to introduce legislation regarding education, health, child care and violence against women (Rabe, 2001). However, these arguments can be challenged because women may not necessarily champion the interests of women once elected. One common counter argument is that quotas go against the principle of equal opportunity since women are given preference.

The Kenyan Constitution, and particularly the affirmative action requirement entrenched therein, is seen as the avenue that will help to change the gloomy situation concerning women's representation in the political process. But what exactly does this affirmative action requirement entail and how practical is it? Affirmative action in Kenyan is being implemented mainly through political party mechanisms thus making them crucial in this discourse.

The Role of Political Parties in Affirmative Action

According to Oloo (2007: 91-92), the term 'political party' can be used to describe an organization whose aim is to exert permanent influence on the formation of public opinion and hence require permanent organizational structures and programmes. Parties aggregate diverse demands into coherent political programmes and translate these programmes into effective action once they have legitimate control of political office. Political parties exist to participate in

elections and to obtain power and influence. The principal of representation in a democracy therefore hinges on the existence of parties.

The Political Parties Act (GOK: 2011) represents a major milestone in institutionalizing political parties within the democratic governance of Kenya. The Act requires political parties to have a national character by recruiting not fewer than one thousand (1000) registered voters from each of more than half of the counties. A further requirement is that those members should reflect regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance and representation of minorities and marginalized groups. By implication, Political parties are required to adhere to the constitutional provisions as regards gender equity and recruit as well as nominate women to vie for political positions. Even though the Constitution and other pieces of legislation such as the Political Parties Act are very specific on this requirement, the obstacles to women's political representation still remain. A review of most political parties by CMD, indicate that women are not adequately offering themselves for political competition by joining political parties and even when they do so, they are not elected into decision making positions within the party; this presents a challenge towards affirmative action.

Presently, the agreed mechanism for affirmative action is based on political parties presenting party lists to the Independent Electoral and boundaries Commission (IEBC) before the elections. The Constitution provides for closed 'Party Lists' which cannot be altered once they have been submitted to the IEBC, at least 45 days to the General Elections. The Political Parties Act (2011) provides that 'a Political Party shall not change the candidate nominated after the nomination of that person has been received by the Commission'. This therefore means that each Political Party will be allotted seats in accordance to the number of seats won. An example is that if a Party wins half of the Senate seats which are 47, it will then be allocated half of the sixteen seats reserved for women, which would then be eight seats. Eight of their top candidates on the list will consequently qualify to become senators. The implication here for women representation is that they must be on the political party lists in order to stand a chance of being nominated. This could be realized if decision making positions within the party structures are also occupied by women. As Oloo (2007) argues, the main feature of political parties is their participation in elections to obtain power and influence. It is for this reason that individuals within the party must occupy positions of power in order to exert influence.

Owing to the gender requirement in the Constitution, many parties who are represented in CMD indicate that they have complied with the Constitutional gender requirement, but on closer inspection, this may not actually be the case. However, in cases where the requirement has been met, women have not been given key decision making positions in the party. Parties are very much aware of the significant female capital in their organizations as women have always been part and parcel of political processes, but unfortunately they are often used, coerced or hoodwinked to support male participants rather than aspire for these positions themselves. It is important to note that the laws especially when enforced tend to create 'tokenist' behaviour in the male-dominated political parties where women are handed peripheral positions and activities just so as to appear to be complying with the laws. Women may even be kept away from these positions by being promised nominations (essentially being handed the easier option but keeping them away from competitive more lucrative positions.) It is also notable that as elections

approach, political parties tend to nominate men to run for political positions as it is assumed that they are more focused on winning the seat.

Genuine commitment to gender equity therefore represents the exception rather than the norm. This calls for women to work towards taking their rightful place in political party leadership, so as to avoid being used by their male counterparts. The presence of more women in political party decision making positions could help preserve, guarantee and promote more equitable conditions for their political participation and allow parties to offer voters a better gender balance in their candidate list. Though affirmative action measures are important in bridging the gap, it must be realized that this represents only one link in a long chain of steps that a woman must take if she seeks a political career. Women's political participation is much more complex, and barriers as noted may start at the basic level of joining a political party and getting nominated to run for office. Affirmative action within political parties should therefore be seen as just one of the mechanisms for ensuring greater participation. It should be viewed as a means and not an end in itself.

In the new political dispensation in Kenya, it is argued that women unlike men have an advantage in the sense that they have not previously held political positions. Consequently, they may not be involved in corruption and other malpractices that are likely to jeopardize their chances. The Constitution provides stiff penalties for parties that nominate persons who do not subscribe to national values and principles of good governance. Article 10 of the Constitution and article 72(2) of the Elections Act (2011) state that a political party which knowingly nominates a candidate who does not meet the requirements of Constitution shall be disqualified. Logically, women candidates should be able to take advantage of this clause and avail themselves to take up political offices. However, it is easier said than done. Apart from the barriers at the political party level, women as mentioned earlier encounter numerous constraints.

The Representation of Other Marginalized Groups and Minorities

Addressing the needs of other marginalized groups such as the youth and people with disabilities and other minorities is also critical to the discourse of inclusivity. In democratic systems, citizens make political decisions by majority rule but it is argued by political scientists that majority rule must be coupled with guarantees of individual and Human Rights that must in turn serve to protect the rights of minorities; whether ethnic, religious, or simply losers in a debate over a controversial issue. The rights of minorities cannot be eliminated by majority vote and are protected by law because democratic laws and institutions protect the rights of all citizens.

In Article 100, the Constitution directs Parliament to enact legislation for special representation of certain groups, women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities and marginalized communities. Article 98 (1) further provides for gender balance in filling the seats set aside for youth and for persons with disabilities. The two nominees representing each of these interests must consist of opposite gender; in other words, it must be a man and a woman. The inclusive nature of these clauses further enhances representation of the various groups within society. Though these other groups have not received as much attention as the women's movement, they have in the last decade organized themselves into groupings that have been agitating for recognition and special treatment based on their special circumstances. CMD actively engages with a number of these groupings and has been at the forefront championing

their rights. It has, for instance, worked with the youth in political parties to come up with the National Youth Charter, which guides the inclusion of youth into various public offices. In the last general elections, it is noted that there was some progress in this regard as there is representation from people with disabilities in parliament.

Electoral Processes

The legal framework of electoral processes is supported by the Constitution (GOK, 2010) and the different pieces of legislation such as The Elections Act and The political parties Act. The Independent and Electoral Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is the body mandated to spear-head the electoral processes in Kenya. The IEBC Act (2011) sets out the operationalizing provisions of the Commission. The Constitution has assigned the Commission certain responsibilities such as; the continuous registration of voters, regular revision of voters' register, delimitation of constituencies and wards, settlement of disputes, voter education, regulation of campaign financing, and the development of a code of conduct for candidates and parties participating in elections among others. This is a broad mandate and so the body is tasked with the ultimate and central responsibility for managing elections in the country.

Since the advent of multiparty politics in Kenya, elections have been marred by conflict leading to some instances of violence. However, the 2007/2008 post electoral conflict that led to violence sent the country to the brink of a civil war. This was a clear indication that there was need to reform the electoral processes in order to avoid a recurrence of the violence while taking into account the fact that the conflict was based on perceived malpractices by the then Electoral Commission.

In his analysis of the 2007 Post-Election mediation process, Mwagiru (2008) discusses the conflict areas and identifies the electoral conflict as based on the perception of vote rigging at the tallying centre, which clearly points a finger at the Electoral Commission. It was alleged that the Commission was manipulated to declare a winner who had actually lost and so the credibility of the Commission and its leadership was questioned. Clearly this is an indication that the independence and professionalism of election bodies is critical to a successful election where parties feel satisfied that they either won or lost. Elections are about perceptions. This means that any negative perception dents credibility in the eyes of the public. Lack of public trust on the outcomes of the electoral process can lead to violence as evidenced in Kenya and other African countries.

According to Mwagiru (2008), 'The Concerned Citizens for Peace' group led by Ambassador Kiplagat and General Sumbeiywo who were acting as mediators in the conflict, issued a seven point plan that they felt could be used as guideline for negotiations. Top on the list was the issue of Constitutional reforms addressing an improved electoral framework. The USA Assistant Secretary of State, Jendayi Frazer also stated that the mediation would have to address the fundamental challenges that triggered the conflict. Among the challenges identified were; the need for constitutional reforms to clip the imperial powers of the President, and also addressing social grievances and strengthening governance institutions such as the then Electoral Commission of Kenya to forestall a similar crisis in the future. The reform of electoral processes is therefore one of the core issues in ensuring credibility of the political system. This is of great importance taking into account that the overall legitimacy and acceptability of any election

depends on the integrity or perceived fairness of the administration of elections. The process by which parties reach an outcome impacts significantly on the quality of the outcome in elections. It is therefore important that all the electoral processes must aim to be above reproach.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is already in place after a lengthy, open and transparent recruitment process. One critical role that the IEBC must play is to regulate the political environment, encourage voter registration and voter turnout as well as offer political education. In representative democracy, citizens vote in order to select those who will determine policy and act as their leaders. The act of voting provides all citizens with a direct interest in the actions of their government. The results of the vote give those elected the entitlement to govern. Voting is therefore central to governance. One way of impacting on voter turnout is by carrying out information campaigns to address the fundamental processes of registration. They can also engage in motivational advertising to ensure that people take part in voting.

Dispute resolution mechanisms are also an important element in the management of electoral processes. In Kenya, reforms have also targeted the judiciary. A strengthened judiciary and specifically the political parties' tribunal to handle election disputes plays a key role in this regard. The Political Parties Act establishes a Political Parties Dispute Tribunal to determine disputes arising from the activities of political parties such as disputes between the members of a political party; disputes between a member of a political party and a political party; disputes between different political parties; disputes between an independent candidate and a political party; disputes between coalition partners; and lastly, appeals from decisions of the Registrar of political parties under the Political Parties Act (2011).

Civic education is key to the success of the electoral processes. The aim of civic education is to promote general awareness of democratic principles, the practice of good governance, the rule of law and constitutionalism. This would consequently lead to the consolidation of a mature political culture. The success of this new dispensation cannot be left to chance but a concerted effort must be put in place to influence awareness, enhance civil skills and give full support for democratic values and political participation through civic education.

Role of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD-Kenya)

The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) is a body founded by political parties in Kenya, who are also its members. It was registered as a Trust in 2003 and its basic quest is to work with political parties in terms of capacity building and institutionalization of democracy and democratic values. This is captured in the vision of CMD which is '*To Promote the Institutionalization of Vibrant Democratic Political Parties Capable of Enhancing and Perpetuating Multiparty Democracy*'.

CMD has taken a leading role working with political parties to enhance multiparty democracy. According to the new Constitution, political parties are eligible to receive public funding on condition that they meet certain criteria as set out in the Political Parties Act as well as meeting the criteria of internal democracy. CMD works with political parties to strengthen their internal structures as well as their engagement in politics since this is an important cornerstone in democratic governance.

The new constitution calls for change in the overall political system and particularly for political parties. The new dispensation challenges political systems to re-invent themselves from the current overly personality oriented parties to become more programmatic oriented parties. Out of the recognition of these needs, the CMD and other partners are working towards assisting political parties to achieve these goals.

In regard to representation, CMD has facilitated parties to review their legal instruments in accordance with the gender requirements of the constitution. It is also involved in designing training programmes that assist in creating awareness among women politicians within the political parties, to ensure that they are actually aware of the opportunities that now exist for them in the political sphere. It holds capacity building workshops on the various topics specific to women's representation including how to package themselves for elections.

On affirmative action, CMD has played a vital role in identifying various mechanisms for ensuring that women are elected into political office. CMD together with other partners such as UN women have organized meetings between political parties and members of parliament to try and get a formula that can be used to attain the required number of women as per the requirements of the Constitution. It is important to note that though the constitutional provision for the inclusivity of women is already in place, the methodology to achieve it in a wholesome manner is not provided for. The means of achieving the constitutional threshold of not more than two thirds of the same gender in the National Assembly and other appointive bodies has not been provided for in the Constitution. This raises the debate on how the numbers of women, who are the minority, shall be increased. CMD has therefore worked with different organizations to come up with the winning formula. For example, CMD supported the Constitutional Amendment Bill (2012) that would require political parties to fill the gender gaps by presenting 'zebra' party lists. This meant that the party lists would for example have a male nominee followed by a woman nominee or vice versa. It is hoped that through the party lists, political parties will give equal opportunities to their party members who include women. CMD has also engaged with women to ensure that they join political parties, offer themselves for political office and take an active part in the overall political system.

CMD runs an inclusivity programme that takes care of other marginalized groups including the youth and people living with disabilities. CMD has brought these groups together and worked with them to articulate their issues and find their space in political representation. The work involves training and capacity building programmes for these groups. CMD is also involved in tracking the implementation of the Constitution and interrogating the various bills before they are passed. It organizes cross party workshops that sensitize parties on the progress of the implementation of bills and also assists parties in training in order to understand the functions of the new institutions, such as the devolved governments, that are being created.

Conclusion

As the March 2013 General Elections approached, there was a sense of hope and optimism that the elections would bring peace, security, social justice and prevent conflict. On representation, the government was obligated to come up with a formula that would ensure that women and other marginalized groups attain the minimum requirement as per the Constitution in order to

address the disadvantages suffered by groups or individuals in the past. However, the debate on the matter was not conclusive. There were two options being evaluated. One option was to amend the Constitution so that Political Parties could present 'Party lists' to the IEBC. It was a requirement that that these closed party lists have women representation. The other option was based on attaining the requirement progressively; this was the more popular option particularly with male members of parliament who argued that it was not possible to have the required numbers of women at one go but that this could be realised progressively. The two thirds threshold has not been yet been met; it requires more women to be nominated in order to attain the required numbers as per the Constitution. Looking at the forgoing, it is important to note that legislation alone does not bring change. Change comes as a result of changed attitudes for both gender. This presents the biggest challenge to the empowerment of women to take up political office. Besides the constitutional legal requirements, women, marginalized groups, and people with disabilities need to engage political parties and take up their rightful positions and compete for the political positions. As CMD engaged with women in political parties all over Kenya, it was becoming evident that women for example may lose out on the expected gains if they all focused on the women seats. In future, it will be important for women to go for other elective seats and not limit themselves to the so called 'women seats'.

The reform of electoral processes is another political milestone in Kenya. The reforms within the IEBC starting from its formation where the IEBC commissioners were not handpicked by the President, but were subjected to a rigorous transparent selection process including approval by Parliament was a big step in consolidating the management of electoral processes in Kenya. The process included confirmation on how it would administer and manage the general elections, which was a step in the right direction. Another reform included the utilisation of technology to enable election results be transmitted electronically from polling stations to a central tallying centre. This was meant to lend credibility to the whole electoral process. In its various areas of electoral administration and management, the IEBC was expected to perform much better than its predecessor. However it as was witnessed in the concluded General elections of 2013, the IEBC is still faced with many challenges. For instance, the election outcome at the tallying point was disputed on the perception that it was not fair and transparent. The utilization of technology failed miserably and the country is more polarised than ever before due to these elections. One would be tempted to put all the blame on the IEBC, but it should also be noted that elections under the new Constitution posed logistical challenges, not to mention the Political Parties Act and the Elections Act which introduced new legal requirements that voters needed to understand and appreciate.

Lastly Political Parties in Kenya are still very ethnicized and have not reflected the national character that they are expected to reflect. They are more than ever challenged to be issue-based and engage in meaningful debate as well as come up with original Party Manifestos. The level of party democracy must grow considerably to the level where both party leaders and voters begin to think about issues rather than personalities.

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Effects of Interaction of Graduates in Empowering Rural Communities through a BAC-GORTA Scholarship-Training Programme of selected areas in Kenya

John M. Kingau

Directorate of Research, Extension and Consultancy, Laikipia University, Kenya

Abstract

Training institutions dealing with agriculture and rural development in Kenya face major challenges in their approaches and methods to education and training. These challenges include but are not limited to; inadequate funding, falling student enrolment, inadequate practical skills, poor quality and irrelevant programmes, diminishing graduate employment opportunities and lack of clear and well articulated vision and mission. This has led to inability of such institutions to achieve their training and education objectives. Consequently, some development partners have shown greater concern and interest in supporting training institutions in Kenya. Against this background, a study was carried out on one such scholarship programme in selected parts of Nyanza, Rift-Valley and Western provinces of Kenya. Both qualitative and survey research design were adopted in the study. Data was collected from a sample of 100 graduates selected from a population of 280 past graduates. A questionnaire was used to collect the required data. The collected data was collated, coded and analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics at significance level of 0.05. This paper examines the effects of the scholarship training programme offered by Baraka Agricultural College in Kenya and supported by GORTA, a Northern development partner. The results show how the scholarship support scheme facilitated in the empowerment of communities and enabled them attain some levels of sustainable development. Further, the paper reveals that through the scholarship scheme, graduates have actively played their roles in their communities by contributing positively to changes in communities' livelihoods as well as achieving their self-reliance expectations. This study concludes by highlighting the need for support for training institutions and key persons in the community to act as facilitators of development and consequently provides recommendations to various stakeholders.

Key words: learning, scholarship, rural, empowerment, communities, development

Introduction

It is important to note that the Millennium Development Goals single out education for youth as a key target group. Target 16 of the MDGs is 'to develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth'. The World Development Report published by the World Bank (2007) focused on youth, which is a sign of a growing awareness among donor agencies and civil society organizations about the actual and potential roles of youth in the development process. The global population of young people aged 12-24 is currently 1.3 billion. The youth population is projected to peak at 1.5 billion in 2035 and it will increase most rapidly in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and South East Asia (by 26 percent and 20 percent respectively between 2005 and 2035). FAO estimates that around 55 percent of youth reside in rural areas.

Institutions of learning in the areas of agriculture and rural development are facing major challenges the world over. In Kenya for instance, these challenges include; limited funding, falling student enrolment, inadequate practical skills, poor quality and irrelevant programmes, diminishing graduate employment opportunities and lack of clear and well articulated vision and mission (Temu et al., 2004: 406). Knowledge is a critical asset in all aspects of development

such as planning, managing natural resources on a sustainable basis and providing interventions to rural problems that include poverty, food insecurity and unemployment (ICRAF, 2002). Globalization of these issues has brought a great challenge to approaches and learning methods at different levels of education and training.

This study involved looking at community empowerment through student scholarship support offered by Baraka Agricultural College (BAC) through GORTA an Irish development NGO; this was with particular reference to community participation in the selection and implementation process. The study analysed the direct beneficiary (graduate) performance after training as well as the benefits to the indirect beneficiary (community). The next section gives an overview of the institutions involved, the training approach used and the trainees' selection process.

Baraka Agricultural College Training Approach

Baraka Agricultural College (BAC) is one of the rural training centres in Kenya which assists individuals and communities to tackle development challenges through its education and training programmes. Its mission is to develop the capacity of the rural communities so that they can respond from within to the challenges that face them. BAC does this by promoting a Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD) concept through its programmes. Over the last several years, BAC has been educating and training women and men from rural communities so that they return to their communities with skills, knowledge and self-confidence to facilitate the development process.

Since 1997, BAC jointly undertook a partnership arrangement with GORTA, an Irish development Non Governmental Organization (NGO) in collaboration with local communities. GORTA supports sustainable development projects in developing countries. In an effort to improve the development capacity of the rural communities from the grassroots, the two support a scholarship scheme that enables poor women and men from rural communities in Eastern Africa to attend training at Baraka Agricultural College in the area of agriculture and rural development.

Selection for the GORTA Scholarship Scheme at BAC

Selected rural communities, in consultation with BAC staff, nominate committed persons that have a history of community involvement. From those nominated, one woman and one man are selected from each locality by way of a written test and interview. A representative of the community is usually a member of the interview panel. The community is expected to contribute a small amount of funds as a 'commitment' in support of each selected candidate. This money is returned to the community in form of projects established and promoted by the student on completion of the course. All the tuition costs are catered for in the scholarship by GORTA. On completion of the sixteen months training programme, the graduate is expected to transform into a more self reliant individual and work with the community for a minimum of one year, in promoting an appropriate development strategy.

The selection approach enumerated above has had its own shortcomings as per BAC progress annual reports. In the report (Dolan, 2000; 2003), it was stated that previously it was not easy 'to match a target community (indirect beneficiary) with a particular student (direct beneficiary) for a wider and more spread multiplier effect of the scheme'.

Literature Review

The countries of Eastern Africa share similar biophysical and socio-economical features. The region has a fast-growing population that is being challenged by socio-economic problems such as poverty and food security. Education systems in this region are often not very well adapted to the needs of rural communities (ICRAF, 2002).

Eastern Africa countries which consist of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia face two major challenges in enabling education for sustainable development. The first is to ensure that trainers in vocational and third level institutions get relevant education that will meet their learning needs, especially essential life skills. The Second is to enable resources that are available serve as a basis for sustainable development that will result in more active and sustainable participation in the local and global economy and poverty reduction. These challenges are closely interrelated.

Available literature indicates that up to 80 percent of the population of Eastern African countries live in rural areas and that 60 percent lives below poverty line; 30 to 40 percent of them being chronically poor (The Chronic Poverty Report 2004-2005). Kenya's population was 32 million as per National Population and Housing Census (2009) and the Dimensions of Well-Being in Kenya Report (World Bank Report, 2003), indicated that 34 districts in Kenya, out of a total of 63 had at least one location with more than 70 per cent of population living below the poverty line. Additionally, the capacity of available resources to meet the demands for the growing population in terms of food and other basic needs remains unsatisfactory. Most of the population in Kenya is rural; practicing subsistence agriculture which employs 70 percent of Kenya's workforce. Population growth and increasing demand for food, combined with drought and other negative aspects, is putting pressure on available natural resources.

Current development policies are strongly based on the dominant development paradigm which downplays the role of agriculture in the development process. Equally, there is lack of resources and government policies which result in fewer, poorly resourced, lowly motivated services in rural areas according to Baraka Agricultural College (BAC) Annual Report (1999). Today, there are very few governments in Africa that can claim to be in a position to fully support tertiary agricultural education (Temu et al, 2004). Temo et al. further note that 'even if they were able to do so now, it is unlikely to be sustainable' (p 61). Tertiary institutions are all facing severe budgetary constraints and draw on populations that cannot easily pay the full costs of their education (Muir-Leresche, 2006: 10).

Streamlining the financing of education and training as well as improving its relevance within the context of sustainable development is a critical element. Due to resource constraints and lack of proper strategies, as well as the access to relevant knowledge and skills, rural development has been hampered. Minde (2003) says that those who are likely to be served by the graduates have economic and moral obligation to co-fund the training. However, extending the benefits of education opportunities means addressing the constraints in terms of public and private resources. There is thus need for a change from within and also amongst policy makers towards development approaches. Muir-Leresche (2006) supports this notion when he says that there needs for a paradigm shift in education. The objective should no longer be how much knowledge

has been acquired, but how effectively and responsibly available knowledge can be used. This can be achieved through education for sustainable development as observed in the Education for Sustainable Development in Kenya Stakeholders' workshop (Sambili et al., 2003).

Training and education for empowering rural community offer good opportunities for improving relevance and quality of education that addresses some of the development challenges. In 1997, BAC embarked on a new and less tried path for education and training support. Recognizing that education and training had the potential to deliver new options for reducing poverty, improving food security, and sustaining community development, the college in collaboration with others expanded its mandate to include a more proactive approach to achieve greater impact in rural development. This saw the initiation of beginning the scholarship scheme.

Theoretical Framework

The Mentoring theory by Rhodes and Lowe (2008) informed the framework of this study. It provides a background against which the effects of interaction of graduates in empowering rural communities can be understood, as well as give an account of how the sponsorship provided by GORTA through Baraka Agricultural College impacted on communities from where the students were selected.

Studies of mentoring and informal training programmes have shown that adult mentors can play an important role in facilitating the development of positive identities for youth in community development approaches by providing youth with opportunities to see themselves as capable of knowing, understanding, and doing facilitation work (National Research Council, 2009). Rhodes and Lowe's mentoring model describes mentors as supporting youth in three ways; socio-emotionally, cognitively, and in identity development. Rhodes (2005) theorizes that as youth may view mentors as role models, these influences inform their decision making and perceptions of their future possibilities. Deutsch and Spencer (2009) suggest that the approach mentors take in working with youth is an important factor in the success of mentoring relationships and developing positive youth identities. Mentors who, for example, understand the values and worldviews of the youth with which they work, can help to foster the negotiation of bicultural identities for youth (Liang & West, 2007). Liang and West also support the view that mentors may be able to offer youth unique resources by drawing from their culturally similar experiences.

Mentorship through apprenticeship can positively influence the perception youth have of themselves as community-oriented. Stake (2006), for example, found that social encouragement from teachers and parents is an important predictor of youths' development attitudes. Additionally, Barron et al. (2009) found that parents can play a variety of roles that support youth learning in institutions; roles such as trainer, learning facilitator or resource provider. Adults who allow youth to draw on their own discursive patterns, funds of knowledge and their associated identities can help youth break down some of the barriers that they may experience in their everyday lives.

Mentoring may therefore be widely accepted as a strategy for facilitating the professional growth and development of students while they are socialized into a given discipline. As a component of the professional-socialization process, mentoring can influence how individuals prepare themselves and develop various values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes throughout their

academic and professional careers. BAC graduates were thus mentored through provision of sponsorship and involvement by their trainers and community members.

Research Problem and Objectives

Agricultural Training institutions in Kenya lack the financial capacity and resources to support training programmes that would enable graduates return to their localities in order to facilitate self-motivated development. In particular, private rural training centres in Kenya that are not run by government do not get public funding, even though the government values their work. As a result, institutions like BAC had tended to focus on producing graduates who were seeking employment in formal sectors. Delivery was fragmented, with a lack of clear learning pathways and yet, tertiary education must be able to cater for life-long learning as well as respond to students who seek to be locally relevant and who can become self-employed graduates with a holistic understanding of livelihoods approaches and natural resource management problems.

The purpose of the study was to evaluate the effects of the interaction of graduates scholarships offered through BAC on the community livelihoods development from selected areas in Kenya. The specific objectives were: To identify the perceptions on the BAC/ GORTA scheme effectiveness; to determine the performance and role of the graduates, in their communities, after completion of the training; to identify how the community needs were being met with regard to benefits from training facilitation; and finally to make recommendations that could be used to improve such scholarship arrangements in future.

Research Methodology

Given the nature of this study, a quantitative approach was adapted but integrated with qualitative method in order to assess the breadth of the responses. Qualitative method was primarily based on 'self-perception' research tools. Quantitative survey was done using questionnaires. The site of the field survey and semi-structured interview was limited to scholarship programme areas of Western Kenya region comprising Nyanza, Rift-Valley and Western provinces for cost effectiveness and timeliness purposes. However for the structured survey, respondents were drawn from all GORTA scheme areas in Kenya.

The sample chosen to be surveyed was selected from a population of 280 past BAC graduates. Target population comprised students who had graduated from BAC between the years 2001 and 2004. Respondents were selected by use of both multi-period clustering and simple random sampling in order to obtain a proportional and equal distribution from the four years under study. Fifty per cent of respondents were selected from those who had benefited from the BAC / GORTA scholarships, while the remaining fifty percent were non-scholarship graduates. A sample size of 100 graduates was selected for structured survey; this was deemed appropriate due to some logistical considerations.

Additionally, in as far as the semi-structured interview and observational analysis was concerned, a sample was picked from three subgroups: GORTA graduates locations; Non-GORTA-graduates locations and Non-BAC-graduates locations. One third of the structured survey target respondents (38) were visited in their localities and a total of 24 locations were considered for in-depth survey. Fourteen of these locations were those with GORTA supported graduates, five non-GORTA graduates and five non-BAC graduates.

A structured questionnaire was developed to capture information pertaining to graduates. These included: Personal profile; education and experience status; support mechanisms; value of GORTA scholarship; and after graduation situations. The questionnaire was then pre-tested with a group 2004/2005 GORTA graduates attending a seminar at BAC. Together with a cover letter detailing the purpose of the study and the precautionary/ ethical measures, the questionnaire was administered through postage. Data was collected between the last week of June and the third week of July 2006. The return rate for the questionnaire was considered good (59 out of 100); taking into account it was a postal survey.

A 'self-realization' technique which involved a self-critical approach was used. It considered the opinions of the target respondents on attitudes to selected issues that required addressing the wider impact of literacy process on community development and empowerment. Their perceptions were then recorded.

Data from the quantitative survey was collated, coded and analysed using statistical package, SPSS version 11.5. Additional statistical significance testing was employed using the Chi-square at 0.05, through cross-tabulation, to test for differences, relationships and associations between variables of interest. Descriptive statistics and tables were then used to summarize the results. Analytical tools of content analysis were used to treat descriptive data generated from community members' discussions and semi-structured interviews with graduates and other community facilitators.

Results and Discussion

Thirty four respondents (59 %) were male and 24 were female (41 %). The respondents' ages ranged from 23 to 44 years with an average of 27 years. The majority (74%) were 30 years or younger while only 5 percent were 40 years or older.

Over half the respondents (56%) reported to be single and 25 respondents (44 %) were married. Those who were married, had an average of three children while just over half (58%) had one or two children; 29 percent had three to four children whereas 12.5 percent reported to have more than five children. Figure 1 shows the distribution of respondents by the number of children per household.

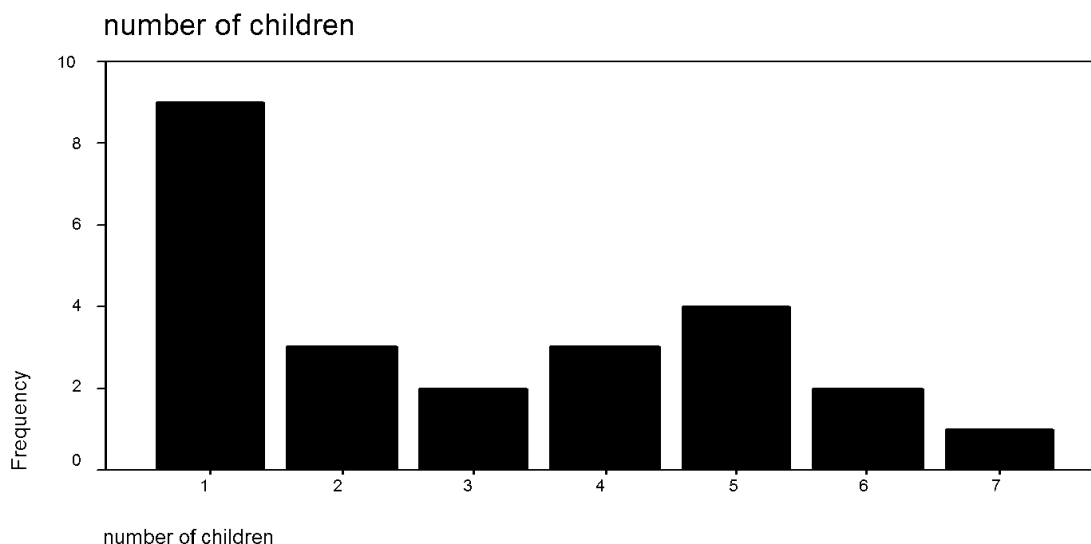


Figure 1: Distribution of Respondents by number of children per household (n=24)

Education and Experience Characteristics

The vast majority of respondents (95%) had secondary level education and only a small proportion (5%) had post-secondary education. Half of the respondents (29) had some kind of work experience (See Table 1). Of these, a big percent (48.3%) had farming related experience, 17.2 percent social and community work and 13.8 percent business exposure. The remaining respondents had other types of work experience. This is in agreement with the literature that most rural youth have not been mentored towards professional development as the majority have only attained academic qualifications.

Table 1: Distribution of graduates by type of work experience (n=29)

Type of work experience	No. of respondents	%
Farming related	14	48.3
Business related	4	13.8
Social/community work	5	17.2
Professional career	1	3.4
Other	5	17.2
Total	29	100

Information on BAC

The most common (29% of respondents) source of information through which graduates initially learnt about the existence of BAC and the training opportunity was through past students who had already graduated from the college. Others got the information through community and NGO representatives (14.5%), parent/relatives (9.1%) and BAC staff (9.1%). The rest obtained the information from various different sources as seen on table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by how they first learned about BAC (n=55*)

Source of Information	No. of respondents	%
past students of BAC	16	29.1
Community rep. / NGO rep.	8	14.5
BAC staff	5	9.1
friends	3	9.1
parents/relatives	5	9.1
government	1	1.8
media	5	9.1
Others	12	21.8
Total	55	100.0

*3 respondents did not give their sources of information about BAC

Thirty respondents (64% of sample) who joined BAC were supported by the GORTA/BAC scholarship and got their information about the training opportunity through community leaders (30%), 27 percent got this information from local NGO representatives, relatives / parents (10%) while the remaining 33 percent got it from a combination of other sources.

The majority of the GORTA-sponsored graduates, who were 28 (93%), were nominated and selected by BAC staff together with the community members. The rest who were only two from the sample (7%) had been sponsored by their families. Nearly half of the GORTA-sponsored graduates had received all the necessary information materials to enable them to prepare for selection. The majority of the respondents (77%) got both the scholarship condition information and the application forms. Twenty six respondents (93% sample) said that the information they received allowed them to make the necessary preparations, while only a small percentage (7.1%) said the information did not help them.

Scholarship Scheme

All 30 GORTA-supported graduates sampled said that the funding did not cover all their costs associated with undertaking the BAC study programme. Most of them (80%) paid between Kshs 5,000 to 15,000 (1 Euro=Kshs 90) as additional amounts while 20 percent reported that they paid over Kshs 15,000 as extra amounts towards the costs of study. This money was paid mainly by parents /guardians (62%) while 21 percent of the respondents paid for themselves. Only a small proportion (10.3%) indicated that the community paid for the costs (See Figure 2).

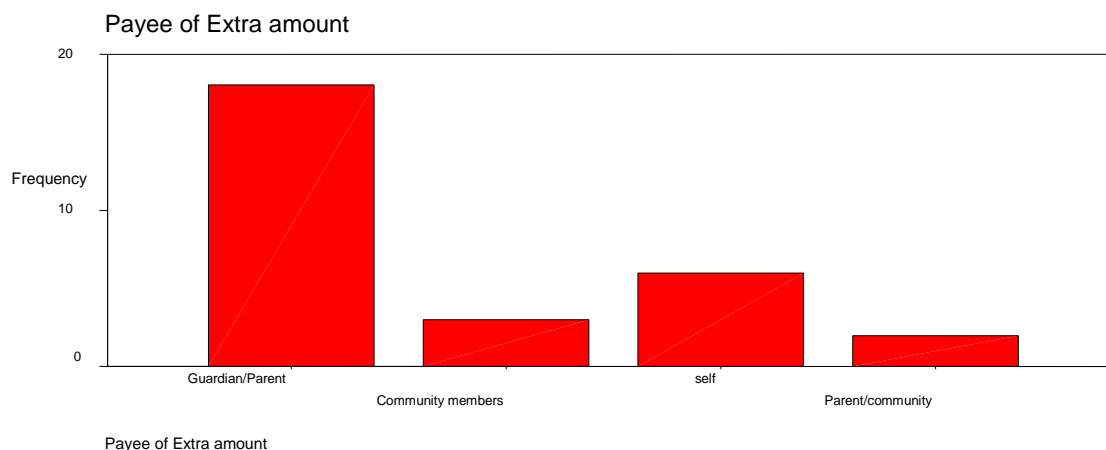


Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents by source of extra payments for BAC Programme Costs (n=29)

Views on Scholarship Value

All the GORTA-sponsored graduates' beneficiaries found the scholarship support very useful (100%). The thing they liked most about the scholarship scheme was the payment of course fees (34.1%). This was followed by the targeting /selection process (22.4%) and the focus on community link which were 20 percent (Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of supported graduate by things liked about scholarship (n=85*)

Liked thing	1st liked n=30	2nd liked n=30	3rd liked n=25	total	%
Course fee payment	12	12	5	29	34.1
Targeting & selection	6	5	8	19	22.4
Focus on community	3	8	6	17	20.0
After graduation support	1	3	3	7	8.2
Training delivery	8	2	2	12	14.1
Follow-up process	-	-	1	1	1.2

***Up to three different responses were given by each respondent**

As for the 'least liked thing', 33 per cent mentioned financial support after graduation; 28 percent said they did not like how follow-up was done, while the remaining respondents gave other aspects (Table 4).

Table 4: Distribution of graduates by aspects of the support scheme that was ‘least liked’ (n=64*)

Least liked thing	1 st least liked n=27	2 nd least liked n=21	3 rd least liked n=16	Total	%
No proper follow-up	7	3	5	16	25.0
Selection by community	7	3	4	14	21.8
Post-graduation finance	4	12	5	21	32.8
No job access	4	1	-	5	7.8
No further training	3	1	2	6	9.4
Community factors	1	-	-	1	1.6
Work attire not given	1	-	-	1	1.6

* Up to three different responses were given by each respondent

Assessment of Effectiveness of Scholarship Aspects

The majority of the respondents rated general support after graduation and follow-up process as being ‘good to excellent’, at 83 percent and 57 percent respectively, while the actual amount of support given (in monetary terms), identification of potential candidates and selection process were rated poorly (Table 5). This indicates that scholarship support is an essential mentorship approach towards professional development of the beneficiaries as had been discussed in the literature.

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by Rating of Aspects of the Scholarship Scheme (n=30)

Rating	Aspect Rated						
	Publicity %	Identification of potential candidate %	Selection process %	Community involvement %	Amount of support given %	Support after graduation %	Follow-up process %
Excellent	3.3	-	-	17.2	-	53.3	36.7
Good	16.7	6.7	10.0	13.8	13.3	30.0	20.0
Average	46.7	6.7	26.7	41.4	16.7	13.3	16.7
Poor	33.3	70.0	63.3	27.6	70.0	3.3	26.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Learning and Capacity Building

Fifty five of the fifty eight respondents (98%) surveyed said the CSARD had benefited them. Only three respondents (1.8%) said they did not benefit. Of those who said they had benefited from the studies, an average of three said it helped in one way or the other; 42 percent said they acquired better agricultural and facilitation skills; 20 percent were able to apply proper planning

or management skills in their work or daily activities while 16 percent said they were able to be self-employed or self reliant (Table 6).

Table 6: Distribution of students by how CSARD training helped their daily work/ activities (n=55*)

Kind of help	No. of respondents	%
Proper planning and management	11	20.0
Community involvement/ mobilization	2	3.6
Acquired better agricultural skills/facilitation	23	41.8
Better decision making on implementation	2	3.6
Self confidence in communication	4	7.3
Improved business management/entrepreneurial	2	3.6
Has enabled self employment/reliance	9	16.4
Proper planning +community mobilization	2	3.6
Total	55	100

*** 3 respondents did not give their responses**

The study indicated that 20 respondents (38.5%) had taken further training after graduation while 32 (61.5%) had not received any type of training. For those who had taken further training (n=20), 12 respondents (60%) had taken both business and project management training while 7(35%) took agricultural/technical training and the rest had taken training in either social work or leadership skills.

The majority (76%) of those who had not taken some form of training after graduation (n=37) cited financial problems as their main reason for not doing so. For others, it was due to commitment in their employment (5.4%), religious obligations (5.4%) and other varied reasons. The findings tally well with the idea of continuous skills improvement of graduates after attaining professional skills for their lifelong development.

Self-Reliance

The majority of respondents 50 (86.2%) said that their families owned a farm. Among the respondents, slightly over half of them (51%) saw farming related enterprises as a way of sustaining themselves. Eighteen respondents (31.8%) started business oriented enterprises as their preference to achieving self-reliant livelihoods while the rest reported 'other' different means (Table 7).

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by their plans to achieve self-reliance (n=56*)

Means of self-reliance	1 st means	2 nd means	3 rd means	Total	%
Starting farming related-enterprises	26	3	-	29	51.8
Business ventures	11	4	3	18	32.0
Family support	1	-	-	1	1.8
Charging facilitation fees	-	1	-	1	1.8
Initiating a CBO	1	-	-	1	1.8
Full-time employment	1	-	-	1	1.8
Accessing further training	1	-	-	1	1.8
Use of local resources	3	-	-	3	5.4
Total	44	9	3	56	100

* 2 respondents did not suggest their plans

Forty one respondents (76 %) had started a new enterprise since graduating while 24 percent had not. For those who had initiated a new enterprise, a majority (69.8%) had an agricultural enterprise, 23.3 percent a business enterprise, and the remaining percent had other varied small enterprises. As for agriculture, poultry rearing was the most popular (26.7%), followed by dairying. In case of business oriented enterprises, green groceries (shops selling vegetables and fruits) was first (30%), followed by mini-agro vet shops and bakeries at 20 percent each. A statistically significant relationship existed between owning land and starting a new enterprise ($p=0.001$) as 97.6 percent of those whose families owned land had started new enterprises compared to 2.4 percent of those who had no land. These findings, which are in line with literature cited earlier, are an indication that most graduates require to be mentored for self-reliance.

Graduates Self Realization

This focused on the impact of the BAC training programme on the scholarship graduates and their own sense of self-realization which included their individual skills, knowledge and attitudes that positively affected their self perceptions and the perceptions others had of them.

Self-confidence

Graduates in all 14 of the scholarship supported locations visited during the study felt that they had gained an increased level of confidence as a result of training. This was reflected in their communication skills and involvement in community work. In Ainamoi location, for instance, one female graduate who said she used to be shy before she attended training was emphatic about engaging the youth and women groups in development work. In another location, Bukhayo Central, a graduate said he felt energized when working alongside 'experienced' government workers and within community groups. A female graduate (Mauche location) who was working with a group of men from an ethnic community that does not regard women as leaders seemed at home with the all male self-help group. She was eloquent and enthusiastic when working with them.

Out of the 14 locations, graduates in eight said they felt much more confident in their undertakings but expressed a need for an association of graduates that would give them on-going

support and encouragement in their work. The graduates cited CSARD training and GORTA support after graduating as having positively influenced their self esteem while working in the communities and pursuing their own livelihoods. This impact is in contrast to control locations (Katho, Siboti and Chekalini) where the graduates were not comfortable with themselves and did not express a high sense of being able to act on their own.

Problem-solving Skills

In ten out of the fourteen locations visited where GORTA graduates were working, the young men and women had developed approaches to seeking solutions to problems they faced in their daily activities. Many of them identified their ability to recognize and link with other service providers as having enabled them to address the communities' issues rather than providing 'ready-made solutions'.

In nine out of the fourteen locations, graduates used consultation with others as a way of seeking solutions to problems. In contrast to this is the case of problem-solving skills of the graduate (who was not GORTA-sponsored) in one of the control locations; Kapkatet, who commented that "*the community members always come up with various requirements but I have nothing to offer them except the knowledge I got in college*". This reflects a lack of insight on how to seek solutions to community needs.

Roles played by graduates at household level provide evidence of how they are persuading their own families to solve problems. For most graduates, where their families initially had no regular or alternative income sources, it was possible to address this through their interventions after graduation. For example, in East Sakwa, a predominantly sugar growing location with irregular and unreliable sources of income, a strategy to improve household incomes was put in place by a graduate. Small livestock farming (fish, poultry, bee-keeping, dairy goats and others) was developed as alternative income sources for households while at the same time pressure was exerted through community associations for better terms and payments for sugarcane through the graduate's efforts. This type of community work was also taking place in Ainamoi, Thurdibuoro and a number of the other locations which had GORTA-sponsored graduates. Most graduates had translated their problem solving skills into practical actions with their families, relatives and community neighbours.

Motivation and Innovations

From the discussions with the GORTA-sponsored graduates, most stated that the financial support they had received since graduation has boosted their morale when dealing with their clients. They noted that the skills and knowledge received in BAC has helped them motivate others. They mentioned that prior to joining BAC, they were not as committed to community issues as they are now. At Thurdibuoro location in Nyando district, one graduate had this to say: "*I do not regret having got support to go to BAC, I now see a future full of development and the community views me as their role model*". Unlike the time before joining the BAC course, the graduates said they could now access relevant information which helped their communities and themselves to progress and address disadvantages they face. However they still lamented the constraints that communities face in securing financial support for required inputs that would enable them feel their efforts were yielding results.

The graduates felt that the GORTA scholarship scheme has led to positive changes in their lives and in the lives of their immediate families. They had initiated profitable activities and themselves undertaken investments in a number of farming enterprises. One graduate from South Alego location had a bicycle repair business, another in Nambale location had an agro-vet shop and both cited some business training they had received after graduation as the main motivating factor. Equally, a number of the graduates interviewed said they were able to advise their parents, husbands or other relatives on how to be more economically self-reliant. Their biggest challenge, they pointed out, was inadequate financial resources to invest in 'right' ventures and sometimes limited transport facilities to engage communities in development.

Community Organisations

It was envisaged that GORTA-supported students, on graduation, would help facilitate development and strengthening of community structures. Community organizations mentioned or noticed during the study are; women groups, CIGs (Common Interest Groups), co-operatives, credit schemes, youth groups and a number of welfare clubs. A number of members from these associations were asked questions about the value of the graduates to the work of their associations using a checklist developed for the study.

Two of the locations were considered for more detailed analysis. In Thurdibuoro and East Sakwa locations, where 12 members (10 groups) and 11 members (one group) participated in discussions, from each location respectively the results of discussion were as follows: 70 percent of members said they regularly attended meetings and belonged to at least one association, unlike before; 60 percent of the members said they were actively getting involved in decision-making for their local groups; and a number of those interviewed held some positions of leadership or had some responsibilities which they had assumed since the return of graduates to their areas. These results are corroborated by records of meetings they provided during the field study visits and the graduates' own accounts. For instance, the graduates in the 14 locations, with GORTA scheme, stated that their presence had "*rejuvenated groups and renewed the members' roles in these community organizations*". Interviews with three community facilitators of Thurdicep, a local CBO in Thurdibuoro location, emphasized these changes. The three confirmed the '*awakening of community groups*', which had helped greatly in their facilitation work.

As for the five control locations visited (i.e. areas where there was not a GORTA-sponsored graduate), the community members interviewed talked about agricultural activities only rather than more integrated developmental issues. This could be interpreted to imply a lower level of involvement in community issues related to associations or a weakness of graduates towards promoting more holistic approaches for community development. It was only in Katho location (one location among the five) where a semblance of active community participation was evident, and this was perhaps due to the graduate who was involved with a local NGO, called WINDOW.

In another location, Ollenguse (Uasin-Guishu district), without any past BAC graduate, the local administrator (Chief) said a number of organizations had been formed in the early days but were no longer active though the government of Kenya was creating an enabling environment for their development. This clearly points to some gaps in active community involvement in their organizations.

Role of Graduates

Based on discussions with community members, it was felt that the GORTA-supported graduates had been active in establishing meetings towards the formation of community structures and in securing more people's involvement in local development activities. During the interviews, the communities' representatives stated that the graduates had enhanced awareness for the need and importance of good leadership. This contrasts with their fellow graduates (not GORTA-sponsored) in the other 'control' locations who seemed to be more comfortable working with individual farmers than with community groups. In Katho, which was one of control locations visited, the graduate there brought the researcher to individual contact farmers and there seemed to be little or no connection with the wider community.

From the discussions with community representative it became clear that collective actions were more common in areas where GORTA graduates were working compared to non-GORTA graduates areas. Some of the 'collective actions' noted in the latter communities were: tree nurseries; HIV-AIDS awareness projects; petty trading; common group financial contributions in a 'merry-go round' (members give contributions to one member to buy items and then when through with one project, they start again the contributions for another round of projects) and water projects, amongst others.

From the communities' own account, the GORTA-graduates were committed to and interested in the communities' activities. The communities' members interviewed said they were particularly encouraged by the ability of graduates to help them use local resources and develop their own ideas in their farming projects. They said the graduates were reliable and active even if not supervised, unlike locally-based civil servants working with government bodies in the area. The communities stated that the graduates had positive attitudes towards serving them. Importantly, most GORTA-graduates are in the forefront of forging community links with other service providers as witnessed in their localities during the study visits.

Effectiveness of the Scheme

A participatory approach in identifying the potential candidates for this scheme was adopted by BAC. The target groups for this scholarship scheme were the needy individuals who had been involved in community work for some time and who had the required education and experience backgrounds. Results from this study indicated that this was adhered to. The majority of the graduates (95%) had the necessary Form IV education and fifty percent had the desired work exposure (i.e. had some involvement in community work) before joining BAC, while the other fifty did not. The study also showed that 93 percent of the graduates were nominated and selected by BAC staff in conjunction with community members. This community involvement in the selection process may have enabled the admission of appropriate candidates, though some of the graduates interviewed had reservations about the identification and selection process.

The fact that the selection process focused on community links was necessary as this enabled the majority of graduates to return to their communities after graduation (72% were working or living in their home areas). This is consistent with views expressed in literature; for instance, Muir-Leresche (2006) who noted that it was necessary to encourage entry of students with rural backgrounds, who are more likely to understand communities' needs, bring popular participation

and are prepared to go back to serve them after graduation. It also agrees well with the main objective of the scholarship scheme in developing individual enterprises and getting community development momentum going.

Funding and Partnership Arrangements

GORTA funded the major expenses of the training but the nominees (graduates) and their communities had to pay some extra money, which was Kshs 15,000, as a condition of the scholarship compared to Kshs 80,000 which was value of grant for each student. BAC played a role in assisting the communities to access funds and training. As indicated in the literature (Muir-Leresche, 2006), tertiary institutions frequently face severe budgetary constraints and draw from populations that cannot pay the full costs of education.

Institutions therefore need to forge partnerships for the purpose of financing education. The extra amounts required were paid mainly by parents and relatives (62%) as shown in the results (Figure 2). This was contrary to GORTA-scholarship conditions that the benefiting community contributes the extra amounts. This may distort the commitment of the graduate returning to work with the community. However, for any training scholarship arrangement to be sustainable, it is highly preferable for beneficiaries themselves to contribute some part of costs for effectiveness. All the GORTA graduates (100%) found the scholarship valuable and especially paying of course fees as the study found out.

After Graduation Impact

One of the objectives of the GORTA scheme was to allow the beneficiaries improve their capacities and develop into self-reliant individuals. Another was to enable the graduates facilitate empowerment of their communities. By then, just over 160 graduates had benefited from the scholarship since its inception. The study found that 92 percent of GORTA graduates were actively playing their role in their communities and 76 percent had initiated new individual enterprises. This clearly showed the effectiveness of the approach despite some few limitations.

Effects in the Community

This section looks at the third specific objective which was to identify how the community needs were being met as a result of scholarship training facilitation to community members (GORTA supported graduates). A number these aspects are discussed under the headings of: community participation; community organization; and enterprise development.

Community Participation

Participation of local community in the development process aims to strengthen their capacity and acquire responsibility for the authority over local resources as suggested in literature cited Binswanger (2000). Data from discussions and semi-structured interviews with community members, contained in their self-realization opinions, indicated that the quality of their involvement in various aspects of development had improved considerably since the return of graduates. Survey results showed that so far, the graduates' commitment to the affairs of their communities had increased their role in improving the quality of community participation. Ninety two percent of respondents said they were involved in community work; the majority of those (57%) being the GORTA-supported ones, who were active on the ground as observed during the visits. Due to this involvement, it was evident that there was increased confidence and

active participation of community members that opened new opportunities for development in their communities.

Community Organizations

One of the positive impacts of the GORTA-scholarship scheme was the way graduates had been able to promote development of community structures. They had also reinforced development activities of existing associations. This study indicated a significant number of communities engaged in running and management of local associations. A core purpose of any scholarship training programme is to empower communities to enable them manage their development process (Binswanger, 2000).

Enterprise Development

Communities and families of graduates had started more and new farm/business enterprises as deduced from the study. In practice, the GORTA-graduates had passed on the skills and knowledge gained from BAC, as evident from the thriving and several varied enterprises in place. As a result of this, community members had been able to access some of their requirements such as farm inputs and extra income. Other community members were able to purchase more livestock and expand existing enterprises. The starting of these enterprises was reported in the study findings as having had a great impact on livelihoods of beneficiaries (graduates and community members) of this scholarship. Likewise, from the study results, it appears that the enterprises assisted in addressing the development challenges faced in the areas where the scholarship graduates were working. As emphasized in literature cited earlier (CTA, 2002), social capital had been developed in the communities and had become a key element in improving services as well as enabling more focused development processes. The study has shown that the scholarship facilitated meeting the communities' needs in localities where it had operated over the years since its inception.

Conclusions

The study found that most GORTA graduates were living or working within their communities and were actively facilitating them. Increased participation in community organizations was one concrete outcome of GORTA graduates facilitation. It was therefore concluded that the building of 'capable communities' had started taking shape where the graduates were involved. Community members are now organizing themselves and using local resources towards desired changes. As evident from this study, the greatest change that had occurred within communities, through the graduates' facilitation, had been the development of a sense of involvement, enthusiasm and ownership of the development process by local people themselves. Although this process was still on-going, together with emerging lessons, it was concluded that the scholarship scheme was playing a critical role in the community empowerment process. Frequent and properly coordinated follow-up of graduates from tertiary institutions is crucial to performance of graduates in their community facilitation. Training institutions should improve the follow-up otherwise it might continue holding back changes towards achieving tangible development progress in the communities.

The training support through BAC to needy communities contributed to empowerment of rural communities and developing of self-confidence and reliance among graduates in Kenya. Several community members have acquired skills through the facilitation of graduates. This is likely to

impact positively on livelihoods and ensure that the beneficiaries are addressing the challenges they face in their localities. However it was noted that students training alone did not lead to empowerment of communities. The control group (Non-GORTA graduates) indicated few signs of having changed the communities' ways of viewing development process. Training by itself may not bring the desired changes supporting local development. The GORTA / BAC approach of scholarship-partnership for training support to selected deserving communities demonstrated how financial support from donors could be used effectively to ameliorate rural problems and ensure that sustainable development is encouraged. The value of this approach was in its ability to create links with communities and past students to promote a people-driven development process. These links were instrumental in the successes attained so far. The approach puts a strong emphasis on the creation of partnerships to identify development opportunities and underlying constraints, as well as help drive forward and enhance training programme implementation.

It is therefore concluded from this study that the scholarship to community for training as an approach had achieved some significant outputs towards sustainable rural development. However, it was still necessary to improve aspects of such programmes as a prerequisite for higher performance of graduates and increased impacts.

Implications and Recommendations

Some important implications from the scholarship training programme as highlighted from the study include:

- (i) involvement of communities in selection of potential candidates for any scholarship training arrangements, which may ensure commitment of graduates to return to communities after graduation;
- (ii) funding support to students from needy rural communities as a sure strategy towards engaging communities to realize their collective actions, which may have wider multiplier effect on society (different people in the communities even those not directly contacted had benefited);
- (iii) the existence of a potential for scholarship partnerships (such as the BAC/GORTA arrangement), which if well coordinated, could make a difference in the lives of individuals and indirect beneficiaries;
- (iv) support and follow-up after graduation, which should be an important aspect of any training/education partnership arrangements; and
- (v) the creation of graduates who show more commitment to their communities and are more likely to succeed although they require financial back-up.

From the study several recommendations are made in as far as training and learning institutions are concerned. Improvements could be made in the way the training approach is organized to make it more successful. The following are suggested as future interventions:

- (i) *A closer collaborative arrangement* - This should be built between the identified communities to develop suitable mechanisms for identifying 'right' candidates for scholarship support. Care must be taken when using local government administrators or community leaders who may be biased in nominating relatives;
- (ii) *Support after graduation* - Both back-up training and financial support for one year after graduation should be increased to allow graduates implement individual projects and

- respond to community needs. This can be done by institutions soliciting financial resources from potential partners and formulating relevant refresher training courses;
- (iii) *Promote lending scheme* - Training institutions should continue to encourage past students to organize themselves into credit and savings groups. They can link the members to donors so that funds can be channelled into such groups where graduates could access special loan facilities for initiating self-reliance ventures;
 - (iv) *Strengthen association for graduates* - Given challenges that graduates were facing in the field and in the absence of a dependable alumni structures, informal structures for Scholarship-supported graduates should be organized; and
 - (v) *Develop linkages* - Universities and Colleges should develop linkages with the private sector and industry for mutual benefit.

In as far as funding agencies are concerned; the GORTA support to disadvantaged and poorly resourced communities through BAC made progress and was valued by beneficiaries. In light of that and contributions it made in strengthening community empowerment it is suggested that;

- (i) Resources and support should be channelled through training institutions to improve the approach of resourcing graduates after completion of their training to ensure effectiveness in community facilitation process,
- (ii) Funding agencies should support BAC-type approaches. This will allow tertiary institutions meet the goal of strengthening the capacities of rural people, and
- (iii) Funds should be provided to well-organized past student associations to enable graduates provide loans to members so that they can start small business enterprises.

In as far as the involvement of communities and rural organizations in scholarship support programmes is concerned; it is recommended that they consider the following issues;

- (i) identify how best they can support the selected community members during and after training,
- (ii) be willing to accept the graduates' roles in facilitating the communities without having negative perceptions or unrealistic expectations,
- (iii) decide on the best way to interact with government agents or other service providers by developing links that are feasible.

In as far as Government and curriculum developers are concerned; they can encourage the development of education for rural change through greater support to rural training centres. In this regard, the following specific recommendations are made;

- (i) Support the replication of appropriate education policies for sustainable rural development,
- (ii) Encourage the adoption of education approaches that caters for life-long learning aimed at holistic development of beneficiaries,
- (iii) Consider funding certain aspects training institutions to encourage them develop into centres of excellence in rural development work.

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Biogas Technology Uptake in Tanzania: Improving Energy Pliability, Challenges and Prospects

Anna Ibrahim Wawa and Hashil, Twalib Abdallah

Open University of Tanzania, Tanzania

Abstract

Energy crisis is a serious problem in Tanzania and its shortage is serious especially in oil and wood fuel, particularly in the rural areas. Several NGOs in the country have therefore introduced biogas technology as an alternative source for renewable energy. Despite its potential, the adoption of biogas technology is however low. This paper tries to address the issues through which biogas technology can be harnessed to improve the current shortage of energy in Tanzania. It discusses such a possibility especially by examining three important areas; the current energy status of the country, challenges on uptake of biogas technology as an alternative energy source, and the future prospects of making biogas technology an effective source of energy in the country. Categorically, authors argue that the provision of energy services has to be implemented through an interdisciplinary process that addresses the interface between climate change, energy provision services, and the role and needs of targeted groups within Tanzania. An ideal prospect of biogas technology in Tanzania depends mainly on local anchorage as an important factor for supporting income-generating activities and government financial support towards fulfilling requirements in respect to alternative energy sources. Ultimately, the prospects of biogas technology in Tanzania can be viewed from its usefulness in the fields of rural energy, agriculture, health, residential housekeeping, and environmental conservation, thus contributing to achieving poverty reduction goals in the development policies. The lesson is that lack of government involvement in promoting and supporting biogas activities will negatively affect the speed of its uptake.

Key word: Biogas Technology, Energy, Pliability, Challenges, Prospects

Introduction

This paper intends to explore the socio-economic and legal challenges involved in making biogas technology highly adopted and used efficiently as an alternative source for domestic energy use in Tanzania. Basically, this paper is a literature study of scientific articles that deal with biogas technology, energy utilisation and various government policy documents. The paper has four sections, section one addresses the country profile, its energy status, biogas history worldwide, background of biogas technology in Tanzania and legal frameworks related to biogas technology. Section two presents the challenges facing uptake of biogas technology in Tanzania while section three deals with the prospects of biogas technology on improving energy pliability in Tanzania. Finally, section four presents the conclusion and recommendations.

Background and Legal Framework of Biogas Technology in Tanzania

The Profile of Tanzania

Geographically, Tanzania lies on the eastern coast of Africa, along the Indian Ocean, between latitudes 1° and 12° south of the Equator and longitudes 29° and 41° east. It borders Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia to the south and south-west; the Democratic Republic of the

Congo to the west; Rwanda and Burundi to the north-west; and Uganda and Kenya to the north. Most of the land mass consists of the inland plateau rising gently from the coastal belt and stretching 1,000 kilometres inland, with highland areas to the north and north-east as well as the south and the south-west. The coastline extends for some 1,424 kilometres, with three major islands along the Indian Ocean. These islands are Unguja, Pemba and Mafia.

The Energy Status of Tanzania

Tanzania is amongst the Third World countries facing energy crisis. The crisis is not only limited to shortage of oil but also to scarcity of wood fuel. Tanzania's energy consumption is met by biomass, primarily wood fuel (90%) where 80 percent of this energy is used in rural areas (REA 2008). Nearly 80 percent of the national energy consumption is applied for domestic use mainly for cooking and lighting, and poor households spend a considerable share, up to 35 percent of their income on domestic energy (TDPB, 2013). According to Rural Energy Agency (REA) 2008 report, the excessive dependence on wood fuel for energy has led to the continual depletion of forests which in turn has been resulting into shortage of wood fuel. Due to scarcity of wood-fuel particularly in rural households, people have to use maize stalks, maize husks and sometimes dry cow dung for cooking; all of which provide inadequate and unreliable energy. Furthermore, cooking is carried out mainly on traditional three stone hearths leading to severe health consequences mainly due to indoor air pollution. Women in particular, due to their roles and close interaction with the environment, are the major victims of the domestic energy crisis. Kerosene is mostly used for lighting for more than 80 percent of the rural population. However, kerosene use as is the case with other oil based energy sources is faced with a challenge of continuous rise in price hence becoming unaffordable to majority of the rural population. For many years, there have been predictions that energy supplies particularly oil would run out and cause recessions from which the world would never recover (Day, 2010). The recent reports as quoted by Day show that there would be a gap of 5 percent in energy supply by 2010 rising to 23 percent in 2015 and 32 percent in 2020. He further comments that as the world oil fields are declining, the prices will rise as evidenced from the year 2008 where prices rose from \$ 100 to over \$ 139 a barrel against a long term trend of under \$ 50. The above data is an indication that there is an increasing energy supply gap caused by the diminishing supply of non renewable energy sources.

According to United Republic of Tanzania (hereafter, URT) (2003), one of the challenges facing the Tanzanian government is the failure to reach rural households with modern energy services. According to the Household Budget Survey done by REA in 2008, the proportion of households in Tanzania that were connected to the national electricity grid increased slightly to 12 percent with more concentration in urban areas, and only 2.5 percent in rural areas. It should be noted here that in Tanzania, more than 80 percent of the total population live in rural areas. Even for the population with access to electricity, about 80 percent has very low purchasing power; hence they continue to depend on wood-fuel as a cheaper and easily accessible energy source. Furthermore, in areas with electrification, the energy supply is not reliable. This was revealed by the Minister of Energy and Minerals who in an interview with Corporate Tanzania in 2010, made it obvious that the current energy supply in Tanzania is unreliable due to frequent interruption of power supply and over dependence on mono-source of hydro-power base which is affected by unreliable rainfall as a result of adverse climatic changes (Corporate Tanzania, 2010).

However, there are other energy sources in Tanzania apart from wood fuel and hydro- electric power. These include renewable sources like solar, coal, natural gas, geothermal, and biogas. These are potential energy sources which could be harnessed to meet the growing energy requirements hence reducing over-dependence on wood fuel. Economically, renewable energy sources stand a better chance of supplying sparsely populated areas of Tanzania but have so far not been fully tapped and the fact that they are unaffordable to the majority poor households. Biogas in particular has a big potential for domestic energy supply in Tanzania (URT, 2003). This is supported by the study by Schmitz (2007) which places Tanzania as relatively mature in biogas technology compared to other African countries.

History of Biogas Globally

The history of biogas utilisation shows independent developments in various developing and industrialised countries. Anecdotal evidence indicates that biogas was used for heating bath water in Assyria during the 10th century BC and in Persia during the 16th century. In India, the first digestion plant was built at a leper colony in Bombay in 1859, while in England, anaerobic digestion reached there in 1895 (Biogas works, 1999). The countries with the greatest experience in using biogas are Germany, China and India. Among these, Germany remains the world's leading biogas energy producer which accounts for roughly one fourth of the global biogas installed capacity. The German government has been instrumental in developing the biogas electricity market in the country through development and generation of agricultural methanization plants. The German Technical Cooperation GTZ launched in 1980, chose biogas technology as a focal point of its activities. This resulted in a cross-sectoral scheme that has accompanied and supported the development and dissemination of biogas technology in Latin America, Asia and Africa. A number of biogas dissemination programmes involving GTZ were launched in Bolivia, Colombia, Nicaragua, the Caribbean, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Morocco and Thailand (Ngwandu et al., 2009).

India has a long and varied experience in the field of developing simple and easy-to-operate biogas technologies to suit different climatic conditions and socioeconomic groups of users. According to Bui Xuan An (2002), a top-down centralised government initiative in India, was recommended to promote the design and use of rural energy interventions because there were few options for rural India to alter deteriorating biomass resources. Bui Xuan An (2002) further comments that in India, biogas production has been stimulated by popular publicity campaigns and subsidised construction cost of biogas plants by central and local governments.

In China, the development of biogas received strong government support and at times, subsidies from local government were up to 75 percent. Chinese Government stressed the importance of training local people. They also consider the influence of team and brigade leaders as extremely important for the popular acceptance of biogas technology (Gunnerson and Stuckey, 1998). According to Gunnerson and Stuckey, the biggest constraint in the biogas programmes has been the high price of the digesters.

In Africa, Biogas plants operate successfully in some countries. In Rwanda, bio-digesters have been built in 5 Rwandan prisons and provide more than half of the prisons' kitchen energy, thus saving about 50 percent of wood for cooking. In Nigeria, the Ibadan city has the biggest biogas

installation in Africa providing gas to 5,400 families a month (Brown 2006). The Ibadan city, according to Brown, takes advantage of the city's abattoir where nearly two thirds of animals in Oyo state are slaughtered. In Kenya, biogas dissemination experience, according to Ngwandu et al. (2009) started with educational institutions. Later, the biogas programmes focused on local artisans and commercial outlets working in the private sector. The Kenyan Government also set up the Special Energy Programme (SEP) to coordinate biogas activities. Generally, biogas technology in Africa has not been widely adopted (NOVA Institute, 2013). According to the NOVA institute, the main reason for this is that there is no truly large scale coherent and continuous biogas dissemination as have been seen in countries like China and India. Relatively limited projects have also been conducted by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) without support from governments on permanent basis.

Biogas Technology in Tanzania

Tanzania has been among the forefront African countries promoting the use of biogas at the household level as an alternative renewable energy source intended to reduce excessive dependence on wood fuel. According to Schmitz (2007), the history of biogas dissemination in Tanzania dates back to 1975 when the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) built 120 floating-drum biogas plants between 1975 and 1984. In 1982, a parastatal organisation; Centre for Agricultural Mechanization and Rural Technology (CAMARTEC) was founded and charged with the task of dissemination of biogas technology in the Arusha region. About a year after this initiative; a contract on technical cooperation was signed between Tanzania and the Federal Republic of Germany. This led to the introduction of the Biogas Extension Service (BES). In its initial years, the BES disseminated biogas technology mainly in the so-called 'Coffee and Banana Belt', which was the region around Arusha town where particularly positive conditions promised a high dissemination density for biogas plants. CAMARTEC and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) were in charge of implementing this project.

In 1990, the dissemination strategy and project structure underwent decisive changes which resulted into the withdrawal of GTZ from the BES. The project was later seconded to an interdisciplinary team of scientists, mechanical engineers and agriculturists under CARMATEC (Schmitz, 2007). Schmitz further informs that CARMATEC under Special Energy Programme (SEP) provided coordination, support and training of local craftsmen, monitoring and evaluation of biogas technology in the country. There was however no arrangement for credit schemes to help the farmers to acquire biogas plant. High initial costs of biogas installation have limited uptake of biogas technology with exception of only very few rich farmers and some capable institutions.

Apart from CAMARTEC, which has done pioneering work in the design of appropriate digesters as well as promoting the use of biogas technology, several non-governmental organizations have implemented biogas projects. These projects include; Sustainable Rural Development (SURUDE), which was established in 1993 as cooperation between farmers and Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro region. Other biogas projects are MIGESADO, (a Swahili acronymy for 'Miradi ya Gesi ya Samadi Dodoma', meaning *gas projects from cow dung in Dodoma region*). Other projects include: Biogas and Solar Company project established in Arusha region dealing with fabrication and installation of solar panels and biogas plants; The

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) located in Arusha, Friends in Development Trust Fund (FIDE) based in Babati, Manyara region; and, The Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) based in Arusha. All of these projects focused on developing training courses aimed at capacity building for biogas market promotion. Tanzania Traditional Energy Development Organization (TaTEDO) is another non-governmental organisation that crusades against over-dependence on wood fuel by promoting efficient biomass technologies (improved cook stoves and baking ovens). TaTEDO also conducts capacity building training of artisans on construction and promotion of improved stoves and biogas plants. From the above examples, it is established that by the year 2007, there were about 4,000 biogas plants countrywide most of them using subsidies (Schmitz, 2007).

In 2007, the Biogas for Better Life, an African Initiative was launched. Following this launch, Tanzania biogas stakeholders aimed at the establishment of a National Biogas Programme, Tanzania Domestic Biogas Programme (TDBP). The main objective of TDBP is to support the development of biogas sector and coordination of all relevant stakeholders. Ngwandu et al. (2009) explain the aim of TDBP as supporting the realisation of government policies in the field of energy, poverty reduction, livestock development and rural development. The programme was funded by Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) up to June 2009 after which the programme had to seek funding from other donors. This funding environment of the National Biogas Programme is not promising as it is still dependent on donors. This may result into previous experiences where the withdrawal of GTZ from SEP initiatives led to financial impairment on dissemination of biogas technology.

The biogas history in Tanzania reveals the interest of various stakeholders in biogas sector development. There is potential for networking amongst these stakeholders. What has been missing is coordination which the recent established National Domestic Biogas Programme has a potential of doing. Furthermore, the existence of biogas projects for all this time promises the potential of technological skills. It is established that there is a creditable effort done for strengthening awareness and knowledge of biogas technology. The majority of rural population are in a position to tap the benefits of biogas technology if only effective dissemination is done by innovators. This can be accomplished through awareness creation campaigns, training, seminars and demonstrations to the potential biogas adopters.

Biogas technology involves biochemical degradation of complex organic materials into simple organics and dissolved nutrients, with a methane-rich gas and nutrient-rich liquid as by-products. Biogas technology which converts biological wastes into energy is considered by many experts to be an excellent tool for improving life, livelihoods and health in the developing world. Furthermore, properly designed and used biogas digesters may mitigate a wide spectrum of environmental undesirables. Its use decreases demand for wood and charcoal for cooking and thus helps to preserve forested areas and natural vegetation. It also provides a high-quality organic fertiliser for crop production improvement. Biogas technology is capable of improving sanitation and reducing greenhouse gas emissions which contribute to climate change (Brown, 2006).

Climate change, which is a change of the earth's average temperature over time, has become a popular, controversial topic among major scientific and political issues worldwide. The third

assessment report of the Inter-governmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) confirmed that the Earth's climate is changing as a result of human activities, particularly from energy use. It confirms that further change is inevitable. Human activities produce and release greenhouse gases such as Carbon dioxide, Methane, Nitrous oxides to the atmosphere. The concentration of these gases to the atmosphere leads to global warming. Other human activities which cause climate change include deforestation or widespread cutting of trees hence there aren't enough plants to consume CO₂. Methane is another greenhouse gas which is produced through mining, large scale livestock farming, rice paddies and landfills. The use of inorganic fertilisers also contributes to giving off of nitrous oxides, all of which contribute to the increase of greenhouse gases concentration in the atmosphere.

Essentially, the link between biogas technology and climate change can be viewed from the fact that massive emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) from the burning of fossil fuels bring substantial effects to the climate. Future stabilisation of the atmospheric CO₂ content requires a drastic decrease of CO₂ emissions worldwide. Energy savings and carbon sequestration, including CO₂ capture/storage and enhancement of natural carbon sinks, can be highly beneficial. Renewable energy technologies provide an excellent opportunity for mitigation of greenhouse gases emission and reducing global warming through substituting conventional energy sources. Rajeswaran (1983) establishes that renewable technologies are considered as clean sources of energy. The optimal use of these technologies minimises environmental impacts by producing minimum secondary wastes which are sustainable and are based on current and future socio-economic needs. Biogas technology in particular is one of the few technologies that utilise wastes as valuable resources.

In describing the rationale behind the promotion of biogas technology, particularly in the rural areas of Tanzania, Rajeswaran (1983) observed that Tanzania with an agrarian tradition is ideally suited to use agricultural residues for the production of feeds, fertiliser, and fuel as a result of biogas technology implementation. According to Tanzania Agriculture and Livestock Policy of 1997, livestock production is one of the major agricultural activities in Tanzania comprising three livestock production systems; commercial ranching practised by National Ranching Company (NARCO); pastoralism, a nomadic livestock keeping which is disintegrating due to increased livestock number, human population growth and expansion of farmland; agro-pastoralism, which is characterised by production of crops and livestock keeping (URT, 1997). This is a major production system commonly practised by agricultural households in Tanzania and is the one which favours the availability of feed-stocks for biogas digesters.

The adoption of biogas technology would not only contribute to sustainable development of rural energy supply, but also livelihoods (in terms of agriculture, health, sanitation, gender and environment). Despite the advantages of biogas and the existence of biogas projects in the region for a reasonable period of time, the response of people towards biogas technology is still low thus necessitating the need to examine the challenges facing biogas technology uptake in Tanzania. Currently, Tanzania energy status show a high consumption of wood fuel which contributes to deforestation and land degradation. Furthermore, modern energy sources are unreliable, unaffordable, and the national electricity grid is inaccessible to majority of people. In this case, there is strong demand for alternative energy sources in Tanzania.

The Legal Frame Work of Biogas Technology in Tanzania

In Tanzania, the legal framework of biogas technology is highly connected to the laws dealing with energy as well as climate change. In this aspect, different laws (including international obligations towards climate change)¹ and a number of initiatives have been undertaken with policies, strategies, and programmes being put in place to address environmental concerns and energy generally. These include the National Environmental Policy; the Environment Management Act, 2004; Rural Development Policy; the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS); the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS); the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP); and the Tanzania Development Vision 2025. Despite having all the laws dealing with energy and climate change already mentioned as existing in Tanzania, this paper will only discuss briefly the energy policy as well as the Rural Energy Act, 2005.

The Rural Energy Act, 2005: The Act² has been enacted to establish the Rural Energy Agency (REA) that is responsible for promotion of improved access to modern energy services in the rural areas of Mainland Tanzania. REA is operated through Rural Energy Fund (REF) within the Agency to provide for grants and subsidies to developers of rural energy projects and for related and consequential matters. Several authorities like Energy and Water Utilities Regulatory Authority (EWURA), Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO) and Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) dealing with energy in Tanzania also derive their powers from this Act. A broad interpretation of the phrase, ‘...rural energy projects...’ as well as ‘...modern energy services in the rural areas...’ can be interpreted to mean biogas technology has been encompassed within the legislative framework of the country.

Tanzania Energy Policy and its role to Biogas Technology: Tanzania Energy Policy was first formulated in April 1992. Since then, the energy sub-sector as well as the overall economy has gone through structural changes. Where the role of the Government has changed, markets have been liberalised and private sector initiatives encouraged. The current energy focus is to use market mechanisms to reach energy objectives and achieve sectoral efficiency while balancing national and commercial interests. The 1992 policy document has therefore been revised taking into account structural changes in the economy and political transformations at national and international levels. In 2003, Tanzania adopted a new National Energy Policy,³ which categorically takes into consideration the need to:

- a. have affordable and reliable energy supplies in the whole country;
- b. reform the market for energy services and establish an adequate institutional framework, which facilitates investment, expansion of services, efficient pricing mechanisms and other financial incentives;

¹ Among others, Tanzania ratified the UN Framework on Climate Change (hereinafter to be referred to as UNFCC) and subsequently acceded to the Kyoto Protocol to this Convention in April, 1996 and February, 2003, respectively. Consequently, Tanzania officially submitted her Initial National Communication (INC) to the UNFCC in February, 2003. During the development and following the completion of the INC, Tanzania has made some efforts in creating public awareness on climate change issues within relevant sectors and agencies, thereby trying to mainstream and integrate climate change issues across all sectors of government. Other international treaties connected to biogas technology and environment include Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and its Bio-safety protocol, the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants, Ozone Depletion, and the UN Convention Combating Desertification (UNCCD).

² Act No. 8 of 2005

³ The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry Of Energy and Minerals, The National Energy Policy Para 1.1.1

- c. enhance the development and utilisation of indigenous and renewable energy sources and technologies;
- d. adequately take into account environmental considerations for all energy activities;
- e. increase energy efficiency and conservation in all sectors; and
- f. increase energy education and build gender-balanced capacity in energy planning, implementation and monitoring

From the above mentioned policy statements, it can be correctly argued that this policy supports biogas technology in two-fold aspects. One is on supporting research and development as well as application of alternative energy, and secondly is promoting entrepreneurship and private sector initiatives towards affordable and reliable energy.

The practical application of the energy policy in Tanzania resulted into the establishment of REA and REF. However, there is no policy implementation strategy, although there are emerging strategies to promote affordable and reliable energy in the country. Environmentally sound energy technologies like biogas are key candidates for promotion under REA and REF. Biogas technology is one amongst these technologies whose supply and use is both rational and sustainable supporting national development goals, and should meet the Millennium Development Goals.

Challenges for Biogas Technology Uptake in Tanzania

There are several challenges that inhibit uptake of biogas technology in Tanzania. As a result, the potential for wider use is still unexploited. The adoption of biogas technology, like any other technology, entails the whole sequence of events occurring to an individual from the time he/she becomes aware of the technology until the adoption stage. The whole process is referred to as the innovation-decision process, which may involve knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation stages (Roger, 1995). People are rational in decision-making; they do balance between a need to innovate and the expected benefits from the new innovation as compared to the existing or traditional practices.

There are a number of factors associated with the decision for adoption or non-adoption of an innovation. Several studies (Baidu, 1999; Nhembo, 2003; Simon, 2006) have pointed out that adoption and dissemination of new technologies depend to a larger extent on demographic characteristics, environmental characteristics, institutional support services, nature of the technology and its benefits as perceived by the clientele. Such characteristics make adoption responses unique as they are related to the individual, while some are related to the situation in which the individual is exposed to, and yet others to the nature of the practice. In addition, some innovations are also subject to the control and manipulation of change agents while others are not and are specific to the study area and are often incomparable. For the purpose of this paper, these challenges which are discussed hereafter are categorised into Socio-economic, Institutional, Legal and Technological challenges.

Socio-economic Challenges

Socio-economic factors such as education, age, income, gender and cultures are the determinants of an individual's ability to receive information, knowledge and perception towards uptake of the

technology. Furthermore, these factors determine the capability of the household to afford installation costs and operations of biogas plants.

The nature of bio-digester adopted in Tanzania (Chinese Fixed dome) and its raw materials requirements (cow-dung) requires cattle ownership. Biogas technology is therefore greatly linked to livestock keeping. However, the major challenge facing livestock keepers in Tanzania is the diminishing of grazing land and shortage of water, caused by high deforestation rates and drought particularly in central semi-arid zones (Tanzania Bureau of statistics, 2009). Shortages of pastures directly affect quantity and quality of raw materials for biogas plants as well as negatively affecting sustainability of the technology uptake.

Financial requirement is one amongst the factors affecting biogas uptake. The major challenge facing wide spreading of biogas technology in Tanzania, as revealed by several studies is the high costs of installation (Kambele, 2003; Ng'wandu et al., 2009). Generally, biogas technology involves installation, operational and maintenance costs. These costs vary depending on the sizes of bio-digesters and availability of requirements. Installation costs for a normal household biogas plant according to a report by MIGESADO (2009), ranges from Tanzania Shillings 1.2 to 3.5 millions, without subsidy. These costs are too high for an ordinary rural Tanzanian. The implication is that majority of rural Tanzania cannot afford the construction costs of biogas plants.

The economic development of Tanzania, which is similar to that of most developing countries, is confronted with a perpetuation of increasing poverty. The country's economy depends on agriculture where 80 percent of the population depends on smallholder primary agricultural production, which is characterised by the use of hand tools and reliance of traditional rain-fed cropping methods and animal husbandry. According to URT (2010), poverty rates remain highest in rural areas; where 37.6 percent of rural households live below the basic needs poverty line as compared to 24.1 percent in urban areas. The implication is that the majority of rural Tanzanians cannot afford biogas installation costs, hence subsidy is inevitable. Although it encourages low income rural population to adopt the technology, the subsidy approach that is based on donations as revealed by MIGESADO project reports, is neither reliable nor a sustainable source of funds for biogas projects. Many biogas projects depend on donor funds to be able to give the subsidy to their customers. Unexpectedly, the National Biogas Programme that was recently established in Tanzania also falls in the same trap of depending on donor funds, which from previous experiences have already proved unreliable and unsustainable (Ngw'andu et al., 2009). Poverty, on the other hand has increasingly become an environmental destructor where the poor have no option but to overexploit the natural resources in order to survive (Schmitz, 2007). Additionally, the poor cannot afford modern energy technologies which would reduce overdependence on fuel wood.

Gender is another socio-economic factor that can positively or negatively influence the uptake of a technology, depending on family responsibilities and ownership of resources within the family. Women, particularly in rural areas are among the majority poor who depend entirely on natural environment and are the most hit by environmental degradation (Wawa, 1999). Analysis done by Budlender (2008) in Tanzania shows that women are more involved in firewood collection than men where participation rate for women is 38.9 percent while for men it is only 17.1

percent. Women would prefer biogas technology as an alternative energy but its adoption is determined by men who unlike women, are not directly affected by domestic energy problems. Traditionally, men dominate household decision making and resources ownership. The implication is that if a man who is a decision maker and controller of household resources is neither convinced nor willing to adopt biogas technology, he would decide not to adopt it. Additionally, the burden of unpaid workload like firewood collection, water fetching, food preparation, home maintenance, and family care especially for children, old people and sick people is mostly done by women; these consume most of their time. Women therefore have diverse, pressing needs to attend to, and may have little time to involve themselves with new technologies.

Women's educational constraints are another challenge leading to their lack of access to information, skills and technical expertise. Khasiani (2000) in her study on enhancing women's participation in governance revealed that one third of women in Kakamega and Makueni districts in Kenya, are illiterate. She observed that women are not of the favoured gender and are therefore not targeted for skills development. Marcelle (2000) with the same concern recommends that women should have access to well-designed training programmes that develop hands-on skills and that they are provided with motivational training materials, user friendly manuals and local user support. Karlsson (2003) describes a case study in India where rural women in Huluvangala village had rejected the stove technology disseminated under the government programme. Two NGOs in the area consequently realized the need for new dissemination strategy. The NGOs thereafter engaged themselves in a dialogue with rural women on various aspects of the stoves design, performance, durability and efficiency so as to select a stove that would cater for women's needs and their expectations. A training programme was therefore tailored to meet the site specific conditions and the women were trained in stove construction. The result was that the women in the village not only used the stoves, but they were also able to sell their services to other women and encouraged more women to use the stoves.

The existing studies further show that cultural challenges are related to certain beliefs and peoples' perceptions. In Tanzania, biogas is known to result from the combination of cow dung and human manure as feed stocks for biogas plants. Schmitz (2007) observed the reluctance of biogas users to connect their biogas plants to pit latrines. The reluctance was due to biogas users regarding handling bio-slurry from toilet connected to bio-digesters as hazardous or unclean. However, connection of biogas plants to the latrine could be an alternative means of supply of feed-stocks in addition to cow-dung which seems to be unreliable in some household. This reluctance could be attributed to limited information about the technology and not to a general resistance of people towards biogas technology uptake in Tanzania.

Institutional Challenges

Institutional support is another factor affecting adoption of a technology. Rejection or acceptance of a new idea largely depends on how the information is relayed from the source (Kalineza, 2000). Information sources include government agents and non-governmental organizations dealing with energy issues. The government in particular is assumed to influence the adoption of biogas technology through its policies, extension services, awareness creation campaigns and through financial support. Extension services, for instance, are known to catalyze awareness, organization, and information exchange and technology promotion among individuals.

Information dissemination problems may limit people's ability to correctly anticipate the long-term profitability of a given technology hence negatively affecting its adoption.

Promotion of any innovation has a direct link with the country's policy environment. Unfortunately in Tanzania's energy policy, there is no statement clearly directing on implementation of alternative sources of energy. Lack of a policy statement by the responsible Ministry has had negative implications on implementation efforts towards biogas sector development. Furthermore, the Tanzania energy policy encourages commercialization as well as private sector participation in the development of energy sector, but the efforts for promoting renewable technologies have been left with the private sector without clear coordination. As a result, there is minimal effect and many projects are unsustainable (Sawe, 2009). REA for instance, intends to enhance investment in energy supply through private sector. However, the investment and overall interest of commercial actors over the years have been insignificant (URT 2003). These projects by nature attract substantial capital investment. According to URT, there is lack of adequate capacity of these private sectors in design, manufacture and market distribution and maintenance of renewable energy technologies due to financial constraints. Other challenges facing biogas dissemination in many developing countries are frequent changes in the government policies, rising interest rates and decreasing subsidies (MIGESADO, 2009). These changes have disappointed investors in long-term biogas development and in turn the progressive farmers who would like to have biogas, and have become doubtful about their long-term biogas investments. Government involvement in biogas promotion is required in the following areas; promotion, coordination of implementers of the policies as well as creation of an enabling environment for both biogas projects and beneficiaries.

Legal Challenges on Biogas Technology Uptake in Tanzania

The legal framework related to biogas technology uptake in Tanzania is viewed from three main aspects; namely, biogas production, promotion and use. The first and most important challenge in making maximum pliability of biogas is seen from the fact that there is currently no umbrella legislation specifically governing the production, promotion as well as use of biogas technology. There are however various laws and regulations that contain provisions which may be applicable to biogas technology but they are very general. These laws dealing with biogas technology are viewed from different angles, like land ownership and land use planning, food security, environmental protection, social guarantees as well as trade and investment.

It is a matter of fact that legislation is one of the main instruments by which the Government steers and controls the development of the energy sector. Generally, some legislation is missing and the existing laws are outdated and consequently do not reflect recent developments. There is a need to update the legislation and existing laws like the National Energy policy of 2003 (URT 2003). Generally, it can be argued that the current laws dealing with biogas technology do not adequately address the issues of liability and responsibility. There is therefore a need to make more elaborate provisions in the existing laws on the issues of rights, duties and responsibilities in respect to the biogas technology in Tanzania. The legislations in respect to biogas technology ought to be well framed and developed putting main consideration on the country's socio-economic issues. There must be legal interventions for biogas production, promotion and use in the country.

Technological Challenges

Technological characteristics of an innovation are very important determinants of its uptake. The availability of maintenance services is deemed necessary for good performance of biogas plants, hence the realisation of benefits of biogas technology. This in turn facilitates dissemination of information to potential adopters and influences the adoption of biogas technology. Good performance and reliability of biogas plants are good advertisements for biogas technology; the vice versa is also true that poorly functioning bio-digesters cause not only capital waste but also do a lot of harm to the reputation of the technology itself and to the desired future of biogas programme (Ghimire, 2008). Schmitz (2007) on his feasibility study for biogas technology in Tanzania reported that unavailability of maintenance and repairs services, spare parts and appliances such as gas lamps is a common problem in Tanzania and that biogas units were non-operational because in the past, one appliance failed. This situation according to Schmitz disappointed biogas users and resulted into the technology being abandoned.

Competing Technologies

The main competing product for biogas technology with regard to cooking are improved firewood stoves. These stoves are available at lower costs; in the year 2011 they cost Tanzanian Shillings ranging from 15,000 to 50,000 (equivalent to US dollars 9 – 31). This is definitely cheaper than the high costs of biogas plants installations. The improved stoves use firewood with a reduced consumption at least by half, which leads to saving of firewood and reduced indoor air pollution. However, for biogas technology, the initial costs are high but after they have been paid, the operational and maintenance costs are usually low as the raw materials for bio-digesters are locally available and easily operated by household members.

Other competing products to biogas technology could be stoves fired by Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG), but the realisation of this competition depends on the availability and affordability of LPG to rural populations. For lighting, the solar panels could be considered as the competing product to biogas technology. However, its costs are relatively high for rural residents. In 2011 for instance, costs for a normal household-use solar panels for a readily installed system were about Tanzanian shillings 330,000, which is equivalent to US dollars 206 (Schmitz, 2007). However, in comparison to biogas technology, Schmitz observed that a biogas lamp will always shine brighter with longer daily operating times than a solar powered lamp. Furthermore, biogas technology has got multi-advantages when compared to the mentioned competing technologies. It therefore stands as a better and appropriate sustainable energy for the rural population in Tanzania.

Prospects of Biogas Technology on Improving Energy Pliability in Tanzania

Prospects of biogas technology on improving energy pliability in Tanzania are discussed from the point of economic prospects, coordination of biogas actors, and policy and law toward improving pliability.

Economic Prospects

High installation costs of bio-digesters have been mentioned by many studies as being an obstacle for the large dissemination of biogas technology, especially to the poor rural population hence efforts have to be made to reduce construction costs. The government through its Rural Energy Agency should introduce credit schemes; soft loans as well as subsidies if rural people

are to adopt alternative energy sources like biogas. This is due to the low income status of rural populations where people cannot pay in lump-sums for biogas plant construction. Subsidies on construction materials as well as to institutions dealing with biogas dissemination could reduce the costs of biogas plants hence enable many people afford the costs of construction. People need to be educated on the on-going high rates of environmental destruction which have higher potential future costs than what could be incurred now by constructing a biogas plant. Furthermore, the commercial approach proposed by some scholars to be adopted by Tanzania Domestic Biogas Programme needs to be monitored legally and by the responsible ministry to ensure economic benefits to both biogas projects and biogas customers. The current environmental degradation, particularly desertification threats, proposes that people will have no option but to turn to renewable energy technologies. This means that governments have to prepare an economic enabling environment to promote such technologies.

Coordination of Biogas Actors

Biogas issues cut across different government sectors such as energy, environment, agriculture, economics, education and health. There should be a unit to play a coordination role for biogas activities nation-wide. It is hoped that the newly established National Biogas Programme (TDBP) if well planned and fully supported by the responsible ministry, will ensure sustainability and the implementation of set strategies for the development of biogas sector in the country. Biogas technology in Tanzania is not new and has been in existence for a reasonable period of time; hence TDBP should critically examine the short comings so far addressed by different studies, researches and experiences of long existed biogas projects like CARMATEC and MIGESADO. This will help to improve the biogas technology and add some value to make it more attractive and at the same time remain affordable to the rural population as compared to other energy alternatives. The coordination of research and development of the technology has to be designed efficiently, sustainably and possibly centralised to ensure the use of research findings for the improvement of biogas sector. On the other hand, the flow of information, feedback and experiences from biogas projects and biogas users has to be secured as well.

Policy and Law towards Improving Energy Pliability

The examination of policy and existing laws determine the role of different institutions with regard to biogas technology. The historical background of the current Energy Policy of Tanzania (2003) dates back to April 1992. Since then, the energy sector has undergone a number of changes;⁴ this necessitates adjustments to this policy.

The National Energy Policy (URT, 2003) takes into consideration the need to enhance the development and utilisation of indigenous and renewable energy sources and technologies. It mentions renewable energies in general but does not specifically discuss biogas technology. The policy also identifies the need to establish norms, codes of practice, guidelines and standards for renewable energy technologies and the need to facilitate the creation of an enabling environment for the sustainable development of renewable energy sources. The point here is that once this policy statement is broadly interpreted, then some actions and strategic plans will be put in place to specifically address all challenges towards making biogas technology one of the most effective energy alternative sources in the country.

⁴ These changes include changes in the role of the government from a service provider to a facilitator, liberalisation of the market and encouragement of private sector investment.

Despite this existing gap in policy and laws towards biogas technology uptake, an overview of other relevant laws goes a long way in providing basic environmental, social and investment guarantees, particularly to bio-energy development in Tanzania. For instance, wood-fuel is the main source of energy for both rural and urban communities in Tanzania. Therefore, legislation affecting this activity such as the Forest Act does provide a comprehensive regulatory framework governing access to and protection of forest resources.

Similar protection mechanisms can be found in the Environmental Management Act (EMA) that incorporates many of the principles of international environmental law. Like the Forest Act, EMA mandates the use of environmental impact assessment as a precondition to the granting of permits for natural resource use. EMA also governs quality standards for air pollution, water and soil, thus offering a good mechanism for pollution control in Tanzania. EMA further foresees the possibility of using economic instruments such as pricing, tax relief and subsidies for advancing environmental objectives. While no economic instruments are currently in place, these incentives made possible by EMA could promote the sustainable production of bio-fuels. In addition, under the existing legal framework, areas rich in biodiversity either receive total or partial protection under the law. Areas rich in biodiversity are declared protected areas where human activities such as crop cultivation are prohibited. In summary, it can therefore be correctly argued that having a national energy policy that proposes the well defined strategies on promoting production and use of biogas technology in the county is one step forward.

Among others, the prospects of biogas technology in purview of Policy and Law towards National Mode of pliability can be seen from the fact that the current National Energy Policy makes special attention to gender and environment. Para G of part 2.2 of the National Energy Policy (URT, 2003) clearly provides that:

Inferior energy practices, particularly among poor households in rural and semi-urban areas, are mainly affecting women. The search, collection, and use of fuel-wood are associated with heavy and often low-productive time-consuming work, mainly performed by women. It also represents a serious health hazard through smoke and carbon dioxide generated by application of inferior stoves/fuel types. The energy policy, therefore, introduces an institutional focus on improvement of rural and semi urban energy practices in order to reduce women workload and to involve them in the problem solving and decision-making processes on energy issues. Women are under represented on the supply side of commercial energy. The involvement of women at all levels of the sector shall, therefore, be prioritised to better utilise available potential competence and capacity. Training and incentives for increased female participation as decision-makers at all levels need to be encouraged.

Furthermore, part of Para 2.2 of the National Energy Policy (URT, 2003) in respect to environmental issues provides that:

Crosscutting all energy sub-sectors and all relevant sources of energy are the environmental impacts of energy exploration, production, distribution and consumption. Environmental impacts and hazards shall be addressed by rigorous environmental management regimes on all energy activities and by applying the economic instruments

for changing market behaviour. This will discourage any use of environmentally unsound energy technologies (energy inefficiency, unclean practices).

From the above observations, it has been established that the future of biogas technology in Tanzania rests on policy and legal instruments both of which should provide for spearheading the uptake of the technology.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the uptake of biogas technology has remained low despite the potential and availability of favourable conditions and the long existence of biogas technology in Tanzania for a reasonable period since 1975. The challenges for low uptake as revealed by different studies are categorized into four major groups; socio-economic, technological, institutional and legal challenges. There must be collective efforts from biogas stakeholders and the responsible ministry to minimise the challenges and strategically plan for the future development of biogas technology in Tanzania.

Generally, Biogas technology has the potential of providing numerous environmental and socio-economic benefits such as reduced rates of deforestation, improved indoor air quality, sanitation improvement and saving time particularly for women to engage in income-generating activities. These benefits mediate the current crises caused by environmental degradation and climatic changes which require both regional and international efforts. Technologically, it is only when biogas technology fulfils the perceived benefits that it can then be an economic investment for the owner. From the legal aspect point of view, there are currently no umbrella legislation specifically governing the production, promotion and the use of biogas technology. It can be correctly concluded that legal provisions within Tanzania may foster more adoptive measures towards biogas technology uptake.

Recommendations

Rural electrification programmes in Tanzania with the current distribution speed, sparse population and low purchasing power of rural populations may remain a dream which will take many years to be realised for the rural population. Improved renewable energy technologies like biogas and realisation of its benefits would make this dream come true.

The intentional commitment of government institutions in biogas promotion is vital as learned from success stories of countries like Germany, China and India. The responsible ministry in Tanzania should improve policy environment in favour of biogas technology through setting appropriate energy policies, implementation strategies and coordination of implementers to ensure enabling environment for both project developers and targeted beneficiaries. Normally, the political leaders have a crucial role to play as they have political convincing power in both policy reviews and in promoting technology through media and through incorporating renewable energy technologies in their development plans. Promotion of financing schemes for biogas investment is crucial as customers will face difficulties in purchasing biogas plants in cash.

Capacity building and technological improvement is very important. It is recommended that biogas programmes should conduct training of local masons and technicians and sufficiently equip them. Training of local technicians is vital in ensuring availability of maintenance and

repair services within a reasonable radius, timely delivery and affordable costs. In addition, biogas projects should ensure availability of appliances at the local level. This could be done through collaboration with local business persons for spare parts to be available in local shops. Training of local technicians will ensure easy access to technical services as well as creation of employment to rural people. Furthermore, experiences from other countries such as India have shown that involvement of women in all stages of technology development resulted into the success of such programmes. It is recommended that project developers emphasize the training of women since they are the ones who operate biogas plants.

Regarding policies and laws, it has been observed that there is no specific law to deal particularly with the biogas technology in Tanzania. It is therefore recommended that the law making organs think of a legislating modal law that will ensure among other things, uptake procedures for biogas technology. Furthermore, jurisprudentially, it is only when there are legal sanctions that implementation of programmes and policies are maintained.

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Influence of Selected Factors on Job Satisfaction among Middle Level Managers in Public Secondary Schools in Rongai District, Kenya

Dave K. Bowen¹, M. Waiganjo², Poti O. Abaja³, B. K. Mutai⁴, A. C. Barmao.⁵

¹Department of Business and Management, Egerton University, Kenya

²Department of Business Studies, Kabarak University, Kenya

³Department of Mathematics and Business Studies, Laikipia University, Kenya

⁴Department of Agribusiness, Egerton University, Kenya

⁵Department of Curriculum, Instruction and Education Management, Egerton University, Kenya

Abstract

Middle level managers in secondary schools play pivotal role in monitoring the implementation of school curriculum which is expected to translate to excellent school performance. However, many schools in Rongai District have continued to perform dismally in national examinations. According to the Rongai District Education Strategic Plan (2009-2014), the students' performance in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations had continued to plummet continuously for five years. The same strategic plan identified low job satisfaction as one of the major factors which negatively affected performance in the district. Therefore, the objective of this study was to establish the influence of selected factors on job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools in Rongai district, Nakuru County, Kenya. This study employed a cross-sectional survey design. A Sampling frame of Middle Level Managers comprising Deputy Principals and Heads of department was constructed from all public secondary schools in Rongai district. A total of 144 out of a sample size of 153 Middle Level Managers selected using stratified and simple random sampling techniques participated in the study. Data was collected using a questionnaire which had a reliability coefficient of 0.83 calculated using Chronbach's alpha formula. Multiple Regression model was used to analyze the data where Parsimonious models were obtained and validated. The most significant factor that influenced job satisfaction was found to be job-itself factor. Further analysis was carried to determine the influence of each specific job itself variable on job satisfaction. The study found that 'pride in the job' significantly influenced job satisfaction. The findings may be used by Teachers Service Commission (TSC) in the recruitment of middle level managers as well as creating clear opportunities for their advancement to boost their job satisfaction.

Key words: Job-Satisfaction, Job -Related Factors, Job-Opportunities, Parsimonious Model

Introduction

One of the determinants of employee's performance is job satisfaction level. Job satisfaction is considered an important and desirable goal for organizations because satisfied workers perform at higher levels than those who are not satisfied. Indeed, job satisfaction has proven to be a critical managerial concern in many professional fields, whose analysis can provide information about employee's productivity and organizational effectiveness (Finley, 2006).

Job satisfaction has been viewed as a set of favourable or unfavourable or negative feelings and emotions with which employees appraise their work or work environment (Malik, Nawab, Nalem, & Danish, 2010). Many studies have shown that job satisfaction is a multi-dimensional construct consisting of intrinsic job satisfaction and extrinsic job satisfaction. Intrinsic aspects of the job comprise 'motivators' or 'job content' factors such as feelings of accomplishment,

recognition, autonomy, achievement, and advancement among others. Extrinsic aspects of the job often referred to as 'hygiene' factors are job context factors which include pay, security, physical working conditions, company policies and administration, supervision and hours of work among others. The findings of the studies are consistent with studies by Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman (1959) who theorized that job satisfaction is a function of 'motivators' which contributed to job satisfaction and hygiene factors which lead to job dissatisfaction. Other studies have found out that job satisfaction is influenced by an array of personal and job characteristics such as age, gender, tenure, autonomy, teamwork, relationships with co-workers and supervisors', job variety, satisfaction with pay, amongst others (Lambert, 2003; Hogan & Griffin, 2007).

Nevill, (2004) expanded this thinking by positing that the extent to which work is deeply satisfying or deeply dissatisfying bears a relationship to the motivation or demotivation of individuals. Ghazi and Khan (2008) argue that many organizations strive to enhance employee's motivation at the workplace since an employee with high level of motivation is likely to be more productive. In Public Secondary Schools in Kenya, the management engages various methods to make their human resource more satisfied.

The Management Structure of Public Secondary Schools in Kenya

The management structure of Public Secondary Schools in Kenya established under the Education Act, Chapter 211 of 1968 is four tiered. At the helm is the Board of Governors appointed by the Cabinet Secretary for Education. This level is headed by a Chairperson. The principal is the secretary to the school board and is also in charge of the day to day management of the school in line with the board's decisions. The Principal, Deputy Principal and Head of Departments are in most cases appointed by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the Teachers Service Commission. They undergo rigorous interviews before being promoted. One also has to be in Job group M and above before he or she is considered for a management position. The secondary school management structure is shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The Management Structure of a Public Secondary School in Kenya

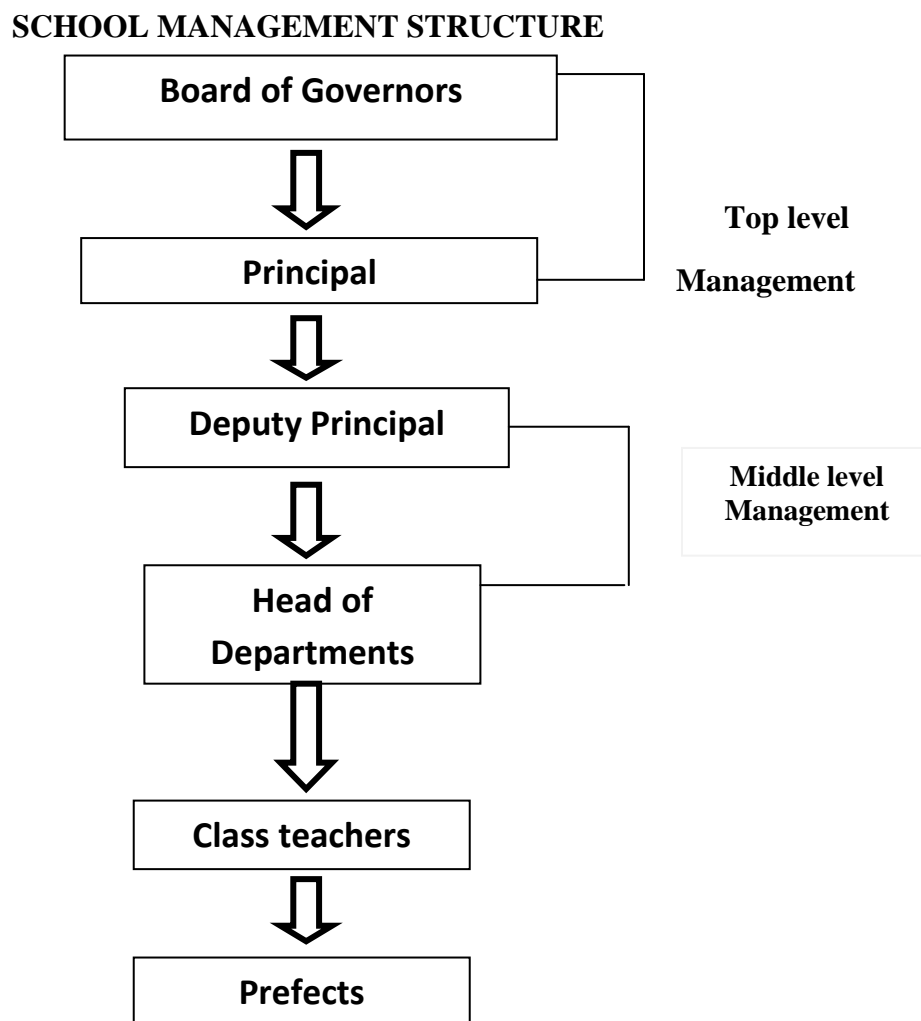


Figure 1: School management structure

From Figure 1, Deputy Principals and Heads of Department in Kenyan Secondary schools constitute the core of the Human Resource base because they are deeply involved in day to day management of their respective schools. They fit in the middle level management and are considered the pillars of school management and administration. In the school management hierarchy, deputies and Heads of department come between the ordinary teachers and the principal. Each learning institution has at least one Deputy Principal and several Heads of Department representing various departments. Besides the management roles, the school middle level managers also contribute to the primary role of teaching in their schools. The student performance therefore depends on their effectiveness and productivity. Ghazi and Khan (2008) argue that teachers are the main agents of change and since Deputy Principals and Heads of Departments are first and foremost teachers, then they are also change agents. These middle level

managers are usually under pressure to perform their multifaceted roles. An example of a survey undertaken by Deputy Principals Association in 2005 in America revealed that some of the Deputy Principals in high schools put in between 5-8 hours a day in administrative activities. They are also majorly in charge of student management and more specifically student discipline. Deputies also are expected to play a crucial role in teacher management.

The dual role at the workplace for these middle level managers presents a scenario that needs to be studied with an intention of seeking to establish the extent to which some selected factors influence the Job satisfaction of Deputy Principals and Heads of Department in public secondary schools in Rongai district. The selected factors were arrived at after a review of the relevant literature as they have been found to be important predictors of employee job satisfaction (Rode, 2010; Harris, 2006)

Bull (2005) undertook a study on teachers' job satisfaction and found out that good salary had a significant influence on teachers' job satisfaction. In a study of university administrators and academics, Kipkebut (2010) found that employees' job satisfaction is positively influenced by pay. Abdullah and Parasuraman (2009) found out that pay had a significant relationship with secondary school teachers' job satisfaction. However, in other studies, salary and benefits have been found to have insignificant relationship with employees' job satisfaction. For example, National Centre for Educational statistics (2007) carried out a research on job satisfaction among America's teachers and found out that teachers' job satisfaction showed a weak relationship with salary and benefits. Work environment, which may be related to monetary issues, comprise not only tangible physical structures but is also composed of social and psychological factors (Lambert, 2003). Sidsel (2009) in a study of teachers in Norway found that teachers' job satisfaction was directly related to aspects of school context.

Kwan (2009) found out that those Deputy Principals who find their jobs more satisfying have stronger desire for becoming Principals whereas those experiencing less job satisfaction were more likely willing to remain in their present roles. According to Lambert, Hogan, & Jiang, (2008), employees expect to work in jobs that provide them with opportunities to be promoted to new and challenging positions. This suggests that the managers who see their career paths clearly tend to be more satisfied. Hannum and Sargent (2003) found that employees from schools with opportunities for professional advancement were more satisfied with their jobs.

Geert, Hester & Hulpia (2009) in their study found that the role of the deputy head teacher is characterized by a real or unclear leadership responsibility which can be a major source of dissatisfaction. Role stressors, namely; role ambiguity, role conflict and overload, have been found to negatively affect job satisfaction (Lambert, 2003; Ngo, Foley, & Loi, 2005). However, Selmer and Fenner (2009) found that neither role conflict nor overload had any significant relationship with job satisfaction. The work environment consists of job characteristics and role stressors factors which are expected to influence employees' attitudinal states (Kipkebut, 2010). When the job description is vague, employees tend to get frustrated since they are not clear on what is expected of them by their organization.

Employees whose contributions are recognized tend to be more productive and motivated. Deputy Principals and HODS who are recognized by their supervisors are less stressed and more satisfied with their positions. Recognized employees are always kept abreast with what is

happening in their working environment. Principals consult and update them with what is happening in the institution and what they are supposed to do on a day to day basis. According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, at the self esteem stage, one needs to gain respect and recognition from others in order to be motivated. According to Armstrong (2006), employees desire to be recognized and appreciated.

Hucznski and Buchamann (2001) have posited that organizational members do not act in a social vacuum. Rather, their actions are integrally related to the managerial environment in which they operate. Managerial environment in this context refers to actions taken by management to enhance the organization's standards. If the actions are favourable, members are likely to effectively play their roles in their designated areas of operation and vice versa.

Leadership style describes the approach managers use to deal with people in their teams (Armstrong, 2006). There are many styles of leadership and leaders can be classified in extremes as follows; charismatic - Non-charismatic, autocratic - democratic, enabler - controller and Transactional - transformational leaders. Khanna (2010) pointed out that in fulfilling their roles, leaders have to satisfy the following needs; task needs, group maintenance needs and individual needs. All the needs are expected to be satisfied if employees' job satisfaction levels are to be raised.

Bogler's research (2001) on the influence of leadership style on teacher job satisfaction found that principals' transformational leadership affected teachers' satisfaction both directly and indirectly. Blake, Gray and Boreham (2006) concluded that the major sources of dissatisfaction are usually school leadership. Jenkinson and Chapman (1990) also assert that leadership style among other things predicted job satisfaction for private school teachers. Head teachers have great authority and in consequence, the social climate of a school depends much more on their behaviour.

Alzaidi (2008) states that in general, schools in developing countries such as Saudi Arabia are characterized by a highly centralized system, where decision making is from top-bottom; where there is a lack of school autonomy and where there is great bureaucracy. Such characteristics are then most likely to be considered as a source of dissatisfaction among middle level school managers.

School principal leadership is the dominant organizational climate factor (Singh, 2006). Indeed the school is likely to realize its mission if the head teacher use his/her leadership position effectively to channel members efforts towards its goals. The converse holds if the school head fails to utilize his/her position to enhance school goals (Griffin 1991). The school principal determines how employees perceive the organization and generally their work. Bogler (2001) revealed that there is a strong positive relationship between servant leadership behaviours of school principals and teachers' job satisfaction. Servant leadership was found to be a significant predictor of teachers' job satisfaction. However, Geert et al. (2009) research results indicated that the amount of formal distribution of leadership functions and participative decision-making of teachers in the school policy did not have a significant influence on school leaders' job satisfaction.

The school context is a social place where there are many interactions taking place. The relations are many and intertwined. For example there is principal-middle level managers' relationship, administrators-teachers relationship, teacher-teacher relationship, and teacher-parent, teachers-students, and administrators-parents relationship among other relationships. Onsmann (1999) contends that the elements in the workplace that contribute to a state of jobs satisfaction are all 'group level'. Group level Items are those that relate to workplace relationships with colleagues, managers and workplace friends.

Alzaidi (2008) notes that relationships occupy a greater part of job satisfaction among school administrators. This is due to the fact that the nature of their job is very communal and social. Middle level school managers are central and key to all the relationships which take place in a school context. They are in touch with all the stakeholders. Such relationships can influence their job satisfaction either negatively or positively.

Good working relationship among co-workers in an organization is very important in determining higher job satisfaction of employees (Abdullah et al, 2009). Generally, school principals have been known to be insensitive to the needs of their juniors especially their deputy and HODS. Principals should establish a supportive personal relationship with their subordinates and take a personal interest in them in order to contribute to their job satisfaction. Quality relationships in school are significantly related to positive job satisfaction for both public and private employees. Jenkinson and Chapman (1990) and Nobile and McCormick (2005) identified headmaster relationships with teachers as a significant source of job satisfaction among primary school teachers.

Most of the relevant research has tried to determine the factors which lead to satisfaction. Alzaidi (2008) has differentiated between the dimensions of the factors which might affect job satisfaction by classifying them into two categories; external factors (promotion, co-workers, supervision and recognition), and internal factors (personality, education, age and marital status). Whereas Farnham (1992) divided job satisfaction factors into three groups, these are organizational characteristics (reward, supervision and decision-making practices), specific aspects of the job (workload, autonomy, feedback and physical environment) and individual characteristics (self-esteem and general life satisfaction). It is evident from the foregoing observations that employee job satisfaction is affected by both extrinsic and intrinsic factors and that the factors are grouped differently by different authorities.

Within education, Harris (2006) classified the factors that might affect job satisfaction into general categories. These are environmental factors, physical factors and demographic factors. They went ahead to argue that the most significant factors affecting job satisfaction in educational context is the job itself. Sergent and Hannum (2003) identified variables which affect job satisfaction as community factors, school environment and teachers background. From the relevant literature, factors which mostly affect job satisfaction are associated with employee characteristics, work itself, employee interrelationships, and leadership style amongst others (Rode, 2010; Harris, 2006).

Figure 2 is the conceptual framework which shows the factors that influence the middle level school managers' job satisfaction. The independent variables include; Demographic characteristics, job related factors, leadership styles, employee interrelations. On the other hand,

job satisfaction is considered as a dependent variable. The framework also shows that there are other factors which are likely to influence middle level managers' job satisfaction. These are student population, availability of teaching/learning facilities, ICT, infrastructure, the school being boarding or day and community. It is believed that schools with adequate resources are expected to make their employees more satisfied.

Conceptual Framework

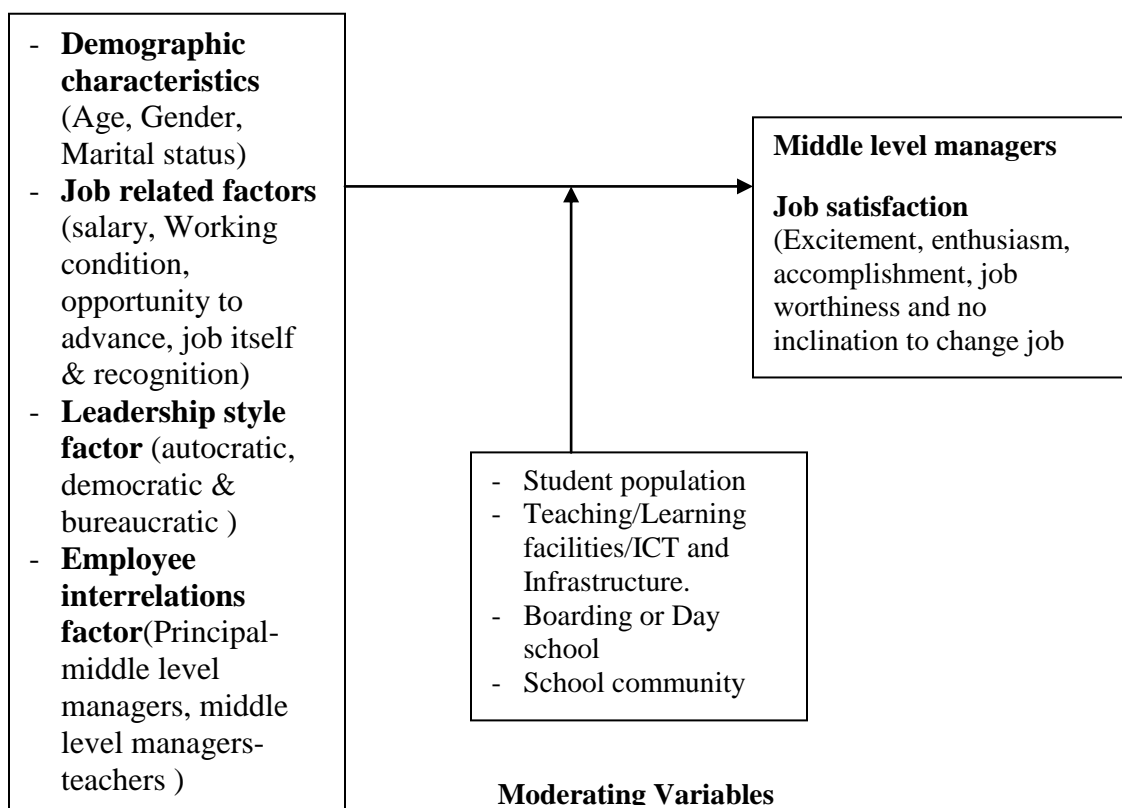


Figure 2: Conceptual framework

Source: Own Conceptualization (2012)

Statement of the Problem

The positions that Deputy Principals and Heads of Departments hold in secondary school management hierarchy are crucial for the success and proper management of the institutions. Beside their normal teaching responsibilities, they are also involved heavily in administration of the school programmes. They are expected to implement the school policies designed by Board of Governors and at the same time, are required to instruct and supervise the employees under them. They are also involved in the implementation and supervision of the school curriculum. Therefore, to a great degree, their respective school's academic performance depends on them. To perform these duties effectively, they require an enabling environment where the top management, colleagues, clients and all stakeholders are supportive. For these middle level managers to deliver, they need to exhibit high levels of job satisfaction which is one of the greatest employee performance predictors. However, this does not seem to be the case, as the schools in the district have continued to perform poorly in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary

Education (KCSE) examinations. Low job dissatisfaction has been identified as one of the internal weakness in the strategic plan for 2009-2013 for Rongai District schools (MOE, 2009). Furthermore, there is little research which has been done focusing on job satisfaction among middle level managers in the district. This study therefore examined the extent to which selected factors influenced secondary school middle level managers' job satisfaction in Rongai District.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study was to establish the extent to which selected factors influenced job satisfaction among middle level managers in public secondary schools in Rongai District. This study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. To establish the extent to which job related factors (salary, working conditions, job itself and recognition) influenced job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District;
- ii. To establish the extent to which leadership style of school principals influenced job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District;
- iii. To establish the extent to which employee interrelations influenced job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District; and
- iv. To establish the extent to which selected factors influenced job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools in Rongai district.

Hypotheses of the Study

The following hypotheses were derived from the objectives:

Ho 1. There is no statistically significant influence of job related factors on job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District.

Ho 2. There is no statistically significant influence of leadership style factors on job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District.

Ho 3. There is no statistically significant influence of employee interrelations on job satisfaction among secondary school middle level managers in Rongai District.

Ho 4. There is no statistically significant influence of selected factors on job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools in Rongai district.

Significance of the Study

The results of this study may help policy makers in the Ministry of Education design and implement strategies which are expected to make secondary schools' Deputies and Heads of Department be satisfied with their jobs, hence them being more effective, efficient, productive as well as retaining them in the profession. The results may also help secondary school senior managers employ appropriate leadership styles which may boost the middle level managers' job satisfaction. Finally the findings may benefit Teachers Service Commission in finding ways to boost middle level managers' job satisfaction.

Research Methodology

The purpose of this study was to establish the extent to which selected factors influence job satisfaction among Deputy Principals and Heads of Department in secondary schools in Rongai district. This section gives a summary of the whole research process and includes the following; research design, the study population, sampling procedures, the instruments used in data collection and data analysis.

Research Design

A cross sectional survey design was used in this study. Surveys are efficient in obtaining information and feelings (Zechmester & Schaughnessy, 1992). Fraenkel and Wallen (1976) state that a survey is used to collect information from a group of people in order to describe some aspects or characteristics such as abilities, opinions, attitudes, beliefs or knowledge.

Target Population

The target population in this study consisted of all Deputy Principals and Heads of Department (HOD) in all boarding and day public secondary schools in Rongai district of Kenya. There are a total of 31 public secondary schools comprising seven (7) boarding schools and 24 day schools. All the Deputy Principals were included in the study and seven HODS in each school were considered which gave total of 217 HODS. The population of the study was therefore 248.

Sampling Procedures

The sample was selected using stratified and simple random sampling techniques to obtain participating deputy principals and Heads of department. There were two strata that were identified and this was based on school category off boarding and day secondary schools. Simple random sampling technique was used to select 7 HODs from each school category that participated in the study. All Deputy Principals from all the schools were included in the study sample. Nkapa (1997) argues that there is no first hand rule for obtaining a sample size. Using the formula by Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), the sample size was obtained as 153, although only 144 responded.

Data Collection Instrument

A Questionnaire which was referred to as Middle Level School Manager Questionnaire (MLSMQ) was used to collect data from Deputy Principals and Head of Departments. It consisted of both closed and open ended questions. Some of the items were adopted from Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire and modified to suit the study. The Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire is one of the most widely used instruments in measuring job satisfaction and its validity and reliability has been proven over time (Scarpello & Campbell, 1983).

Data Collection Procedures

Prior to data collection, the researcher sought a research permit from the National Council of Science and Technology in the then Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology to carry out research. The Provincial Director of Education and District Education Officer were also informed in advance. The researcher delivered the questionnaires to the Deputy Principals and sampled Heads of Departments. The questionnaires were collected immediately after filling in order to ensure higher returns.

Reliability and Validity

The questionnaire was pilot tested to ensure that the items in the questionnaire were clear and appropriate. Borg and Gall (1996) recommend Pre-testing of research instruments before use in research. The schools from Koibatek district were used for piloting to avoid contamination of respondents. Koibatek district was found as ideal because it had the same characteristics with the district of the study. Experts validated the content of the instruments before their administration to the respondents.

Data Analysis

The analysis consisted of two steps. In the first step, where possible, indices were used to summarize the effect of several related independent variables. In the second step, only the significant indices were analyzed further to identify which variables were actually significant within them.

Step One

In this part of the analysis, a full regression model was fitted to the data using the job satisfaction (represented by job-sat- index) as the dependent variable. The independent variables used in the regression model were indices of the selected factors affecting job satisfaction. The index for a factor was the mean score for the variables included in that factor. The following indices were used as the independent factors:

Independent variables	Dependent variable
Salary-Index	
Job-Itself-Index	
Employee-Inter-index	Job-Sat-Index
Recognition-index	
Work-Condition-Index	
Opportunity-Index	
Demographic variables (Age, Experience, marital status, gender,)	

The results of the full model fitted are shown in the table 1. The first column indicates the list of the independent variables used while the second column shows the coefficients of these independent variables in the full model; the third column shows beta coefficient and the diagnostic statistics in the fourth column.

Table 1: Full-Regression Model

Independent variables	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	Sig.	Colinearity Statistics	
	B		Beta		Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)	1.064			.027		
Salary-index	.105		.101	.218	.783	1.276
Job-itself-index	.268		.350	.001	.514	1.946
Employee-inter-index	-.033		-.039	.693	.526	1.903
Recogn-index	.017		.019	.832	.626	1.598
Work-cond-index	.093		.150	.104	.615	1.627
Leadership-index	.002		.003	.980	.517	1.933
Opportunity-index	.187		.200	.040	.554	1.806
Gender	-.116		-.087	.253	.900	1.111
Age	-.041		-.052	.608	.511	1.957
Marital status	-.072		-.044	.646	.575	1.740
Position	-.030		-.018	.825	.778	1.286
Experience	.021		.025	.785	.627	1.595
School type	.096		.061	.506	.615	1.625
Streams	-.046		-.063	.491	.627	1.594
Classification	.028		.020	.847	.480	2.082
Qualification	-.053		-.036	.642	.851	1.175

The regression analysis shows that two variables significantly influence middle level managers' job satisfaction namely; opportunities to advance ($\beta=0.200$, $t=2.076$, $p=0.040$) and job itself ($\beta=0.350$, $t=3.492$, $p=0.001$). This implies that opportunities to advance and job itself have a significant positive relationship with job satisfaction among the middle level managers. An increase in the two factors will therefore lead to a positive change in job satisfaction levels while a decrease will result in job dissatisfaction. This suggests that middle level managers in Rongai District were likely to be satisfied with their jobs when they felt there where sufficient opportunities to advance and when they had a positive attitude towards their job.

The regression model summary in Table 2 reveals that all the selected independent variables accounted for 26.1 % (0.261) of variation in job satisfaction. This implies that 73.9% of variation in job satisfaction among Middle Level Managers is explained by other factors not included in the model.

Table 2: Regression Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.586 ^a	.344	.261	.57191	.344	4.161	16	127	.000	1.918

a. Predictors: (Constant), LEAD-INDEX, Qualification, Gender, Age, Streams, Position, SALARY-INDEX, OPPORTINDEX, School type, RECOGINDEX, WORK-COND-INDEX, Experience, Marital Status, EMPLOYEE-INTER-INDEX, JOB-ITSELF-INDEX, Classification

b. Dependent Variable: JOB-SAT-INDEX

Validity of the Model

Before making inferences using the full regression model obtained, it had to be validated. The assumptions on which the development of the model was based had to be tested. This is determined by carrying out a diagnostic test. There are four principle assumptions which justify the use of linear regression models for the purposes of prediction and needs to be checked (Pallant, 2005).

Diagnostic Tests

The results of the validation test are shown in table 3.

Table 3: Diagnostic tests using four principles assumptions

Assumption	Checking method	Acceptable Value	Remark
Normality	Q-Q plot	Straight line graph	The assumption is met
Independence	Collinearity Test (Tolerance Test)	Value of tolerance less than 1	The assumption is met
Homoscedasticity	Residual plot against Predicted values	Scattered random points	The assumption met
Linearity	Scattered residuals	Scattered residuals	The assumption met

Table 3 shows the four assumptions on which the development of the model was based. Hence the inferences made based on the full model were found to be valid.

Significance of Independent Variables

Some of the independent variables were found to have a significant effect on job satisfaction and others were insignificant. The p- values (less than 0.05) were used to identify significant factors/variables. It is evident that there are only two significant factors affecting job satisfaction, namely job-itself-index and opportunity-index. By removing the insignificant independent variables from the full model and carrying out a multiple regression model based on the significant variables, a parsimonious model is obtained. The importance of the parsimonious model is that it can explain the variation in the dependent variable (job satisfaction) using only a few of the independent variables. This is one of the objectives of regression analysis. The results are summarized in table 4.

Table 4: Significance of Independent Variables

Independent variable	Significant	Independent variable	Significant
(Constant)	Yes	Gender	No
Salary-Index	No	Age	No
Job-Itself-Index	Yes	marital status	No
Employee-Inter-Index	No	Position	No
Recogn-Index	No	Experience	No
Work-Condi-index	No	school type	No
Lead-Index	No	Streams	No
Opportunity-index	Yes	Classification	No
		Qualification	No

The results in table 4 indicate that only Job itself and opportunity variables are significant. Based on significant variables, two parsimonious models were obtained. In the first model, job-sat-index was regressed in terms of both job-itself-index and opportunity-index while in the second model job satisfaction is regressed in terms of job- itself-Index. The results are shown in table 5.

Table 5: Opportunity to advance and job itself Parsimonious models

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	Change Statistics			
						F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.498	.248	.242	.57921	.248	46.730	1	142	.000
2	.538	.290	.280	.56475	.042	8.365	1	141	.004

Results in Table 5 indicate clearly that job-itself explains 24.2 percent of variation in job satisfaction while both job-itself index and opportunity- index combined explains 28 percent of variation in job satisfaction.

Step Two

Since job-itself index is made up of several variables, a further analysis was done to determine the effect of each of these variables on job-sat-index.

- I feel a sense of pride in doing my job.
- My job involves a lot of variety of tasks that I do.
- I am empowered enough to do my work.
- My job is challenging and interesting.
- I feel my job fulfils a great purpose in my school.

A regression model relating job satisfaction with the above variables involved in calculating job-itself-index was developed. Validation tests for the models were carried out and the model was found to be satisfactory. The model coefficients are shown in table 6.

Table 6:A Regression model Relating job satisfaction and job itself items

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1(Constant)	1.668	.132		12.665	.000		
I feel a sense of pride in doing my job	.151	.047	.285	3.205	.002	.545	1.834
My job involves a lot of variety in tasks that I do	.021	.046	.037	.453	.651	.655	1.526
I am empowered enough to do my work	.116	.045	.218	2.551	.012	.590	1.695
My job is challenging and interesting.	.146	.044	.269	3.343	.001	.668	1.498
I feel my job fulfils a great purpose in my school	-.106	.035	-.207	-3.023	.003	.920	1.086

a. Dependent Variable: JOB-SAT-INDEX

The results in table 6 indicate that only one of the variables is not significant in explaining job satisfaction. This is ‘my job involves a lot of variety in tasks that I do’. It is also evident that the item ‘I feel my job fulfils a great purpose in my school’ is negatively correlated with job satisfaction.

More parsimonious models were obtained and the results are shown in table 7.

Table 7: More parsimonious models on Job-satisfaction Index

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	17.048	1	17.048	52.322	.000 ^a
	Residual	46.268	142	.326		
	Total	63.316	143			
2	Regression	21.502	2	10.751	36.253	.000 ^b
	Residual	41.814	141	.297		
	Total	63.316	143			
3	Regression	23.716	3	7.905	27.948	.000 ^c
	Residual	39.600	140	.283		
	Total	63.316	143			
4	Regression	25.491	4	6.373	23.420	.000 ^d
	Residual	37.824	139	.272		
	Total	63.316	143			

Model 1. Predictors: (Constant), I feel a sense of pride in doing my job

Model 2. Predictors: (Constant), I feel a sense of pride in doing my job. My job is challenging and interesting.

Model 3. Predictors: (Constant), I feel a sense of pride in doing my job. My job is challenging an interesting. I feel my job fulfils a great purpose in my school.

Model 4. Predictors: (Constant), I feel a sense of pride in doing my job. My job is challenging an interesting. I feel my job fulfils a great purpose in my school. I am empowered enough to do my work

Dependent Variable: Job-sat-index.

The results in table 7 indicate that 'I feel a sense of pride in doing my job' is the main factor in explaining job satisfaction followed by 'my job is challenging and interesting'. The second significant index; opportunity index was also investigated further and the results shown in table 8.

Table 8: More Parsimonious Models on Opportunity Index

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.258	.248		5.071	.000
There are little chances for promotion	.030	.040	.060	.752	.454
My job allows me to learn new skills for career advancement.	.007	.043	.014	.166	.868
I am satisfied with my chances for promotion	.174	.052	.312	3.372	.001
Those who do well in the job stand a fair chance of being promoted	.067	.044	.141	1.525	.130
I am satisfied with the way promotions are given	.131	.047	.264	2.756	.007

a. Dependent Variable: JOB-SAT-INDEX

The results in table 8 indicate that ‘I am satisfied with my chances of promotion’ is the most significant. It is also evident that ‘I am satisfied with the way promotions are given’ not only negatively impacts on job-satisfaction but is also insignificant. The other insignificant factor is ‘there are little chances for promotion’.

Conclusion

This study investigated the influence of selected factors on job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools using multiple regression models. Further, the study developed parsimonious models to determine how job-related factors, employee-inter-relations, leadership style influenced job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools in Rongai District. Based on the survey findings, the study arrived at several conclusions.

The study concluded that job-itself factor and opportunity for advancement significantly influenced job satisfaction among middle level managers in secondary schools. In fact, 24.2 percent of variation in job satisfaction can be explained by the job-itself variables. 5 percent of variation in job satisfaction is explained by opportunities for promotion in the job. Among the insignificant factors included gender, marital status, age and experience. Recruitment of middle level managers can therefore be done without considering the gender and the marital status. However, employees can only be considered following the Constitutional requirement on gender balance.

The study also concluded that among all the reflected factors combined, job itself and opportunities to advance were the factors which mostly influenced job satisfaction among middle level managers. In particular, pride in the job itself and opportunity for promotion significantly influenced job satisfaction.

Recommendations

In view of the conclusions, this study advances the following recommendations.

- Top managers in secondary schools should ensure that middle level manager's job satisfaction is maintained throughout the career stages. Every stage in the career of an employee has its own concerns and requirements.
- Schools should provide good working conditions by providing adequate and proper facilities for middle level managers. The employees should be comfortable in order to efficiently and effectively discharge their duties. Such measures will ensure a high job satisfaction.
- Clear opportunities to advance and promotion policies should be put in place so that middle level managers know clearly their career path since this will motivate them in their job.
- The Deputy principals and Heads of Departments should not be given several tasks to perform as this tends to lower their job satisfaction levels.

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Going beyond Numbers: the Need for a Paradigm Shift in Understanding Women's Political Participation in Kenya

Jacinta Ndambuki

Laikipia University, Kenya

Abstract

Women continue to lag behind in many countries in the South in terms of political representation and efforts to understand this have mainly focused on the form of democracy such as numerical aspects of women's participation in the political process. Numerical aspects of women's representation though undoubtedly important in understanding women's political participation does not seem to adequately address women's lack of participation in politics. It is in view of this that I argue that there is need for a paradigm shift to give more attention to the substance of democracy i.e. the discursive aspect in the study of women's political participation in Kenya. Drawing on findings from research on the representation of women's issues in Kenya carried out in Makueni District, the argument in paper is that since language plays a critical role in the construction of reality, a study of language is critical to understanding women's political participation. The study draws on an eclectic model that cuts across language, gender and politics. The findings of the study indicate that at the level of representation, women, politicians and other community leaders use deficit discourses to talk about women's issues. They all draw on the prevailing discourses about women. This language reflects and reproduces the exclusion of women in the political process because it is hard for women to believe that they have a contribution to make when they are interpellated by these deficit discourses; it might explain the relatively low voices of women in the democratization process in Kenya. A dual focus on the form and substance of democracy illuminates the importance of participation in democracy as a means to social justice.

Key words: Women's agency, Deficit discourses, Participation, Democracy, Social justice.

Introduction

Sub-Saharan Africa, like other Southern regions, continues to experience political changes of monumental proportion. Monumental not only due to the drastic restructuring of social and economic and political spaces, but also due to the introduction of new forms of politics as well as political actors. One remarkable category of actors in society is women as agents of social change. Since the late 1980s, Africa has witnessed a great deal of activity in the political arena, involving popular campaigns for reform, the convening of national assemblies, and transitions from single party and military rule to the introduction of multi-party politics, the emergence of local Non-Governmental Organizations, the licensing of private newspapers and broadcasting stations, the conduct of elections for many countries under international observers and the assertion of the right of free speech and assembly ... and an increase in the voices of women and the youth (Olukoshi, 1998: 455). In other words, there is a concerted effort at foregrounding women's action that derives from the women's experiences to explain their situation in the democratization process. In this paper, the term agency is used with reference to Fairclough (2003: 22) who defines it as the capacity of people to act freely, pointing out the limitations of agency by pointing out that, social agents are neither "free" agents, they are socially constrained, neither are their actions totally socially determined.

Citizens have legitimate expectations that one of the dividends that should flow from democratic governance is the facilitation of access to a broad range of social services. In Sub-Saharan African, the state as a political sovereignty has largely failed to meet the obligation of provision of these services to its citizens. As a result, new forms of popular participation have emerged as in the Kenyan context where women have turned to self-help groups (Thomas, 1988; Ndambuki, 2010a) in the form of community based organizations popularly known as *merry-go-rounds*. Participation is increasingly seen not only as the transferring of public responsibilities to civic groups but also about increasing citizen control over the state and of improving the capacity of ordinary citizens to understand and decide on the issues affecting them in their daily lives. The argument that ‘there is need to go beyond numbers’ is timely as motivated by the fact that despite increase in terms of numbers, for example in Burkina Faso, Togo, and Kenya, women’s political participation still remains peripheral.

The relation between meaning in the world and its representation is mediated through language. The focus here is on discourse as a form of social action as used by Wodak (2001). The way we select available options in language constructs one version of reality and not another. In other words, language works to constitute reality (Bourdieu, 1991; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). The term representation is used in the present study in two senses. The first sense is ‘political representation’; how women are represented in the political system in terms of numbers. This is what Gouws (2004) in her writings, calls ‘descriptive’. The second sense is ‘discursive representation’, which is concerned with how women are portrayed or constructed and how they construct themselves. The relation between meaning in the world and its representation is mediated through language. The focus here is on discourse as a form of social action as used by Wodak (2001). The focus of this paper is on the language used by politicians because they are opinion shapers and what they say is critical to how women’s political participation is to be conceptualised. In this sense of representation, the focus is the selection of content and form; for example, lexicalization, metaphors, euphemism, transitivity, mood, prioritization, sequencing of texts, and how through linguistic selection, women’s issues are constructed. The aim of this paper is to determine how a study of language used to talk about women’s issues helps us to understand the constraints and possibilities for change for women with regard to agency and change. Further, the paper attempts to explore the extent to which use of deficit discourses to talk about women’s issues by politicians and community leaders could explain women’s low participation in politics.

Background of the Study

The analysis of Kenyan political discourse has been extensive particularly from a ‘political science’ perspective (Olaleye, 2003). Most of this discourse is seen against a background of the widely accepted rationale for the NARC⁵ coalition based on the public’s (voters’) desire to see changes in Kenya’s political environment in the 2002 elections. Despite the acknowledgement by Fairclough (1989) that language is power, little focus in Kenyan political

⁵ NARC refers to National Rainbow Coalition, the historic political coalition of the opposition parties in Kenya that dislodged KANU (Kenya African National Union) from power in the 2002 general elections. KANU had been in power for forty years, i.e. since Kenya got independence in 1963.

discourse is given to the ‘text and talk’ of the women themselves and politicians as a possible source of understanding women’s issues in the political process. Further, in spite of this acknowledgement, participants in a conference on *The Participation of Women in Kenyan Society* held in Nairobi in 1975 unanimously observed that women tend to construct themselves negatively. However, little has been done to explore the implications of this with regard to women’s possibilities for agency and change.

This paper is based on the premise that equal participation of women and men in decision making is needed to strengthen democracy, particularly in the spirit of gender equity. A democratic political culture offers opportunities for gender issues to be a shared concern for all Kenyans. According to Sessional Paper No. 6 of 2006 on Gender Equality and Development, although women account for more than half of the total population and comprise a large voting population, they are still dismally under-represented in decision-making institutions such as Parliament, Central Government and Local Authorities, Trade Unions, Co-Operative Societies, Professional Bodies and grassroot-based institutions such as Land Boards. The trend in Kenyan political discourse has over the last two decades been characterized by the rhetoric of gender equality and fairness towards both genders especially in making opportunities available for leadership roles. Yet scholars (Khasiani, 2000; Ghai, 2002a; Ndambuki, 2010, 2009, 2006) continue to note that women have been marginalised in the political process.

The Kenyan political discourse has been concerned with the empowerment of women in parliamentary elections and seemingly not with as much vigour at the civic level. According to the then Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK, 2002), a total of 1035 parliamentary aspirants contested 210 seats in the National Assembly; 64 of these were women and yet only 9 (less than 5%) were elected. This is in comparison to 50 (5.7%) women contestants out of 882 parliamentary candidates in the 1997 General Elections and 19 (2.2%) out of 854 candidates in 1992. The data indicate that 10 (4.8%) of the 210 elected Members of Parliament in 2002 were women as compared to 4 (1.9%) of 210 in 1997. In an attempt to raise the number of women in the National Assembly, political parties nominated additional women which translated into 66.7 percent of nominated members of Parliament in 2002 as compared to 41.7 percent in 1997.

Forty-one political parties fielded 7009 candidates. Out of these, 381 women were nominated for the 2128 electoral seats. Makueni District is one of the twelve districts that form the Eastern Province. In terms of administrative units, the district covers five constituencies, 17 divisions, 65 locations and 190 sub-locations (ECK, 2002). There was only one female parliamentary aspirant in the entire Makueni District, but she was not elected. There was also none at all elected from Makueni Constituency, which is the largest of the five constituencies and also the administrative unit in which the study area Mbitini Location is situated. The analysis of the 2002 civic election results shows that eight women contested for councillor positions and out of these, four were from Makueni Constituency although only one was elected. These figures depict the low representation of women in politics.

Statement of the Problem

The discursive representation of women’s issues in the political process has not received much attention in Kenya. From the literature reviewed so far, women are seen to be disadvantaged in

the political process though no overt relation is made in the literature between the ‘text and talk’ of politicians on the one hand and the women’s construction of their issues, their agency and their level of involvement in the political process on the other hand. Text is here used to refer to language use as ‘spoken interaction’. Texts are the products of linguistic actions (Wodak, 2001: 66) and talk produces texts. Consequently, discourse is instantiated in text. The key concern on studies on human agency is to contribute to the transformation of people’s conditions of life. A study on what role language plays in the representation of women’s agency is useful because if we understand how women’s issues are represented, we will be in a better position to contribute to transformation in their conditions of life.

In pursuit of a Pan-African approach based on social justice, this paper seeks to fill a gap in knowledge as to what role language could play in accounting for women’s low participation in politics particularly using a multidisciplinary approach which cuts across the areas of language, gender and politics. This study forms part of the wider social science project where for a long time, language has been ignored yet a critical examination of the ‘text and talk’ of women and politicians might reveal important ways in which women and their issues are represented in the political process. These could in turn explain the low participation of women in Kenyan politics when compared to countries such as South Africa, Rwanda and Uganda. This paper therefore aims to address the questions: How does a study of the language used to talk about women’s issues help us understand the constraints and possibilities for women with regard to agency and change? In what ways does the use of deficit discourses contribute to women’s low participation in politics?

Methodology and Research Design

The research uses a case study approach. In Lemke’s view (1998), case studies are also well suited for discourse analysis methods due to the fact that discourse analysis produces its greatest insights when rich contextual information can be factored into the analysis of each text or episode. Following the principle of triangulation which involves approaching the same question from different data sources (Gillham, 2000: 13), the research employed methodological triangulation which involved combining various sources of evidence; notably political speeches, interviews with politicians and other community leaders, and focus groups with women. The study was carried out in Mbitini Division, a rural division in Makueni District (now Makueni County) in the eastern part of Kenya. The case of one division aims to show the issues concerning women in this rural division. These issues are specific to this section of the population, but are certainly similar to issues facing rural women in Kenya and possibly other rural districts in Africa. The data for the entire research consists of eleven tape-recorded focus group discussions (qualitative group interviews) of between 40-60 minutes each, ten interviews with politicians and other community leaders and four political speeches. Ten participants from each of the ten women’s groups out of a total of 66 women’s groups in the division at the time of the research were purposively collected. The first stage in data analysis was data transcription followed by translation from Kikamba (the language spoken in the area) into the English language.

Theoretical Model: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This paper employs a multidisciplinary framework that cuts across language, gender and politics drawing from Critical Discourse Analysis, Gender studies and Liberal Democracy to

understand women's political participation. A brief outline of the guiding principles is hereby provided.

The data is analyzed within a Critical Discourse Analytic framework, an approach that advocates increased awareness in the use of language to promote the welfare of marginalized groups. Key scholars who have contributed immensely to debates in CDA include (Fairclough, 1989), Van Dijk (1997, 2001) and Wodak (2001). In Fairclough's approach to CDA, individuals are seen as agents capable of constructing their own agency in their daily interaction. The framework presents power as embedded in social relations. CDA is able to show that the semiotic representation of social actors and agency is based on linguistic choices. Fairclough's model of CDA involves a description of both the social processes and structures that give rise to the production of a text. He conceptualizes these relations using a three dimensional view of discourse that includes analysis of text (spoken or written), discourse practices (process of text production and interpretation) and an analysis of the socio-cultural conditions that affect the production and interpretation of texts. CDA takes a particular interest in power. According to Wodak, (2001: 2):

As an approach, CDA is defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control manifested in language. As a result it aims to investigate critically social inequality as expressed, signalled, constituted and legitimized by language or discourse.

Women's Political Participation in Context: Historiography of Women's Political Marginalization

Preliminary review of literature shows a strong relation between democratic rights and fulfilment of economic needs or simply the fulfilment of people's needs (Sen, 1999; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). It also emerges that much has been done at the democracy end of the democracy-social justice nexus. This paper therefore attempts to contribute to debates surrounding the creation of a balance between these two notions particularly to show that discursive representation could explain the low participation of women in Kenya in addition to numerical aspects of participation.

A brief history of women's political marginalisation provides a basis for understanding why women's political participation remains at the periphery. In the pre-colonial age, the woman not only played an active role in production and controlling of the surplus but also played a more positive role than it is assumed today because division of labour was different. The men held power over the real wealth of society; land and livestock. In the colonial image, functionally in a system operating around capital and labour, the woman became a commodity like everything else; an asset for cheap labour. The economic marginalization of women can therefore be traced to the colonial period by the end of which women controlled fewer and fewer economic resources with which to play their social roles. Economic changes in colonial times undermined women's status and reduced their political role such that these patrilineal tendencies persist today to the detriment of women (Amadiume, 1987, 2000; Kanogo, 2005).

With the publication of *Passbook Number F.47927: Women and Mau Mau in Kenya*, Likimani (1985) foregrounds the voices of Kenyan African women as actors with agency in the *Mau Mau* rebellion. Unlike many publications that ignored the role of women in the struggle for

independence, this book stands out by providing an illuminating account of women's agentive role in the colonial period. The *Mau Mau* refers to events beginning in the colonial period in Kenya, late 1940s and ending with independence in 1963 in Kenya. It was a revolt by African peasants against economic, political and cultural conditions in which they lived (O'barr, 1985: 1).

Further, women's negligible participation in politics in Kenya must be seen against the background of state formation in Africa which gave prominence to economic development over democratic principles (Nasong'o & Ayot, 2007; Olukoshi, 1998). According to Haugerud (1995), instead of institutionalizing democratic processes in the Kenyan context, both the colonial and post-colonial states emphasized that politics was dangerous and that political activity had to be curbed to preserve civil order, stressing the fact that economic development must come before politics.

Language is one of the most important ways through which people construct reality, but it has been ignored as a possible source of understanding women's participation in the political process. The argument in this paper is that the study of language can contribute to the understanding of women's participation in economic development, social action and the political process. Due to influence from science, women's voices were not seen as a legitimate way of reporting research in the social sciences. However, increasingly there is remarkable change due to fluidity and diversity in post-modernist social science approaches.

Okombo (2001) underscores the greatest weakness of Kenyan political discourse; it ignores the crucial role that language *per se* plays in bringing about human development in the process of democratization. He argues that despite advocacy for education and poverty alleviation as Africa's most urgent problems, the linguistic resources as the 'means' to achieving these goals are not harnessed. In terms of political representation, there is a general consensus that women have been marginalized in the democratization process in Kenya (Grignon, 1999; Khasiani, 2000; Nasong'o and Ayot, 2007; Thongori, 2002). It is in view of this concern that the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (2001) advocated for increased civic education in order to inform and empower citizens to enable them make informed choices on the issues that affect them in their daily lives; be they social, economic or political. Civic education improves the ability of people in vulnerable groups to make informed choices. It has become an important part of democratization because it improves people's knowledge and skills enabling them to participate in public life. It has been documented that people who have little or no civic knowledge especially in the areas of voter education, gender awareness and adult education are not able to easily and usefully take part in the process of democracy and democratization (Akivaga et al., 2001; Tesfaye, 2002).

Women are portrayed as having problems in entering politics of being elected despite the increasing number of educated and talented women in various domains of society (Ghai, 2002: 82 ff). Factors leading to this situation have not been fully understood. Fresh approaches have been proposed to deal with this gap in knowledge. Gouws' research (2004) on women's representation in the South African Electoral System in the 2004 election observes that there is a shift from a concern with numbers (descriptive representation) to participatory representation (democracy) where quantitative data must be matched with qualitative data. This shift involves

voicing women's interests, experiences and perspectives. Since the 2004 elections, South Africa has had 131 women in parliament; the eleventh highest in the world. Women formed quite a significant constituency, with 1,982,867 more women than men having a vote. Gouws' observation that 'women need more than the vote, they need a voice in government' (2004: 64) confirms that there cannot be talk about women without their involvement. This is echoed by both Tamale (1999) and Ahikire (2005) in their studies on women's political representation and participation in Uganda.

Tamale's study in Uganda (1999) indicates that Affirmative Action⁶ has enhanced the participation of women in the electoral process since the late 1980s. Her research shows how women's participation in Ugandan politics has unfolded and the implications of women's parliamentary participation as a result of affirmative action handed down by the state rather than grassroots movements. Ahikire (2005) observes that at a general level, Uganda is one of the countries in Africa and indeed in the world with substantial numbers of women in public political positions and therefore Uganda as a success story is unquestionable especially given that this has to do with the magnitude of change in the last two decades. She traces the remarkable increase of women in political positions from 1989 with the women constituting 17 percent in the national parliament and progressing to 19 percent in 1996 and 24.4 percent in 2001 (2005: 97). For her part, the 'why' of these figures rests on electoral engineering 'from above'? But the question we should be asking is as follows; does the increase in numbers for the women in these countries lead to transformation in their conditions of life?

Challenges to Women's Political Participation in Kenya

Nasong'o and Ayot (2007) attribute the almost negligible participation of women in the Kenyan political process to the social division of labour, the rigid domestication of public and private spheres, the social construction of the political realm as a man's domain, and the general perception of politics as a dirty game. Their analysis shows that political activism of the Kenyan women's movement in the 1990s yielded a marked improvement in women's representation in Parliament. Noting that though women's representation in parliament in Kenya is less than half the continental average, the prospects of even higher numbers are positive given the gender activism and the increased awareness for women's issues. To enhance equity on women's political representation, they propose that the cultural, economic and political constraints to their participation be addressed. They capture the urgent need to focus on the women's agenda in the context of democratization thus:

The advocacy groups in the gender movement need to seek to bridge the divide between rural and urban women, educated professionals and uneducated professional ones, and to overcome their own divisions along ethnic, religious and class lines in order to advance their collective interests within the complex multilayered and dialectical process of democratization in the country (Nasong'o & Ayot, 2007: 192).

⁶ A possible solution to the small number of women in politics has been proposed to be a constitutional and legal system that is more supportive of women for example some Uganda's Affirmative Action has been used to reserve a number of parliamentary seats for women. At least 39 seats in the Ugandan parliament are reserved for women.

While it is potentially misleading to maintain a paternalistic view as most political discourse has done particularly in the representation of women as social actors in polarization of categories such as rural vs. urban, poor vs. rich, educated vs. uneducated, etc, it is imperative to recognise women's action in relation to women's multiple identities and begin to see how women are agentive in these multiple roles.

It has also been argued that among other factors, sexism in language use in the representation of women's issues is probably tied to the poor representation of women in politics (Nasong'o and Ayot, 2007). A case in point is the 1997 elections that are particularly relevant for the women's movement in Kenya; this was the year that Charity Ngilu became the first Kenyan woman to contest the presidential election. Grignon (2001) identifies two key factors as responsible for Ngilu's dismal performance nationally and the Kamba's failure to vote as a bloc for Charity in the 1997 elections. The first is that Ngilu was the least well off of the five presidential candidates and yet money is crucial to electioneering. Secondly, in a male dominated country where close to 75 percent of the population is still rural, the usual prejudice against women's leadership greatly hampered her presidential bid (2001: 345). These two factors worked at breaking what Grignon (2001) calls the 'Ngilu wave' in that Charity Ngilu had a great challenge to face; the most important being the age-old attitude among the men who in Grignon's words 'could not imagine being led by a woman'. He captures this challenge thus:

As in many Latin European or Latin American countries, a great majority of the electorate might enjoy the idea of a woman president, but when the time comes for casting the ballot, the weight of the individual's political socialization which associates power with men's attributes does not play in favour of women candidates. Kenya is not unique in this respect (Grignon, 2001: 345)

The above quote represents the kind of challenge women in general face especially in the Kamba community. Derogatory language was observed in Ngilu's campaign. For example, she was nicknamed 'wiper' because of her popularity and ability to get votes; a label that was normally transformed to 'viper'⁷ by opponents.

Based on extensive research in India, and taking note of the debate between political liberty and democratic rights on the one hand, and the fulfilment of basic economic needs on the other hand, Sen (1999) advocates for the prominence of political rights including freedom of expression and discussion. He argues that these are not only pivotal in inducing social responses to economic needs, they are also central to the conceptualization of economic needs themselves (1999: 153-154). In his fresh approach to development, Sen underscores the transformation that has accompanied women's agency in social change with regard to the two-fold features used to increase women's agency: those related to *well being* (and which have received significantly more attention) and the *rights* that were aimed at the free agency of women. For Sen, agency issues are beginning to receive some attention in contrast to the earlier exclusive concentration on *well-being* aspects.

⁷ The nickname 'viper' is a derogatory term that was used to portray Ngilu as a venomous 'monster' and an inappropriate choice for a presidential candidate.

The objectives have gradually evolved and broadened from this 'welfarist' focus to incorporate and emphasize the active role of women's *agency* (italic's is author's emphasis). No longer the passive agents of welfare-enhancing help, women are increasingly seen by men as well as women as agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of *both* men and women. Sen foregrounds the idea that the changing focus of women's movements is thus a critical addition to previous concerns and is not a rejection of those concerns. In his view, the relative deprivations in the well-being of women were and are certainly present in the worlds in which we live, and are certainly important for social justice, including justice for women (1999: 190).

The Politics of Gender and Participation in Kenya's Political Arena

This section starts with the deconstruction of the notion of 'gender' as it is often misconceived as being synonymous with women. Many researchers have shown that indeed that which we think of as 'womanly' or 'manly' behaviour is not dictated by biology but rather is 'socially constructed'. Such social constructions of gender are not neutral; they are implicated in the institutionalized power relations of societies. In known contemporary societies, power relations are often asymmetrical such that women's interests are systematically subordinated to men's (Giddens, 1993). In Wodak's view, many empirical studies have neglected the context of language behaviour and have often analyzed gender by merely looking at the speaker's biological sex (1997: 1). This paper draws intellectual strength from Wodak's proposal for a context-sensitive approach which looks at gender as a social construct as this would lead to more fruitful results, i.e. a look at gender in connection with the socio-cultural and ethnic background of the interlocutors, and in connection with their age, their level of education, their socio-economic status, and the specific power-dynamics of the discourses they inhabit.

Naturalization of characteristics and attributes was generally avoided through the differentiation of the terms 'gender' and 'sex'. Sexual differentiation may be a biological fact but the principle underlying the concept gender is that, the traits assigned to a sex by a culture are cultural constructions that are socially determined and therefore alterable. Giddens (2001: 107) defines 'sex' as the 'biological or anatomical differences between men and women', whereas gender 'concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females.' For Lazar (2007), gender functions as an interpretive category that enables participants in a community to make sense of their particular social practices, a social relation that enters into and partially constitutes all other social relations and activities. In her view, a feminist political critique of gendered social practices and relations is ultimately aimed at effecting social transformation.

According to the National Policy on Gender and Development (2000: 2) gender relations in Kenya have been moulded by a combination of factors that draw from the influence of various traditions, customs and cultural practices. In addition, levels of education and awareness, economic development and emerging patterns of social organization besides legislation also affect gender relations. The socio-cultural attitudes held by men and women, the socialization processes and women's perception of their own status, roles and rights are of particular significance in determining the status of women. Women's agency is linked to the question of power which is realized in two spheres; in macro-level civic politics and in everyday micro-level interaction through social practices. In Kenya, both of these are shaped by patriarchal

discourses. The politics of gender intersect with civic politics such that representation in the political sense and representation in the semiotic sense intertwine. Representation in language and discourse is fundamental to the articulation of policies and actions for the public good. Gendered social relations contribute to the prevailing conditions for the production and reception of texts. The argument is that the possibilities that exist for women's semiotic representation of themselves by politicians and other community leaders affect their political representation. The study on which this paper largely draws looks at discursive production to see if it can account for women's lack of participation in the political process.

This study takes into account women's political participation as a core area of focus against a background of multiple approaches. The most widespread approach has been the Women in Development approach (WID) and the more recent approaches jointly referred to as the critical approaches. The WID approach is based on the assumption that women were not making a full economic contribution to development and thus issues that underlie this approach of integrating women into development are ultimately economic in nature. The emphasis on income-generating activities of women's groups by donors and international bodies is evidence of this goal. The critical approaches on the other hand especially the Gender and Development (GAD) approach maintain that in any developmental analysis, there is a need to focus on the dynamic relationship between women and men.

Democracy versus Liberal Democracy

Contesting views exist as to the form and substance of democracy and whether democracy is a western concept. Olukoshi (1998) warns students of Africa not to assume that the only applicable yardstick against which the African democratic project can be measured is what is loosely referred to as 'Western democracy' (p, 457). In an article on *The State and Democracy in Africa*, Ngonzola-Ntalaja (1997) explores the question of whether the quest for democracy is an externally driven initiative or a genuine demand for the African people and summarizes his opinion as follows:

There is no question of Africanizing democracy; the key demand of the moment is rather to democratize Africa. In other words, we cannot import or Africanize democracy because the latter is something that is universal. Democracy is not an exclusive property of western societies, democratic norms are universal but the institutions which inform democracy and the concrete forms of its political practice may vary in time and space (i.e. through historical epochs and from country to country (Ngonzola-Ntalaja (1997: 10).

In other words, democratic transitions do not follow a uni-linear path, the routes are varied based on history and values. Ngonzola-Ntalaja (1997) explores three basic foundations of democracy as a universal concept. Firstly, democracy is a moral imperative, a basic human need and therefore a political demand for all freedom loving human beings. It is basically a permanent aspiration of human beings for freedom, for a better social and political order, one that is more human and more or less egalitarian. All human beings feel the need to improve their material conditions of life as well as to feel freer. Secondly, democracy is a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties for all. For him, these rights include: the fundamental rights of the human person to life and security; the freedom of religion, assembly, expression, press, association, etc.; the economic, social and

cultural rights – the idea here being that democracy is meaningless when the basic needs of the population are not satisfied); and the rights of peoples, including the inalienable right to self-determination. In sum, democracy is concerned with the quality of life. Thirdly, and lastly, is that democracy is a political practice or form of rule, a specific manner of organizing and exercising power in accordance with certain universal norms and principles.

The most frequently mentioned principles of democratic governance by Ngonzola-Ntalaja (1997) include: firstly, the idea that legitimate power or authority emanates from the people; secondly, the concept of the rule of law according to which the parameters of state power and the sphere of governmental authority are well defined and limited so as to allow for other societal actors; thirdly, the principle that rulers are chosen by and are accountable to the people. The element of choice implying that democracy is government by the consent of the governed. In other words, the rulers are accountable to the people for their acts; fourthly, the right of the citizen to participate in the management of public affairs through free, transparent and democratic elections, through decentralised governmental structures and through Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs); fifthly and finally, the right of the people to change a government that no longer serves their interests or the right to revolution, which is often captured in former US president's definition as 'government of the people by the people for the people' (Ngonzola-Ntalaja 1997: 14).

Ngonzola-Ntalaja and Lee (1997) argue that the current struggle for democracy in Africa resulted mainly from the legitimacy of the post-colonial state, which has failed to meet the people's aspirations for freedom and material well-being. To correct this situation, new vibrant and political movements arose to end authoritarianism and to restructure the state for purposes of building democracy and achieving social progress. Unfortunately, the contradictory and uneven process of transformation has adversely affected the social and economic fabric thus acerbating political tensions and conflicts. A case in point is the recent political crisis in Kenya following the 2007 December General Elections which has adversely affected women's agency as majority of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in camps are women and children.

The key challenge to the process of democratic consolidation as Olukoshi succinctly puts it, 'centres on the need to anchor representation (through electoral pluralism, and universal adult suffrage), the rule of law and the freedom of speech and association to popular participation and control in decision making at all levels' (1999: 458). In other words, democracy and free election must lead to visible improvement in people's lives in order for the elected government to be perceived as being legitimate (Quinlan & Wallis, 2003; Abrahamsson & Nilsson, 1995).

Scholars are in agreement that democracy must lead to visible changes in the well-being of the citizens; what Sen (1999: 155) calls fuller '*practice of democracy*'. In other words, what matters most is how freedoms are exercised. For instance, low voting numbers among women despite women being majority in most Kenyan rural constituencies cannot be ignored.

Following Ake (2000), Nasong'o and Murunga (2007) argue that liberal democracy emerges as the closest approximation of conceptualising democracy. Ake himself makes this distinction clear by pointing out that liberal democracy is markedly different from democracy even though it has significant affinities to it; for example, in the notion of government by the consent of the

governed, formal political equality, inalienable human rights including the right to political participation, accountability of power to the governed and rule of law. However, instead of the collectivity, liberal democracy focuses on the individual whose claims are placed above those of the group. It replaces government by the people with government by the consent of the people. Instead of sovereignty of the people, it offers the sovereignty of war (Ake, 2000: 9-10). The paradox in all this is that liberal democracy presupposes individualism but there is little individualism in the communal societies of rural Africa; it assumes the abstract universalism of legal subjects, but that applies mainly in the urban areas.

According to Ake (1996, cited in Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007), for this liberal democracy to be suitable for Africa, in addition to people having real decision-making power over and above the formal consent of electoral choice it has to meet three conditions. First, it has to be a social democracy that places emphasis on concrete political, social and economic rights; second, it has to be a social democracy that invests heavily in the improvement of people's health, education, and capacity so that they can participate effectively; this puts as much emphasis on collective rights as it does on individual rights; third and lastly, it has to be one of incorporation, which is an inclusive politics that engenders inclusive participation and equitable access to state resources and ensures special representation in legislatures of mass organizations especially the youth, the labour movement and women's groups which are usually marginalised but without whose active participation, there is unlikely to be democracy or development (Ake 1996: 132 cited in Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007: 6).

Bridging the Divide between Democracy and Social Justice

Sen (1999) provides a broad view of development that involves expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Looking at the informational bases of some standard theories of social justice, in particular; utilitarianism, libertarianism, and Rawlsian theories of justice as major approaches to political philosophy, Sen proposes an alternative approach to evaluation that focuses directly on freedom, seen in the form of individual capabilities to do things that a person has reason to value. Borrowing from these three approaches, Sen identifies a general approach that concentrates on the capabilities of people to do things - and the freedom to lead lives - that they have reason to value (1999: 85). Besides taking note of the importance of freedom, the approach pays particular attention to the utilitarianism's interest in well-being, libertarianism's interest in liberty of choice and the freedom to act, and Rawlsian theory's focus on individual liberty and on the resources needed for substantive freedoms. He argues that in analyzing social justice, there is a strong case for judging individual advantage in terms of the capabilities that a person has, that is the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to live the kind of life he or she has reason to value. The state and the society have extensive roles in strengthening and safeguarding human capabilities.

Sen's conception of development requires the removal of major sources of lack of freedom; poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states (Sen, 1999: 1). He argues that this process of development is much of an agent-oriented view, since with adequate social amenities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other as opposed to being seen primarily as passive recipients of the benefits of development programmes. For him, this provides a strong reason for recognizing the positive

role of free and sustainable agency. Maathai (2004: xvi) echoes a similar view in relation to the Green Belt Movement, a tree planting project in Kenya, that was instrumental in her recognition as the Nobel Peace Prize Award in 2002. In her words, the project ‘has over the past 30 years shown that sustainable development linked with democratic values promotes human rights, social justice and equity, including balance of power between women and men’. In her view, the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize demonstrates that although the work of grassroots groups, especially women’s groups does not always make headline news, it does make a difference (2004: xvi’).

Representation of Women’s Issues by Women

Many themes emerged in response to the key research question, ‘what are your needs as women in this division? The most commonly mentioned needs were support, education, development, basic needs, a leader and political interference. ‘Political interference’ is used to show how in the use of metaphor, women represent their issues. Political interference might be seen as an external threat which often has to do with power, culture, ideology and distribution of resources. Women’s fear of political interference in running their affairs in the women’s groups was cited by the majority of the groups. One respondent described it thus:

Text 1:

Resp: nitwithaa na wia nundu ta mwaka wa miongo nyaanya na itano nitwai na kikundi kingi kyai na vinya na tooka talikwa ni anasiasa. Tooka teewa tikwatanenee ikundi nee mingo itano nai ili tuuwe itinga na mutongoi ai kuu tamuvata tamwia mbesa ii nisyiui ulika na alea na eethia ndekwendeew’a ni nuu na atwia ‘nundu nimutongoi’ ikaani, ‘natamunenga mbesa, syo isu situ syalika mana syathela vyu. Onomunthi tutaaimiwa ona vati mumemba waiimiwa nitinga yiu.

Resp: We are fearful because like in 1985 we had a very strong women’s group and we were interfered with by the politicians, we had many strong groups. We were asked to unite, I think 52 groups to buy a tractor and the leader was here, we warned her that that money was just going to be ‘eaten’ misused. And she refused and did not like that and she said, ‘I am the leader’. So we gave our money and it was misused. No member benefited on the use of that tractor on their farm.

From the text above, the women construct themselves as collectively fearful signalled by use of the pronoun ‘-twi-’ ‘we’, in the expression ‘*nitwithaa na w’ia*’ ‘we are fearful’. The women are fearful because in 1985, a politician asked 52 women groups in Mbitini division to unite and buy a tractor but they did not benefit from its use. In the women’s view, this constituted political interference because the money they had contributed was misappropriated and the tractor did not benefit the women. The metaphor of ‘*mbesa syaiwa*’ literally meaning ‘money being eaten’ is a common metaphor in Kenyan political discourse and it often refers to money being ‘misused’ or not being used for the intended purpose. Coppock et al. (2006: 19) cite ‘political interference’ but hardly provide an explanation of what the women meant by this or what they meant by the use of the term. The ‘eating’ of the women’s money in buying a tractor by the politician might be taken to indicate the political ideological set up in Kenya which gets affirmed by male dominating social-cultural structures in the way the tendency to interfere with women’s affairs is made explicit in the text above. More often than not, politicians in

Kenya are men and this in a way gives them power to manipulate women when it comes to dealing with women's groups whose membership is essentially female. Grignon's (2001: 317) study confirmed this when he clearly shows how Paul Ngei, one of Kenya's freedom fighters as well as one of the Kamba independence leaders, had created *Mbai Sya Eitu* (the women's clan) in Machakos District in the 1960s. This was an army of women's groups organized on clan lines which he protected against male clan organizations and which gave him years of staunch support till 1971 when it was banned. Such women's groups created by politicians are part of their political strategy as Grignon (2001) points out; women who form 70 percent of the rural electorate are the regular target of food and money distributions in Ukambani as they provide a guaranteed source of support.

One of the key issues that the women consistently mentioned was the need for a leader (the reasoning being that women leaders would understand their needs because of belonging to the same gender). In the respondents' views, such a leader is a person who can 'do things for us', 'show us direction', give us support' (money) 'show us the light', to mention but some of the responses. On the whole, a critical examination of the data indicates that participants characterize themselves in a 'discourse of suffering'. The following responses from participants in selected focus group discussions provide evidence for this point;

Text 2:

Nituthinaa ovaatutena mundu wautwonia mbee. Na nengi andu makaleaa kwonua mbee komesa kumbuka.

We suffer here with no one to show us ahead. And if people are not shown ahead, can they really emerge?

Text 3:

Resp: Aya, sukulu kwitu, syana situ sukulu ... kwakya ve syana imwe withiaa syina thina wa mavuk, kwona nguua, ingi syiendaa na nguua syeekiwe ilaka syeekiwe ilaka, usu nithinomwi nund wasisya yu musyai uu ndena vinya wa kuuu nguua na mbingi ku misyini ikomaa nthi ukethia uthi ukethia mundu atandaasa kuu na tukona kethia nitwona mundu atuvinia business ta kikundi okya muthemba...

Like in our school ... in the morning some children do not have books. They do not have clothes; they walk in tattered clothes, that is a problem because when you look at the parents they do not have the ability to buy clothes and many in the homes sleep on the floor. If only we could find someone who can open a business of a particular kind for us as a women's group

Text 4

Lakini utitha ta yuketha kyha kuu nitwithiwa na kiw'u kuu aka kuu nimathinaa muno uketha nimathukuma na vitii. Yu thina ula ungi aka makuu methaa naw'o nikwithia tita monaa atongoi na kumelekelya ila maile kufaidika

But if only women had water, women here suffer a lot, if only they could work with more effort. The other problem the women have here is that it is as if they do not have leaders to show them how to benefit.

The issue of leadership among the women must be seen within the context of problems being faced by the national organization *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake* - MYOW (Women in Development) the national women's organization. This suggests that the women construct themselves within deficit discourses and therefore the notion of a leader is an individuated discourse. Women on the one hand want to give agency to a leader and yet agency resides in the collective. Political power on the other hand resides in the individual; that is, political power is with the individual politicians. The entire society is built on the collective and no person is a person without others. For example if we look at Nelson Mandela's political strategy during the apartheid struggle in South Africa, it involved putting a face to the African National Congress. Unlike Mandela, these women are not politicians and wanting to give agency to a leader does not work for them. Discourses are ways of being, women grow in these deficit discourses and this appears to be the prevailing dominant discourse about women; a Kenya discourse and no wonder they inhabit and reproduce these discourses. This deficit discourse constructs the women as helpless, and suffering and this comes straight from their mouths that they look for a saviour, a leader, and a mentor.

In the first text, by using of the plural object -infix '-tu-' (we), the women construct themselves as a 'suffering community' that needs a leader to show them the way. Morrison and Love (1996: 59) underscore the role of the pronoun 'we' used to define 'who we are'. They contend this is especially pronounced in periods of upheaval (as in the problematic times of the women's national organization in the last decade in Kenya) or national resurgence during which there is usually an attempt to redefine or reassert a particular identity construction. Despite a culture of community, in which women's groups are deliberately constructed to give members the support of the collective, women construct themselves in a discourse which focuses on the centrality of an individual leader. This is further repeated in text 2 where the speaker wishes for a leader who could start a business for them and again in text 4 where the need for a leader is made explicit. In other words, they do not see the power that exists when they work together collectively. The women do not understand that community action underpins their sustainability and not individual power. Their agency is based on the mutual support that women give one another, not on the power of an individual leader.

The women represent themselves in an impersonal way. They refer to themselves as 'people' and use the third person plural pronoun suffix '-ma-' 'they' which gives women a generic reference. According to Fairclough (2003: 150), generic reference is often associated with the universal and hence by use of the generic pronoun 'they'; the women construct a particular 'we-community' which exhibits the suffering of rural women in general in the local and global community. What is foregrounded in the three texts is their suffering, not their actions that sustain their families. This negative self-representation goes against the rules of social justice and belittles their political participation.

Representation of Women's Issues by Politicians and Other Community Leaders

This section looks at the construction of women's issues by politicians and other community leaders in political speeches and interviews. Political power resides in the individual; that is, the politicians as leaders. Unlike the women in women's groups, politicians on the other hand have a vision of power and not sustainability. In view of this, it therefore becomes crucial to look at how politicians represent women's issues since it might provide alternative insights towards understanding the participation or non-participation of women in politics.

Leadership emerged as a key theme whereby the leaders raise an important concern regarding women's leadership in politics. Majority of the leaders agree that women are inherently good leaders but not in politics. On the whole, the politicians appear to perpetuate the use of deficit discourses just like the women themselves to construct women's agency. Text 5 provides an example.

Text 5: Leader 1:

Resp: yeah, mostly women are not very good in politics. They are not very good. Uangalie kama mama Ndetei, (like when you look at mother Ndetei), I would like to give you that example. Alikuwa akawa mbunge (she became an MP) and we had a lot of backing for that lady. Na siasa yake ilikuwa nzuri sana.(and politics was very good). Lakini you can be played. Politics can be played on you.

Inter: you mean on women?

Resp: Politics are played on women, unaona (you see)... Lakini (but) women, you see the other time there was this funny story about women. Unaona ooka (you see she came) her the other day there was this funny story about Ngilu, na ni siasa anafanyiwa, siasa. (And it is politics being played on her).

Resp: yeah, mostly women are not very good in politics. They are not very good. Like when you look at mother Ndetei, I would like to give you that example. She became an MP and we had a lot of backing for that lady and her politics was very good). Lakini you can be played. Politics can be played on you.

Inter: You mean on women?

Resp: Politics are played on women, you see... but women, you see the other time there was this funny story about women. you see she came her the other day there was this funny story about Ngilu, and it is politics being played on her.

The speaker in the above text code switches from English to Kiswahili. The two examples 'Mama Ndetei' and 'Ngilu' cited in the text refer to two Kenyan women parliamentarians who were allegedly involved in sex scandals. The respondent chooses to omit the scandals by referring to them as the 'funny' story. Sexualisation of scandals involving women is common in politics and often seeks to discredit female politicians and generally portraying them as unfit for public office. In this text, the use of the plural form of the third person pronoun 'they' constructs women in generic terms as collectively 'not good in politics'. The claim that '*women are not very good in politics*' represents the feeling of most male politicians and leaders in general, that women are deficient in politics as a male dominated domain. The text constructs women as 'done-tos' as seen in the expression 'politics are played on them'. The use of 'them' shows women as 'non-agents' in politics. In other words, they are objects on

which action is taken. Similarly, the speaker constructs women as ‘done-tos’ in the use of the pronoun ‘her’ in object position. To illustrate this, we look at more examples of how the leaders talk about leadership;

Text 6: Leader 2:

No group ya aka.Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO) yaanangiwe ni atongoi, the national leaders. Kwoou, yiina mutongoi, yiina future, kana itingwa future.

The women’s organization Maendeleo Ya Wanawake was spoilt by leaders, the national leaders... so it does not have a leader, in other words, it does not have a future.

Text 7: Leader 9:

vata munene niniwona muno ukethia angi nimekwenda kuungama ivila matongoesye aka angi, matwike makanzala

A major need for women is to contest for political seats, so that many want to get seats in order to lead other women and, like maybe become councillors,

Unlike leader 1 in text 5, looking at the way leaders 2 and 9 talk about the need for women leadership is clear evidence of increased numbers of women, which is an indication of progress for women in the democratization process. There is however no clear link as to whether this will actually translate to transformation in the condition of women’s lives. Over the years, Kenya has had increased numbers but one cannot say for sure that this has led to change in the conditions of their life. Unlike the women who represent themselves as deficit, the leaders make a case for female leadership arguing that if more women are to represent women, it would lead to a better life for all. This gains support from Nasong’o and Ayot (2007) who contend that women’s presence in key policy-making institutions in critical numbers enhances and strengthens the political agenda on social issues such as healthcare, education and environmental protection. This is further articulated by (Sen, 1999) in regard to the Kerala¹ experience of India where women’s increased participation in the political process is seen as important for a more balanced wholesome and equitable socio-economic development.

Ndambuki and Janks (2010) use pronouns and modality as linguistic features in an attempt to understand women’s construction of agency. In their view, while women, politicians and other community leaders construct women’s agency within deficit discourses, these discourses do not match women’s enacted practices or what political and community leaders say they expect of women. The contradiction inherent in the study is that everyone constructs women as lacking in agency, yet these women act as agentive subjects. The findings of the study indicate that the politicians on the one hand represent themselves as all-knowing; they are the ones who know and have the answers for the women. They are also dismissive of people’s ability to think things out for themselves. As a result, they represent women as powerless, illiterate and ignorant about their own issues. This denies women agency and yet recognition and voice are values that women need in order to confidently articulate and represent their concerns. All these leaders are drawing from the discourses about women that circulate in Kenya. They continue to reinforce the use of deficit discourses in the representation of women’s issues and in this way contribute to the minimal political participation of women.

Conclusion

This paper has examined and shown that a study of language used to talk about women's issues helps to depict and understand the constraints and possibilities for change for women with regard to agency and change. The study reveals that women, politicians and other leaders in the community continue to perpetuate the use of deficit discourses in the construction of women's issues. Women are represented against a backdrop of discourses of patriarchy, rurality and poverty that construct them as poor, ignorant and illiterate; constructions which seem to perpetuate unequal power relations between them and the politicians and other community leaders. These findings point to the need for a deeper understanding of what women consider to be their concerns in the context of the changing gender relations and the expansion of the scholarship on gender politics in the African Diaspora and Kenya in particular. Sustenance of the politics of voice is one way of going beyond numbers to enhance the incorporation of women in the political process. This gives recognition to women's political participation; creating a discourse of transformation where women are seen as agents since in reality, women do a lot of things for their communities. Additionally, the politics of voice help to bridge the gap in the democracy and social justice nexus as relates to women's political participation.

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ⁱ Kerala is a state within India with a population of about 30 million people. It has the least infant mortality rates and highest life expectancy rates. It is the state on which the famous 'Kerala model of development' or 'Kerala's Development Experience' is based and which has captured the attention of development analysis due to the unique pattern of social and economic changes that have been taking place in Kerala as a result of initiatives both governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) based on public action (Parayil G. (2000: viii).

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P.O. Box 1100 - 20300
Nyahururu, Kenya.
Tel: +254(0)713 552 761,
+254(0)20266 3505/6
Fax: +254(0)20 266 3502
Email: rec@laikipia.ac.ke