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Onyango, J.O. (2012). *Discursive Masculinities and the War against AIDS: The Kenyan Experience*. Kenya: Egerton University Press.

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**The Educational Needs of Displaced High School Students:
The Case of Olposimoru Forest Evictees in
Narok County, Kenya**

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Abstract

Climate change is a worldwide debate affecting humanity. The Kenyan government is evicting people who have encroached on forests, thereby leading to internal displacement. The condition of displacement affects governments' ability and willingness to provide basic protection and services such as education. The study sought to investigate the schooling experiences of displaced high school students, with a case of the Olposimoru forest evictees. Based on a current study carried out, this paper discusses the findings on the educational needs of displaced high school students. The target group for this study was displaced high school day-scholar students. Hermeneutics phenomenology theory guided this research. The research was carried out in Olposimoru District of Narok County. Displaced students were the key participants in this research, while class teachers and head teachers were the key informants. The snowballing technique was used to select the students for study, while class teachers were sampled using a simple random sampling technique. The study was conducted using a descriptive case of Olposimoru forest evictees. Five schools were selected through purposive sampling. The researcher used questionnaires and oral interviews to collect data. The raw data from the students' responses was organized, coded, and keyed on the SPSS program. The study found that displaced students have varied educational needs in addition to their normal adolescent growth and development challenges. They mostly need psychological motivation and support. They also need money to pay school fees. Students also have other material and sociological needs, such as teaching and learning materials, housing, and a sense of family.

Keywords: Climate change, displaced high school students, educational needs, Olposimoru forest evictees, Narok county

Introduction

Over the last half-century, the number of unwarranted human settlements in forest-reserved areas has risen globally. Due to the world's population explosion, people tend to look for free sites to settle. Since 2012, conflict has been on an upward trajectory after a decline in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, the conflict between the government of the day and forest eviction is an avoidable battle.

Displacement poses risks to the social, political, and economic well-being of individuals, communities, and even entire nations. Some of the risks associated with displacement include joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of common lands and resources, increased health risks, social disarticulation, the disruption of formal educational activities, and the loss of civil and human rights (Downing, 2002). Displacement involves the physical eviction from one's dwelling place and the expropriation of productive lands and other assets to make possible an alternative use (Cernea, 2000). Affected people (APS) are those who stand to lose all or part of their physical and non-physical assets as a consequence of the project. APS may also include host communities when a large population is displaced onto the land of

a smaller existing (host) population. A research study by Arjjumend and Fakana (2018) noted that uncontrolled human settlement in the Nechisar forest in Ethiopia has risen. Rapid human population coupled with immigration was the overt factor that encouraged illegal forest settlement. Such forest encroachment is associated with a lack of public awareness and inadequate valuation of forest ecosystem services, among other factors.

Approximately 600 million people have been exposed to conflict in 2023. Out of this, about 412 million were exposed to incidents of armed violence against civilians (Danish Refugee Council, 2024). The factors that force people to leave their homes are common in developing countries. As noted by Gakunga and Gathinye (2020), displaced girls and children from indigenous ethnic groups and those living with any form of disability tend to face myriads of education challenges. Education is a human right enshrined in the international and national laws and guidelines.

Kenya is among the signatory countries that have ratified international treaties to protect its citizens' education and environmental conservation rights. The schooling of students is affected by several internal and external factors. The displacement of the population is one of the important external factors. Forced evictions have been carried out on a massive scale in forest areas, and the Ministry of Environment has stated that these actions will continue. Climate change calls for restoring water catchment areas, including Olposimoru forests. However, the government has also failed to make allowance for traditional forest dwellers, such as the Ogiek in Kenya.

Forced evictions at Olposimoru forest were carried out in places where schools had already been established. This affected the students' schooling patterns. The point of concern for this study is the educational needs of the same students and the psycho-social support accorded to displaced students. Access to education is a right of every child, and this study was conducted to provide mitigation measures to the Ogiek community, which is regarded not only as a minority but also among the marginalized communities in Kenya. Hence, this study should be useful to educational stakeholders and government officials as they carry out mass eviction among the populations, thereby affecting the education of students. The study, therefore, sought to investigate the schooling experiences of displaced high school students in Olposimoru forest in Kenya. Specifically, it purposed to examine the educational needs of displaced high school students in this area.

The Theoretical Framework

The hermeneutic phenomenology theory guided this study. Van Manen (2019) posits that the practical utilization of hermeneutic phenomenology is to make sense of the world as the participants experience it. This helps the researcher become cognisant of the hurdles that impede their access to human lived experience. Human experiences are shaped by events that were experienced in a particular epoch. Furthermore, concepts are employed to make sense of the phenomenon under investigation, where phenomenology questions are formulated to collect experiential data directly from the participants who experience it.

Leela (2018) argued that in hermeneutic phenomenology, personal experiences and interpretations of the experiences are performed to give a clear understanding of the phenomenon being investigated. He also noted that hermeneutic phenomenology, as a method of inquiry, focuses on participants' lived experiences and that personal interpretations that form the participants' lenses are critical. This theory was relevant to this research since the educational needs of displaced high school students were collected directly from the participants who experienced forced eviction at Olposimoru Forest.

Conditions in Displacement

Displacement tends to heighten existing vulnerabilities. Internal displacement does not occur as a result of individual choice; it constitutes a situation of non-freedom (in terms of agency and opportunity) as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have 'been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes' (UNOCHA, 2004). Stichick (2001) argues that in order to meet the survival needs of the family, many IDP parents are forced to spend a great deal of time away from their children in search of work or humanitarian distributions. She observed that these parents are constantly balancing attempts to find work, the humiliation of not being able to make ends meet, and being exhausted, along with efforts to spend time with their children. Living in the settlements' social, economic, psychological, and physical conditions are entangled in such a situation.

A study by Merdin (2022) in the USA sought to investigate the challenges facing students who identify as refugees and have experienced interrupted education and trauma. The study utilizes a narrative qualitative research approach by focusing on students' pre-migration and post-migration experiences to obtain data for analysis. A total of nine refugee high school students attending one charter school in City Heights were sampled for the study. A random sample of 10 students from a focused sample was selected for the study. The research found that the most support students needed was social-emotional needs. Refugees felt hurt by displacement, which affected their sense of security. In addition, there was the absence of a qualified counsellor who could take care of the psychosocial needs of the students, which had had their mathematical skills, such as multiplication, greatly affected. However, the research solely relied on qualitative techniques for collecting data. To bridge the gap, this research utilizes a questionnaire as a research tool to corroborate the interview schedule, thereby improving the reliability and dependability of the research findings.

Aimee (2018) studied the educational needs of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) in the UK in one local authority in England. The study was guided by social constructionist interpretive epistemology and was qualitative in nature. Data was collected using structured interviews and focused groups. Aimee noted in her research findings that the respondents faced social and emotional turmoil due to the uncertainty of the future of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. Specifically, caring and trusting relationships with carers, peers, and educational staff were the major concerns in meeting the social and emotional needs of the UASC. She described the challenges the UASC faced with their emotional states as fluctuating between 'happy' and 'sad'. She also reported them using suppression strategies in order not to think about their past. In her conclusion, Aimee (2018) noted that all of the UASC feared the uncertainty of their asylum status. The research relied on social constructionist interpretive as a theoretical underpinning of the research. To bridge the gap, this study adopted the phenomenological theory, which has the advantage of getting data from the participant's perspective through direct verbatim of their responses; the validity and the data collected were deemed reliable.

In India, Manuj (2019) focused his study on the education and human rights of internally displaced persons in Assam. He chose Assam due to its propensity for displacement. Thousands of people are internally displaced because of erosion, floods, ethnic clashes, and militant activities. As a result of displacement, human rights are violated. This includes the right to education. He found out that students missed school as a result of internal displacement. Schools were wiped out by erosion, and the school land turned into an infertile space, known as a 'char' area, which is unsuitable for learning. He concluded that the education community who are affected by displacement faces various challenges in their new resettlements. He relied on a literature review to present his findings in his study. However, this study collected first-hand information through questionnaires and scheduled interviews, which were then descriptively analysed, hence filling the evidence gap left.

In Africa, internal displacement is a common phenomenon occasioned by armed conflicts and natural as well as development-related displacement. Desmond (2014) noted that more than one-third of the global number of IDPs hail from Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the majority of the IDPs are concentrated in areas that are in active conflict zones and insecure remote areas. Places such as Mali, eastern Chad, and western and southern parts of Sudan, among others.

Gilbert (2020) studied Internally Displaced and Refugee Students and pedagogical proposals in Cameroon, West Africa. He noted that the Minawao Refugees Camp hosted over 60,000 refugees and IDPs. Class sizes in the refugee camps had become unmanageable due to high student-to-teacher ratios ranging to around 150-200 against the recommended 50-100. He further noted that students had knowledge inconsistency due to abandoned school abandonment for up to two to three years. He identified special pedagogy for the learners as an education need. Additionally, the displaced learners had experienced the trauma of armed conflicts because of sleeping in thickets and bushes and trekking long distances. However, his study dwelled on the paradigm shift in the pedagogical approach to instruction and teaching. To bridge this gap, this study analysed the educational needs in terms of physiological and psychosocial needs, which are key in influencing the motivation of internally displaced learners.

In the East Africa region, Ester (2018) Kenya examined the factors that influence the integration of IDP learners in primary schools in Raveda Sub county of Nyeri County in Kenya. Specifically, her study sought to determine the psychosocial support by teachers to IDP learners in public primary schools. The study, whose research design was descriptive, had a target population of 1,024 class seven and eight learners. The targeted head teachers were 6, while the teachers were 72. Ester (2018) employed consensus sampling for the head teacher, while purposive sampling was used to sample both the pupils and teachers. She further analysed data using descriptive statistics. The study found that the host school bullied the IDP learners, and they received little or no guidance and counselling. Her research was confined to primary school children who may require a psychosocial specialist who can interview the minor to elicit reliable data. However, the current study concentrated on high school students who were assumed to be able to comprehend the demands of the questionnaire presented; thus, the data collected were dependable and reliable.

Role of a School in Alleviating the Challenges faced by Displaced Children

More often, IDP families with children have been placed in areas where no schools are located, or the children have been sent to schools that have no resources to meet their educational needs and have little or no experience of receiving refugees (Pinson & Arnot, 2010). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is committed to education and supports refugee primary and secondary schools as well as other refugee education programmes.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2016), providing access to quality education to adolescents and young adults in conflict-affected areas in Iraq was necessary. The funds provided by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia opened five new schools for students of IDP communities. Moreover, to increase and improve quality space for students, prefabricated school premises were provided, and the community became involved in renovating existing schools, including making school desks. Teachers and members of Parents-Teachers Associations received training on minimum standards, and textbooks, teaching aids, equipment, stationery, and school running costs were also provided. UNESCO contracted a company to build 450 school desks, an activity expected to secure the children's education and form part of the educational journey of the whole community. The construction of the desks not only helped 1000 students receive a better-quality education but was a significant income-generating activity for many families.

The provision of education in emergency situations needs to factor in the psychosocial needs of children and adolescents affected by trauma and displacement, the need to protect them from harm, and the need to maintain and develop study skills and disseminate key messages such as how to avoid HIV/AIDS, landmine awareness, environmental education and education for peace and citizenship. All these are aspects of the rights of the child. A key principle for education in situations of emergency and crisis is a rapid response, using a community-based approach, with capacity-building through the training of teachers, youth leaders, and school management committees. Education should support durable solutions and should normally be based on the curriculum and languages of study of the area of origin. Formal and non-formal education should incorporate survival and peace-building messages and skills. Programmes must progressively promote the participation of underrepresented groups, including girls, adolescents, and persons with disability.

According to Nicolai (2003), bringing together children and adolescents for structured activities has a protection role in early emergencies and thereafter. Apart from revealing that some children have severe physical or mental health problems that need specialist attention, a serious attempt to bring all young persons into these activities may reveal children subject to abuse, such as harmful labour, exploitation of foster children for domestic labour (so that children of the household can attend school), and so on. Education can provide a constructive alternative for young people who might otherwise find their fulfilment in joining armed forces or militias, especially if confined to a refugee or IDP camp and without access to employment opportunities. Education is likewise a forward-looking activity that can lessen the incidence of alcohol and drug abuse, teenage pregnancies, prostitution, and so on.

Materials and Methods

The research was carried out in Narok County's Olposimoru District in Kenya (see Figure 1 for the location of the study area). Olposimoru forest is one of the areas covered by the Mau Forest Complex. The research was conducted through a descriptive case study. The target population for the study was the displaced secondary school students in the Narok North sub-county. Four schools were selected for this study through purposive sampling. A total of 96 students were selected as participants in the 4 schools; 25 students were sampled through snowballing techniques from each school. In each school, 8 students were selected using snowballing sampling from Forms 2, 3, and 4. The principals and class teachers of Forms 2, 3, and 4 were interviewed. In this study, the researcher used questionnaires and structured interviews. The raw data from the students' responses were organized, coded, and keyed into the SPSS computer program. This program generated percentages, frequency, and mean for the data. Interviews were organized based on the respondents' arguments.

The collected data were coded and analysed thematically. Descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and percentages, were used to analyse quantitative data. The participants' responses were interpreted to give meaning to their experiences, including phonological, social, emotional, and financial needs, which are critical in affecting educational experiences.



Educational Needs of Displaced High School Students

The research sought to establish the educational needs of displaced high school students in Olposimoru in Narok County. As a first step to achieving this objective, the respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with the statements on educational needs. The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Teachers' Perceived Educational Needs of Displaced High School Students

Variable		Yes	No	Do not know	Total
Do displaced students feel de-motivated academically?	F	20	4	2	26
	%	77	15	8	100
Displaced students do not seem to have enough time to do their homework.	F	19	4	3	26
	%	73	15	12	100
Displaced students need psychological counselling	F	25	1	0	26
	%	96	4	0	100
Guidance and counselling are held regularly to address the needs of displaced students	F	16	10	0	26
	%	62	38	0	100
Displaced students have a unique problem that destabilizes their schooling	F	18	6	2	26
	%	69	23	8	100
Do displaced students attend school regularly?	F	9	17	0	26
	%	35	65	0	100
Displaced students seem not have enough learning materials	F	19	4	3	26
	%	73	15	12	100
Displaced students tend to be anti-social when they are among others	F	19	4	3	26
	%	73	15	12	100
Displaced students who have not been counselled properly to cope with displacement deteriorate academically	F	24	2	0	26
	%	92	8	0	100
Most of the displaced students fear they will drop out of school because of a lack of basic needs.	F	19	5	2	26

From the findings, 77 percent of the teachers interviewed believed that displaced students feel de-motivated academically. An unstable psychological environment causes the learners to be demotivated. Another 96 percent of the teachers interviewed agreed that displaced students need psychological counselling. However, displaced students would deteriorate academically if they did not receive adequate counselling services. Moreover, 65 percent of the teachers said displaced students did not attend school regularly. This could be attributed to a lack of motivation by the student towards learning. However, 16 (62%) of the teachers said they held regular guidance and counselling sessions with displaced students, while 10 (38%) of teachers said they never held these sessions.

The teachers also reported that most displaced high school students (50%) performed below average. Of the teachers, 3 (12%) rated the findings as poor, 13 (50%) said their

performance was below average, and 10(38%) said it was average. The displaced students confirmed these views, with 90 percent of them agreeing that they never got sufficient time to study at home. They said that this challenge had resulted in their poor academic performance. Of all the respondents, 73 percent strongly agreed that displaced students lack adequate study time at home.

Table 2: Displaced Students' Responses on their Educational Needs

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF DISPLACED STUDENTS		Mean	Std Dev
1	I would feel motivated to be in school if we were not evicted.	4.34	0.85
2	Displaced pupils do not get sufficient study time at home.	4.28	0.95
3	At times, displaced pupils lose concentration or are absent-minded in class.	4.22	0.96
4	I need special support to get along with my friends.	4.19	1.02
5	Displaced students need psychological counselling to cope with trauma caused by forced eviction	4.19	1.12
6	I feel disturbed when my friends talk about forest evictions.	4.17	1.06
7	I find myself thinking about the demolition of our home in the forest.	4.07	1.26
8	We lost our source of livelihood after eviction.	4.07	1.20
9	Since I was evicted, I find it difficult to pay school fees.	4.06	1.21
10	Displaced pupils feel de-motivated to attend school.	4.04	1.12
11	I lost textbooks and school materials during the eviction	3.88	1.40
12	I have problems getting basic needs at home	3.86	1.26
13	I have a challenge coping with friends due to my status as an IDP person	3.47	1.36
14	Parents rarely visit displaced students to assess their academic performance.	3.41	1.26
15	At times, I feel like absenting myself from school because I feel demotivated.	3.37	1.45
16	Since I was displaced, I have performed poorly academically.	3.25	1.48
17	I sometimes receive basic needs from well-wishers to keep me in school.	3.15	1.52
18	I fear that displacement might occur in the future.	3.06	1.49
19	At times, I engage in small businesses to cater to my personal needs.	2.96	1.38
20	Since we were evicted, I have been receiving bursary from the government or well-wishers.	2.01	1.14

The study established that most respondents agreed with the statements provided, as indicated in Table 2. This was attested to by an overall mean range of 4.34 to 2.96, which stood for Strongly Agree or Agree (mean > 2.5). Students' motivational needs constituted displaced high school students' most desired educational need. The teachers averred that the students would feel more motivated to be in school if they were not in their displaced state. On the aspect of motivation, 50 (50%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 42 (42%) agreed, 4 (4%) were undecided, 3 (3%) disagreed, and 2 (1%) strongly disagreed, all of which had a mean of 4.34.

Financial needs were also an important variable in this objective. The respondents were thus asked to indicate the financial challenges they experienced due to displacement. A majority, 84 (83%) of the students' respondents agreed that they lost their sources of livelihood. They explained that this had affected their ability to pay the required school fees. On further probing, 50 percent of the respondents strongly agreed, 27 percent agreed, 5 percent were undecided, 14 percent disagreed, and 4 percent strongly disagreed that eviction had resulted in difficulties in paying school fees. The respondents also said that displacement had resulted in chronic absenteeism among displaced high school students. Even though the government of Kenya had subsidized secondary education, 65 percent of the teachers confirmed that displaced students did not attend school regularly due to difficulties in school fee payment and, more importantly, a lack of basic needs.

The above view was supported by the student respondents, of whom 42 percent strongly agreed, 30 percent agreed, 7 percent were undecided, 17 percent disagreed, and 5 percent strongly disagreed that displaced students experienced difficulties in getting basic needs at home. Of the teachers, 69 percent strongly agreed that displaced students had unique problems destabilizing their schooling. McKinney-Vento Act (US Congress, 2012) notes that for children and youth who are displaced by natural disasters, the destabilizing impact of losing a home is exacerbated by changing schools. Every time students are forced to change schools, the disruptive effects intensify, threatening the students' social, emotional, and academic well-being.

When the displaced students were asked if they feared future eviction, 19 percent strongly agreed, 31 percent agreed, 15 percent were undecided, 9 percent disagreed, and 27 percent strongly disagreed with a mean of 3.06. On the other hand, 73 percent of the teachers agreed that most of the displaced students feared they would drop out of school for lack of basic needs. Nevertheless, 19 percent thought that displaced students might not drop out of school due to displacement.

Socialization is a very important aspect of schooling. Displaced students tend to exhibit anti-social behaviour. In this study, 73 percent of the teachers agreed that displaced students tended to be anti-social around the school community. Such behaviours included the use of abusive language and shows of aggression. This anti-social behaviour was attributed to the stereotypes ascribed by the community to internally displaced persons. A majority (61%) of the students agreed that they had a challenge coping with friends due to their status as IDPs. Another group (78%) of the displaced students confirmed needing special support to get along with friends. They added that parents of displaced students rarely visited their children in school to assess their academic progress, as 55 percent of the students agreed that parents rarely visited them in school. However, 31 percent of the students reported that their parents regularly visited schools to assess their children's academic progress.

It has been observed that learning entails becoming someone with the abilities, tools, and resources needed to improve life (Scalon, 2011). This means that educational institutions require all the necessary equipment to support effective learning. In line with this, the study sought to ascertain the influence of forceful eviction on the infrastructure of educational institutions in the study area. From the research results, 48 (48%) strongly agreed, 27 (27%) agreed, 3 (3%) were undecided, 12 (12%) disagreed, and 11(11%) respondents strongly disagreed that their respective schools lost materials and equipment during eviction. The majority of the students and teachers said their schools had lost textbooks. The students could not provide report forms, medical reports, birth certificates, and exercise books because, as they reported, these materials had been destroyed during the eviction. The students further said that they found it difficult to enrol in new schools since the teachers in their former schools could not provide written evidence to confirm a student's actual level of education, as these materials had been lost.

The study also sought to establish whether or not displaced students had been provided with counselling services. Most respondents reported that the displaced students had not been counselled properly to cope with the challenges associated with displacement. Even though guidance and counselling services were provided in school, 42 percent of teachers agreed that the counselling was inadequate. Based on the above research findings, it is clear that most of the psychological needs of the displaced students had not been met in their new schools and communities.

Conclusions

Based on the study findings, it is clear that displaced students have varied educational needs in addition to their normal adolescent growth and development challenges. They mostly need psychological motivation and support. They also need money to pay school fees. Students also have other material and sociological needs, such as teaching and learning materials, housing, and a sense of family. The study provides an in-depth understanding of the schooling experiences of displaced high school students. It is evident that displaced high school students are struggling with unmet psychological, physiological, economic, and sociological needs. Although the school community can provide for the needs of displaced students, the needs are so numerous that various stakeholders require intervention.

The government should develop a realistic and sustainable approach to ensuring that displaced high school students continue with their schooling. Displaced students need financial support to sustain their stay in school. In a nutshell, the government's eviction should not disadvantage the schooling of high school students. Based on the issues that arose during this research, it is suggested that further research be conducted using survey design to establish the effect of armed displacement on the socialization process of high school students.

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The Efficacy of Individual e Peer Mentorship Services on Mental Health among University Students Engaging in Transactional Sex in Laikipia University

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Abstract

Food insecurity is associated with increased sexual risk through transactional sex and lack of ability to negotiate safer sex. Food insecurity is associated with HIV acquisition risks through behavioural (e.g., Transactional sex) and mental health (e.g., alcohol use, depression) pathways. Food insecurity has also been associated with increased sexual risk practices among HIV-positive youth in sub-Saharan Africa (Aberman et al., 2014). Most university students in low or middle-income countries face many financial problems, leading them to Transactional Sex (TS) for survival, which creates challenges in their academic progress and mental health. This behavioural trend has been a significant cry by parents and other stakeholders in towns and suburbs with university campuses around them. The purpose of this study was to determine individual e-peer mentorship services on the mental health among university students engaging in transactional sex in Laikipia University. The research team recruited and trained 20 peer mentors to empower 20 university students (18-24yrs) who engage in transactional sex to improve mental health literacy and for sustainable psycho-social status. Peer relations, counselling, communication, and social skills were imparted under the guidance of research experts. The peer mentor trainees underwent the e-Peer Mentorship Model training. The research team developed indicators that were used to rate the targeted outputs and outcomes from time to time. To track the progress in behavioural change, the research undertook a baseline survey of the mental issues affecting female students engaging in TS. The study undertook mid-term and end-of-project evaluations to establish differences in mental health issues affecting mentees over the project lifespan. The programme is expected to benefit students by providing them with counselling skills, communication skills, entrepreneurship skills, social skills, and Information Communication Technology skills. The model may be used by universities and other tertiary institutions in handling issues of transactional sex.

Keywords: e-Peer mentorship, mental health, referral services, self-efficacy, transactional sex

Introduction

University students who engage in Transactional Sex (TS) frequently face mental health issues as well as physiological and psychological burdens. Students at higher levels of education often choose to engage in TS as a strategy for coping with various issues in their lives, such as ameliorating economic shocks arising from the high cost of living. Adolescent girls and young women (AGYW) in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are at a high risk of HIV acquisition. In East and Southern Africa, AGYW accounts for 80 percent of all new HIV infections (Lancet, 2020). Food insecurity, defined as ‘the limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate, safe foods, or the inability to acquire personally acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways’, is an important underlying driver of HIV risk and vulnerability among AGYW. Food insecurity is associated with higher sexual risk-taking behaviour, sexually transmitted infections (STIs),

and even prevalent HIV (Pascoe et al., 2015). Food insecurity also impedes appropriate healthcare-seeking behaviour for reproductive health.

According to research by Miller et al. (2011), some women said that their male sexual partners would withhold access to food in order to regulate the circumstances surrounding sex, including the timing. The fact that many women relied on their spouses for food caused many of them to remain in dangerously violent or abusive situations. This was especially true for women who had children and lived far from relatives who could help them. Women were unable to successfully negotiate condom use due to their lack of control; many of them reported being threatened with losing access to food or even violence if they insisted on using condoms. Female sex workers with HIV similarly identified food insecurity as a barrier to condom usage in a qualitative study from Swaziland (Fielding-Miller et al., 2014). Despite hunger, customers frequently offered to pay more for sex without using a condom. Many of the ladies thought that not using a condom during sex was how they got HIV. Similar effects of food insecurity on the ability to demand protection during sexual encounters were revealed in the qualitative study carried out in San Francisco, California (Whittle et al., 2015). Additionally, women described how their experiences with transactional sex occasionally compelled them to put their safety at risk by having interactions with clients they did not feel comfortable with.

It is important to consider the setting in which women suffer food insecurity (Aberman et al., 2015). This involves funding initiatives that strengthen women's legal, social, and economic rights, especially those that advance or secure their property and inheritance rights with food aid and income generation (Hardee et al., 2014). In order to strengthen women's legal and social rights and provide them with more economic power, it is also necessary to determine which initiatives and programmes work best (such as cash transfers, microfinance, vocational training, and skills development).

Transactional sex is a non-marital relationship motivated by an implicit assumption that sex will be exchanged for material support or other benefits (UNAIDS, 2018). Statistics on the number of students engaging in transactional sex is limited, but studies carried out indicate an increase in the practice among students. In a survey carried out in the United Kingdom involving 6750 students, 5 percent of men and 3.5 percent of women said they had worked in the sex industry, and nearly 22 percent considered doing so.

The choice of the e-peer-mentorship approach in mitigating transactional sex is informed by several empirical studies that have found peer mentorship interventions to be more effective in behaviour change management. DuBois and Felner (2016) found that behaviour change interventions modelled along peer-mentorship yields better results than traditional approaches. The authors attributed the greater success of peer-mentorship change interventions to the insight and expertise of survivors of behaviour change (DuBois & Felner, 2016). Moreover, a study by Smith (2014) found that victims of anti-social behaviour view their own peers as being more credible, having a better understanding of their concerns, have a sense of responsibility to their peer group, and are more likely to model the behaviour of peers than adults (Smith, 2014). Furthermore, Gotian (2016) observes that peer mentorship focuses on the needs of the victims of anti-social behaviour rather than the roles, expectations, or desires of the individual or organization(s) intervening. Household-level interventions that target both poverty and food insecurity may offer many advantages over individual-centred approaches in reducing sexual risk-taking. This is because household-level interventions address the context for risk behaviour.

The purpose of this study was, therefore, to determine the individual e Peer mentorship services for improved food security on mental health among university students engaging in transactional sex in Laikipia University.

Research Methodology

An ex post facto causal-comparative research design was used in this study. This type of study design examines things that have already happened and cannot be changed by the researcher. Ex post facto study design is a technique for uncovering the causes of events after they have already occurred and cannot be designed or manipulated by the researcher. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), this strategy is especially appropriate in social, educational, and psychological situations when the independent variable or factors are uncontrollable by the researcher. The participants in this study were undergraduates at a leading public university in Kenya who were involved in transactional sex. The female students of this public university were the study's target demographic.

The study concentrated on the impact of individual e-peer mentoring services on the mental health of university students who engaged in transactional sex at the university in order to increase food security. Participants for the study were chosen with purpose. Utilizing questionnaires and an interview schedule, research data was gathered. The research team recruited and trained 20 peer mentors to empower 20 university students (17-24yrs) who engaged in transactional sex to improve mental health literacy and for sustainable psycho-social status. Peer relations, counselling, communication, and social skills were imparted under the guidance of research experts. It was anticipated that there would be 60 percent improved access to mental health literacy and behaviour change in the mentees, which would be monitored and upscaled universally.

The study adopted the Peer Mentorship Model as an Innovation. The model comprised the following components; intervention strategies, training, monitoring, and advocacy. Training and supervision were critical components of the peer mentorship model. Training began with pioneer mentors for the reformed transactional sex practitioners with lived experience. However, training continued throughout the project. This model recognised that to be effective, peer mentors needed training on how to support mentors and have mastery of the contents of intervention strategies as well as subjects under study.

E-Peer mentorship training was structured to cover three important areas; namely, subject, intervention strategies, and leadership skills. Subject training equipped mentors with critical information about transactional sex, notably the causes, forms, and consequences of transactional sex. Training on intervention strategies covered the various interventions the project needed to adopt to mitigate transactional sex. These were psychological, sociological, and financial interventions. Leadership training aimed at equipping mentors with skills that helped them thrive in the mentor role, such as problem-solving, communication, interpersonal, relationship-building, and maintenance skills.

Results and Discussion

The study collected data from a sample of 35 student mentors and 35 student mentees. Table 1 presents the profile of the respondents.

Table 1: Respondents' Profile

Demographic Trait	Categories	Mentor N (%)	Mentee N (%)
Age	18-20	1 (2.9)	11 (31.4)
	21-23	32 (91.4)	21 (60.0)
	24-26	2 (5.7)	2 (5.7)
	Above 27	0 (0.0)	1 (2.9)
Year of Study	Year 1	0 (0.0)	10 (28.6)
	Year 2	4 (11.4)	11 (31.4)
	Year 3	19 (54.3)	8 (22.9)
	Year 4	12 (34.3)	6 (17.1)
Being a student counsellor	No	0 (0.0)	17 (48.6)
	Yes	35 (100.0)	18 (51.4)
Duration as a peer counsellor	NA	0 (0.0)	17 (48.6)
	< 6 months	12 (34.3)	6 (17.1)
	6month-1 year	17 (48.6)	7 (20.0)
	1-3 years	4 (11.4)	3 (8.6)
	3 years or above	2 (5.7)	2 (5.7)

Most of the mentors (91.4%) were in the 21-23 age bracket, as opposed to 60 percent of the mentees in this age bracket. Another 31.4 percent of the mentees were in the 18-20 age bracket. These results suggest that, on average, the mentees are younger than the mentors, but most students in both groups fall between the ages of 18 and 23. The mentors were more experienced in university life than the student mentees.

More than half (54.3%) of the student mentors were year 3 students, 34.3 percent were year 4 students, and the remaining 11.4 percent were year 2 students. On the other hand, 31.4 percent of student mentees were in their second year of study, 28.6 percent were in the first year, 22.9 percent were in the third year, and 17.1 percent were in the fourth year. These findings suggest that most student mentors were in the advanced years of their studies, while most mentees were in the early years of their studies.

All students' mentors were peer counsellors, hence their selection for the student mentor sample. About 51.4 percent of mentees also became student mentors after benefitting from the peer mentorship service, while the remaining 48.6 percent had not served as peer counsellors at the time of this study. These results suggest that most of the respondents had close interaction with the peer mentorship programme and are thus privy to information regarding its effect on the mental health of University Students Engaging in Transactional Sex (USETs).

Close to half (48.6%) of the student mentors had served as peer counsellors from 6 months to 1 year, while 34.3 percent had served for less than 6 months. About 11 percent had served for 1-3 years, while 5.7 percent had served for over 3 years. The study findings agree with research by Santos and Reigadas (2002), who found that relationships with mentors can broaden students' awareness about the resources available to successfully cope with demanding academic conditions and increase self-competence and self-efficacy. Besides, this research also proved that mentoring programmes facilitate students to set better academic goals. The frequency of contact with mentors has a positive relationship with students' adjustment to college life. This finding proved that a mentor appeared to be a person who can help and facilitate a student's personal and academic adaptation to college life by providing emotional support (Santos & Reigadas, 2002).

e-Peer Mentorship Platform

A wide range of digital platforms can be used for e-counselling. These include WhatsApp, YouTube, Facebook, X, Instagram, Telegram, and Email, among others. The study sought to establish the e-mentorship platform used by both the mentor and mentees in the USET programme. Table 2 summarizes this information.

Table 2: Mode of Mentorship Used

Mode of Mentorship	Mentor N (%)	Mentee N (%)
WhatsApp	34 (97.1)	28 (80.0)
Instagram	9 (25.7)	18 (51.4)
'X'	1 (2.9)	2 (5.7)
Facebook	11 (31.4)	6 (17.1)
Tiktok	1 (2.9)	3 (8.6)

Results in Table 2 show that WhatsApp was the most highly utilized platform for e-mentorship, with 97.1 percent of mentors and 80 percent of mentees reporting using this platform. This finding is consistent with Altarawneh and Alomoush (2022), who observed that WhatsApp was a popular e-counselling platform among students in public universities in Jordan because it is accessible to many students. It is also easy to use, unlike other platforms like YouTube, which require a lot of data and video equipment. WhatsApp also has a privacy element, unlike Channels like YouTube. In Kenya, it is estimated that 97 percent of internet users use WhatsApp at least once a month (Bayhack, 2021).

Facebook was the second most highly utilized platform by the sampled mentors at 31.4 percent, followed by Instagram at 25.7 percent. On the other hand, Instagram was the second most highly utilized platform by the Mentees at 51.4 percent, followed by Facebook at 17.1 percent. Although there is a difference in the order of ranking of the two platforms by mentors and mentees, results suggest that these two platforms are also widely utilized for e-counselling. These results are consistent with several surveys showing that Facebook was the second most frequently used social media platform in Kenya, with 89.6 percent of the respondents reporting its usage. The third most utilized was Instagram at 69.4 percent, while WhatsApp took the first position at 93.5 percent.

Twitter was unpopular, with 2.9 percent of the mentors and 5.7 percent of the mentees reporting its usage. TikTok also reported low usage, with 2.9 percent of mentors and 8.6 percent of mentees reporting it. The low usage may be attributed to the low proliferation of these platforms when compared to WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram.

Most Effective Mode of E-Mentorship

Given the sensitive nature of the problem that the USET programme sought to address, some e-mentorship platforms are bound to be more effective than others. The study sought to establish the e-mentorship platform that the respondents found to be most effective. Table 3 summarizes the respondents' views.

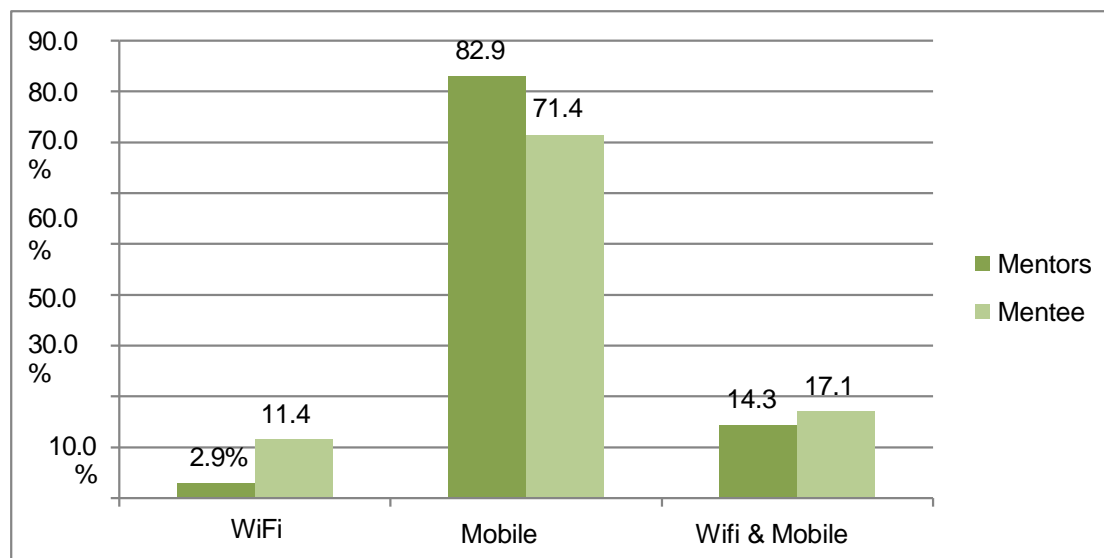
Table 3: Most Effective E-Mentorship Platform

Mode of Mentorship	Mentor N (%)	Mentee N (%)
WhatsApp	30 (85.7)	25 (71.4)
Instagram	3 (8.6)	4 (11.4)
'X'	0 (0.0)	1 (2.9)
Facebook	4 (11.4)	5 (14.3)
Tiktok	0 (0.0)	(0.0)

Results in Table 3 show that 85.7 percent of the student mentors and 71.4 percent of the student mentees felt that WhatsApp was the most effective mode of E-Mentorship. Although the study did not ask respondents to give reasons for this choice, it can be presumed that the WhatsApp platform is preferred because of its wide reach and ease of use. Facebook came in second, with 11.4 percent of mentors and 14.3 percent of mentees picking this platform as the most effective. Instagram was third, with 8.6 percent of mentors and 11.4 percent of the mentees picking this option, while Twitter was fourth, with only 1 mentee picking this option, representing 2.9 percent of the sample. No respondents felt that TikTok was an effective option. This is probably because TikTok content is always public and, therefore, unsuitable for discussing sensitive issues like transaction sex.

Means of Internet Connection

Internet connectivity is vital to the success of any e-mentorship programme. Mentors and mentees can connect to the Internet through Wi-Fi, fibre optic broadband, mobile data, and satellite broadband. The study sought to establish the means mentors and mentees in the USET programmes used to connect to the Internet. Figure 1 summarizes this information.

**Fig. 1: Means of Internet Connection**

Results in Figure 1 show that mobile data bundles were the most popular means of connecting to the internet by both the mentors and mentees, with 82.9 percent of the mentors and 71.4 percent of the mentees reporting using this means. These findings are consistent with a survey by UNESCO which established that 98 percent of internet users in Kenya connect to

the internet through mobile data. Although mobile data is quite accessible in Kenya, it can be expensive, especially among university students.

About 3 percent of mentors and 11.4 percent of mentees reported using Wi-Fi. Low usage of this means of internet connection is largely attributed to the unavailability of internet services in most of the students' locations. About 14 percent of mentors and 17 percent of mentees reported using Wi-Fi and mobile data. It is possible that these students use Wi-Fi when they are in locations where Wi-Fi networks are available and revert to mobile data when they move to areas with no Wi-Fi network.

Convenient Time for E-Mentorship

Picking appropriate time for peer counselling is vital to the success of e-mentorship programmes. The study sought to establish the time the mentors and mentees found to be most convenient for e-mentorship activities. Figure 2 summarizes the respondents' views.

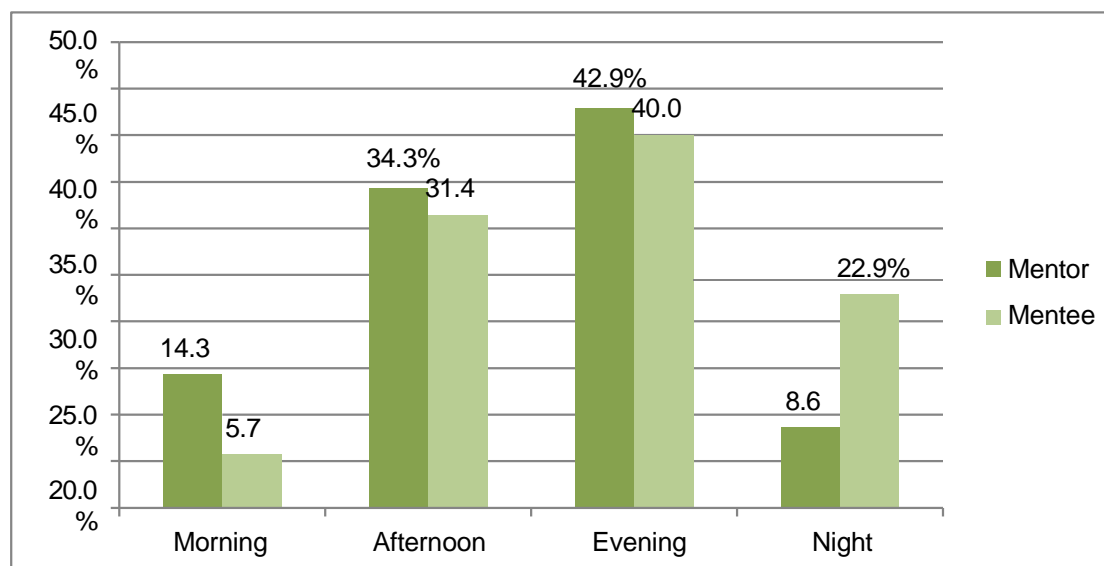


Fig. 2: Respondents' View on The Most Convenient Time

About 43 percent of the mentors and 40 percent of the mentees believed that evening was the most convenient time for e-mentorship. These findings suggest that evening is the most preferred time for e-mentorship aimed at preventing USET. The findings are consistent with Cronin et al. (2021), who observed that students in an American public university preferred appointment times after 4.00 pm because this was the time when most of them were free. About 34 percent of the mentors and 31 percent of the mentees said that afternoon was their most convenient time, which suggests that many students affected by USET at the university under study are free during afternoon hours. About 8 percent of mentors and 22.9 percent of mentees preferred night hours. While most students are often free during night hours, it is evident that most students do not prefer to hold peer counselling sessions at this time. Morning hours are the least preferred time.

Factors Contributing to Transactional Sex

The study sought the respondents' views regarding factors contributing to the high prevalence of transaction sex among university students. Several themes emerged from the responses. Figure 3 summarizes these themes.

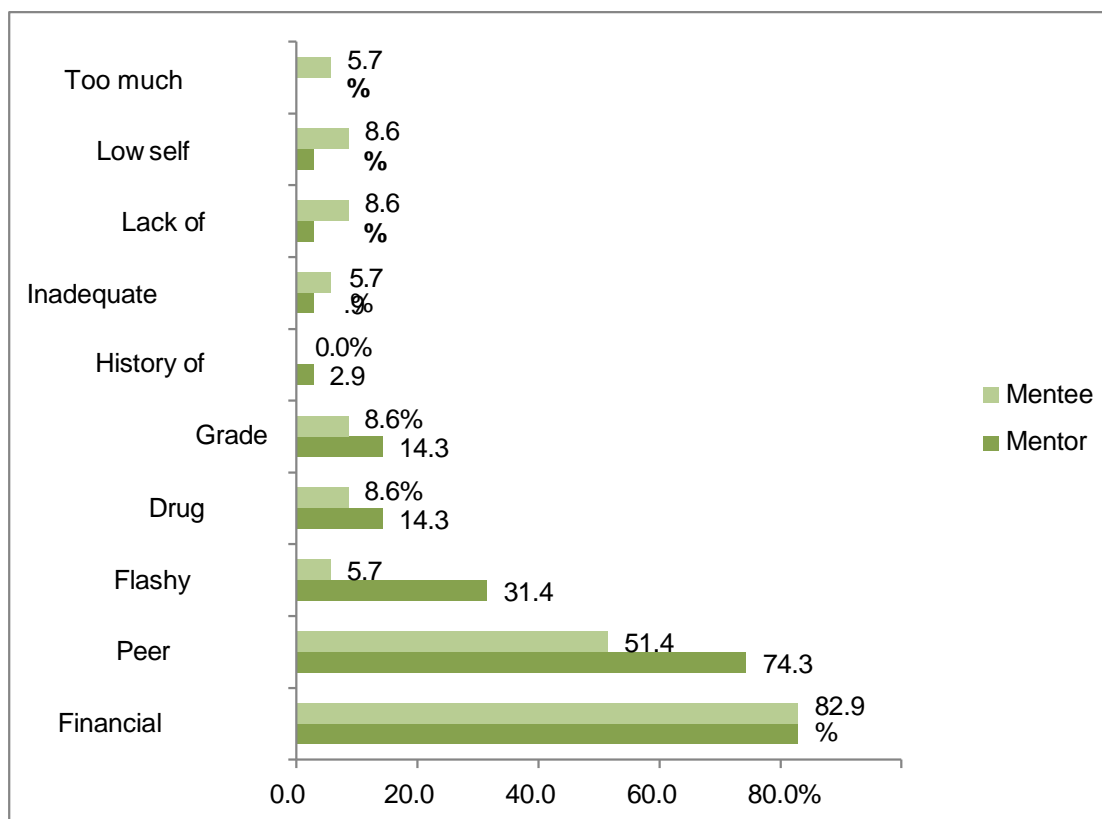


Fig. 3: Factors Promoting Transactional Sex

The most frequently occurring theme was financial difficulty, with 82.9 percent of both the mentor and the mentee sample citing this as one of the factors promoting transaction sex among university students. The respondents explained that most students engage in transaction sex because they experience financial difficulties and, hence, are unable to access basic needs like food, rent, and sanitary towels. Lack of basic needs leads to desperation that compels these students to engage in transaction sex to get money for upkeep. Some respondents connected the issue of financial difficulties to the students' family backgrounds, noting that some of the USET come from humble backgrounds. These students have to engage in transactional sex in order to get money for school fees and upkeep. Other respondents noted that financial difficulties experienced by students have been exacerbated by the escalating cost of living characterized by drastic increases in the cost of foodstuff, power, and transport.

Statistics on the number of students engaging in transaction sex is limited, but studies carried out indicate an increase in the practice among students. In a study carried out in the United Kingdom involving 6750 students, 5 percent of men and 3.5 percent of women said they had worked in the sex industry, and nearly 22 percent considered doing so.

The second most frequently appearing theme was peer pressure, with 74.3 percent of mentors and 51.4 percent of mentees identifying this as a major contributor to transactional sex. The respondents explained that some students engage in transactional sex in order to get the money that will enable them to fit in with their peers' lifestyles. This explanation led to the extraction of a third theme: flashy lifestyle. According to 31.4 percent of mentors and 5.7 percent of mentees, some of the USET are driven by the desire to get money to sustain a flashy lifestyle to fit in with their peers from wealthy backgrounds. These students tend to use the money they get from transactional sex to purchase luxury items like expensive phones or finance partying activities. According to Turner and Philip (2011), more students are turning to the streets to fund their studies and meet their basic needs, including food.

According to Turner and Philip (2011), more female university students turn to the streets to fund their studies, enjoy themselves, and live decent lives. The study findings further articulate that peer pressure, lack of awareness of sex education, poor parental guidance, and a culture that promotes promiscuity are the main causes of female promiscuity in the university. Social change, accompanied by a lack of parental support and guidance, leaves young boys and girls unprepared for the complexities of sexual relationships (Wamoyi & Wight, 2014). Young boys and girls get exposed to societal activities, which later influence their mental health status. Transactional sex is practised in search of food and other basic needs. Lack of food poses food security issues among the students in higher learning institutions.

It was found that 14.3 percent of mentors and 8.6 percent of mentees believed that substance abuse is also to blame for the prevalence of USET. According to these respondents, students engage in transactional sex in order to get money to purchase drugs. About 14 percent of mentors and 8.6 percent of mentees linked USET behaviour to students' pursuit of better grades. These students noted that the issue of missing marks is rampant at the university and tends to make female students vulnerable to exploitation by instructors, where they are asked to engage in sex in exchange for grades. Some students engage in sex to receive improved grades on units in which they have underperformed.

About 3 percent of the mentors link USET habit to a history of abuse, while 2.9 percent of mentors and 8.6 percent of mentees link it to low self-esteem. The two themes (historical abuse and low self-esteem) are interconnected, as historical abuse can lead to low self-esteem. Low self-esteem could also result from lacking basic commodities like decent clothes and sanitary towels. Other factors that were identified include inadequate awareness regarding the dangers of transactional sex, lack of values, and excess freedom among students.

Measures for Preventing Transactional Sex

The study also sought respondents' views regarding measures that should be implemented to prevent transactional sex among university students. Several themes that included counselling, education, and awareness emerged.

Results in Figure 4 show that counselling was the most frequently occurring theme, with 68.6 percent of mentees and 42.9 percent of mentors recommending this solution. Counselling entails providing students with systematic assistance and guidance on resolving their personal problems. These respondents expressed the need to assist and guide students in resolving personal issues such as inadequate access to basic needs, peer pressure, and missing marks. This position is reinforced in the study by Saripah and Naghirah (2020), who observed that guidance and counselling were effective strategies for promoting healthy sexual behaviours among high school students in West Java province in Indonesia.

The second most frequently occurring theme is education and awareness. About 46 percent of mentors and 31 percent of mentees felt that transaction sex could be minimized by educating and creating awareness among students on various issues. These issues include the dangers of irresponsible sex, ethical ways of generating income without compromising studies, good study habits for improving grades, and prudent financial management. Online platforms such as WhatsApp videos, Facebook Live, TikTok, Instagram, Telegram, and YouTube can be used to facilitate education and awareness programmes.

The third most frequently occurring theme was financial support, with 17.1 percent of mentors and 28.6 percent of mentees recommending this solution. According to these respondents, transactional sex can be prevented by providing financial support to needy students in the form of bursaries and scholarships. This recommendation is founded on the premise that it is poverty that drives students into transactional sex. About 17 percent of mentees and 3 percent of mentors also recommended that guardians should be advised to provide adequate finances to students. One of the respondents recommended that the university

should communicate the minimum amount that guardians should give to their children to ensure they are able to meet their basic needs and learn. This premise is supported by studies conducted in Kenya by Jones and Gong (2018) and Handa et al. (2014) on the impacts of financial incentives on TS, which found that financial incentives led to reductions in TS as a risk-coping response to shocks.

About 8.6 percent of mentors and mentees recommended establishing strict rules governing students' conduct, student movement, class attendance, and student-lecturer relations. Other recommended measures include co-curriculum activities such as sports to keep students busy, promoting income-generating activities to augment students' finances, campaigns against substance abuse, spiritual intervention, a work-study programme, and monitoring the award of grades. Figure 4 summarises these themes.

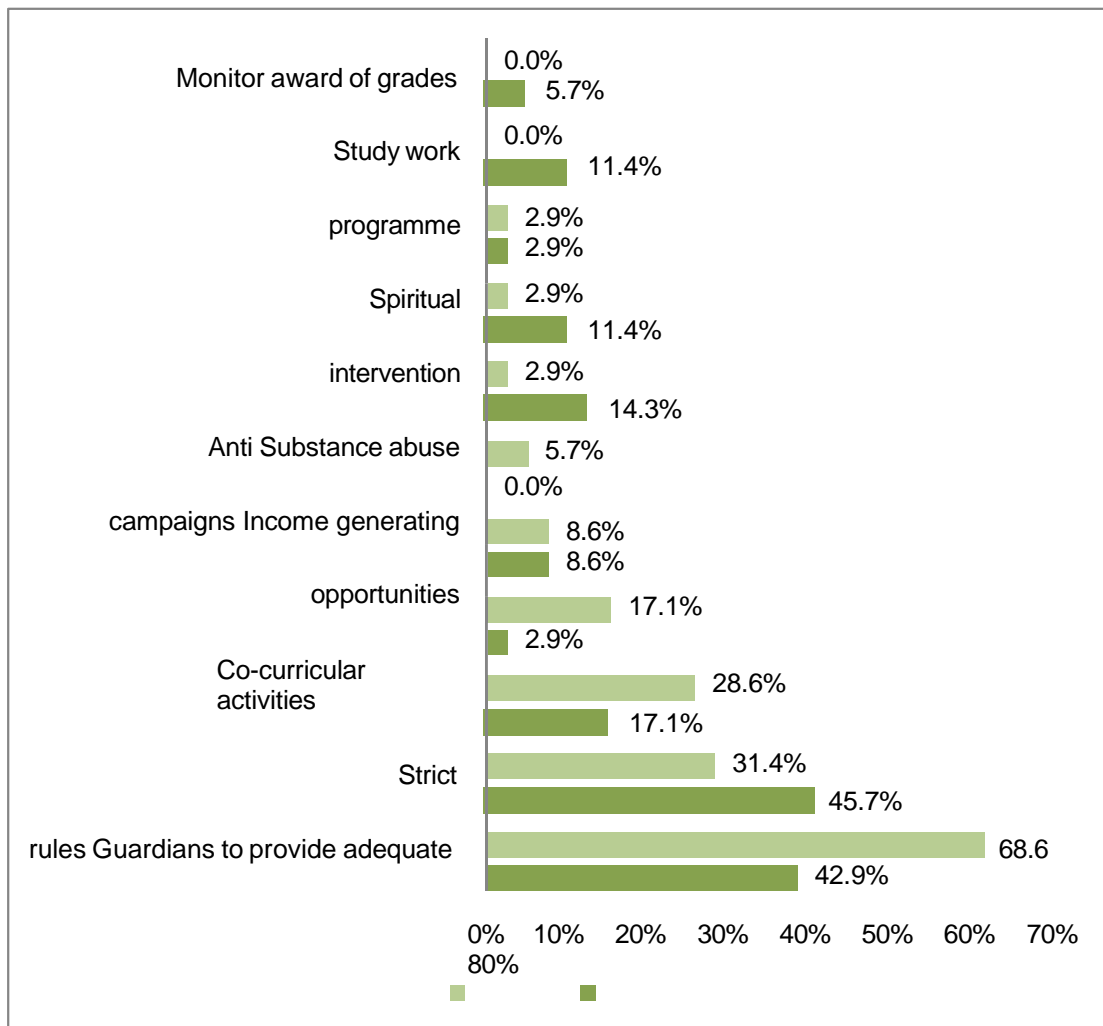


Fig. 4: Measures for Preventing Transactional Sex

Individual E-peer Mentorship Services and USET Mental Health

The study sought the mentors' views regarding the influence of individual e-peer mentorship services on the mental health of USET. The mentors were presented with a set of 9 statements related to this issue and asked to indicate their agreement with each on a five-point scale: 1- Strongly Disagree, 2-Disagree, 3- Neutral, 4-Agree, 5- Strongly Agree. Table 4 summarizes the mentors' views.

Table 4: Individual E-Peer Mentorship and USET Mental Health

Statements	Respondent	1	2	3	4	5
-Individual e-peer mentorship programmes are effective when using social media	Mentor	0.0	8.6	11.4	54.3	25.7
	Mentee	5.7	8.6	20.0	31.4	34.3
-Individual e-peer mentorship programme offered at Laikipia University is effective in reducing pregnancies among students	Mentor	11.4	17.1	31.4	25.7	14.3
	Mentee	5.7	25.2	14.3	31.4	22.9
-The individual e-peer mentorship programme offered at Laikipia University is effective in reducing abortions among students	Mentor	17.1	14.3	37.3	20.0	11.4
	Mentee	14.3	17.1	28.6	25.7	14.3
-The individual e-peer mentorship programme offered at Laikipia University is effective in reducing substance abuse among students	Mentor	8.6	11.4	25.7	31.4	22.9
	Mentee	14.3	8.6	20.0	34.3	22.9
-Individual e-peer mentorship programmes improve mental health among student	Mentor	0.0	2.9	14.3	31.4	51.4
	Mentee	5.7	5.7	11.4	20.0	57.1
-After attending individual e-peer mentorship sessions, mentees cannot go back to transactional sex	Mentor	5.7	22.9	22.9	31.4	17.1
	Mentee	11.4	28.6	20.0	28.6	11.4
-After attending individual e-peer mentorship sessions, mentees have the confidence to mentor other students	Mentor	0.0	2.9	20.0	31.4	45.7
	Mentee	5.7	5.7	17.1	40.0	31.4
-Individual e peer mentorship sessions are effective in sexual behaviour change	Mentor	2.9	2.9	31.4	34.3	28.6
	Mentee	5.7	5.7	20.0	31.4	37.1
-Individual e-peer mentorship sessions are effective in dealing with other mental issues.	Mentor	5.7	0.0	20.0	25.7	48.6
	Mentee	8.6	5.7	8.6	28.6	48.6

Results in Table 4 illustrate that 54.3 percent of mentors agreed and 25.7 percent strongly agreed that the individual e-peer mentorship programme is effective using social media. Similarly, 31.4 percent of the mentees agreed, and 34.3 percent strongly agreed with this statement. These findings imply that there is a general agreement by both mentors and mentees that individual e-peer mentorship is effective when using social media. These findings are consistent with Giota and Kleftara (2014), who found that social media creates an environment that promotes thorough self-disclosure and is, therefore, an effective tool for fostering intimate conversation with clients.

The largest section of the mentors either agreed (25.7%) or strongly agreed (14.3%) with the assertion that the individual e-peer mentorship programme offered in the university under study effectively reduces pregnancies among students. However, this is a sizeable section of these respondents (31.4%) who were not sure about this claim, while nearly a quarter of the sample either disagreed (17.1%) or strongly disagreed (11.4%) with the claim. These findings imply that mentors had varied opinions regarding the effectiveness of e-peer mentorship in

addressing pregnancies among students. However, most mentees either agreed (31.4%) or strongly agreed (22.9) that e-peer mentorship programmes reduce pregnancies among students. More studies are needed to elucidate the effectiveness of individual e-peer mentorship in reducing pregnancies.

The opinion of both mentors and mentees was sharply divided regarding the effectiveness of individual e-peer mentorship programmes offered in the university under study in reducing abortions among students. Almost one-third of the mentors either strongly disagreed (17.1) or disagreed (14.3) with the assertion that e-peer mentorship has reduced abortion. A further 37.3 percent were unsure, while the rest either agreed (20%) or strongly agreed (11.4%) with the assertion. Similarly, 14.3 percent strongly disagreed with the mentees, another 17.1 percent disagreed with the assertion, 28.6 percent were uncertain about the claim, and 40 percent supported the claim. More studies are therefore needed to clarify the effectiveness of individual e-peer mentorship in reducing abortion.

On the other hand, the majority of mentors (54.3%) and the majority of the mentees (57.2) supported the position that the individual e-peer mentorship programme offered in the university under study effectively reduces substance abuse among students. These findings suggest that individual e-peer mentorship is a potent tool for addressing the substance abuse challenge among university students.

In addition, most mentors (82.8%) and most mentees (77.1%) were positive that the Individual e-peer mentorship programme improves mental health among students. These findings support the position that individual e-peer mentorship is an effective tool for addressing mental health issues of students, particularly those engaging in transactional sex.

The opinions of both mentors and mentees were, however, divided regarding the effectiveness of individual e-peer mentorship in preventing mentees from going back to transactional sex. About 28.6 percent of mentors felt that the individual e-peer mentorship was ineffective in achieving this goal, while 22.9 percent were unsure and 48.5 percent were positive. On the other hand, 40 percent of the mentees believed that e-peer mentorship was ineffective in stopping transaction sex, another 40 percent were of the contrary opinion, and 20 percent were indecisive. These findings suggest the need for additional research to clarify the effectiveness of individual e-peer mentorship sessions in addressing transactional sex.

Most mentors (77.1%) and most mentees (71.4%) supported the statement that after attending individual e-peer mentorship sessions, mentees have the confidence to mentor other students. This finding implies that individual e-peer mentorship is an effective tool for nurturing students who can act as mentors to other students. Similarly, most mentors (62.9%) and the majority of the mentee (68.5%) agreed that individual e-peer mentorship sessions are effective in sexual behaviour change. Most mentors (74.3%) and most mentees (77.2%) agreed that individual e-peer mentorship sessions effectively deal with other mental issues.

Finally, most mentors (74.3%) and mentees (65.7%) agreed that e-peer mentorship programmes should be blended with traditional face-to-face peer mentorship programmes. This finding is consistent with the observations of Schuster et al. (2018), who noted that Austrian psychotherapists preferred blended interventions (combined with in-person components) to exclusively online interventions. Blended interventions were preferred because they helped the therapist overcome the limitations of online interventions, such as privacy threats and technological barriers.

Results showed that most of the peer counselling sessions were conducted via the WhatsApp platform mainly because it was the most accessible. Most of the mentors and mentees relied on mobile data to connect to the internet. This suggests that costs could be a barrier to the effectiveness of this model. Mentees and mentors found both the individual and group e-peer mentorship programme to be effective in improving the mental health of students

engaging in transactional sex. Results also suggest that both individual and group e-peer mentorship sessions are effective in reducing substance abuse and nurturing mentors.

Results further showed that e-peer mentors are adequately trained and have adequate supervisor support. However, available data did not support the effectiveness of individual or group e-peer mentorship in reducing pregnancies and abortions among university students. There are also doubts regarding the existence of an elaborate referral system that would enable students experiencing problems to reach the e-peer mentors. Results suggest the need for improvement in these areas.

Conclusions

Transaction sex is a significant problem in Kenyan universities. This problem is largely fuelled by financial difficulties experienced by students, peer influence, and the desire to maintain a flashy lifestyle. E-peer mentorship has been proposed as one of the solutions for addressing this challenge. The respondents also support the blending of e-peer mentorship with traditional in-person peer mentorship. An e-Peer Mentorship Model was implemented at the university under study. This study sought to determine the effectiveness of this model for improved food security in improving mental health among students engaging in transactional sex at the university.

It is recommended that university students be sensitized to the use of e-peer mentorship services for improved mental health. e-peer mentors should be given psychosocial support after e-peer mentorship sessions to prevent compassion fatigue and burnout. To improve university student mental health, e-peer mentorship should be blended with traditional in-person peer mentorship.

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From Reproductive Rights to Sexual Rights: Contesting Abortion Politics in Kenya, 1963-2015

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Abstract

The abortion debate in Kenya has been a contentious issue for decades, with the recent lifting of a ban on Marie Stopes, a global charity offering abortion services, highlighting its urgency. This paper examines how transnational advocacy and local narratives have shaped the discourse around legalizing safe abortion in Kenya. It explores the historical trajectory of this struggle, from the post-independence period to international milestones such as the 1975 International Decade for Women, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, the Beijing *Plus 5* conference, and the Maputo Protocol. The analysis underscores the role of foreign influence, particularly from Britain, the USA, and Scandinavian nations, in introducing new models of sexual governance and nationalism. By employing a multidisciplinary approach, this study investigates how abortion discourses have been constructed, contested, and transformed, navigating the tensions between tradition and modernity. The findings argue that external advocacy and local efforts have been pivotal in advancing human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in Kenya.

Keywords: Abortion politics, gender, Kenya, reproductive rights, sexual rights

Introduction

By the turn of the Twentieth Century, almost every nation classified abortion as a felony, with a few Western countries including limited exceptions for medical emergencies and cases of rape and incest. Nevertheless, the commonality of abortions did not become a hotly contested political issue until the inception of the women's liberation movement and the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. These movements brought about renewed interest in public discussions about reproductive rights, family planning, and access to legal and safe abortion services (Klugman, 2000).

In 1962, the story of Sherri Finkbine, the local Phoenix, Arizona host of the children's programme, 'Romper Room' became national news. Finkbine, who had four children, had taken a drug, thalidomide, before she realized she was pregnant with her fifth child. Worried that the drug could cause severe birth defects, she tried to get an abortion in her home state, Arizona, but could not. She then travelled to Sweden for a legal abortion. Finkbine's story is credited with helping to shift public opinion on abortion and was central to a growing national and international call for abortion reform laws (Campbell, 1999).

In 1967, Colorado became the first state in the US to legalize abortion in cases of rape, incest, or if the pregnancy would cause permanent physical disability to the birth parent. By the time 'Maude's Dilemma' aired, abortion was legal under specific circumstances in twenty US states, and a rapid growth in the number of pro- and anti-abortion organizations had occurred in the 1960s and 1970s (Steans & Ahmadi, 2005).

The 1990s ushered in a new era in Africa. The Cold War was ending, and it significantly altered not only the African political landscape but also monumental social and economic

structures. Monumental, not only because of the drastic restructuring of social, economic, and political spaces but also because of the introduction of new forms of social and political actors (Miyoshi, 2000). These changes were driven greatly by the developments in the global system, particularly the demise of the Soviet Union as a nation and superpower, the triumph of the market, and, more importantly, the end of the Cold War. The latter eliminated traditional Cold War-inspired support by the West and Soviet Block of the authoritarian leaders whose excesses were accommodated at the expense of the populace (Olukoshi, 1998). Such developments accompanied the liberalisation of the African economies, free movements of people and ideas, and opening of new markets for Western commodities ensured and, as such, fast altering the social sphere in which the youth were to be trapped for the next two decades (Smerdon, 2008).

Behind this global praxis was the growing internationalisation of sexual rights and identities, the women's movement, and increasing demands for basic equality, just as it lies behind the escalation of effective new sexual orientation in many urban areas of Africa. Kenya's growing commercial sector and its public have embraced global changes, reaching the pinnacle of capitalism today. It has become a preserve or marketplace of sexual information, enticing eager audiences with expert ratio programmes, newspaper gossip columns, and foreign romance novels. Western pornographic films and the expansion of the sexual marketplace serve to codify the category of youth further as development agents and commercial advertisements seek to appeal to and shape their young audience (Ginsburg, 1995).

Western Discourse and Abortion Debate

Since the 1990s, governments, International NGOs, and transnational coalitions have been the central advocates and implementers of the politics of reproduction and, to a somewhat lesser degree, of sexual health and rights (United Nations, 1994). Such nations and movements had begun to mobilize in their own ways and out of their own situations around reproductive health and rights issues, and a framework firmly linking these issues to both development issues and human rights emerged (Silman, 1997).

Whether positively or negatively, western countries have had a greater impact on abortion policies in African countries. For instance, decisions about the allocation of global health resources from the USA, which is the world's largest donor of development assistance in absolute terms, are closely linked to domestic abortion politics. First announced in Mexico City by the Reagan administration at the International Conference on Population in Cairo, the policy required all non-governmental organizations operating abroad to refrain from performing or counselling women about abortion as a strict prerequisite for receiving US federal funding (Cornwall, 2005).

A turning point in international discussions on population was the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo. Whereas earlier world conferences on population had focused on controlling population growth in developing countries mainly through family planning, the Cairo conference enlarged the scope of policy discussions. Governments now agree that population policies should address social development beyond family planning, especially women's advancement and that family planning should be provided as part of a broader package of reproductive health care. Underlying this new emphasis was a belief that enhancing individual health and rights would ultimately lower fertility and slow population growth. The Cairo conference was also far larger and more inclusive than earlier world population conferences (Cornwall, p. 34). It brought together 11,000 representatives from governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international agencies, and citizen activists. The diversity of views contributed to the unprecedented international consensus achieved in 1994 (Corrêa & Petchesky, 1994).

During and after the ICPD, some interested parties attempted to interpret the term 'reproductive health' in the sense that it implies abortion as a means of family planning or,

indeed, a right to abortion. These interpretations, however, did not reflect the consensus reached at the Conference. For the European Union, where legislation on abortion was less restrictive than elsewhere, the Council Presidency clearly stated that the Council's commitment to promoting 'reproductive health' did not include the promotion of abortion. With regard to the US, only a few days prior to the Cairo Conference, the head of the US delegation, Vice President Al Gore, had stated for the record:

Let us get a false issue off the table: the US does not seek to establish a new international right to abortion, and we do not believe that abortion should be encouraged as a method of family planning (Lederer, 2005).

Later, the combination of President Clinton's support of the ICPD and his support for abortion coverage in the US health care reform so angered the Roman Catholic hierarchy that it sought to discredit the conference by characterizing it as control by the United States. When Vice President Gore attempted to clarify the record, the Vatican attacked the US policy and vice president by name (Gore, 1994). The conference unequivocally endorsed safe motherhood initiatives (after the Holy See was satisfied that they do not include attempts to legalize abortion) and 'expanded condom distribution' to prevent the spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (United Nations, 1994).

Some years later, the position of the US Administration in this debate was reconfirmed by US Ambassador to the UN, Ellen Sauerbrey, when she stated at a meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women that:

Non-governmental organizations are attempting to assert that Beijing in some way creates or contributes to the creation of an internationally recognized fundamental right to abortion..... There is no fundamental right to abortion. Yet, it keeps coming up largely driven by NGOs trying to hijack the term and make it into a definition (Singh, 2005).

Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, 1995

At the World Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995, one of the most spectacular encounters between European and African women took place. It was about the sacrificial role that European feminists ascribed to African colleagues. These were vehemently resisted because they saw the situation of gender as completely misjudged. They pointed out that only the colonial rulers tried to introduce the dominant dualism between the sexes in Europe in the 19th century in African countries. This banished women from reproductive domestic activities in the household and rated their work as inferior to that of the man in professions and politics of the public.

In 1995, reproductive rights once again became the subject of vigorous debates at the UN world conferences, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) in Beijing. The Cairo Conference was a notable departure from its two predecessors in a number of ways; for one, it was a large international event, attracting intense media coverage. Secondly, the Cairo Conference involved the participation of many nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), particularly feminist and women groups from various geographic areas.

The Platform for Action, which was adopted by 189 delegations at the Beijing Women's Conference, reaffirmed the Cairo Programme's definition of reproductive health and advanced women's wider interests. Paragraph 96 states:

The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination, and violence. Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual

respect, consent, and shared responsibility for sexual behaviour and its consequences (Sadik, 1997).

As references to abortion in the review documents needed to be re-negotiated, little time and energy could be devoted to expanding the agenda on abortion in the five-year implementation review of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women. Some progress was made at the five-year implementation review of the International Conference on Population and Development, but this process stopped at the Fourth World Conference on Women's review meeting.

The five-year review of the implementation of the Platform of Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in the General Assembly between 5 and 10 June 2000. The Commission on the Status of Women was the preparatory commission for the five-year review process. It aimed to assess achievements made after the World Conference on Women to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade of 1985 and the Fourth World Conference on Women. For Kenya, it was bad news:

...Kenyan women may have little to show for next month when they join other African women in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa in preparation for next year's special Beijing-Plus-Five session in New York... Women are standing where they were in 1995.... The government has not attempted to pass legislation on the Beijing Platform for Action... In Kenya, the process of implementing the resolutions has stagnated, the period between 1995 and 1999 being one in which women participated least in decision-making making, and when poverty increased, women were the first group to be hit (Achieng, 1999).

UN Beijing Plus Five, 2000

The Beijing Plus Five was a follow-up of the Beijing Platform's relatively progressive provision on abortion; for instance, governments should 'consider reviewing laws containing punitive measures against women who have undergone illegal abortions'. (Beijing Declaration, 2000). It also contained an evaluative paragraph which provided that '[w]hile some measures have been taken in some countries, the actions contained in [the Beijing] Platform for Action regarding the health impact of unsafe abortion and the need to reduce the recourse to abortion have not been fully implemented'. After midnight on Friday, June 9, exhausted delegates were unable to reach an agreement to adopt the same language agreed to one year prior at the ICPD+5 negotiations; that language provided that governments should 'train and equip health-service providers . . . to ensure that . . . abortion is safe and accessible'. (United Nations, 2000).

Remarkably, during the Beijing +5 negotiations, additional wording echoing the Beijing Platform's language on reviewing laws containing punitive measures was not agreed to due to opposition from a small minority of delegations. The dynamic during that last tense evening of the Beijing+5 negotiations resulted in the Chair of the Preparatory Committee ruling that on the few remaining paragraphs, the action-oriented abortion paragraph among them, contested language would be dropped in favour of verbatim Beijing Platform language. The stalemate that existed at that point effectively meant that only the Beijing Platform language would be adopted without unanimity, a unanimity that was impossible on an issue as controversial as abortion still is (Snyder, 2000).

Nicaragua, supported by the Holy See, introduced an amendment incorporating a 'conscience clause' in the abortion paragraph. It would have permitted physicians to refuse to perform abortions and to deny women information on abortion without requiring such physicians to provide mandatory referrals or to perform abortions in cases where the woman's life is in danger and no other health provider is available. NGOs devoted to women's health and rights mobilized quickly to oppose this amendment, and it was defeated, as it had been at ICPD, Beijing, and ICPD+5. Further, the international consensus has gone as far in its

definition of reproductive health as including a statement that 'people are able to have a safe and satisfying sex life' (Norr, 1994).

Sexual pleasure for its own sake, however, is not yet on the international agenda. Health, Empowerment, Rights, and Accountability (HERA), one of the international NGOs that lobbied for the sexual rights terminology in Cairo and Beijing, had provided a platform to debate abortion and also agreed on the definition of sexual rights that reached much farther than simply protecting women from harm but towards creating the conditions in which sexuality and sexual experience can be positive and pleasurable. Rather than seeking a commitment to sexual rights solely to avoid discrimination or prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, HERA argued that sexual rights are valuable in their own right (Garcia-Moreno & Claro, 1994). In their definition, Sexual rights include the right to liberty and autonomy in the responsible exercise of sexuality. This was further interpreted to include having satisfying sex with anyone regardless of sex, and being homosexual in South Africa was in tune with exercising those rights (Christofides et al., 1999). This recognition provided an entry point for promoting actions focusing specifically on the sexual dimension of sexual rights and on building a new culture of sexuality that allows an individual the right of choice, expression, and pleasure (Fanana, 1997). No wonder, in South Africa, there is full legal recognition of gay and lesbian identity. In fact, gay and lesbian groups have mobilized around a human rights discourse. Recently, the economic discrimination faced by gay and lesbian people has been recognized, leading to attempts towards redistribution, for example, to grant same-sex partners the same medical and life insurance benefits as heterosexual married (Klugman, 2000).

Constitutional Changes and Abortion Laws in Kenya, 2010-2019

In 2010, the legal position was changed by the passing of the new Constitution through a referendum, which permitted abortion in certain circumstances. Article 26(4) of the new Constitution reads: 'Abortion is not permitted unless, in the opinion of a trained health professional, there is need for emergency treatment, or the life or health of the mother is in danger, or if permitted by any other written law' (National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). Article 43(1) (a) of the Constitution affirms that every person has the right to the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to health care services, including reproductive health care. This provision not only explicitly elevates reproductive health to a human right that must be protected but also places clear obligations upon the state to provide the services.

Within the framework of the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition of health, reproductive health implies that people are able to have a responsible, satisfying, and safer sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so (Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, 1994). Seen this way, the provision of reproductive healthcare and adequate family planning services, including safe abortion and post-abortion care, form part of the healthcare services to which women are entitled rather than fringe benefits (Guttmacher Institute (2012).

It is, therefore, not surprising that Kenya's Constitution 2010 expanded the circumstances under which legal abortion could be offered. As noted earlier, Kenya's Constitution, although recognising the right to life from conception, provides stronger protection for the lives and health of women. Whereas the previous law only allowed legal abortion to protect a pregnant woman's life, Section 26 of the new Constitution explicitly permits abortion and clearly specifies the situations in which it is permitted. These include (i) when there is a need for emergency treatment and (ii) when the life or health of the mother is in danger. Abortions can be offered following the advice of a trained health professional. Section 26 further provides a possibility of expanding the circumstances under which legal abortions can be offered by

allowing the enactment of a law for that purpose. Access to legal abortion is further enhanced by Article 43(1) (a), which provides that every person has the right to the highest attainable standard of health care services, including reproductive health care (Ojiambo, 2009).

This provision becomes stronger when read within the context of Article 43(2), which prohibits denial of emergency medical treatment. As they stand, the above-noted Constitutional provisions can secure women's access to legal abortions in Kenya. It has, however, been found that expanding access to legal abortion does not in itself guarantee a decrease in unsafe procedures. Increasing safe abortion services following legal reform thus requires sustained commitment and dedicated human and financial resources. This is more so because although the new law has been in existence for close to seven years, unsafe abortion remains a leading cause of maternal morbidity and mortality. The treatment of complications of unsafe abortion also continues to consume significant health system resources. This is despite the Ministry of Health having developed Standards and Guidelines for Reduction of Morbidity and Mortality from Unsafe Abortion in 2012 (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2010).

In 2011, the Ministry of Health set up a working group to draft guidelines on abortion provision in line with the constitution. The Standards and Guidelines on Reducing Maternal Mortality and Morbidity from Unsafe Abortion was published in September 2012 and included up-to-date guidance from the 2012 WHO Safe Abortion Guidance. The guidelines were widely considered sufficient as they expressly provided for termination of pregnancy, provided that it is performed by a trained and skilled health professional within the confines of the law (KHRC, 2010).

As already indicated, in 2010, Kenya also ratified the Maputo Protocol, which in Article 14(2c) calls on States Parties to 'take all appropriate measures to protect the reproductive rights of women by authorising medical abortion in cases of sexual assault, rape, incest, and where the continued pregnancy endangers the mental and physical health of the mother or life of the mother or the fetus' (ACHPR, 2003). This, too, should have opened the door to law reform on these grounds. Indeed, ratification would have led to the country being required to implement this reform. However, Kenya has reservations about Article 14(2C) and does not need to comply with it. It is worth noting, however, that the National Guidelines on Management of Sexual Violence in Kenya do permit abortion in cases of rape or defilement.

Unfortunately, the lack of guidance on how the 2010 change in the Constitution should be implemented meant that both women and healthcare providers remained uncertain of the circumstances in which abortion was legal. At that time, the only guidance available was the government's post-abortion care trainer's manual, which was confusing and contradictory. For example, it stated on the same page: 'The law permits abortion only for the preservation of the woman's life' and 'In Kenya, induced abortion is illegal' (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2010). Hence, one year after the Constitution was amended, the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) Advocacy and Service (IPAS) Kenya expressed concern that none of the country's health regulatory bodies had reviewed their guidelines on abortion to align them with Article 26(4) of the Constitution (Ngwena, 2013). However, in 2012, there was a revision of codes of ethics and scope of practice for medical doctors, nurses, and clinical officers to allow for certain circumstances for safe abortion (Fjerstad, 2012).

According to data collected for a 2010 report by the Center for Reproductive Rights Kenya (the Center), there were around three court cases every week in which women were charged with having an illegal abortion. This number was believed to be higher for Nairobi (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2010). Further, 10 out of 20 cases examined by their researcher had involved schoolgirls, some of whom were minors. The majority of women arrested for an abortion-related crime were given probation rather than imprisonment. However, those who could not afford to pay bail remained in remand (for an average of one year).

In 2011, the Ministry of Health set up a working group that included NGOs who supported safe abortion in Kenya to draft guidelines on abortion provision in line with the constitution. The guidelines, *Standards and Guidelines on Reducing Maternal Mortality and Morbidity from Unsafe Abortion*, were published in September 2012 and included up-to-date guidance from the 2012 WHO Safe Abortion Guidance (WHO, 2019). They were widely considered to be a forward-looking, comprehensive document. They stated that ‘termination of pregnancy is lawful, provided it is performed by a trained and skilled health professional within the confines of the law’.

Abruptly, in December 2013, USAID, which funded much of Kenya’s family planning provision, warned that anyone receiving US aid should not attend an upcoming government meeting because the *Standards and Guidelines* were on the agenda. The next day, the Ministry of Health withdrew the *Standards and Guidelines*, arguing that there was a need for wider stakeholder consultation on some of the document's contents. They also halted the safe abortion training programme (Bassett & Naughton, 2015). These actions were a consequence of restrictions imposed under the United States foreign aid policy (the Helms Amendment), which led to all work towards promoting safe abortion in the country by USAID-funded institutions to stop, which is operative to this day. This happened under President Obama, who did nothing about it.

Two months later, in February 2014, the Ministry wrote a letter instructing all healthcare providers to halt safe abortion training and to stop stocking Medabon, the packet of combined medical abortion pills that doctors were giving women in the first trimester. ‘Abortion on demand is illegal’, the letter said, so ‘there is no need of training health workers on safe abortion or importation of drugs for medical abortion’. With such abrupt changes in such a short window of time, it was inevitable that confusion reigned once more among healthcare providers and those seeking an abortion as to what was and was not legally permissible (Kisakye, 2016). There have been reports since 2014 that some police officers and authority figures used the lack of guidance as a means for bribery. Many doctors who are still providing abortions have had to pay bribes to police officers who would otherwise charge them with illegal abortions. However, many providers in Kenya stopped providing abortions altogether, while the number of people who provided clandestine abortions for a fee probably rose (Griffith, 2014).

Given the many repercussions of the withdrawal of the *Standards and Guidelines*, a petition was filed in June 2015 in the Kenyan High Court against the Attorney General, the Ministry of Health, and the Director of Medical Services of Kenya on behalf of the following; the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Kenya, two community human rights mobilisers, an adolescent rape survivor who suffers from kidney failure and other complications of unsafe abortion, and on behalf of all Kenyan women of reproductive age who were denied access to safe abortions.

The petition calls on the government to restore safe abortion training and reintroduce guidelines clarifying when a legal abortion can be provided. Whereas the petition hearing had been set for 15 December 2016 by a three-judge bench; the case was postponed due to a changing over of judges. A five-judge bench had been arranged to hear this case in May 2017 for directions on how to proceed. This would be a procedural appearance in court, where they would then be given a hearing date. A month later, in July 2015, over 71 organisations in Kenya and Ethiopia sent an open letter to US President Barack Obama, disputing the imposition of the Helms Amendment.

Today, the US Helms Amendment continues to prohibit the use of US foreign assistance for safe abortion, and now in 2017, the Mexico City Policy (commonly known as the Global Gag Rule) has also been re-imposed yet again. On 3 April 2017, the US State Department issued a letter to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee announcing it would no longer

fund the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which provides maternal and child health services in more than 150 countries worldwide (UNFPA, 2017).

The Civil Society and Implementation of International Strategies in Kenya

Women's movements have been vectors of social and political changes in Kenya, having participated in almost all international conferences and UN meetings. This is so despite being faced with many challenges to gain equality in political, social, and economic aspects of society due to the patriarchal nature of Kenyan society. Equally, some of the most notable women who have contributed immensely to the feminist movement in Kenya and the implementation of international protocols on women include Wangari Maathai, who was an environmental and political activist.

In 1977, Wangari Maathai formed the Green Belt Movement, a non-profit organization that aimed to promote the conservation of the environment and, at the same time, women's rights. She worked to improve women's livelihoods by increasing their access to resources such as clean water and firewood for cooking. The movement also involved women planting trees (National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda, 2012). Wangari Maathai also spearheaded for right to safe abortion (Mutongi, 2005).

The struggle for affirmative action in Kenya can be traced back to 1996 when the Honorable Charity Ngilu moved a motion in Parliament on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. However, it did not pass. In 1997, Phoebe Asiyo tabled the first affirmative action bill in Parliament, but it collapsed. Despite the fact that the bill was not passed, this created an opportunity for other female members of parliament to push for an increase in the number of women in Parliament. In 2007, the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Martha Karua, tabled the Constitutional (Amendment) Bill 2007 on Affirmative Action that aimed at creating 50 automatic seats for women in the 10th Parliament and also created an additional 40 constituencies in Kenya. She defended the creation of 50 special seats as an affirmative action issue, which sought to put women's representation in Parliament at par with their population size.

The struggle for affirmative action finally bore fruit as the Kenya Constitution, which was promulgated in 2010, provides a legal framework for gender equality and women's empowerment. Notably, affirmative action is guaranteed in the Constitution in a couple of provisions, including Article 27 (8), which states that the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. Article 81 (b) provides that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender.

The Education Center for Women in Democracy (ECWD) conducts capacity building for aspiring women leaders, providing women's human rights education (through training workshops and seminars for community-based human rights educators and policymakers), and engaging in community mobilization. ECWD is also active in women's human rights education, civic education at the community level, community mobilization, training workshops and seminars, development and publications of resource materials, and awareness creation through media and research, and information dissemination on women's human rights issues (Nzomo, 1997).

The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya) is a non-profit organization committed to creating a society free from all forms of discrimination against women. They have done this through providing legal aid to indigent women, engagement in legal, policy, and legislative reform, treaty monitoring, and research, among other programmatic interventions. FIDA has contributed to advancing women's rights by providing services such as quality legal services to a limited number of women, creating awareness of legal rights, and educating women on

self-
also representation, research, monitoring, and reporting women's rights violations. They

lobby and advocate for reforms of laws and policies that discriminate against women. FIDA is also well known for employing women to empower them and involve them in fighting for women's rights in Kenya (Spronk, 2007).

Networks such as The Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR) Coalition is a regional network comprised of 37 national, regional, and international civil society organizations working to promote and protect women's human rights in Africa. Since its inauguration in 2004, SOAWR's main area of focus has been to compel African states to urgently sign, ratify, domesticate, and implement the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (hereinafter referred to as 'the Protocol'). In addition to campaigns for ratification, the SOAWR Coalition has recently scaled up its focus on the next critical levels of domestication and implementation of the Protocol to translate the ideals enshrined in the Protocol into realities lived and enjoyed by African women. In October 2010, Kenya ratified the protocol (Frederiksen, 2000).

Conclusion

This paper has explored why and how foreign powers and international NGOs have long intervened in Africa and the effects of that intervention on health reforms, especially on the abortion debate. This has been done through such mechanisms as holding regional summits, aid conditionalities, tracking four diplomacies, provision of the free market, austerity policies, and increased foreign military aid. Kenyan women activists, international NGOs based in Nairobi, and political leaders have been at the forefront of domesticating these ideas, but with some level of support from foreign countries. In Africa, Nairobi and Johannesburg have been stellar examples of capitals of change in health reforms and development.

Today, in Kenya, the subject of abortion can be viewed as central to the discourses of politicians, journalists, and academics. Generally, abortion has followed gender issues in moving from the private to the public and political spheres. Historically, the debate has become robust in contemporary Kenya.

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Ideology and Disabling of Patriarchy in Emecheta's Joys of Motherhood and Second-Class Citizen

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Abstract

The voice of feminists in subverting patriarchy is critical in understanding women's expedition for social justice. The knowledge constitutes the philosophy of human intellect as the African woman hankers for dignity through emancipation. This paper examines Emecheta's concerns in her two literary texts, '*The Joys of Motherhood* and *Second-Class Citizen*'. Emecheta is one of Africa's literary elites who drummed support for disabling patriarchal domineering on women. The texts highlight ideology and subversive practices that can help answer the question of how a woman can transcend patriarchal injustices. The study is located within feminist and deconstruction theories, emphasising Emecheta as a writer who produces knowledge about African women. The selected texts, therefore, are important tools in understanding African women, which is critical for the development of the society. The textual analysis method was used to help understand the women writer's view on the emancipation of the African woman as seen in '*Joys of Motherhood and Second-Class Citizen*.' The paper argues that Emecheta ideology and disabling patriarchal practices are worthwhile lessons for postcolonial African women in their expeditions for social justice.

Keywords: African feminism, African writers' ideology, patriarchy, patriarchy philosophy, social-cultural contexts

Introduction

This paper highlights the considerable potential literary texts of Emecheta hold in the emancipation of women. The paper encapsulates fundamental ideas that have the potential for women's emancipation since they originate in the Ibo cultural structure. Thus, a close reading reveals their ideological kinship mode of discourse. According to Hall (1986), ideology refers to social, political, and cultural ideas whose being is obtained from affiliation to class interests, in their struggle, in the society's social structure. By virtue of this ideological orientation, this paper analyses the two selected texts to use Emecheta as a social thinker who has the potential to contribute to 'the socio-cultural process'. This process refers to the dynamics in terms of human progression, which has the potential to govern and determine the direction of the society (Rabie, 2013).

Hull and Hull (2001) note that feminism primarily focuses on women. Therefore, it is a literary and social ideology that has been studied in literature in an attempt to emancipate women. Its value is in its indefatigable role in a country's development. This single-mindedness focus on women's issues has been in the 20th century and is not misplaced because of the need for women's liberation (Makokha, 2015). Despite all the efforts made to disable forces that limit women, they are yet to be fully liberated. This is because patriarchy keeps on metamorphosing. African women writers thus concern themselves with the roles assigned to explore the means by which the African woman has been denied power and rights. Feminism

as an ideology has its roots far back in the distant past, and feminists have been in constant pursuit of freeing women from various shackles, sourcing ways in which women can exploit their unique potential for their own benefits. While feminists come in a variety of shades, their singular objective is to stand against and subvert patriarchy in society (Ndege & Makokha, 2019). The social change is possible by creating a level playing ground for both men and women.

To effect change, authors create characters who address unique issues intended to shape the society they come from. A literary text. Therefore, it is culturally a valued text that often reflects human life. It exposes the ideological and sociological values of the author's society, thus giving it a cultural meaning. The texts may take several forms: they can be poetry, novels, plays, songs, and even performed art. Therefore, a literary text, regardless of genre, includes many useful lessons and is a dependable source of information about people's lives and values (Purwaningsih & Gulo, 2021). When the readers interact with the text, they gain cultural information because the texts feature characters and touch on issues from various socio-cultural backgrounds.

The socio-cultural background reflects how the traditions of a society at a certain time happened. The characters and issues addressed when analysed reflect an author's attitude, thoughts, manners, and behaviour. The ideology is captured in the language characters use because it is the day-to-day language, thus reflecting reality in human life (Mutmainnah & Pattu, 2022). Therefore, analysis of the text helps the researcher, thus reflecting human life reality. African society is patriarchal in nature and has stereotyped women as second-class people. The second-class people are expected to obey decisions made by those who are in authority, particularly husbands, and work in the shadows of men (Barker, 2004). This makes women appear as weak citizens whose social status is always construed through the social status of their husbands and fathers.

Ezeigbo (2010) says Emecheta's texts are concerned with patriarchal evils and conventions that hold women down. Her strong conviction to emancipate women justifies her attacks on these evils. Failure to expose the evils will continue to compromise the African women's emancipation efforts. For example, Nnu Ego's failure in both her Igbo village and in Lagos is a double sword sensationalising patriarchy at play. Unless social-political oppression is addressed, other factors may be hard to unearth. Ezeigbo observes that obviously, Emecheta plants the double sword on purpose. She uses characters such as Nnu Ego to be examined alongside other factors that make it hard for them to make wise decisions that can be used as a vehicle for self-emancipation.

Dubek (2001) portrays the negative aspects of the traditional Igbo culture on women. She suggests that the principle of denying the woman personal happiness is by alienating her from independence. When a woman who is denied independence is left with no option but to be dependent on men, she is definitely being controlled to the whims of the master (Holmes, 2007). Dubek also posits marriage as one of the patriarchal institutions that rob women of happiness. She observes that in *The Joys of Motherhood*, Nnu Ego's marriage ultimately oppresses her. It never granted her independence, happiness, the friendship of her in-laws, or friendship with her in-laws or other women. It places her in precarious expectations that marriage was to make her fit with her fellow community since her mother did not fit. However, the same marriage makes her a victim.

The Joys of Motherhood is a novel in which Emecheta attempts to expose the marginalisation of women (Balavatbhai, 2020). It leads to untold agony and suffering at the hands of a patriarchal society. The story exposes how Nnu Ego, a traditional Igbo woman, suffers because society has indoctrinated her to believe a woman's happiness can only be realised in motherhood. As a result of not being able to meet society's expectations, she is scorned by her in-laws. At this juncture, feminists intervene to help eliminate social forces that

instigate oppression, discrimination, and exploitation (Pasque & Wimmer, 2011). This paper draws attention to Emecheta's pattern of thoughts, values, and behaviours in the selected texts.

Oppression Patriarchal Practices

For us to appreciate feminists in their continued efforts to create an egalitarian society, the oppression of women characterized by poverty is a hindrance to the progression of society. Women face new challenges as society transitions from traditional to modern society. The term poverty has varying definitions according to how it is viewed. Encyclopaedia Encarta defines it as a condition where one lacks sufficient resources or income, the extreme form leading to a lack of basic human needs to sustain a useful life. The un-useful life is characterised by inadequate nutritious food, housing, health services, clothing, and clean water. However, every human needs to have a useful life. The view of the definition will be used in this paper because of its meaning to unpack Emecheta's ideology as a liberator of women. Therefore, the two texts apprehend the society for daintily forgetting the women in the society. The analysis exposes varying oppression of women by patriarchal institutions. Emecheta exposes the tribulations a woman goes through, characterised by a polygamous husband, racism, motherhood, and economic hardships occasioned by a moneyed economy, among others.

Joys of Motherhood examines traditional practices that necessitate the abandonment of women. Nnu Ego is born by Ona, who dies during birth. She spends her early years in her rural home and her second marriage in the capital of Nigeria, Lagos. In the two settings, Emecheta points to traditions as the main factor at play in the oppression of women within both tribal and colonised Nigeria. When she visits Lagos, Cordelia explains the power dynamics that money colonialism has imposed on the traditional African support networks women enjoy, which differ from the traditional economy.

Husbands have, therefore, been reduced to slaves for the white man's way of life. '*You want a husband who has time to ask you if you wish to eat rice, or drink corn pap with honey. Forget it... Their manhood has been taken away from them. The shame of it is that they don't know. All they see is the money, the shining white man's money. They are all slaves, including us.*' (Emecheta, 1979, p. 51). Emecheta highlights how colonialism has effectively negatively affected the traditional support system women used to ride on. According to Emecheta, it was the husband's duty to care for the family by providing care and food. However, with the coming of the white man, the social structures are broken. In a family setup, women are left with no option but to fit in their husbands' shoes.

In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Buchi Emecheta shows how patriarchal figures view a woman. The author tells the story of Nokwocha Agbadi, who sexually advances young Ona. Using his physical masculinity, he forces the young unsuspecting girl to himself. The young girl tries to free herself, but Agbadi is too strong for her. He had become himself and held her mouth to ensure she said nothing. 'He did not let her mouth free for a long time. She struggled fiercely like a trapped animal, but Agbadi was becoming himself again' (Emecheta, 1979, p.20). Emecheta exposes how women get oppressed by culture, which more often turns women into objects to be used by men. Women get used up as sexual objects without necessarily their mutual consent.

Further, Emecheta spots the abandonment of women partly stemming from the new working conditions. African women's husbands who double up as workers of colonialists are depicted as slaves of their masters, and they have been deprived of 'manhood' for their families. They work all day, seven days a week, and are off on Sundays only to attend church, which is half a day in a week. In postcolonial African countries, the colonialists have continually used institutions such as marriages and the church to subdue the African society. Emecheta notes that the effects are adverse on the African woman. Nnaife reveals to Nnu Ego that for Dr. Meer to acknowledge a marriage, it has to be performed in a church; otherwise, it risks being

considered a forbidden union. 'Well, if you are pregnant...and believe me, I hope to God you are...there is still one problem. What will they say in the church? We have not been married there' (Emecheta, 1979, p. 51). The influence has psychological effects on Nnu Ego. Even when she becomes pregnant, Nnaife shies off towards the pregnancy since they did not wed in church. This really did not go well with Nnu Ego. She had not come all the way to Lagos for Nnaife's money; she was not from a poor background. All she needed from Nnaife was love and fulfilment of being called a mother. However, all this seemed elusive because of Dr. Meer.

Nnaife's behaviour dismays Emecheta, and he becomes hesitant towards Africans who believe that for them to survive, they have to endure the slavery of the white man. First, the conditions are unfavourable, and the pay is too little. Emecheta contrasts the lives of Nnaife and Igbonoba. 'Outside the door stood a woman from Ibuza, Igbonoba's wife. ...in short, she had everything any woman could want. And look at her, Nnu Ego thought angrily, look at the expensive shoes she is wearing, look at that head-tie and even a gold chain. Whatever she paid for would feed me and the children for a month. (Emecheta, 1979, p. 164). The different lives point to the devastating lives that colonialism has on families. Unlike those who work for the whites, business people are able to meet their day-to-day needs and even take their children, both boys and girls, to school.

In *Second Class Citizen*, when Adah leaves her home country, Nigeria, she is full of hope that England is the place. Since childhood, she discovered some people being referred to as Nigerians who have been to the United Kingdom. This made her develop a desire to escape the unforgiving life in her home country. Nigeria did not give her women equal opportunities like England did to her women and thus made her imagine, in England, women as free as men. Women had opportunities to work and earn money, thus freeing themselves from the shackles of poverty.

Adah's preoccupation with financial stability is evident when she assures her mother-in-law that she will frequently send her money on her request. Further, as she hands over the old necklaces to her Ma, she takes her into an imagination of coming back to Africa with posh cars to the envy of many. She had several necklaces for her little girl and herself. She gave them all to her mother-in-law. 'You take them; in England, we shan't need them. And when I come back, I shan't be wearing gold anymore. Diamonds maybe' (Emecheta, 1974, p. 83). This shows that Adah's journey is full of hope for material gain. She feels economically confined in Nigeria, and staying at home may not do something meaningful for her and her family.

However, the hopes for contributing to her people's success at home seem to die upon arrival in England. She finds that England is not like Nigeria. She complains of the cold-poor-welcome in England. A country she had dreamt of failed to give her the comfort that she had in her natal home. A country she wanted to visit right from the time she discovered that some people being referred to as Nigerians who had been to the United Kingdom did not match the comfort in her imagined world. This disappointed her when she faced challenges in her economic dream in the United Kingdom; she was always disturbed and lost in her thoughts. According to her, there were no two ways for her financial growth. England had to give her the opportunity to emancipate herself. This is the journey she set way long in her childhood days when she defiantly enrolled in a school.

In *Second Class Citizen*, Adah also faces problems like most other girls. Girls' education is never a priority. This is seen when Pa died. She is orphaned, and her family is forced to go live with their extended family. This posed a new challenge to Adah because though she was in school, her future in school was now on balance. Due to the fact that there were not enough resources, she had to stop schooling so that the hundred pounds would be used to pay for Boy's education. '...but somebody pointed out that the longer she stayed at school, the bigger dowry her future husband would pay'. This shows that though women may be lucky to be in school,

the stay did not benefit her because one of the members reasoned that the more she stayed in school, the more bride price she would attract.

Second Class Citizen exposes Francis as a character embodying patriarchal power dynamics. He is revealing his patriarchal traits exerting authority and control over Adah. He takes control of her wife and does not regard her in making decisions touching their lives. For example, when looking for a place to live, he just bombarded Adah with the new, 'I have already found a place for us to stay'. This trait of disregarding Adah in such an activity that touches on both their lives shows she is insignificant as a person marking gender inequality. This behaviour has constantly run into their relationship, limiting Adah's ambitions. He fails to support her even on what Adah terms important in shaping her life, for example, education. Under Francis, Adah is expected to take a subordinate role in their marriage. She is to follow what Francis says since his actions are gender norms. Such practices deem her hopes of studying and furthering her career. All this happens to Adah because of Francis' patriarchal mindset, which reinforces his traditional notion that a woman's primary duty is to act subordinate to a husband.

The colonial society continued to ensure that the Africans were submissive and docile as they continued to impose stringent measures to confine them. Nnaife, as a man, finds himself on the opposite side of a conflict with his traditions. In the wake of revolving traditions, he faces struggles that slowly dissolve him out of his family structure. This makes Nnu Ego call Nnaife's masculinity into question on arrival in their early days of marriage. Though he is full of pride as any other Ibo man, working as a launderer in the Meers household, he rubs Nnu Ego the wrong way since it is a role no Ibo man would have filled in previous generations. Nnaife is forced to compromise his role as an Ibo man because in Lagos, he needs money in a world where capitalism reigns. The little pay he gets from his job makes him passive and ineffective. He lacks ambition, and as times change, Nnaife becomes increasingly ineffective in his role as a father figure to his daughters. In the end, he simply emerges as an emasculated figure, unmasked as a poor provider and a drunk. Poverty makes his traditional male identity grow weaker as an alcoholic and an aloof father. He fails to educate his daughters despite women having a knack for education. '...I am beginning to think that educated women may have a future. I saw many young women teaching in schools. It would be really something for a woman to be able to earn some money monthly like a man', Nnu Ego said, looking into the distance (Emecheta, 1979, p. 168).

As Nnaife resolves, women become stronger and more experienced. Adaku's revolutionary mind does not stop there; she also wants to change how a woman is seen in society. She, therefore, chooses to educate her daughters to end the vicious cycle where women's standards are reduced to amassing bride prices and competing on who has the highest number of male children. To ensure the dream for her daughters is realised, she enrolls them in private lessons while they are still young. She also makes a drastic step of leaving let free her marriage. All this is to ensure her daughters are free and should get an education, which Nnaife treated as a luxury if she were to remain in her marriage with Nnaife.

Due to the effects of oppressive colonial rule, opportunities for postcolonial African women are severely constrained. In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Nnu Ego represents women during colonial rule, and she experiences the consequences of British colonialism in her home country, Nigeria. Her early life is marked by subsistence farming which leads to food sustainability. Her second part of women's struggle lies in the advent of postcolonial error when her journey takes her to Lagos, where she strives to work and supplement her husband's family income. As a market woman, she has to cope with exploitative conditions, including long hours and scanty pay, mirroring modern economic struggles women face.

Through Nnu Ego, Emecheta depicts a woman's challenges in postcolonial Nigeria, emphasising the inequalities embedded within the social and economic systems that

disadvantage women. Indeed, this is evident when the narrator says, 'In Lagos, a wife would not have time. She had to work. She provided food to add on her husband's meagre housekeeping money, money for clothes, for any kind of comforts, in some cases for the children's school fees, was on her shoulders' (Emecheta, 1979, p. 54). Nnu Ego's struggle to find economic stability reflects the impact of modernity, particularly women being the bearer of the brunt of economic hardships. The postcolonial era brings about some changes in economic dynamics, offering both opportunities and challenges for women. Therefore, women have to fight for opportunities since the post-colonial times demand a transitioned African woman.

Women Disabling Patriarchy

Although set in England, *Second Class Citizen* shows the persistence of patriarchy coupled with racial discrimination. However, the novel celebrates Adah's determination and resilience as she breaks the bonds of patriarchy to seek self-emancipation. This book is guessed to be the author's autobiography. The novel paints the tools women need to triumph in a patriarchal society.

Once in the United Kingdom, Adah and Francis are hit by the reality of being discriminated against, even by other Africans, for having darker skin. Francis is not able to hold back and ends up in oblivion. Unlike her husband, Adah does not bow and steps up to make a living for the household by working at a library. Unfortunately, Francis becomes violent towards Adah, and she has to quit the relationship. Francis' behaviour exposes the double oppression of African women in Europe on the basis of gender and on the basis of race. As all these happened, she remained resolute; 'Even his beatings and slapping did not move her anymore. She did not know where she got her courage from, but she was beginning to hit back, even biting him when need be' (Emecheta, 1974, p. 159). According to Emecheta, Adah is an ideal woman who has faced oppression occasioned by the evils of patriarchy both in Nigeria and in the United Kingdom. Emecheta portrays her as a brave woman who, anytime she is faced with tyranny, does not succumb or let it change her goals. She has mastered ways of disabling it by facing it head-on, and finally, she becomes the heroine.

Apart from facing the oppressor head-on, Adah's persistence for education was the other secret card she was holding. Emecheta highlights the value of education in the novel as a tool for her liberation. A woman with an education is given the power to operate at the same level as educated men and, sometimes, operates above those without education. This is what Adah wanted: to be educated so that she would earn a good living, thus being above most men in her community. She wanted to leave Nigeria for England, a country she perceived as a land of opportunities. This was only possible if she got the prerequisite for travel. Apart from her education she wanted a husband who was also educated and desired to leave Nigeria. Leaving Nigeria would help her run away from oppressive patriarchal practices that did not regard women in employment opportunities.

Instead of remaining silent when confronted by injustices, Emecheta encourages speaking out and sometimes confronting the perpetrators of the injustices. In *The Joys of Motherhood*, when Adaku lost her husband, she moved to Nnaife's house, who inherited her for a woman who could not be trusted to live without a man. Nevertheless, Adaku's life did not change for anything good after moving to Lagos. Even food for her family was not enough. Nnaife was not providing enough food and money for the family. The turmoil was too much for the two wives, and when peace did not prevail, Nnu Ego and Adaku decided to confront their husband. 'The food money you give us is too small. Nwakusor and the other men give their wives double the amount you give us. When we go to the market, we must keep wandering from stall to stall in search of bargains because we can never afford anything', Adaku said breathlessly (Emecheta, 1979, p. 135). The problem escalates when Nnaife decides to become violent, and Nnu Ego can

hear from the door the blows her co-wife got. She banged on the door to stop him, but Nnaife did not open it. Later, it came to the realisation of the two women that women were prisoners, imprisoned by love for their children, imprisoned in their role as wives. A woman was not even expected to demand more money for her family. If this happened it was considered below the expected standard. At least they had communicated what was ailing them.

Patriarchy is so entrenched in the minds of women like Nnu Ego, making them believe that a woman should be docile. However, Emecheta dissolves the over-dependence of women on their husbands by creating absence. The absence of the male figure in the family leaves the two women in the glare of the vagaries of poverty. The difference is seen in the way each handles Nnaife's absence. Adaku's revolutionary mind does not allow her to perish. During this period, she uses the small amount she gets from her husband's dividends and what she gets from her sales in the market to expand her entrepreneurial skills. By investing in a booth, Adaku can eventually be financially independent. On the contrary, Nnu Ego is the opposite of her co-wife. Instead of investing in the booth like Adaku, her conservative mind forces her to remain in her firewood business to get more time with her children. Emecheta criticises Nnu Ego's conventional mindset. In a conversation with her husband, Emecheta exposes the gender-based responsibility that has enslaved Nnu Ego: Nnu Ego says, 'I can't afford another outfit, because I am nursing him, so you can't go anywhere to sell anything,' (Emecheta, 1979, p. 80).

In African customs, some women are made to believe the fundamental role of any woman is to bear children, look after their husband, wash their clothes, and till the land. Later, the elder wife returns to the village while Adaku remains in her business. At the rural home, she gets reprimanded for leaving the younger Adaku in charge of the family, a position the senior wife holds. However, upon returning, she finds that things have changed. Adaku is no longer the dependent young woman she once was. Bitterness rises for Nnu Ego, and she starts accusing her of using her share of Nnaife's money in her business; 'I can see you have been busy making money... Look at all your wares; look at your stalls. I'm sure Nnaife's money went into building your trade (Emecheta, 1979, p. 160)'. Emecheta disables Adaku's dependence on Nnaife and Nnu Ego for food by highlighting the importance of women engaging in business to help deal with predicaments occasioned by the society they come from.

The same disease has affected Francis in England. Emecheta believes that financial stability is important in African women journey for emancipation. In *Second Class Citizen*, she is shocked when Adah arrives in England and sees Francis' house. Adah was angered by Francis since the house he lived in was not fit to hold the pride of an African woman with her children. This was not the type of life she imagined. Hit by the reality of being in England, they had to chart a new relationship where both were to work, and Francis would, at the same time, continue with his studies so that they could afford a dignified life. Adah was left to work alone; her little earnings were not enough for her emancipation. This would take her back to what she was running away from in Nigeria. It makes her miss the comfort she had in Africa. 'Oh, I (Adah) wish I had not come. I wish I had been warned (Emecheta, 1974, p. 100). Through Adah, Emecheta challenges those who leave Nigeria for Western countries, thinking it is better than home.

Western countries like England are a haven of challenges. Moreover, it poses a challenge to families that migrate to faraway countries. Unlike in Nigeria, where husbands have houses for each wife, it is hard to provide one in England. Due to England's financial challenges, Adah learns of Francis' reservations about their marriage. This reservation is a clear demonstration that he had failed in their marriage, yet it is the basic unit and a source of pride since it defines an African woman. In the traditional African setup, a man should be able to provide a comfortable house for his family, and Francis fails Adah as a true African woman.

In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Emecheta emphasises the importance of women's solidarity and collective action in the struggle for economic emancipation. Nnu Ego finds strength and

support in her relationships with other women. By coming together and supporting each other, they challenge patriarchal norms and get a voice, 'The monthly meetings on the island with her fellow Ibuza wives did Nnu Ego a great deal of good. The other women taught her how to start her own business so that she would not have only one outfit to wear' (Emecheta, 1979, p. 128). Through the narrator, Emecheta highlights ways in which women unite in women groups, thus helping to emancipate themselves. Nnu Ego is taught how to start her own business to meet her financial needs and not live with only one outfit to wear. Through the small cooperative, Nnu Ego borrowed five shillings, and the women advised her to buy tins of cigarettes and packets of matches. A tin of cigarettes cost two shillings, and she then sold the cigarettes singly for a penny each; as there were thirty-six in each tin, she made a profit of a shilling on a tin. The same thing applied to boxes of matches. She would buy a carton of twelve boxes for one shilling and sixpence and then sell each box for two pence, making a profit of sixpence on each carton. She was so thrilled that, as the other more experienced women had foretold, she had no time to be lonely or worry about her husband's humiliating job or bite her fingers about her coming child.

Since patriarchy is monstrous, Emecheta laments the interventions government institutions make in helping deal with the oppression of women. Adah's struggles in Britain make her seek state-guaranteed contraception to prevent a fourth pregnancy. This is because the nature of her job would mean to lose it if she gets pregnant. This is not the route she is ready to take since it would destabilise her financial needs by risking her job. Her doctor provides a requisition form that involves her husband's signature (Emecheta, 1974, p. 142). Adah finds that even in Britain, men still enjoyed the privilege of underwriting contraceptive policy. Consequently, men and the policy undermine Adah's right of bodily self-determination to emancipate her family by providing for it and as well as supporting Francis, her indolent accountancy student. Britain, as in Nigeria, further subordinates Adah, whereas now the gambit is all that stands between her and poverty. But in the United Kingdom, she is able to run away from Francis by procuring divorce through a battle in court.

Further, Emecheta shows how women can openly defy oppressive patriarchal practices to emancipate themselves. Girls are traded to attract bride wealth; part of it is used to educate her male siblings. To enable her to attract a huge bride wealth, they are traded to older men. However, Adah, unlike many other girls, is able to alienate her older suitors for Francis. She does not want to get to situations where her husband would act as a master to her. 'She would never, never in her life get married to any man, rich or poor, to whom she would have to serve his food on bended knee: she would not consent to live with a husband whom she would have to treat as a master and refer to as 'Sir' even behind his back. She knew that all Ibo women did this, but she wasn't going to!' (Emecheta, 1974, p. 19.) Adah knew that the Igbo society did not regard women. They were to remain subjects of their husbands, so young girls were married to older husbands. The age and resources would make the woman submit to the husband for food and any other form of protection.

Conclusion

Emecheta uses Adaku and Adah's journey to empowerment as proof of the resolve and resiliency of women towards disabling patriarchal oppression. Their transformation serves as powerful stories of growth and an appeal to resist the oppressive forces of patriarchy. Examination of Emecheta's selected texts reveals Emecheta's compelling case for women's agency and the importance of standing up against patriarchal oppression. The paper highlights the value of a woman's voice and autonomy. By criticising societal conventions and standards, women are able to transcend subordinate roles and limited opportunities. By disabling patriarchy, we create a system that empowers women socially, politically, and economically. Marriage, being a formal union between a man and a woman, is doomed to fail if it is used to

advance the mantra of women as subjects. The paper has highlighted the value of education in shaping the future of girls.

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Women in the Blue Economy: Employing Networking to Drive Sustainability Reinvestment in Small-Scale Fisheries in Homa-Bay County, Kenya

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Abstract

Can networking contribute to reinvestment and drive sustainability in small-scale fisheries by women? Given the increasing demand for quality livelihood, food and nutritional security, poverty alleviation, and increasing fish enterprise, stability among small-scale fishers has become an increasingly relevant question. However, given the rapidly growing number of women players in the sector in the recent past, it becomes significant that reinvestment in the industry would steer the sector towards improved sustainability as opposed to fuelling unsustainable working conditions, overexploitation, and discrimination of women fishers in the business. Drawing from social capital theory and applying a mixed method approach, a sample size of 330 small-scale women fishers comprised of fisher folks and traders was scientifically obtained and analysed. The study also involved focus group discussions and key informant interviews as sources of data and the basis of analysis. Networking does not significantly influence reinvestment in small-scale fisheries by women was the null hypothesis put to test. Findings were anchored on parametric and thematic analyses of the influence of bridging networking on sustaining reinvestment of small-scale fisheries business proceeds to stabilize the enterprise. It was established that bridging networking had a statistically significant influence on reinvestment in the sector; networking explained 16.4% ($R^2=.164$) variability in reinvestment, the model significance was reported by $F(1,328) 64.507$, $p<0.05$, and $\beta=.340$, $p<0.05$ which implied that a unit increase in networking results into .340 units change in reinvestment. Therefore, defining their space in the blue growth trajectory in the Lake-Victoria region of Homa-bay County in Kenya is scientifically established. It concluded that bonding networking could enhance sustainability reinvestment in small-scale fisheries by women in the blue space growth. On this dimension, sustainability performance in the country's blue space should consider bridging networking as a factor that brings on board all categories of stakeholders, which incorporates small-scale women fishers.

Keywords: Blue Economy, networking, reinvestment, sustainability, small-scale fisheries

Introduction

Reinvestment in small-scale fisheries is increasingly regarded as a road map for achieving food security, alleviating poverty, and increasing economic growth worldwide (Ameyaw et al., 2020; Kalikoski et al., 2019). In inland waters and coastal countries, fish catch and consumption account for up to 70 percent of protein intake and is an indispensable source of vitamins, fats, and minerals (Siles et al., 2019). At the global level, more than 40 million people are employed as fishers, with an estimated 90 percent operating on a small scale (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015; Penca et al., 2021). Even though aspects of small-scale fisheries vary according to the size of their operations, most nations have their

operational definitions for small and large-scale designations. Notwithstanding, a universally accepted boundary does not exist between them (Kelleher & Mills, 2012).

However, broad definitions of small-scale fisheries rely on a narrow range of quantitative parameters, like gear type, operational area, and vessel size and power (Alonso & Siar, 2018; Scholtens, 2016). The small-scale fishing industry is active and diverse, with different features depending on the region. It is typically deeply ingrained in the customs and values of the local communities. In addition to directly supplying food for their households, small-scale fisherwomen and fish workers are self-employed (Stacey et al., 2019; World Fish Centre, 2020).

Given that the small-scale fisheries sector provides an essential route for growth and livelihood, enhancing sustainability in the sector is a concern. Sustainability would enable stable working fisheries and, therefore, meet the nutritional needs of the expanding population while staying within environmental bounds (Jaabi & Esemu, 2014; Kabeer, 2017). To date, different approaches have been geared towards reinvesting and reaching sustainability in the sector. To encourage reinvestment in the fisheries, enhanced coordination and formal agreements between stakeholders along the supply chain have been used to solve the sustainability concerns within a fishery (Barr et al., 2019).

Retailers and mid-chain actors fulfil sustainability commitments and maintain the security of fish supply to keep the earning proceeds reinvested in the small-scale fisheries sector by expanding the stock quantity, acquiring different fish species, and possibly reaching more market outlets. This is in addition to adopting more sustainable fishing practices (Bartholomew & Consultant, 2014). Furthermore, Roscher et al. (2022) opined that investing in diverse livelihood sources, such as in value addition, creates less pressure on fisheries by minimizing losses by preserving the catch, thus sustaining the income from the catch. The focus is that sustaining reinvestment and expanding investments in the sector remains a concern. The aim is probably to ensure that adequacy in the livelihood supply needs meets the ever-increasing demand prospects. On the other hand, an elaborate approach to transform the small-scale fisheries with the 'darlings' of the blue growth narrative, the large corporate entities, has partially been a good deal for perceived expanded livelihood supply (Said & MacMillan, 2020). However, displacing small-scale women fishers, underpinning the fact that the networking dimension of social capital factor as a driver of reinvestment in small-scale fisheries, has received limited attention from the academic community discourse.

In a study conducted by Obregón et al. (2020) in south eastern Australia, it was established that social networks in fisheries research were weak, and few researchers use the networks for information sharing to sustain their research. Ineffective networking could have been perceived as a key factor hindering sustainability and growth in the small-scale fisheries sector. Despite this, social networking has been highly rated as fundamental to effective communication flows among the stakeholders in the sector. Networking has remained a key dimension that influences fish catch patterns for large and small-sized fish species, thus making networking a natural resource management instrument, a finding from Jamaica (Alexander et al. (2020). On this note, it can be alluded that networking could be a driving factor for women's reinvestment in small-scale fisheries.

The role of networking in supporting marketing has further been pinned to small-scale fisheries. A study conducted by Moreau and Garaway (2021) in East African inland waters among small-scale women fishers established that the network supports domestic marketing and enhances food and income supply equity among the fishers' community. Consequently, establishing the role of networking in driving reinvestment remains an area of triangulation.

While analysing the aspects of collective action and the role of conflict in Kenyan fisheries co-management, Murunga et al. (2021) established the role of networking as an instrument of conflict resolution among small-scale fishers. On this account, stakeholder networking is

geared towards conflict resolution rather than stabilizing the sector through reinvesting in its stability; a similar sentiment was resonated by Onyango et al. (2020) while analysing livelihoods among fishers in Homa-bay County. He established that prevailing poor and discriminating networks among fishers negatively affect gender access to fisheries and fish resources. This could hinder sustainability reinvestments, especially in the nodes of small-scale fisheries value chains under women's control. This research uses the mixed research approach to navigate whether and to what bridging networking could drive reinvestment sustainability among the small-scale fisheries by women in the blue economy area of Homa-bay County, Kenya.

State of Fisheries and Women Fishers in Kenya

Small-scale fisheries have traditionally taken a marginal space in Kenya's national economic and policy dialogue. This could be attributed to their low contribution to national income compared to other food production sectors, such as agriculture and livestock (Kimani et al., 2018). However, the fisheries sector contributes to economic growth and offers livelihoods to many Kenyans. On this account, it needs to be managed with a comprehensive policy that guides and influences sustainable development and utilizes fisheries resources for the benefit of the present and future generations of the Kenyan people (GOK, 2007).

Kenya's fishing sector contributes about 0.5 percent of the country's GDP, about 2 percent of the country's GDP, and about 2 percent of the national export earnings (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). The industry employs an estimated 1.2 million people directly and indirectly, with 70 percent being women along the small-scale fisheries value chain. About 96 percent of the total fish production in Kenya is derived from inland freshwaters, with Lake Victoria, the largest inland freshwater, contributing about 80 percent. This constitutes 1 percent of the world's captured fish and 8 percent of the world's inland harvest fish. However, only 6 percent of the lake is in Kenya. Fish trade in Kenya is largely small-scale and revolves around women small-scale fishers (KMFRI, 2018). They are engaged in pre- and post-harvesting activities, including fish product transportation to the markets, usually with some value addition such as drying, smoking, and deep-frying.

The challenges facing Kenya's small-scale fishery sector are not as small as the name suggests but are enormous, ranging from environmental alteration and inconsistency, aggressive species, overfishing, declining stocks, and lack of sustainability in the enterprise. Furthermore, increasing weak enforcement management measures, encroachment of fishers into fish breeding areas, inadequate infrastructure for fish processing, quality, and safety assurance, as well as climate change together with postharvest loss have caused an impediment to the business sustainability (Anderson et al., 2015; G.O.K, 2008; KMFRI, 2018).

These challenges negatively affect women whose involvement in the sector cuts across the supply chain. Management interventions developed over the years include introducing co-management structures through the Beach Management Units (BMUs) and the Community Conservation Areas (CCAs). In these structures, women have not been given an equal hearing, and their opinions have not been listened to, even though they are stakeholders in the industry. They comprise about 19 percent in the pre-harvesting stage, 15 percent in harvesting, and more than 60 percent in the post-harvesting activities.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of social capital, associated with the works of Bourdieu (2002), Coleman (1988), Putnam (1994), and Woolcock (1988), was applied to explain fishers' networking and reinvestment. The concept expresses the sociological essence of communal energy, focusing on how reaching to one another offers a solution to a problem that requires a common approach

and voluntary collective action. Forms of social capital are general moral resources of the community, and they can be divided into trust, social norms, and social networking.

The theory contends that such forms of social relationships, such as networking relationships, like networking, are resources that yield reproductive benefits to groups or individuals in a society or an organization (Häuberer, 2011). The scholars argue that social groups exist as nodes of convergence and interactions, which results in social ties, linking groups or individuals who share similar beliefs and values (Matthews & Besemer, 2015). These networks result in an exchange of resources, such as information flows, and behaviour patterns, such as collective action and Trust.

In 1998, Woolcock expanded the theory by building on its three components: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Bonding social capital results in solidarity within or between groups with common characteristics such as family members. Bridging social capital in the study is anchored. It links people across groups, races, classes, or religious affiliations and, as such, creates collective action within the group that is perceived to have a common aim or objective. Linking social capital conversely focuses on the networks of the relationship between people, groups, or institutions with formal authority. It has the potential to embrace the relationship between individuals or groups through sharing a common interest with the help of passing information to different components (Evans & Weninger, 2014).

Modern institutions like business enterprises may build on such narratives for prosperity-related actions. Social capital theory embraces dimensions of social capital such as group networking, group solidarity, group collective action, and group information sharing. This study, therefore, uses social capital theory to advance the argument that small-scale fisheries ought to be aware that exploitation bridging networking resources could lead to sustainability reinvestment for small-scale fisheries in the blue economic space.

Networking in Small-Scale Fisheries

The social capital concept has remained relevant and is linked to socioeconomic connectedness and social relationships between people and their businesses. As a result, it has facilitated productive outcomes over time. Furthermore, it cooperates with stocks of networks and social trust that people can draw upon to address sustainability challenges. Its creation has been embraced as a solution for diverse socio-economic and environmental problems facing individual businesses and enterprises.

According to Tajeddini et al. (2020), networking in social capital entails the relationships among people who live and work in a particular society. This enables society to function properly. Regarding small-scale businesses such as fishing, networking comes in through the business members, buyers, and the activities they engage in to pull resources together. Entrepreneurial networking offers a platform to figure out and shape venture connectivity, detect, develop, and act upon socio-economic dynamics requiring the attention of an enterprise and its sustainability (Abbas et al., 2019). Networking as a social capital dimension is an important determinant of enterprise sustainability. Furthermore, networking builds ties with enterprise stakeholders, ensuring longevity in the livelihood and effective working of the value chain, which links producers, supplies, and customers along the value chain.

Networking demonstrates frequent interactions, linking fish entrepreneurs of similar interests. It enables frequent participation and consultations by fish stakeholders to disseminate fish management knowledge among fishers and across fish enterprises. Network as a dimension of social capital can potentially build stronger relationships among small-scale fishers. This creates partnerships within the sector and advances fishing knowledge essential to maximizing fish resource utilization (Dias et al., 2023). In Bolivia, it was concluded that such networking shapes the fishers' perception, resulting in a new culture of support among the fishers.

In this context, networking impacts new fishing knowledge and the exploitation of fish resources. However, the impact of networking on sustainable small-scale fisheries concerning specific gender remains an area of study. This study will bridge this gap by focusing on how social capital drives the sustainability of small-scale fisheries among women. Networking among the fishing community cannot be ignored when managing small-scale fisheries effectively. Through networking, solutions are communicated to the stakeholders promptly. Fishers' challenges can easily be shared, and solutions are promptly communicated to the stakeholders. Nunan et al. (2018) established that networking among the fishers is instrumental in managing and coordinating activities along the fish value chain. However, achieving fisheries management through networking is different from achieving sustainability. This study will narrow this gap by focusing on networking and sustainability among small-scale fisheries owned by women.

Fish marketing by small-scale fishers remains a challenging venture in developing economies. On this front, the role of networking in determining market outlet choices cannot be ignored (Malit et al., 2021). In most cases, social networking among the fishers would define the diverse market direction, magnitude, certainty, and durability. Even though social networks have remained a driver in identifying fish market outlets, their influence on realising sustainable small-scale fisheries has not been given attention. This study will focus on leveraging networking as a dimension of social capital for the sustainability of women-owned small-scale fisheries.

Methodological Approach

The study area was Homa Bay County, comprising four sub-counties located along the shores of Lake Victoria, near the southwestern border of Kenya. The study used a mixed-methods research design, which enabled the researcher to complement qualitative approaches with quantitative ones to allow for a more complete interrogation of the study variables.

The study targeted a population of 2,385 women fishers (fisher folk and traders) who are spread along Lake Victoria in the county. The sample size was calculated using Yamane's formula to get a sample number from our population, in which $N = 2,385$ with $\pm 5\%$ precision. Assuming a 95 percent confidence level and $p = 0.05$, we get the sample size of 342. The researcher obtained all required permits from the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) and the Directorate of Education, Homa-bay County. Quantitative data was collected using semi-structured questionnaires, while qualitative data was collected using focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Quantitative Data was analysed using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences version 26, and qualitative data was analysed thematically using Nvivo version 14.

Reinvestment of Small-scale Fishers Proceeds

Reinvestment is a measure of sustainability (dependent variable) in the small-scale women fishers' enterprise. The study assessed the practice of women fishers (whose duties are both fishing and trading) to reinvest the profit they earned from their small-scale fish business. The findings, presented in Table 1, will be a pointer to the sustainability level or otherwise.

Table 1: Profitability Reinvestment of Proceeds (%), N=330 (100)

Statement	SD	D	UD	A	SA	MN	STD-DIV
I use part of my income from the fish business to increase additional stock	57 (17.3)	58 (17.6)	51 (15.5)	47 (14.2)	117 (35.5)	3.33	1.52
My fish business had employed additional worker	65 (19.7)	86 (26.1)	61 (18.5)	83 (25.2)	35 (10.6)	2.80	1.30
I have been able to pay more to my employee	81 (24.5)	32 (9.7)	13 (3.9)	56 (17.0)	148 (44.8)	3.47	1.67
My business has enabled me to buy fish processing equipment	67 (20.3)	164 (49.7)	49 (14.8)	10 (3.1)	40 (12.1)	2.36	1.19
I use the profit from the fish business to open up other business	77 (23.3)	3 (0.9)	13 (3.9)	85 (25.8)	152 (46.1)	3.70	1.59
I can reach many market outlets because of good returns from my business	79 (23.9)	32 (9.7)	13 (3.9)	56 (17.0)	150 (45.5)	3.50	1.67
Composite/weighted Mean						3.19	1.49

Source: Research Data (2023)

Table 1 shows results in terms of percentages on questions relating to profitability reinvestment by the respondents. Of the 330 respondents, 46.1 percent used profit generated from the fish business to diversify to other businesses like transport of goods and people and small-scale farming, among others. Further analysis of the investment diversification practices by women as a result of the profit proceeds earned from fisheries shows that the respondents were in strong agreement ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.59$), which implies that they used profits from the fish business to open up other businesses. This is although diversification of proceeds from the fish business may contribute to the weakening of fish enterprises, therefore compromising profitability reinvestment of proceeds.

It was found that 45.5 percent of the respondents could access some market outlets due to profit earnings from their business. Further analysis gave a mean (M) = 3.50 and standard deviation $SD = 1.67$, which indicates a strong agreement. This suggests that profitable returns from their fish businesses support logistics to different market outlets and enhance business networking. Furthermore, this implies that small-scale fish enterprises struggle to have a market share of sales by reinvesting their profit proceeds. 44.8 per cent strongly agreed to have increased payment to their employees. The study investigated whether the respondents' capability to pay more money to their employees had increased. The result ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.67$) strongly agrees that they used part of their profit income to increase employees' income. This is an indication of employee retention strategy and human resource investment. This could result in fish enterprise sustainability, expansion, and additional profit proceeds reinvestment.

Furthermore, an additional 35.5 percent of the respondents used part of their profit income to increase their fish stock. The study also sought the small-scale fish business capacity to use earned profit to increase additional fish stock. The findings ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.52$) agreed that part of their profit goes for stock addition. The results indicate that the entrepreneurs observe business principles of keeping the business alive by restocking the fish products, thus

reinvesting part of the proceeds to keep the enterprise stock. This view was stated by a focus group discussion participant who stated that:

...I started the fish business with small capital from the sales of my farm produce. The business was doing so well in terms of profit, besides sales, I was able to get what to eat and my family. I started with four tins of small 'daga' fish, then extended to seven tins as it was giving me a good return. I then later extended to tilapia and finally to Nile perch. Whatever profit I got, I kept something for marry-go-round, food for my household, and part of my profit and capital for more stock... (FGD, Ongukwa Beach).

The study results on whether the entrepreneurs could spend part of their profit income to acquire fish processing equipment and employ more workforce show that out of 330 respondents, 49.7 percent and 26.1 percent disagreed, respectively. Further analysis shows that additional employment of workers ($M=2.80$, $SD=1.30$) and ability to buy fish processing equipment ($M=2.36$, $SD=1.19$) show lower consensus. These findings suggest that although most respondents agreed with profitability reinvestment levels, reinvesting profit generated from the fish business, buying the fish processing equipment, and employing additional workforce were not their key focus business areas. These could limit the act of profitability reinvestment of the proceeds.

Additional analysis from the table shows a weighted mean of 3.19 and a standard deviation of 1.49. An overall mean of 3.19 implies that the majority (64%) of the respondents agree to the fact that they reinvest part of their profit proceeds. Even though obtaining fish processing equipment and employing more workforce among small-scale women fishers is important for effective small-scale enterprise operations, this is still a challenge on the ability to acquire processing equipment on account of cost and the size of the business, even though it may be a desirable undertaking by small-scale women fishers. This could be due to the magnitude of fluctuating demand and supply of fish stock. Processing machines and increasing employee payments could result in higher business costs, which every rational entrepreneur would always avoid. A Key Informant observed this view:

...for a long time, we have suffered and still suffer because we cannot process our fish and even we cannot afford further processing equipment. Even though our members are willing to get such equipment, their money ability cannot allow them. Some have even opted out of business because of such challenges... (KII, Ongayo BMU, Sindo)

This finding concurs with Cooke et al.'s (2021) work. Reinvesting profit proceeds is important if a small-scale fish enterprise wants to sustain its operations. This will address the challenges of fisheries business fluctuations due to the fish stock's unstable supply and demand. Reinvestment strengthens the business and protects it from negative shocks that may derail its sustainable operations.

Analytical Results

Network and Sustainable Reinvestment of Small-scale Fisheries

The study's objective was to examine the influence of networking on women's sustainability reinvestment of small-scale fisheries. The literature and empirical evidence suggested that networking would be associated with the sustainability reinvestment of women's fisheries. On the sustainability reinvestment by small-scale fisheries by women, the outcome variable had six measure items from where a composite index for sustainable reinvestment in small-scale

fisheries was computed. Networking was the predictor variable in the study objective. Being a latent variable, it was measured using six items, where a composite index for fishers' networking was computed and used in testing the hypothesis. The following hypothesis was tested using a simple linear regression model to analyse the objective. For qualitative data, thematic analysis was applied using Nvivo version 14:

H₀₁: The Network does not significantly drive sustainable reinvestment in small-scale fisheries by women.

$$RNT = \beta_0 + \beta_1 RN + \epsilon$$

Where:

RNT= Sustainable Reinvestment of small-scale fisheries representing a dependent variable.

β_0 = Regression constant,

β_1 =Regression Coefficient of Fisher networking,

NT = Composite index of fishers Networking representing the independent variable.

ϵ = Error term.

The results of the test are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Regression Results of Leveraging Network on Sustainable Reinvestment of small-scale Fisheries

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.405 ^a	.164	.162	.44676
a. Predictors: (Constant), Networking				

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	12.875	1	12.875	64.507	.000 ^b
	Residual	65.468	328	.200		
	Total	78.343	329			
a. Dependent Variable: Reinvestment						
b. Predictors: (Constant), Networking						

Coefficients						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.550	.190		13.404	.000
	Networking	.340	.042	.405	8.032	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Reinvestment						

The hypothesis tested whether fishers' networking does not significantly influence the sustainability of reinvestment of small-scale fisheries by women. Table 2 summarizes the

findings. The dependent variable (sustainability reinvestment) was regressed on the predicting variable (fishers networking) to test the null hypothesis H_{01} . Networking significantly predicted sustainability reinvestment, $F(1,328) = 64.507$, $p = 0.000 < 0.05$, which indicated that networking had a significant influence on sustainability ($\beta = 0.340$, $t = 13.404$, $p = 0.000 < 0.05$). The β value of 0.342 implies that one unit increase in the fishers' network results in a .342 unit increase in sustainability performance. Moreover, $R^2 = .164$ implies that networking explains 16.4 percent of the variance in sustainability, while the remaining 83.6 percent could be accounted for by other factors apart from networking.

Based on the above findings, it can be concluded that there was a significant positive relationship between fishers' network and women's sustainability reinvestment of fisheries. This led to the rejection of the null hypothesis. Using the statistical findings, the regression equation can be substituted as follows:

$$RNT = \beta_0 + \beta_1 NT$$

$$SUS = 2.432 + 0.342 NT$$

Discussion of the Study Findings

The discussions of the study findings are anchored on how both predictors and outcome variables manifested their relationships in this study. The regression analysis was applied to establish the outcome. Finally, an overview of the study objective, hypothesis, interpretation, and conclusion was presented. The discussion provides detailed study outcomes in line with the research objective and conceptualized hypothesis.

In addition, the discussion resonated with the theoretical, empirical, and qualitative narratives from the focus group and key informants. These discussions, therefore, interpret and position the results within the discourse of women fishers networking and sustainability reinvestment of small-scale fisheries by women. The discourse was centred on the study results and organized along the research objective. SPSS version 26 and Nvivo 14 were used in data analysis.

Networking and Sustainability Reinvestment of Small-Scale Fisheries

The study's objective aimed to examine the influence of networking on the sustainability reinvestment of small-scale Fisheries by women. This objective corresponds with the hypothesis stated as *H₀₁: Network does not significantly influence the sustainability reinvestment of small-scale fisheries by women*. Network, a latent variable, was conceptualized based on six items; group participation, increased business connections, network size, frequency of meetings, business growth, and increase in income, as proposed by Anderson et al. (2007) and Anderson and Miller (2003). On the other hand, the sustainability reinvestment in small-scale fisheries was measured by indicators extracted from sustainable development indicators (Bakos et al., 2020; Tan et al., 2015). The research findings, as seen in Table 2, revealed a positive and significant relationship ($r = .405$) between network and sustainability reinvestment performance.

Furthermore, the predictor variable explains 16.4 percent of the variability in the outcome factor ($R^2 = 0.164$). In addition, the study revealed that the network positively and significantly affected sustainability ($\beta = 0.340$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, the network and its attributes are significant in determining the effectiveness of enterprise sustainability reinvestment performance. This observation was explicitly captured in different focus group discussions where participants remarked:

...One cannot manage this fish business as an individual, without linking up with one another. There are many things to consider every day you are off to the lake to get

fish for sale. You must know what type of fish has landed, and in which landing space, the ongoing gate price, and what other landing beaches look like. Further, one must connect to the market. Therefore, connections or networking is what makes our fish business sustainable by using our sales return to get additional stock.... (FGD Ngodhe Beach- Suba North).

Networking takes place to establish the availability of the catches, the dominant species of the day, prevailing market prices, and the sales situation. This view was shared by a key informant as captured:

...as a BMU leader, I take up the initiative by networking with other beaches to advise the fishers on the supply trend of the day. Such networking is important for business reliability and consistency in enterprise efficiency and income generation. Indeed, such networking is important for sustainability in the fisheries by women... (KI Nyagwethe beach-Suba-south).

The findings agree with the themes of social capital theory (Putnam, 1993). Besides, it is postulated in the theory that forms of social capital, such as networking, are general moral resources of enterprises. Häuberer and Jerabek (2011) and Coleman (1988) concluded that networking can yield productive benefits to organizations and sustain their operations. Further, the findings agree with other research, including that of Mankgele and Fatoki (2020), who established that networking positively impacts the sustainable performance of small-scale and medium enterprises in South Africa.

The results also conform to the findings of Nthuni (2014), who found that business networks positively influence the sustainability and growth of small-scale and medium enterprises in Kenya. Small-scale fishers need to be more conversant with network traits such as meeting frequencies and expanding network size and put them into practice for the longevity of their fisheries. Furthermore, these results are in tandem with the findings of Tilley et al. (2021), who established that network as a component of social capital has a positive and significant influence on rural women enterprises, including fisheries.

An effective network builds innovation and self-esteem, resulting in a stronger and more sustainable enterprise. Similarly, Cruickshank and Rolland (2006) concluded that networking saves fisheries enterprises and sustains their efficiency and fish product deliveries. The findings of this study, therefore, confirm the conclusion made by previous studies that networking enables small-scale enterprises to become more sustainable in their operations.

Conclusions

The main reason for conducting this research was to leverage social capital for the sustainability of small-scale fisheries by women. The null hypothesis formulated to test the influence of bridging networking on reinvestment sustainability performance was statistically significant. The relationship between the dependent and independent variables, as given in the objectives, was found to be statistically significant, implying that bridging networking variables are key factors for consideration in this sector. The results from the descriptive analysis on focused group discussions, and key informant interviews with women fishers revealed that women-owned small-scale fisheries embraced the significance of social capital for their enterprise performance. It confirmed that networks positively and significantly influence sustainability, $r = 0.551$, $R^2 = 0.303$, $F = 142.768$, $p < 0.05$, and $\beta = 0.342$, $p < 0.05$. Key informants' interviews and the Focused Group Discussions affirmed similar sentiments. This study concluded that networking positively and significantly affected sustainability. This is likely because in small-scale fisheries, market dynamics dispersed locations, trade in different fish species, and fish

waste recycling require enhanced networking initiatives and practices in fisheries if their business longevity is to be attained.

The fisheries sector plays an important role in the global economy. In Kenya, the sector provides food, employment, and income to a large population, earning substantial income from the domestic market and foreign exchange. These earnings will likely increase if the under-exploited areas, such as small-scale fisheries, are tapped and supported for sustainability. Considering that the government of Kenya keeps on reviewing fisheries policy through fisheries acts, this study has implications for government implementation agencies and the fishing community as a whole. The study results revealed a statistically significant relationship between fishers' networking and small-scale fish enterprise sustainability. This implies that if fishers establish business networks linking the fishing and landing points and networking among, for example, the fish business community, the possibility of sustaining fish enterprises could be realized. Policymakers should ensure that fisheries officers adopt and enforce networking strategies in the sector to achieve sustainable activities such as profit reinvestment and fish waste recycling along the fish value chain and realize value, equity in supply, and a just price of fish.

The study has brought to the fore various issues and sentiments that require further navigation and investigation. On this account, some of the implications and limitations of this study open up recommendations for further studies. While this study successfully established the leveraging social capital to the sustainability of small-scale fisheries by women, it equally presented enormous prospects to direct future research. The analysis from this study established that fishers' networking influences reinvestment in the sector. This may lead to improved and sustained livelihood among the small-scale, informal women fishers whose works cut across fisher folks and traders. Further research can also investigate other variables that could moderate this relationship. In addition, further research may also take the initiative to navigate the possibility of the presence of mediating variables such as training and credit facilities in establishing the relationship between social capital and sustainability in small-scale fisheries by women.

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Historical Analysis of Post-Colonial Food Security Policies in Kenya, 1963-2020

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Abstract

This paper analyses Kenya's food security policies since independence in 1963 to 2020. The country has faced persistent food insecurity due to volatile harvests, corruption, and poor roads, which lead to poor food distribution in some parts of the nation. While initial policies favoured large-scale export farming, the 1980s National Food Policy shifted focus to sustainable agriculture and smallholder support through fertilizer subsidies, irrigation programmes, and a keen focus on improving road connectivity in Kenya. Despite these interventions, challenges persist. These include inadequate infrastructure, climate change impacts, limited smallholder financing, and inequitable land ownership. COVID-19 further exposed supply chain vulnerabilities. This paper evaluates the effectiveness of government interventions in irrigation, subsidies, and road infrastructure development and proposes new strategies for Kenya's food security.

Keywords: Food policy, food security, road network, subsidy, sustainability

Introduction

Food security in pre-independence Kenya was deeply influenced by both colonial policies and traditional agricultural systems. Before British colonization, most indigenous communities maintained diverse agricultural practices adapted to local ecological conditions. The Kikuyu, for instance, developed sophisticated intercropping systems that helped ensure food availability throughout the year (Mackenzie, 1989). Colonialism significantly altered traditional food security mechanisms. The establishment of the settler economy in the early 20th century led to the displacement of many African farmers from the fertile highlands to more marginal areas. This process, combined with the introduction of cash crops, impoverishment of Africans, and skewed road development, fundamentally disrupted existing food production systems (Lonsdale & Berman, 1979). The British administration's focus on export agriculture often came at the expense of local food security, pushing many indigenous farmers into less productive lands.

The colonial government's policies of labour extraction further complicated food security issues. Many men were forced to work on settler farms or in urban areas, reducing the available labour for subsistence farming in their home areas. This particularly affected women, who became increasingly responsible for maintaining household food security while dealing with reduced access to prime agricultural land (Kitching, 1980).

Since gaining independence in 1963, the government of Kenya has put in place several strategies to enhance food security and sustainability in the country. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) definition, a country is considered food secure when all people at both household and national levels have access to safe and nutritious food with adequate dietary requirements for a healthy and productive life at any given time. Food

insecurity, on the other hand, means that people have inadequate or no access to adequate food required for an active and healthy life, thus leading to hunger, malnutrition, and other related indications that are deemed harmful (Maurice, 2024).

According to Njora (2023), food insecurity in post-independent Kenya results from several factors, including economic factors like poverty, unemployment, and income disparities. The availability of productive resources necessary in agriculture, including land, water, and capital, is restricted, thus reducing food production. Global warming and pollution are also evils; they impact food production and, consequently, the provision of sufficient food worldwide.

Political stability issues such as conflicts and forced displacement affect food intake and distribution in some ways (Renner, 1997). Despite the Constitution of Kenya, Article 43, guaranteeing everyone safe, quality, and nutritious food, Kenyans continue to suffer from food insecurities, with the Global Hunger Index (GHI) scoring Kenya at 23.0 in 2022, indicating a serious level of hunger (Global Hunger Index, 2022). Between 2021 and 2022, severe and prolonged droughts were experienced in Kenya and other countries in the Horn of Africa, specifically impacting Turkana County and other arid and semi-arid counties in Kenya (Ndondo, 2023). UNICEF reported that more than 900,000 children required humanitarian aid in Kenya due to the prolonged drought. Drought and food security challenges are closely linked (Tull, 2018).

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative historical analysis approach to examine Kenya's food security policies from 1963 to 2020. The research methodology involved a comprehensive review of primary and secondary sources, including government policy documents, agricultural sector reports, development plans, and academic literature. Key policy initiatives were analysed across three main dimensions: irrigation development, subsidy programmes, and road infrastructure, with particular attention paid to their implementation effectiveness and impact on food security outcomes. This multi-faceted analytical approach allowed for a nuanced understanding of both the successes and limitations of Kenya's food security initiatives over the examined period. More significantly, this approach helped answer the research question, *how have post-independence government policies in Kenya impacted food security, and what have been the primary successes and limitations of these policies?*

Irrigation and Food Security in Kenya

Kenya's economy has depended heavily on its agricultural sector, which has been the biggest contributor to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since independence (Gow & Parton, 1995). Irrigation is a critical factor in raising food production. Unfortunately, arable land in Kenya is approximately 5800,000 hectares, only 10.19 percent of the country's land area (Canton, 2021). Consequently, if Kenya relies on rain-fed agriculture, this would mean that only 10.19 percent of Kenya's land is suitable for agriculture, which would easily result in food insecurity.

After independence, through the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, the Kenyan government developed initiatives to increase irrigation infrastructure and hence increase agricultural productivity. This was done by freeing farmers from relying on rain-fed agriculture which often end up frustrating in terms of harvests due to inadequate and erratic rainfall. It is imperative to underscore the fact that irrigation is an old phenomenon in Kenya. However, the colonial government is credited for having initiated large-scale irrigation projects to boost food production and resettle the landless (Kileteny & Wakhungu, 2019).

After Independence, the Kenyan government intensified its efforts to expand colonial irrigation infrastructure and set up new irrigation schemes. One notable initiative was the National Irrigation Board (NIB), which was established in 1966 to oversee irrigation projects nationwide (Republic of Kenya, 1966). Through NIB, the government established irrigation

schemes while expanding the ones that had started with the colonial establishment. A casing example is the Mwea Irrigation and Settlement Scheme, which was inceptioned during colonial times but was expanded mainly in the 1960s to settle the landless and boost rice production in Kenya (Munyua, 2020).

In 2002, when Mwai Kibaki became the president of Kenya, the government renewed its focus on irrigation development as part of its agricultural transformation agenda. During his presidency, Mwai Kibaki introduced Kenya Vision 2030, which focused on elevating small-scale agriculture from low-productivity subsistence farming to a modern, commercially-driven, and globally competitive sector, with an emphasis on innovation and value addition (Khatete & Chepkoech, 2018).

In 2017, Uhuru Kenyatta, the fourth president of Kenya, introduced the 'Big Four Agenda' to chart the course of the Kenyan economy. Four grand challenges within the Agenda included; manufacturing, food and nutrition security, universal health, and affordable housing. As stated by the President, the food security agenda objective was to get the country to a status of food security, meaning every Kenyan attaining physical, social, and economic access to adequate, safe, nutritious, and diverse food throughout the year for a healthy life (GOK. 2017). Food security and nutrition seek to increase the production of food crops on a large scale and, at the same time, support small farmers in developing and marketing their crops. To this end, the government began reforming the old policies, cardinal formulation, and new policies and strategies (Rwigema, 2022).

The government's Food and Nutrition Agenda outlines a ten-year plan called the Agricultural Sector Growth and Transformation Strategy (ASGTS) to promote affordable food and support farmers through better access to farm inputs, expanded extension services, and increased investment in research and technology. Policies related to food insecurity since the formation of ASGTS have seen government priorities change the focus of the primary fight against hunger to more political policies that have even aggravated food insecurity states in Kenya.

Through the Big Four Agenda, initiatives such as the Galana-Kulalu Irrigation Scheme aim to harness water resources for large-scale agricultural production (Oduori & Njeru, 2016). Large dams to serve as reservoirs for irrigation water, like the Thiba Dam in Kirinyaga County, have also been constructed as part of the government's wider plan to increase acreage under irrigation. Adopting smallholder irrigation schemes in Kenya has empowered local communities and enhanced food production at the grassroots level.

The success of smallholder irrigation has particularly been evident in regions like Central Kenya and the Lake Victoria Basin, where farmers reported significant increases in crop yields and income diversification (Ngigi, 2002). The implementation of the Water Act 2002 marked another milestone, introducing reforms that promoted more efficient water use and improved irrigation management. This legislation, coupled with increased investment in modern irrigation technologies, has contributed to the expansion of irrigated agriculture from approximately 52,000 hectares in 1963 to over 150,000 hectares by 2020, with a consequent increase in food security in Kenya (Mahgoub, 2014).

Additionally, there has been a recent integration of climate-smart irrigation practices and the adoption of drip irrigation systems, which are particularly beneficial in arid and semi-arid regions. These developments have helped stabilize food production in traditionally food-insecure areas, with some regions reporting up to a 300 percent increase in crop yields compared to rain-fed agriculture (Mutiga et al., 2010).

Despite these efforts, several challenges hindered the expansion of irrigation infrastructure in Kenya. One major challenge was inadequate funding and resource allocation, leading to delays and insufficient maintenance of existing schemes (Mutua, 2014). Additionally, land tenure issues and conflicts often complicate land acquisition for irrigation projects

(Nyamukondiwa, 2019). Ecologically related challenges like pest and disease shortages of water supply have also afflicted successful schemes such as Mwea.

Subsidy Programmes and Food Security

Agricultural input subsidies, whereby inputs are provided to the users at lower prices than they could have otherwise had to pay in the market, form the basis of this strategy due to the belief that it will enhance the adoption of recommended farming practices, increasing productivity, profitability and food availability and access and in the long run reducing poverty and boosting economic growth. They were frequent in developing agricultural countries in the 1960s and 70s. Their use was reduced in the 1980s and 1990s as African governments adopted the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS) to reduce government spending, a measure the World Bank and IMF recommended to stabilize their weakening economies (Saeed, 2024).

However, in 2007, the Government of Kenya, through the Ministry of Agriculture (GoK, 2007), revived the subsidy programmes following the adoption of the National Accelerated Agricultural Input Access Programme (NAAIAP) and the National Fertilizer Price Stabilization Plan (NFPSP). These subsidy programmes aimed to subsidize agricultural inputs in Kenya, especially fertilizers, lower the cost of agricultural production, motivate farmers to engage in food production, and boost Kenya's food security (Hoffmann & Jones, 2021).

The subsidy programmes have been critical to Kenya's efforts to promote food security since their adoption in 2007. This is because they have offered farmers subsidized access to essential inputs such as fertilizers, seeds, and agricultural machinery (Dorward, 2009). For fertilizers, the subsidy policy led to Kenyan farmers' higher fertilizer usage. From 1992 to 2013, the maize farmers using fertilizer in Kenya ranged between 62 percent to 65 percent in the quoted period (Mavuthu, 2017). The trend seems to have been the same in the years between 1997 and 2007, when the fertilizer use among smallholder maize farmers in Kenya was 63.15 percent (Dooso, 2019). The fertilizer subsidy contributed to the increased use of fertilizer by Kenyan farmers, and by 2009, the use stood at 75.4 percent among Kenyan farmers (Waweru & Owino, 2022).

The increased use of fertilizer led to improved maize production in Kenya, with a 5.0 percent to 7.0 percent point yield increase (Waweru & Owino, 2022). The improved yields helped improve food security by providing food and enhancing farm households' income levels (Sekabira et al., 2023).

Fertilizer Subsidy Programmes have contributed to increased agricultural productivity, thus enhancing food availability and reducing reliance on imports (Boulange et al., 2022). However, despite their successes, the subsidy interventions are vulnerable to inefficiency, bias, and corruption. In Kenya, they have encountered several challenges that have limited their effectiveness. One major challenge is the issue of targeting and distribution, with subsidies often failing to reach the intended beneficiaries, mainly small-scale farmers in remote rural areas (Recha, 2018).

Subsidy programmes have also, however, been associated with corruption and mismanagement and have thus channelled their resources in other directions, leading to achieving food security goals (World Bank, 2015). Also, inadequate governance structures, coupled with poor monitoring and evaluation of the subsidy programmes, have been a hindering factor to the achievement of subsidy programmes (Tiffen et al., 1994). Lack of adequate financial resources and poor and scarce resource mobilization messed the government further in its bid to continue implementing and expanding on the subsidy programmes and other related schemes (Muyanga & Jayne, 2006).

Additionally, controversies such as those associated with the subsidy policies have raised concerns about the environmental and socioeconomic effects. Such approaches as chemical fertilizers have been viewed as having negative repercussions, such as degrading soil fertility

and polluting the environment (Ayala & Rao, 2002). Besides, when a farmer is fully dependent on these aids, the readiness to carry out agricultural research and create sustainable and feasible farms may be hampered, and the farmer may develop dependency syndrome (Parkinson, 2009). As much as this research posits that subsidies have to cover more of these inputs, including agrochemicals, farm machinery, and seeds, among others, in addition to fertilizers, the subsidized inputs can only help the Kenyan farmer if they are available on time. Any delayed access to these inputs means delayed planting, which translates to low yields, especially during the short rain seasons. Besides this, there must be political goodwill in the fight against rooted corruption in the Ministry of Agriculture and related institutions like the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB), which have often misdirected the subsidies, making them not reach Kenyan farmers.

To improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the subsidy programmes, targeted and smart subsidies instead of blanket subsidy programmes should be adopted in Kenya. This would include a focus on the most vulnerable farmers and regions. This could involve using digital technologies for better identification and distribution of subsidies. Additionally, diversification of Supported Crops would improve the subsidies and make them more effective in boosting food security. Unfortunately, since independence, maize has been a focus of many subsidy programmes. However, encouraging diversification into other nutritious and climate-resilient crops could enhance overall food security.

Road Development and Promotion of Food Security, 1963-2020

In the immediate post-independence period, Kenya inherited a road network primarily designed to serve colonial interests, focusing on connecting agricultural production areas to ports for export (Ochieng, & Maxon, 1992). The independent government sought to expand and improve this network to serve national development goals, including food security. In fact, road infrastructure development became the key focus of Kenya's national development strategy after independence in 1963, with successive governments of Kenya all having a Ministry of Roads to oversee road development.

In the post-independence era, the government of Kenya recognised the pivotal role that an improved road network could play in enhancing food security by facilitating the transport of agricultural produce from rural areas to urban markets (Kenya, 1965). This strategic prioritization was further emphasized in successive national development plans, with particular attention paid to connecting agricultural regions with major commercial centres (Cummings & Obwocha 2018). The expansion of rural access roads became a cornerstone of Kenya's agricultural development policy in the 1970s and 1980s, with significant investments made in upgrading earth roads to all-weather standards (Kishore, et al., 2014).

The government's commitment to road infrastructure was reinforced through various policy frameworks, including the District Focus for Rural Development strategy introduced in 1983, which emphasized the need for improved transportation networks to support agricultural commercialization (Lebo & Schelling, 2001). By the 1990s, Kenya had established one of the most extensive road networks in Sub-Saharan Africa, though maintenance challenges persisted (Wasike, 2001). Recent initiatives, such as the Road Sector Investment Programme, have continued to prioritize the rehabilitation and expansion of rural roads, recognizing their vital role in reducing post-harvest losses and improving market access for smallholder farmers (Sieber & Allen, 2016).

The previous decades of the 1990s and 2000s witnessed more integrated procedures involved in infrastructure development, and special attention was paid to the construction of rural access roads. The Kenya Rural Roads Authority, set up in 2007, has contributed the most to laying down rural infrastructure (GoK, 2007). From these observations, it was realised that there are challenges, such as the lack of proper maintenance of the existing roads and issues of

corruption in the road construction projects, that have affected the outcomes of the investments in infrastructure.

In recent years, there has been growing recognition of the need to link road infrastructure development more closely with other interventions to promote food security. This includes complementary investments in agricultural extension services, storage facilities, and market information systems (Qureshi et al., 2015).

In light of the foregoing discussion, while road infrastructure development has been an essential strategy for promoting food security in post-independence Kenya, its effectiveness has been limited by uneven implementation and a lack of integration with other critical interventions. Future efforts should focus on a more holistic approach that addresses the needs of smallholder farmers and remote rural communities while also tackling issues of corruption and maintenance in road development projects.

Conclusion

Kenya's food security history is marked by different government strategies and policy interventions to promote food production and availability. This paper has offered valuable historical lessons that policymakers and the government of the day can borrow from to boost food security in Kenya. From the discussions made in this work, key areas for policy improvement or strategic shifts have been suggested. Furthermore, for all government policies to succeed, various stakeholders, including policymakers, local communities, and agricultural advocates, must work together and commit to the fight against corruption that seems to affect all the policy interventions discussed.

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An Account of Growth, Development, Impact, and Decline of Pan Paper Mills, 2000-2009

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Abstract

Over the last two decades, Webuye Pan Paper Mill, the nation's leading paper producer, came to an unholy ending. While its decline and its economic and labour history are largely unknown outside of Kenya, this event shook many observers and the locals who depended on it for livelihood and survival. The company faced ongoing issues, possibly related to financial instability (worsening liquidity position), management, operational challenges, and post-governmental collaboration agreements. This study provides important information on the post-colonial, political, and socio-economic development in western Kenya and the country as a whole. From its inception, the industry had dominated the state's economic, social, and physical landscape, building mighty in western Kenya and extracting millions of pounds of 'pulp' wood from its impressive forests. For many generations, thirty thousand people or more worked in the paper mills and in the harsh forest fringe from which raw materials were extracted. Small and big communities emerged around the mills as logging sustained the otherwise declining agricultural areas. These industrial communities were tightly knit, and each company and its workers built their own labour relations systems, including workers' unions. A historical study of labour and paper mills shows how new technologies were incorporated into the industry and how workers and management were often at loggerheads over work processes, work conditions, and work compensation. The theory of modernization was adopted in this study to assess the relationship between policing and post-modernity. Thus, the main aim of this paper is to account for a detailed account of the growth, development, livelihood impact, and decline of pan paper mills, 2000-2009. The study adopted an ex-facto approach, applying snowballing and purposive sampling techniques. Data collected was organized, edited, and coded, and information was analysed through two analytical frames: documentary review and content analysis. The results were arranged according to historical periods for comparison and correlation. The study used descriptive interpretation and a chronological approach.

Keywords: Decline, growth, development, manufacturing pan-African paper mill

Introduction

Pan African mill was the largest manufacturing industry in the Western region. It was established in 1969 and came into operation in 1973. Pan African Mills changed its name to the Webuye pan paper industry because of the effects of dialects (O.I., Kirugu, 2013). During the pre-independence time, Webuye was known as Broderick Falls, named after the first Whiteman to visit the hereby Nabuyole Falls on River Nzoia. The Webuye pan paper mill is a joint venture between the Kenya government, the Finance Corporation (the private arm of the World Bank), and Orient Paper Mills, which was part of the Birhia group from India. The industry is located on the Kenya-Uganda road. It is on the banks of river Nzoia, which drains into Lake Victoria. The Orient Paper and Industry Limited has provided the company's

technical know-how and management services since its inception. The pan paper mills commenced production in 1974 with a rated capacity of 43,000 tons of paper per year.

Pan Paper was founded in 1964 after feasibility studies determined that the factory could be built. Pan African Paper Mills (E.A) Ltd was founded in 1970 by the Kenyan government, with Orient Paper Mills of India and the World Bank's International Finance Corporation as co-sponsors. These two sponsors' substantial investments aided Pan Paper's establishment and its subsequent expansion plans. On the front lines of Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC), India's expertise and enterprise helped Pan Paper succeed with Kenyan manpower and natural resources. President Jomo Kenyatta laid the foundation stone for the mills at Broderick Falls (Webuye) in November 1972, and construction of the mills began immediately after the agreements were signed. On November 27, 1974, the machine rolled the first MF Kraft paper made from trees grown in the nearby Kaptagat forests. For the first time in Kenyan history, paper that was wholly a Kenyan product was produced because the main raw materials were grown entirely in Kenya. In April 1975, the second machine producing bleached paper grades was turned on. Since then, various parts of the mills and associated factory sections, such as the cauterizing unit, the Lime Kiln, and the Power House, among others, have been regularly adjusted before being put through capacity trials. The study, therefore, documents a detailed account of the growth, development, livelihood impact, and decline of pan paper mills from 2000 to 2009.

Historiographical Background

Historians globally have recently provided some of the most insightful contributions to factory history (Archer & Musić, 2017). There is a rich patrimony of research on factories which is rooted in fields adjacent to labour history, of which many historians have long been aware (Mayo, 1949). From the late 1960s onwards, factory studies began analysing the dynamics of 'factory culture' and its informal and formal organizations (Holzberg & Giovannini, 1981). Ogendo (1972) examined the industrial development in Kenya, which began in 1900 until 1939, and noted that the British policy on industrialization was against the development of manufacturing industries in the colonies. The main emphasis of British policy towards the colonies had been on extracting raw materials to supply British industries. Kenya's industrial development started with service industries, especially for railway agricultural equipment.

Another important study by Wysocki (1972) focused on the Salzgitter factory Reichswerk Hermann Goering, which was part of the largest German Second World War production complex that appeared in Wysocki in 1982. Celebrated historian Freeman (Freeman, 2017) tells the story of the factory and examines how it has reflected both people's dreams and nightmares of industrialization and social change. He takes readers through from the textile mills in England that powered the Industrial Revolution and the factory towns of New England to the colossal steel and car plants of twentieth-century America, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, and on to today's behemoths making sneakers, toys, and cellphones in China and Vietnam. He traces arguments about factories and social progress through such critics and champions as Marx and Engels, Charles Dickens, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Ford, and Joseph Stalin.

Lilja (2020) presents a longitudinal study of a textile manufacturing company that relocated from England to South Africa in 1946, from its African establishment to its decline in the late 1980s. Dinubila (2020) reconstructs a story of an industrial plant's location at a greenfield site. Similar to the phenomenon investigated by Jonathan Cowie (Cowie, 1999), Dinubila traces how the Italian car manufacturer FIAT opened a state-of-the-art factory in the early 1990s in a rural area of Basilicata, southern Italy. Thanks to a legal device, it could enjoy exclusion from the collective agreement that bound other unionized plants and exploit the advantage of being one of the few large employers. Workers flocked to the Melfi factory, a

‘happy island’ in an economically depressed region, but the relentless pace of work and managerial autocracy belied the post-Fordist hype that accompanied the plant’s establishment. Against all odds, workers went on strike in 2004 (Cunnison, 1982), finally achieving, albeit temporarily, better working conditions. Dinubila (2020) captures the complex interplay of individual and collective memory of this event and the years that followed through oral history. In a way, the factory becomes a ‘site of memory,’ but it is a memory without nostalgia for a brief episode of militancy that did not change the overall course of labour relations at Melfi.

These reviews indicate that history is crowded with the rise and fall of many factories worldwide. Such history also exists in the Kenya manufacturing sector with little chronological documentation, creating a literature gap that historians need to fill for purposes of factory policy rethinking and improved practice as a source of historical information for the sustainability of such factories. This study collected both historical and oral literature meant to document a detailed account of the growth, development, and decline of pan paper mills from 2000 to 2009.

The Trial and Experimental Years

Pan Paper, officially known as Pan African Paper Mills, was a significant industrial complex in Kenya when constructed in 1972. At that time, it was the largest paper factory in Eastern and Central Africa. The establishment of Pan Paper marked a significant milestone for Kenya’s industrial sector, contributing to economic development and job creation in the region. The paper mill played a crucial role in meeting the paper and packaging needs of the growing population in Kenya and the surrounding regions. Its construction represented a significant investment in the country’s industrial infrastructure and aimed to boost the local economy (Pan Paper Mills Factsheet, 1991, p.11).

Pan African Paper Mills (PPM) was established in 1967 with a majority shareholding of 54 percent by Orient Paper and Industries of India, whereas the Government and other investors like the International Finance Corporation (IFC) were minority shareholders. The company accumulated huge debts over the years, which it could not service, culminating in its abrupt closure on 30 January 2009 due to power disconnection arising from non-payment of bills to Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC). The management, which was also the majority shareholder, absconded to India in March 2009 without the knowledge of the Government. The company’s performance prior to the closure had deteriorated, which was attributed to failing plants, inadequate wood supplies, high cost of fuel, and stiff competition from imported cheap paper products.

Pan Paper was not just a factory but an entire ‘complex’ that the then President Daniel Arap Moi inaugurated in 1979. The question of Pan African Paper Mills, Webuye has been before the Committee on implementation for the last two years following an assurance by the Assistant Minister for Industrialization on 28th May 2009. The undertaking was made in response to a question by private notice filed by the then Member for Webuye, Hon. Alfred Sambu, regarding re-opening the paper mill. The then Assistant Minister for Industrialization (Hon. Nderitu Muriithi) confirmed that the Government appointed a technical and financial evaluation task force on 2 April 2009 to undertake an urgent evaluation of Pan African Paper Mills, East Africa Ltd, to establish the company’s viability.

On March 16, 1999, Pan African Paper Mills (E.A.) Limited appealed to the Electricity Regulatory Board, requesting that the Board order, among other things, a significant reduction in electricity units from Kshs.420 to Kshs. 1.4 per Kilo Watt to make the company competitive. In order to revive the operations further, The IFC had given the miller a Ksh5 billion (\$50 million) loan, but it was struggling and only managed to pay off about half the debt. It had Ksh2.6 billion (\$26 million) outstanding. In addition, the firm had a total debt portfolio of long-term loans of Ksh7.2 billion, which sank it into seven years of trouble. However, as Pan paper’s

engines prepared to roar back to life in the sleepy town of Webuye, Bungoma County intrigues surrounding its sale heightened. Employees lucky enough to be called back to work to witness the company's rebirth may never know how the miller, valued at Sh18 billion when it was placed under receivership, ended up being disposed of at KSh900 million.

Due to financial constraints and operational difficulties, Pan Paper experienced periods of closure in the 1990s. These closures had significant implications for the local economy, leading to job losses and economic downturns in the surrounding communities. The Kenyan government made several attempts to revitalize Pan Paper during this period. Interventions included financial injections, restructuring efforts, and attempts to attract investors. However, the success of these interventions varied, and the mill continued to face challenges. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Kenyan government embarked on a privatization process for several state-owned enterprises, including Pan Paper.

In an oral interview with Okang'a (O.I., Okang'a, 2023), he recalled that in 1987, Pan Paper embarked upon a major afforestation program to replenish natural resources, enhance the environment, and regain the area residents' trust. The Paper Mills actively supported the government's afforestation and forest renewal programmes and ensured that clear-felled areas were more than adequately replenished. With tree nurseries in Webuye, Kapatagat, and Ainabkoi, Pan Paper raised over one million trees in 1989, and these nurseries were producing millions of trees annually. The tree planting exercise started in 1987 with 50,000 trees, a figure which rose to 800,000 trees by 1988.

In 2005, the government was forced to appoint a task force to investigate the company's affairs and make recommendations on the way forward. The decision to appoint a task force in 2005 indicates a recognition by the Kenyan government of the need to examine the affairs of Pan Paper thoroughly. The company faced ongoing issues related to financial stability, management, and operational challenges. The task force was tasked with determining whether, after 37 years of Indian investors operating in Kenya, the existing management arrangement, presumably the technical service management agreement, was still necessary or beneficial for Pan Paper. This implies a critical evaluation of the effectiveness of the existing structure and the impact of long-term collaboration with foreign investors.

The first signs of the company's worsening indebtedness came to light in early 2005 when it was forced to write to term lenders to plead for debt rescheduling, lamenting that it could not meet principal and interest payments. As it turned out, the lenders refused to agree and recommended instead that an independent study be conducted to establish the company's long-term viability. Consequently, the lenders appointed financial consultants Ms. McKinsey and Company to work out a turnaround strategy and to chart the way forward. However, implementation of the report by the consultants has been slow.

The company's profitability had been deteriorating over the years. The mention of an operating profit of Ksh415 million (\$5.9 million) during the year ending June 30, 2006, indicates a challenging financial situation, especially when compared to the accrued interest charges of Ksh730 million (\$10.4 million). This suggests that the company was struggling to generate sufficient profits to cover its interest expenses. The report notes an upward trend in working capital deficits. Working capital is a key indicator of a company's short-term financial health, and working capital deficits can impact its ability to meet its short-term obligations. The liquidity position of Pan African Paper Mills had worsened.

In May 2008, the government released to the company Ksh140 million (\$2 million), leaving a balance of Ksh86 million (\$1.2 million). A sum of Ksh100 million (\$1.4 million) had been factored into the budget. Under the bailout plan, the Indian investors were also to inject new capital at a level proportionate to their shareholding in the company. Pan Paper has an annual capacity of 120,000 tonnes of paper per annum and controls close to 60 percent of the market in Kenya (KNA/KY/13/6, 2008).

The Era of Decline, 2000-2009

The 1970s and 1980s were the most difficult years for Kenya's manufacturing sector. External shocks caused by the 1970s oil crisis, World Bank structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s, and market liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s all had a negative impact on the manufacturing sector (Chege et al., 2014). The dream of rapid industrialization envisioned at independence became elusive. The sector's performance has fallen short of policymakers' expectations. The manufacturing sector's contribution to GDP has declined in recent years, falling from a high of 10.8 percent in 2008 to 8.4 percent in 2017 (Government of Kenya, 2018). The specific factors that led to this scenario were numerous and have been outlined.

Impact on Input Costs: The global oil crisis in the 1970s, triggered by geopolitical events in the Middle East, sharply increased oil prices. This had a direct impact on manufacturing industries worldwide, including Kenya. Higher energy costs increased production costs for manufacturers, affecting their competitiveness.

World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s-Economic Reforms: In response to economic challenges, many developing countries, including Kenya, implemented structural adjustment programs (SAPs) recommended by international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Austerity Measures: SAPs often included austerity measures such as fiscal discipline, currency devaluation, reduction of government subsidies, and privatization of state-owned enterprises. While intended to address economic imbalances, these measures often led to short-term challenges, including job losses and economic downturns (Chege et al., 2014).

Trade Liberalization: The 1980s and 1990s saw a global market liberalization and trade openness trend. In Kenya, this involved reducing trade barriers, tariffs, and other restrictions on imports and exports.

Increased Competition: While market liberalization aimed to promote efficiency and competitiveness, it also exposed domestic industries, including manufacturing, to increased competition from foreign goods. Some local manufacturers faced challenges in competing with cheaper imported products.

Recessionary Pressures: During these decades, the combination of external shocks, structural adjustments, and market liberalization contributed to economic downturns in Kenya. Industries faced challenges such as reduced consumer demand, lower industrial output, and financial instability (Chege et al., 2014).

Pan Paper began to struggle in 1992 with the introduction of SAPs due to various factors, including mismanagement, and eventually collapsed in 2009. Early in 2009, the company began to experience difficulty in paying for recurrent production costs, such as electricity, oil, and spare parts. It sought permission to increase the prices of its products, but the government declined the request. It was also unable to secure further bank loans or guarantees. In this quandary, the company approached the workers' union and subsequently negotiated an agreement by which the workers were paid only 30 percent of wages while they stayed at home for 3 months, with effect from February 2009. The union willingly agreed to these proposals in the belief that the concession would help bring the company out of its financial crisis. The agreement was executed, and the workers waited to return to work thereafter. However, before the expiration of the stay at home period, the foreign partners had abandoned the factory and quietly left the country.

The workers and other stakeholders did not realize that the company was already in Receivers' hands, whose advertisements in national and regional newspapers informed them and the general public that the company had failed and, even worse, that the foreign managers had secretly left the country. The company advertised its stock of spare parts and other assets for sale to the general public in the advertisements. As a result, over 32,000 workers and

dependent suppliers were suddenly laid off. While the company's inability to obtain bank credit and eventual collapse may be attributed to the global financial crisis, it was most likely also the result of poor management.

During this time, the factory was abandoned by the management contracted from India by the Indian-based Birla group, which held the majority of the shares. During an interview, Wilberforce Ogame (10/8/2023), a cobbler in Webuye town along Kenyatta Street, observed that Webuye was once bustling with activity but has since devolved into a wasteland of poverty and hopelessness. The massive factory that stood like a pillar of life in the middle of town collapsed, leaving many of the town's homes desolate. The Mills' vandalized and rusted machines resemble a ruined monument, a stark reminder of a better past (Otieno et al., 2020).

President Mwai Kibaki reopened the Webuye-based industry in August 2010. It has since faced many issues, including insufficient funding, tighter environmental regulations, court cases, management squabbles, frequent staff turnover, and high energy prices. The company owed Kenya Power and Lighting up to Ksh100 million in unpaid bills at the time of reopening. Despite government efforts to resurrect the dilapidated factory through treasury allocations, the company is on the verge of closing due to unpaid power bills. So far, the government has spent Ksh 1.6 billion to reopen the factory. The company is in a legal battle with the receivers appointed by short-term lenders, with Ecobank, Bank of Baroda, and Barclay Bank attempting to assert authority. This is against the backdrop of a revival team led by the then permanent

secretary of industrialization Karanja Kibicho (Kenya Engineer, 2023).

According to Cleophas Wasike (O. I., 2023), one of the former Pan Paper employees, described how the factory's collapse and subsequent closure took the lives of some of his closest friends. He described how these friends died as a result of the trauma. He also claimed that he was only able to survive this pressure because he invested in small shops in the town. According to him, those who did not invest found it difficult to recover from job loss, so many succumbed to the pressure.

Now, there is no sound or smell, and servant quarters that used to sparkle with whitewash as families moved up and down are rusted and filthy, and some have been abandoned, occupied by monkeys and shrubs, with insects shrieking every nightfall. Hotels stopped cooking food, and bars closed. (O.I., Wasike, 2023).

The availability of paper raw materials is a global issue. There is a general decline in the supply of wood bi-products, including the paper commodity. Paper production costs reveal that the United States' global share of industrial roundwood peaked at 28 percent in 1999 and fell to 17 percent by 2013, with the decline attributed to a combination of cyclical factors and long-run trends. A once thriving paper manufacturing company in Kenya, the Pan Africa Paper Mill in Webuye declined to oblivion due to the economic and technological challenges hitting the subsector (Kogi, 2023).

Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in Kenya, initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1988 and, more specifically, after 1991, transformed many aspects of Kenyans' daily lives. It is important to note that economic performance in the 1980s and 1990s was stagnant. For example, agricultural sector growth fell from 5 percent in the 1970s to less than 1 percent in the 1990s, while industrial sector output fell from 11 percent in the 1970s to 2 percent in the 1990s. However, despite the fact that the SAPs led to the liberalization of the domestic economy and opened it up to international competition, the industrial sector remained inward-oriented, excessively intensive import-dependent, capital-intensive import-dependent, capital-intensive, and incapable of absorbing an adequate proportion of the rapidly increasing labour force, according to Chirwa (KNA/KY/13/6, 1974).

Pan Paper was used to obtain free wood from government forests. The electricity was also free. As a gift, the management gave the president a small token. The company was also not paying taxes. People were told to plant trees after the government forest was depleted, but they opposed the idea. When President Moi's presidency ended in 2002, the Indian management felt it was too expensive to run the company, which was now fully taxed, and the power company demanded their pay. The Indians fled. As a result, the company failed (O.I., Mutila, 2023).

The abrupt closure of the industry in 2009 left thousands of people jobless and without a source of income, the majority of whom were casual workers paid on a daily basis and thus without a source of income. As a result, most people moved back to the suburbs or outside of town in search of work, resulting in a massive exodus from the town and, thus, depopulation. This had a greater impact on the town because investors also left because the threshold population left behind could not sustain their firms, resulting in economic deterioration. However, since the industry's demise, no systematic research has been conducted to determine the town's demographic changes and the level of deterioration of its physical infrastructure (Oyoma, 2015).

There is nothing left for us here," said 35-year-old Joseph Wafula. "I am thinking of following one of my friends to either Nairobi or Mombasa. Maybe they might have something for me to do. I could pay school fees for my children, buy food, give my wife some pocket money, and even spare some change for a good time in town," he said. Now I have nothing. We have had so many promises from the government and the receiver manager coming our way that we stopped anticipating when the factory will be reopened. O.I., Wafula, 2023).

Following the company's closure, the IFC notified PPM in April 2009 that it had formally relinquished its \$36 million debt claim in PPM. According to the IFC, after several failed attempts to turn around and restructure PPM over the last five years, the debt was deemed irrecoverable and an unsustainable burden for any turnaround plan. In addition to debt forgiveness, IFC agreed to fund a general environmental audit, regardless of whether PPM remained closed or reopened under new ownership. If it reopens, the IFC audit will ensure a safe and proper restart; if it closes permanently, the audit will ensure a safe and proper facility decommissioning (Reconcile Institute, 2008).

The collapse of Pan Paper had immense effects on the people of western Kenya, mainly Bukusu locals, who made up a big percentage of workers. It is saddening that over 3,000 workers lost their jobs abruptly in 2009 when the mill's engine coughed its last. Most people depended only on the machine to pay all their bills. Many workers did not believe that the company had collapsed. Many died in town out of shock when they realized that the machine had collapsed for good. Many people abandoned their families in town and ran away. They could not stand the pain of seeing their loved ones suffer in their hands. This left suffering and misery to many families that remained with single parents, either a mother or father only.

Impacts of Pulp and Paper Industries on People

Only limited statistics are available on injuries and accident rates in general in this industry. Compared to other manufacturing industries, the 1990 accident rate in Finland was below the average; in Canada, the rates from 1990 to 1994 were similar to other industries; in the United States, the 1988 rate was slightly above average; in Sweden and Germany, the rates were 25 percent and 70 percent above the average (ILO, 1992; Workers' Compensation Board of British Columbia, 1995).

The most well-documented health problems encountered by pulp mill workers are acute and chronic respiratory disorders as far as non-malignant diseases are concerned (Toren et al., 1996)). Exposure to extremely high concentrations of chlorine, chlorine dioxide, or Sulphur dioxide may occur due to a leak or other process upset. Exposed workers may develop acute chemical-induced lung injury with severe inflammation of air passages and release of fluid into the air spaces, requiring hospitalization.

Hypersensitivity pneumonitis associated with exposure to thermophilic microorganisms and bagasse (a sugar cane by-product) is still seen in mills using bagasse for fibre. Other respiratory hazards commonly encountered in the pulp and paper industry include stainless steel welding fumes and asbestos. Maintenance workers are the group most likely to be at risk from these exposures. Cardiovascular mortality has been reported to be increased in pulp and paper workers, with some exposure-response evidence suggesting a possible link with exposure to reduced Sulphur compounds (Jäppinen, 1987; Jäppinen & Tola, 1990).

Exposures to numerous substances designated by the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC) may have probable and possible carcinogen occurrences in pulp and paper operations. Asbestos, known to cause lung cancer and mesothelioma, is used to insulate pipes and boilers. Talc is used extensively as a paper additive and can be contaminated with asbestos. Wood dust has recently been classified by IARC as a known carcinogen, based mainly on evidence of nasal cancer among workers exposed to hardwood dust (Kromhout, 1995). Diesel exhaust, hydrazine, styrene, mineral oils, chlorinated phenols and dioxins, and ionizing radiation are other probable or possible carcinogens that may be present in mill operations.

Environmental Impacts of Pulp and Paper Industries

Regarding air pollution, air emissions of oxidized sulphur compounds from pulp and paper mills have caused damage to vegetation, and emissions of reduced sulphur compounds have generated complaints about 'rotten egg' odours. Studies among residents of pulp mill communities, in particular children, have shown respiratory effects related to particulate emissions, and mucous membrane irritation and headache thought to be related to reduced Sulphur compounds (Bascom & Raford, 1994).

As far as water pollution is concerned, contaminated wastewater from pulp and paper mills can cause the death of aquatic organisms, allow bioaccumulation of toxic compounds in fish, and impair the taste of downstream drinking water. Suspended solids discharged from pulp and paper mills include bark particles, wood fibre, sand, grit from mechanical pulp grinders, papermaking additives, liquor dregs, by-products of water treatment processes, and microbial cells from secondary treatment operations (Weidenmüller, 1984). The chlorinated organics have been of particular concern because they are acutely toxic to marine organisms and may bioaccumulate (Smook, 1989). Being one of the largest industrial sectors in the world, the pulp and paper industry has an enormous influence on global forests, thus causing deforestation and loss of biodiversity. This sector, which includes products such as office and catalogue paper, glossy paper, tissue, and paper-based packaging, uses over 40 percent of all industrial wood traded globally.

The indiscriminate logging in the rainforest and uncontrolled felling of trees for fuelwood are reported to have had adverse effects on the environment (Fuwape & Onyekwelu, 1995). The adverse effects caused by the operations of forest industries include loss of biodiversity, wildlife migration, ecological imbalance, soil erosion, flooding, desert encroachment, and disruption in the hydrological cycle of water catchment areas. The tropical forest provides a habitat for two-thirds of all identified terrestrial species (Myers, 1992).

The effect of the destruction of forest cover on catchment water balance and runoff dynamics depends on the climate, topography, soils, and the type of forest (Vertessy & Dye,

2000). Devastating destruction of farmland and houses has been reported in areas where indiscriminate tree felling has occurred (Fuwape & Onyekwelu, 1995).

Social-Economic Impacts of the Pulp and Paper Industry

Lula (2011) indicates that it is difficult to separate economic, social, and cultural issues in traditional rural communities due to industrial developments since they are interlinked and affect one another. For instance, the loss of grasslands would mean that the sustainability of the historic agrarian economy of a community is undermined. Consequently, social relationships of production and reproduction (such as bride price, normally paid with cattle, labour, exchanges, wealth store, and food security through tribute payment) are negatively affected (Brainbridge, 2005). Besides, the loss of much of a region's flora and fauna due to deforestation has social, cultural, and economic implications for society in general (Foster, 2009). The social structure of a given area would change drastically due to industrialization.

Conclusion

The history of Webuye pan per mills from 1969-2009 provides valuable insights that contribute to policy consideration at various levels. The rise and subsequent challenges the company faces emphasise the importance of diversifying the industrial base. The policy framework should encourage diverse industries to avoid over-reliance on a single sector, reducing vulnerability to external shocks. The historical challenges highlighted the significance of policies encouraging industrial modernization and the adoption of advanced technology to enhance efficiency.

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List of Informants

1. Alphonse Okang'a, 66 years old, 4/12/2023
2. Cleophas Wasike, Former Employee of Pan Paper Mills, 14/04/2023
3. Joseph Wafula, 20/08/2023
4. Ombete Mutila, 18/08/2023
5. Peter Kirugu, 4/12/2023
6. Wilberforce Ogange, 10 /8/2023

Masjid Musa Mosque and The Narratives of Radicalization of School Children in Mombasa, Kenya

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Abstract

Not long ago, a number of research findings linked Muslim pupils and students in boarding schools and colleges that are considered more likely to be indoctrinated by extremists to join terrorist groups such as *Al-Shabab*-that children living away from their parents were easier to mislead and indoctrinate. While acknowledging that violent extremists have no direct relationship with nor represent Islamic teachings, this study argues that whereas it is true that most *Madrastas* are peaceful and serve a constructive role in societies where education is often a privilege rather than a right, this overlooks the fact that *Madrastas* have been vitally important in furthering the mission of some of the most volatile terrorist groups. Therefore, this study intends to explore these competing claims and address how the *Madrasa* question is systematically linked to radicalization by using examples of the Masjid Musa Mosque that became a centre of international scrutiny in a similar case.

Keywords: Masjid Musa, madrasa education, radicalization, extremism, youth

Introduction

Approximately 4.3 million Muslims comprise a little more than 10 percent of the overall Kenyan population and about 30 percent of the coastal population. Large concentrations of Kenyan Muslims live in the former Coast Province, North Eastern Province, and the capital city of Nairobi, particularly in the neighbourhood of Eastleigh. Ethnically, Kenya's Muslims are primarily Swahili or Somali, although there are also sizable Arab and Asian groups (Chacha, 2013).

The Coastal region of Kenya has however, a complex political history. By the mid-nineteenth century, European missionaries, abolitionists, and explorer expeditions coincided and justified imperialism, facilitating the 1895 declaration of Kenya's Coastal strip as a British protectorate (Ndzovu, 2014). Race, religion, and class structured relations, access to jobs and leadership positions during colonization by the Omanis, Portuguese, class-structured relations, access to jobs, and leadership positions during colonization by the Omanis, Portuguese, and British culminated in different forms of exclusion (Mwakimako et al., 2009).

Since the unification of the Coast with Kenya, ensuing secessionist campaigns have generated unlikely alliances, at times aligning Africans with Arabs and, at other times, Africans against Arabs (Willis & Gona, 2012). Both sides have historically been nervous about one another, with Arabs regarding African nationalists as 'inferior' and 'outsiders,' while African nationalists considered Arabs 'non-indigenous,' aiming to perpetuate racial privilege (Ndzovu, 2014). These indigeneity and migration politics continue to structure Kenya's Coastal politics.

In the 1980s, civil society and churches' efforts led to multipartyism, creating new spaces for organizing. Using this opportunity, local Coastal politicians instrumentalized grievances that resulted in violence targeting non-coastal communities (Willis & Gona, 2012). The

administration responded heavy-handedly, banning the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) and labelling it a 'radical Islamic' group (KHRC, 1997), hence delegitimizing IPK's activism and framing Muslims as 'troublemakers' and 'unpatriotic'.

After 9/11, the ensuing 'war on terror' increased tensions between Kenya's government and its Muslim communities, accused of colluding with 'Islamist' groups. Coupled with renewed secessionist calls by the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) that draw on indigeneity, perceptions of Coastal people as 'not fully Kenyan' (Prestholdt, 2011, p. 7) and Muslims as a problem has increased. The government continues to curtail separatist efforts, politicizing and labelling them as 'radical fundamentalists' and '*Al-Shabab* affiliates'. In 2015, Muslim-run NGOs (Muhuri and Haki Africa) were labelled 'sympathisers/financiers of terrorism' (Mohamed, 2015). They faced restrictions for criticizing violations of human rights (HR) and international law and exposing corruption in the security forces (Kiai, 2015).

Within this context, Coastal youth are characterized as 'radicals' and 'extremists'. Several studies show increasing radicalization of Coastal youth (Badurdeen, 2018; Botha, 2015; Khalil & Zeuthen, 2014; Mogire & Mkutu, 2011). However, emerging radicalization frames require further scrutiny, given Kenya's position as a key regional player in the Global War on Terror (GWOt). Coastal politicians have condemned characterizations of youth as 'radicals' through agenda setting, law-making, and implementation of policies (Ndzovu, 2014).

Madrasa: Between Sacred and Profane

The role of the *Madrasa* in offering both secular and religious education changed with the coming of independence. The first education commission Report of independent Kenya (Ominde Commission) aimed at promoting social equality and removing racial barriers perpetuated by many years of colonialism. Since no religion was to be privileged in independent Kenyan society, the religious convictions of all people were to be safeguarded and respected. Therefore, Public schools were not to be used for proselytization or propaganda. Regarding Muslims, an education report recommended improving education in Muslim areas (As'ad, 1994).

This improvement was to be made by uplifting the standards of teaching in both secular and religious education. The commission report suggested formulating an agreed syllabus of Muslim religious instruction. The commission found the teaching of secular education in the *Madrasa* inadequate because the teachers were not trained, and teaching facilities were inadequate. Similarly, according to the report, secular instruction in the *Madrasa* tended to interfere with public school education because Muslim children who attended them after *Madrasa* started again from scratch rather belatedly. In other words, the secular education of the *Madrasa* did not prepare the pupils who later joined the secular public school (Babo, 2003). According to the report, the *Madrasa*, which offered both secular and religious education, had to be registered as schools by the government under the Education Act. Secular education was necessary for the Muslims, as was religious education. However, since the leaders could not offer adequate secular education, the report recommended the improvement of public schools so that Muslims could attend without any suspicions whatsoever. This move was meant to exclude the *Madrasa* from secular education. Consequently, the *Madrasa* was left entirely to the teaching of Islamic religious subjects.

The *Madrasa* was developed to fulfill the Muslim's educational needs and safeguard their religious values and cultural heritage. Islam does not dichotomize education into religious and secular, though knowledge comprises both revealed and acquired knowledge. In practice, the revealed knowledge gives birth to religious education, while acquired knowledge gives birth to secular education. *Madrasa* education is concerned with moral training and the spirit of Islam. This is the role that the *Madrasa* as an education institution is identified with.

Despite all this, secular education cannot replace the role of the *Madrasa* in moral and religious training. The education experts have been of the view that Muslims should give equal weight to both religious and secular education. The religious and moral training of its students underlined the importance of *Madrasa*. It is, therefore, critical that the integration of religious (Islamic) education with secular (modern) Muslim education is emphasized for the continued survival of the *Madrasa* system.

In 2008, Crises Group international admonished the Kenyan government to be much more proactive in terms of monitoring 'radical' *Madrasas* that were reported to promote very extremist Islamist views, particularly from the radical groups in Somalia. The report clearly indicated that such groups could easily develop in historically very poor parts of Kenya, where Kenyan Somalis live (Khalid, 2014). In 2014, Kenya's Ministry of Education piloted a new curriculum in 50 schools in three major cities.

Shiekh Abdilatif Abdulkarim, an executive board member with al-Mutanda al-Islami Trust in Nairobi, was quoted as saying that failure by the government to have a unified Islamic *Madrasa* studies curriculum has left opportunities open for extremist clerics to exploit radicalised youths. Seemingly, he must have been pleased with the initiative, saying it would help as one way to streamline Islamic studies and deal with Islamic extremism.

The Masjid Musa Mosque: Sheikh Aboud Rogo's Toxic Teachings

The mosque was built by the family of former Mombasa mayor Ali Taib, and after the death of the family patriarch, the affairs and running of the mosque were left in the hands of Taib's brother. During the IPK insurgency in the 1990s that influenced the nearby Sakina mosque, orphans of the banned political party, including Sheikh Aboud Rogo, sought refuge in Masjid Musa. After the infiltration of Al Shabaab insurgents into the mosque, Masjid Musa had cemented its reputation as the hotbed of Jihadism in the country for more than two decades (Khalid, 2014). That is the point when the Taib family left the running of the mosque to a select committee. The committee wrestled for control of the mosque from the Islamists until an idea was mooted that a retired Kenya Ports Authority employee who had a reputation of commanding respect in the community take up the role of chairman of the committee of the Musa Mosque in a bid to establish a sense of normalcy in the institution (Jumbe, 2014).

Matters came to a head with the killing of the Sheikh Aboud Rogo when his followers became emboldened as they demanded the killers of the late Sheikh to be named. Islam Oshan and his committee had a tough time controlling the restless supporters of the Rogo, and his close associates stepped into his shoes to continue with the evening lectures. One of them, Sheikh Ibrahim Amur, was killed five months later alongside three other people. At the same time, the pressure on the committee from both the government and the faithful in the mosque was too much for the committee to bear (Jumbe, 2014). Islam Oshan had served as the chairman of the committee at Masjid Musa in Mombasa during the tumultuous period marked by the assassination of Sheikh Aboud Rogo. Oshan, a retired government employee respected within the community, was appointed to lead the mosque's committee in an effort to restore order amid rising radicalism. At some point, the government of Kenya used him to address the radicalization of youth across various institutions, especially schools.

The mosque committee was summoned to the Provincial Headquarters, where the then Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Ole Lenku delivered President Uhuru Kenyatta's message in person, stating that radicalization lectures in the mosque must be discontinued. That was after the youth had burnt the nearby Salvation Church while demonstrating the killings of their clerics the previous day (Jumbe, 2014). Oshan and his committee hung a notice at the entrance of the mosque to the effect that preaching in the mosque without the express authority of the committee would no longer be tolerated, alongside begging and making impromptu announcements. The youth did not take notice of the directive and even brought a preacher

from Tanzania to a newly appointed imam, which led to the intensification of militant lectures (Shepard, 1987).

Aboud Rogo, the key preacher and Sheikh of the Masjid Musa Mosque, was born around the mid-1960s in the remote village of Siyu on the expansive Pate Island, where he spent his early childhood. As a child, Rogo attended Siyu Primary School but later opted to drop out before completing his elementary-level studies. Upon leaving secular education, he decided to pursue Islamic religious education at a local *Madrassa* school in his birth village. Later, Rogo left his home village and proceeded to Mombasa, where he apparently enrolled at the Kisauni College of Islamic Studies to pursue a bachelor's degree in Islamic studies, which he could not complete due to financial constraints. Consequently, Rogo decided to involve himself in various business activities like fishing, poultry keeping, and running kiosks as a way of meeting his financial needs while at the same time serving as an imam of a local mosque.

In 1991, Rogo joined the defunct Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), served as its youth activist, and failed to become one of the town's councillors under the party's banner, which had entered into a partnership with the FORD Kenya. In line with the programmes of other political parties that were formed after the ushering of multiparty politics in the early 1990s, the IPK was primarily seeking reform and improvement of the public institution in order to facilitate justice and fair play. The concern and struggle of the party was to make the system more open, fair, and honest rather than demolishing it (Ndzovu, 2009). Clearly, the IPK members, including Rogo at that moment, were willing to work within the existing political system (Ndzovu, 2009). Upon failing to secure the political position in his first attempt at competitive politics, Rogo decided to concentrate on his duties as the imam of Masjid Musa, Mombasa, where he regularly preached.

As a full-time Imam, conflicting reports portray his nature and how he relates to the general public. Outside his mosque, Rogo was described by many as someone careful in his talks. Whenever outside the precincts of the mosque, he would be reluctant to criticize the government, condemn US policies, comment on the supposed 'injustices being done to Muslims' in the country, or 'even engage in politics during a casual conversation'. This attitude contrasts with his fiery posture as a vocal preacher who espoused views many would not accept while in the mosque. Despite opting to discontinue secular education, Rogo easily moved his listeners as an informative person as he easily tackled both local and international issues facing Muslims (Ndzovu, 2009).

Ironically, he criticized the international media and local FM stations, which he evidently relied on in acquainting himself with global news. In early 2001, Rogo allegedly introduced Fazul Mohamed, a Federal Bureau Investigation (FBI) wanted terrorist mastermind, to Siyu village while in a group of Muslim preachers. During his stay at Siyu, Fazul married a local girl from a family related to the cleric. It was during the search for Fazul by the FBI agents and the Kenya Anti-Terror Police that the intelligence network began focusing on Rogo. Consequently, after the 2001 bombing of the Paradise Hotel in the coastal town of Kenya, the intelligence intensified their close watch on Rogo (Ndzovu, 2009).

Following the Paradise Hotel attack and attempted shooting down of an Israeli plane with around 260 Israeli passengers on board, Rogo, together with others, were arrested as Fazul's accomplices who had fled to Somalia. However, Rogo and the co-accused were eventually acquitted after being held for several months in custody on the allegation that 'key witnesses were too scared to testify', the country's Attorney General observed (Mwakimako et al., 2009). However, to Rogo and the other suspects, it was clear that the war on terror was a global war on Islam and Muslims, which, through the grace of God, they have been vindicated. However, his release coincided with the government crackdown on Islamists in the country, where some were deported while others went underground. The crackdown created a leadership vacuum among the Islamists in the country. Coincidentally, during that period, Islamists 'groups in

Somalia began gaining momentum, with the Union of Islamic Courts controlling major parts of southern Somalia' being 'in dire need of recruits to boost its fighting capacity' (Mwakimako et al., 2009).

Rogo seized the opportunity and established contacts with some of Somalia's Islamist groups. As a result, in 2009, he supposedly visited Somalia and received military training from foreign jihadists with affiliation to al-Qaeda, thereby intensifying his radicalization. Accordingly, the cleric established the Sirajul Munir *Madrasa*, which he allegedly used as a centre for recruiting Muslim youths from Likoni, Majengo, and Kisauni to the *Al-Shabab* cause. In February 2012, at his farm in Kanamai, Rogo was arrested allegedly with an AK 47 rifle, two hand grenades, two pistols, 102 detonators, and 113 bullets, which the police contended he was intending to use in an orgy of violence that involved blowing up churches in Mombasa, the Nyali Bridge and the Likoni ferry (Mwakimako et al., 2009). At the time of his death on August 27, 2012, he was out on bond, facing a series of terror-related charges.

According to reports, Rogo was killed by a 'killer squad' who shot his van with several bullets on a traffic highway. After his death, he suddenly became a hero and a martyr among the Muslim students in most *Madrasa* points in the coastal region. His online sermons spread like a bushfire on social media; the youth spoke and dressed imitating him; they wore his badges and T-shirts and carried with them school pamphlets, which they shared amongst themselves. There is evidence that the state seized such items from lower primary pupils, indicating the depth of this matter in this direction.

It was, therefore, no wonder that in 2016, a team from the NIS and Education Ministry raided the *Madrasas* and ordered their immediate closure. 'Intelligence reports' had indicated police discovered four *Shabaab*-linked youth arrested on the way to Somalia that year. The newspaper reported that Idris Sadalla, Ahmed Fadhili, Issa Abdullahi, and Issa Faraj were part of the terror group's recruiting team. Fadhili was a *Madrasa* teacher. The state police thus began investigating several *Madrasas* in Likoni and closed those that they got evidence. Sources indicate the two *Madrasas* had been spotted on ATPU radar for carrying out secret recruitment and funding terrorism in Mombasa. The children are allegedly recruited through jihad literature. A police Chief reported that 'We stumbled upon Aboud Rogo sermons in CDs used to radicalise the children by luring them to join al Shabab.' Most of the youth are lured into joining the group after being promised money, wives, and jihad brides.

Madrasa: Language and Discourse of Youth Radicalisation

It is generally perceived that *Madrasa* produces extremism, which poses a threat to the peace and security of the state and to the world as well. That is why the government, along with the local and International community, has always wanted to eradicate extremism and terrorism by targeting *Madrasa* education. However, the question is how Rogo's extreme ideas penetrated the *Madrasa*. What effects did this have on the children and youth?

Among Rogo's provocative sermons was the one he delivered in July 2012 at Masjid Musa, declaring support and validation for the terrorist attacks in Garissa. Without hesitation, he depicted the attacks as justified retribution by the supposedly marginalized Kenyan Muslims. In this sermon, one could discern the intolerance and exclusivist message that he conveyed to his followers. Rogo praised the killing of the seventeen Christian worshippers, adding that the homicide was significant to control the alleged forced conversion of Muslims to Christianity and continued desecration of 'Muslim land'. In the sermon, the cleric declared that the Christian churches have a hidden agenda to undermine Muslims, and their existence is a great threat that the community should address (Mohamed, 2015).

For Rogo, the presence of churches in 'Muslim territory' portrayed a despicable form of Islam disappearance, which was an obligation of 'pious' Muslims to confront. Consequently, he instructed his audience not to sympathize with the Garissa church killings, which he

described as a glorious event and a demonstration of a continuation of jihad against ‘infidels’. Instead, he reiterated that for any Muslim accused of killing infidels, it is the responsibility of the community to defend the perpetrators from being arrested by the *Kafir* (read government). Such sentiments demonstrate why Rogo condemned any efforts by Muslim and Christian leaders to come together in a show of solidarity after the Garissa church killings. To illustrate that Jihad is obligatory to Muslims, Rogo quoted *Surat at Tawbah* that reads, ‘Go ye forth, (whether equipped) lightly or heavily, and strive, and struggle, with your goods, and your persons, in the cause of Allah. That is best for you, if ye (but knew)’. The verse formed the basis for him to urge his audience to join other Muslims on the frontline, including Somalia, for assurance of blessings that emanate from participating in the jihad (Mogire, 2011).

Rogo’s call for support of the *Al-Shabab* movement in Somalia was calculated as it is part of global Islamism whose objective is to champion the restoration of a powerful Islamic dominion, which would only be attained by liberating all Muslim territories from the oppression of non-Muslim occupiers. Arguably, it was expected that by successfully putting Somalia under the control of Islamists with support from Kenyan Muslim jihadists, a similar project could be replicated in Kenya in the areas predominantly inhabited by Muslims. He lamented that the Kenyan Muslims, especially the youth, lacked role models and leadership to guide them into jihad.

Despite the acknowledgment of leadership absence, Rogo encouraged Muslim youths to strive to die on battle fronts as martyrs because it guaranteed one access to *Jannah al Firdaus* (Paradise). It is against this position that he glorified the killing of Fazul Mohamed and Osama bin Laden as a blessing since these personalities died as martyrs. Nevertheless, there is an opposing voice of Muslim clerics in Kenya like that of Sheikh Badru Khamis and Sheikh Hassan Omar, who denounce the ongoing war in Somalia as jihad and deem any war waged by Muslims, if necessary, as a lesser form of jihad; a view utterly discarded by Rogo as misrepresenting of facts about jihad.

The killing of the controversial preacher sparked tension and violence in the town of Mombasa, where he commanded respect from his followers. Youthful supporters of the Sheikh directed their rage on any symbol of government and what they regarded as ‘un-Islamic’. In the beginning, the violence appeared spontaneous, but after a while, it became evident that some clerics were instigating the disobedience. The protesters, while armed with petrol bombs and grenades, targeted police officers and churches, which the cleric had strongly criticized in his sermons (Seesemann, 2007).

Immediately after the assassination of Rogo, his long-time accomplice and co-accused on terror charges, Sheikh Said Shariff Abubakar allegedly called for the burning and destruction of ‘churches and murder of police officers’ together with ‘certain Muslim leaders’. A total of 56 Police sources confirmed that leaflets were circulated in specific mosques in Mombasa urging Muslims to mobilize and embark on a jihad (Hunwick, 1996).

On the day of Rogo’s killing at Masjid Musa, Abubakar is accused of having incited their supporters to violence by ordering the killing of all those imams collaborating with the government together with any police officer; he is purported to have instructed *Imam wote wanaoungana na serikali wachinje na pia polisi yeyote akionekana auwawe*. The stern statement directed at the police and other Muslim clerics was based on conspiracy theories tying competing Muslim priests and government agents to the tribulations of Rogo since the terror attack of 2001 (Roy, 2002).

According to his supporters, the state had harassed the Sheikh for decades on charges of terrorism without evidence. At the same time, his rival clerics allegedly spied on him and reported to the government authorities. On the same day, Abubakar allegedly threatened the life of security agents, uttering, *Nyinyi polisi na haswa wale mko na uniform tutaonana na nyinyi makafiri* (we will deal with you infidel police officer). More so, he was also charged to

have ordered, *makanisa yote Mombasa ya chomwe* (all churches in Mombasa should be burned down) (Hunwick, 1996).

These statements point to a deliberate incitement and exhortation to murder a group of people and destruction of property of a specific community. And indeed, violence erupted. Probably instigated by sentiments expressed by clerics like Abubakar, Rogo's assassination saw irate Muslim youth go on the rampage and vow to avenge the death of their 'martyr.' To demonstrate that in death, Rogo attained martyrdom while fighting jihad in defence of Islam, his enraged supporters hurriedly buried his body without washing it in accordance with Islamic burial tradition. This action was censured by other Muslim clerics who considered it a gross misunderstanding of the concept of jihad martyrdom in Islam. Nevertheless, in the engulfing chaos, around five security agents were killed, their vehicles destroyed, and several others injured in different grenade explosions blamed on Rogo's radicalized followers (Mwakimako et al., 2009).

During the three-day violence, intelligence officials maintained that recently trained militants, allegedly recruited by the Sheikh to fight jihad for *Al-Shabab* in Somalia, had joined the rioters and were liable for the increasing turmoil and successive grenade explosions. As violence perpetrated by his supporters ensued, it acquired a sectarian dimension that witnessed the burning and destruction of a Salvation Army church, the Jesus Celebration Centre, Pentecostal Assemblies of God, and Neno Evangelism churches in Mombasa (Mwakimako et al., 2009).

Rogo's initiative came at a time when the country was experiencing religious radicalization, ethnic polarization, and a call for secession by the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) with poor human rights records, weak political institutions, and economic marginalization escalating. Increasing communications with the rest of the Muslim world implies that the waves of 'reform' championed by Islamist groups will continue to be evident in Kenya and, to some extent, affect the country's Muslims. The Arab Spring political upheavals that brought Islamist leadership to power in North Africa, the struggle of Boko Haram in Nigeria and *Al-Qaeda* affiliated jihadists in Mali, will encourage such groups in the country to advocate for social equality, justice, application of sharia, and even ambitiously, to secede and establish an Islamic form of government (Wiktorowicz, 2004). Muslim youths in Kenya, lacking access to educational opportunities and facing unemployment, are likely to challenge the political leadership for a share of social equity and economic benefits. If this situation is not addressed, the Islamists could capitalize on the dissatisfaction and use the desperate youth for their intolerant and exclusivist agenda (Quinn, 2003).

Clearly, the turmoil that engulfed the coastal city after the killing of the controversial cleric was exploited by Islamists who attempted to implant religious violence hence the attack on churches. The Islamists' main opponents will continue to be the state, members of other religions, and moderate Muslim clerics who agree to work with the government authorities. However, despite this possibility, Islamist elements among the Muslim population will be confronted by the government that does not tolerate political opposition presented by religious activism, which could eventually instigate Christian-Muslim rivalries.

Conclusion

Looking at Muslim politics in its wider social context in postcolonial Kenya, we see the interconnections between national politics and Islam sociality in the notion of a 'knowledge economy' within the postcolonial setting of a 'double-periphery' in which Kenyan coastal Muslims are situated, vis-à-vis the state and the Muslim (community of believers). We see interesting dynamics between aspects of knowledge and rhetoric, reasoning and power, and ideology and social practice at work in this particular Muslim context. Furthermore, we see that religiously motivated schools have gained a new social and political presence and

significance in many African countries. Although religious networks and organizations have played a central role in providing education in colonial and postcolonial settings, liberalization and privatization measures since the 1980s have opened up new opportunities for religious engagement at all educational levels. Finally, there is a need to adopt an increasingly comparative perspective in the analysis of religious education and to understand how (internally differentiated) instances of Christian and Muslim education have developed historically in relation to each other.

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The Anthropology of Death and Dying Among the Bukusu of Kenya C. 1895

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Abstract

Precolonial African communities were endowed with cultural tenets observed without external and internal meddlers attempting to modify them. Death, for instance, constituted significant rituals whose operations were meant to appease gods and the dead, as well as make a smooth entry into the spiritual world for the souls of the dead. Further, such rituals were conducted to shield and absolve the living from impurities that accompanied death. In other words, the living observed such rituals to clean themselves from the impurities occasioned by death and other bad omens and evil spirits that were to be kept at bay. Hence, the anthropology of death and dying among African communities before colonialism was very complex, with several rituals that were observed to fulfil the demands of their culture. Among the Bukusu of Kenya, the occurrence of death provided the platform upon which many rituals were expressed to demonstrate their beliefs regarding the afterlife. Hence, this paper examines significant rituals that were related to the anthropology of death and dying, outlining why such rituals were important to the deceased and the living. It has been observed that death was not an end to the earthly life. It was a stage at which human life was transformed into immortal that was expected to last forever. This, in essence, signified the belief in life after death, thus explaining why such death rituals were developed to enhance the transition from earthly life to immortality. The findings in this paper emanated from extensive field interviews (abbreviated as O.I. in the text), which were corroborated by existing secondary sources.

Keywords: Dying and death, interment, mourning, rituals, vigils

Introduction

The Bukusu are a Bantu-speaking community that belongs to the Baluhya cluster of the interlacustrine region (Kolala, 2014). By 2010, most occupied Bungoma and Trans-Nzoia although some had settled in Kakamega and Busia (Makila, 1982). Most of those with advanced studies had relocated to urban centres in Kenya, while others had gone overseas for studies and employment. A few of them without advanced studies had also relocated to urban centres in Kenya for casual employment.

According to Wasike (2013), death is integral to life in many communities. The most anticipated aftermath of death is great pain and permanent disturbance in the equilibrium of tribal life. However, death also focuses on a society's cultural values by which people live and evaluate their experiences (Huntington & Metcalf, 1979). Hence, African communities developed mortuary rites that demonstrated the nature and practice of rituals related to death, which incorporated the deceased into the spiritual world (Gennep, 1960).

In the pre-colonial Bukusu community, a similar scenario is observable and the reverence bestowed on death illustrated the importance of conducting rituals associated with it. There existed levels of death that were determined by gender, age, and the status of the deceased person, which also dictated the gravity of emotions and thoughts encountered in the course of mourning (Barasa & Shitanda, 2020). That is why Lee and Vaughan (2008) argued that

funerary practices among Africans expressed and shaped social relations, including maintaining kinship ties and the succession of property.

Causes of Death

The Bukusu believed in three main causes of death. *Lifwa likhalakhale* (normal death) was the most preferred form of death in which the deceased died out of old age. According to Natembeya (O.I., 2022), this was the usual form of death that was instituted by their ancestors, through which grieving and mourning were symbolically done to illustrate the role the deceased had played in society.

Lifwa liliang'inya and *lifwa limalaba*, on the other hand, were forms of death that were not welcomed, and their occurrence attracted suspicions regarding the causes of such deaths. In Nyongesa's assertion (O.I., 2022), *lifwa liliang'inya* occurred due to external forces from individuals who may have disagreed with the deceased. Assassinations were good examples of this death, and in the recent political history of the Bukusu, the demise of Masinde Muliro (1992) and Wamalwa Kijana (2003) was suspiciously thought to have been planned murders by those who feared the growing political fortunes of these two. Rogue individuals in the society who were killed while stealing or while committing other societal evils such as adultery always occasioned *lifwa limalaba*.

Death Rituals Among the Bukusu by 1895

When someone died among the precolonial Bukusu, several rituals were conducted to fulfil the demands of the culture. Foremost, leather straps or banana bark strappings held the corpse's jaws by rounding them below the lower jaw and tying them across the head to prevent the mouth from gapping (Wasike, 2013). Eyes were also closed before formally announcing the death (Kassilly, 1994). It is observed that a presumed good death occurred when someone passed on at night or in the afternoon. In the events of such deaths, the announcement was immediately announced, unlike deaths that occurred in the morning. In such scenarios, announcements were postponed until later in the afternoon when people were deemed to have tackled important daily assignments.

To announce the demise of elderly men, sporadic wailing was initiated by the wives, sisters and daughters, which in turn spread quickly and echoed across villages (Kolala, 2014). Relatives and family members of the deceased who lived far away were informed through messengers. However, it was the duty of each man's wife or wives to physically inform their kin concerning the death of their husband.

Whenever a polygamous man died, his wives also mourned him in style. The eldest wife carried the man's spear and shield, leading her co-wives and other women in traversing the village while singing dirges (Makila, 2004). They were also required to wear ankle bells and to decorate their faces with special ash. Another retinue of women wore banana fibre ribbons around their heads, necks, and ankles to indicate the beginning of the mourning period.

As already stated, some deaths were not accepted, and upon their occurrence, ritual ceremonies were never conducted in their honour. There was no commemoration of deaths occasioned by suicide, leprosy, and lightning because it was believed that such individuals were a disgrace to society and a curse to themselves (O.I., Nabangi, 2021). Hence, the Bukusu were very cautious in handling the bodies of such victims lest they encountered similar curses. In fact, such victims were not taken to their huts for night vigils before burial. Instead, they were inhumed at night under very strict guidelines that dictated such deaths (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022).

Suicidal cases that arose out of self-hanging were literally pushed into the grave that was dug outside the homestead. Other accounts indicate that the bodies of such victims were always whipped several times before they were brought down from the suicidal scenes. Symbolically,

it signified the process of condemning the victim's evil act of taking their lives and keeping their souls at bay (O.I., Masoni, 2022). If such individuals died while in their huts, their bodies were taken out through the backdoor.

Moreover, bodies of uncircumcised men, bachelors, spinsters, and barren women were exited from the huts through the backdoor (Makila, 1982). However, it was mandatory for a man who died before undergoing circumcision to be circumcised before interment. Hence, those who died before honouring this ritual were circumcised on their deathbed before they were buried. However, this ritual is not that old because the ritualization of circumcision among the Bukusu is a recent historical phenomenon instituted at Mwiala in 1800. Before then, circumcision was only preserved for those who anticipated leadership positions in the future (Banda, 2017).

Under normal circumstances, however, the body of the deceased lay in the house of the senior wife (Mbiti, 1969). If the deceased was a minor, the body lay in the child's paternal grandparents or parents' house for a night of vigil before interment. Bodies of senior bachelors and overgrown spinsters were put in their respective huts where cleansing rituals were conducted before inhuming. When the deceased was a political figure, burial plans were delayed for several days until most of his family members had assembled to participate in his final send-off (O.I., Nyongesa, 2022).

Likewise, people who died without accomplishing compulsory cultural rites contributed to delays in their burials until such rituals were conducted. A man whose wife died without fully paying the bride price was supposed to fulfil this requirement before he was allowed to bury his wife, failure to which the deceased's relatives were at liberty to demand for the body for a decent interment at her parents' home (O.I., Kisaka, 2022). Similarly, burials of spouses who died before undergoing the rite of *sitekho* (traditional wedding) were delayed until the surviving partner performed a mock ceremony of *sitekho* with the spouse's relative of the opposite gender (O.I., Wafula, 2021). Again, the surviving partner was culturally forbidden from viewing the body of the deceased until after the performance of the mock ceremony of *sitekho*.

Among the Bukusu, the grave was dug on the burial day, and close relatives of the deceased were tasked with this responsibility (O.I., Natembeya, 2022). In most cases, grave preparation was a preserved duty of men, except in circumstances where the deceased was a child or a woman who died in pregnancy. On such occasions, women were allowed to prepare the grave under strict guidelines to ensure that no taboos were violated. Furthermore, there were times when people expressed their desires of not being buried upon their demise. Bodies of such people were dumped in forests by joking relatives, and after some time, their skeletons were retrieved and hidden in the nearby bush until the performance of the last funeral rite of transferring the skull (Makila, 1982).

However, other oral accounts contradict the Bukusu pristine assertion of burials. Idilia (O.I., 2022) argues that the Bukusu did not conduct burials. Instead, bodies were left in houses after death, and the surviving kin moved to other places to escape the impurities caused. Besides this approach, Lusike (O.I., 2021) notes that bodies were left at the place where death occurred. This was possibly achieved because of the averment that sick people were usually abandoned at lonely places to die.

In this situation, sickly people were tied with ropes and later abandoned away from the homestead, after which all forms of communication were achieved through the rope. Upon pulling the string from home, the sickly person pulled it back to communicate that they were alive, and if there was no response, it indicated that the person was dead. In this assertion, therefore, the deceased person's body was left in the bush to be devoured by the birds of prey and scavengers. Contradicting this approach, however, Mbiti (1969) notes that sick people were cared for until they died or recuperated.

Otherwise, graves were usually dug up to a depth of 3 to 7 feet at the appropriate position in line with the door of the main hut of the deceased, the age of the deceased, the status, and the circumstances under which the death occurred. Usually, graves were dug on the right-hand side of the door that entered the main hut. Such burial sites were reserved for the married couple of that homestead. Children's graves were prepared on the left-hand side of the door that entered the main hut, while spinsters' graves were dug behind the house or at the extreme end of the homestead (O.I., Elijah, 2022).

In other situations, people indicated their preferred interment places, and in such circumstances, the wishes of the deceased were obeyed even if they went against the existing interment norms. The case of Elijah Masinde should suffice. Masinde, who founded the Dini Ya Musambwa (the religion of the spirits), was a renowned anti-colonial crusader in Kenya. Before his death, he pointed to the exact spot at which he wished to be inhumed. The site was several metres away from his eldest wife's house and on the extreme end of his land, outside his homestead. This was contrary to the Bukusu interment rituals that stipulated how a man of his calibre was to be buried. Although his kins neglected his wish, they were later compelled to fulfil Elijah's instructions after encountering another suspected interment place while preparing his grave. Note that it was culturally wrong for corpses to share graves among the Bukusu. Upon completing digging the grave under normal circumstances, a burial chamber was dug on the base of the grave, where the body was laid (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022).

Observing overnight vigils was an important death routine that was mandatory. The ritual commenced immediately after death occurred and ended after the hair-shaving and mourners warmed themselves around a bonfire that was lit within the compound of the deceased. While keeping night vigils, mourners kept on prattling on the cause and nature of death while reflecting on the deceased's life, their achievements, and other memorable events the departed individual may have undergone (See plate 1: night vigil in progress) (Wasike, 2013).



Plate 1: Overnight Vigil in Progress

Source: Taken by the Researcher on 28 July 2022 at Kibisi village in Kimilili Constituency

Night vigils were significant and necessary to the living and the deceased's spirit, which was believed to be hovering around the homestead in anticipation of going to the world of the spirits. Hence, mourners were required to observe this ritual to keep the spirit of the deceased company, which would have felt lonely if the ritual had been neglected. Additionally, night vigil also served as a deterrent measure against suspected killers who planned to interfere with the grave or the corpse to elude the wrath of the deceased (Wasike, 2013).

On the interment day, bodies were taken out through the front door and laid on a bier outside the house to enable the mourners to catch the last glimpse of it before wailing (O.I., Wafula, 2021). Great men were laid to rest either in the morning or late afternoon, and the argument behind this was that men rarely died, and they needed to be laid to rest in such times to allow them to watch over their homesteads at peace (Mbiti, 1969).

During inhuming, bodies were always placed in the burial trench. The body was laid on the side as if the dead person was asleep, with the head resting on one hand (Kassilly, 1999). Similarly, the body was made to face the direction, which was believed to have been the historical route by which the clan ancestors had arrived in Bukusuland (Makila, 1978) (See Plates 3 and 4: positioning of the body in the grave). It is alluded that the spirit of the deceased was to return to the original ancestral home of the Bukusu via that route.

However, some clans among the Bukusu buried their dead persons in seating positions (see Plate 2). Bukusu clans such as the Balunda and the Bafumi observed this ritual for relevant historical reasons, and within the Baluhya cluster of the interlucustrine region, the Bakhibe sub-clan of the Batura who presently occupy the Bumula constituency, also buried dead bodies while seated (O.I., Idilia, 2022). It is unclear when this interment rite was adopted among the Bukusu, but as Wasike (2013) argued, the Balunda and the Bafumi were rainmakers. Hence, these skills made them to be the custodians of the community (O.I., Natembeya, 2022). Henceforth, burials in seating positions signified their state of alertness to oversee the community's wellbeing.

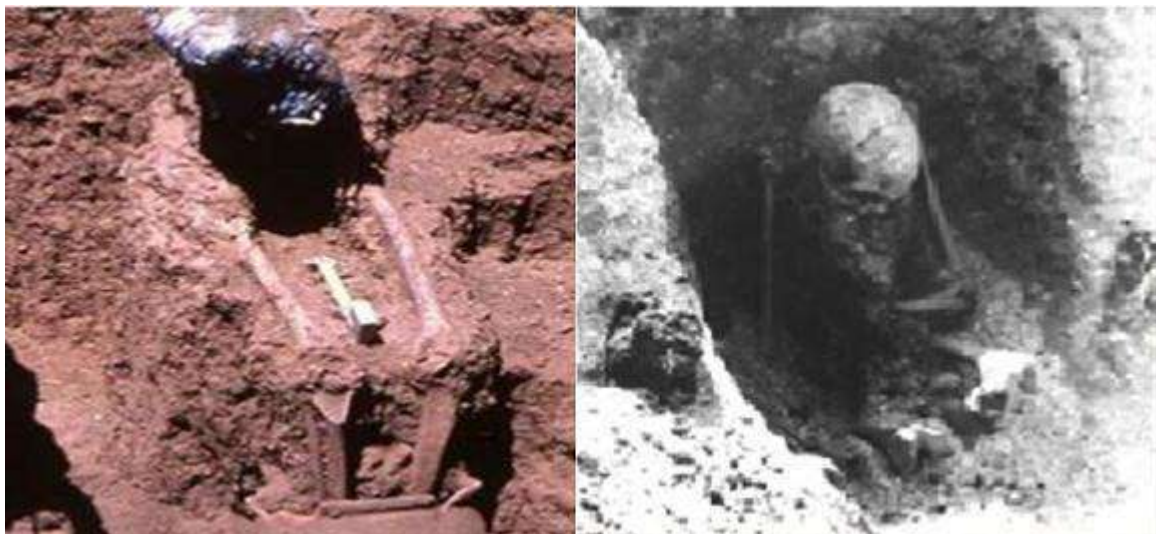


Plate 2: Bodies That Were Buried in Seating Position

Source: Kenya National Archives

However, other Bukusu oral accounts reveal that burials in seating positions originated from a disabled woman called Mulemia within the Balunda clan who possessed rainmaking skills and prophecy. Upon her death, it was difficult to straighten her limbs for usual inhuming procedures. This then compelled people to prepare a special grave that was meant to bury her with her disability. In the end, Mulemia was buried while seated. Natembeya (O.I., 2022) contends that this was the genesis of interments in seating positions by the Balunda and the Bafumi clans within the Bukusu.

It is also argued that the Balunda and the Bafumi clans buried people in the houses of the deceased. In this case, corpses were placed in graves in seating positions, but the head was left outside, and relatives guarded the grave until the body decomposed and disconnected from the

head (Mukhwana, 2021). Once this was announced, the deceased relatives demolished the house to signal the beginning of other death-related rituals.

According to Bukusu burial routines, several individuals were prohibited from attending the interment process and viewing certain dead bodies. Daughters-in-law were culturally forbidden from viewing the bodies of their husbands. Similarly, fathers-in-law were also prohibited from viewing the bodies of their sons' wives. Equally, members of the same age set, men whose wives were sisters and couples whose children married one another, did not see each other after death (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022). In other circumstances, adulterous women did not view the bodies of their husbands, and wives who distanced themselves from their husbands' bodies were suspected of infidelity. At the same time, relatives, friends, and neighbours who may have had sex with the deceased man's wives never dared to view the bodies of their lovers' husbands (O.I., Kireba, 2022).

After all these prohibitions were considered, bodies were placed in burial trenches, sandwiched in fresh skins of oxen (Kassilly, 1999). Contrary to the above averment, however, animal skins were only permitted in cases where the deceased was the eldest in a family of grown-up men. Wafula (O.I., 2022) argues that younger brothers were not sandwiched in skins during interments if their elder brothers were still alive. If this was to be done, the act would have resulted in the death of the deceased's elder brother. Hence, this condition was fully reinforced regardless of the status of the deceased. Even if the deceased was a political figure in the society and his elder brother was still alive, interment in such cases was done without animal skins.



Plate 3: Positioning of The Body in The Grave

Source: Taken by the researcher on 30 April 2022 at Sengeli village in Kimilili constituency

Burial trenches were prepared by putting in grass upon which the body was laid. Thereafter, branches taken from the *kumulaha* tree (*Cambretum bindlranum*) covered the body. Another layer of grass was put on top of the *kumulaha* branches, after which close family members threw several lamps of soil over the covered body in sequence while pronouncing farewell words to the deceased. The essence of covering the body with grass was meant to prevent the body from coming in close contact with the soil soon after inhuming (Mbiti, 1969).

After graves were sealed to form mounds, elders from the deceased person's clan addressed the departed briefly, asking the deceased not to begrudge the living. Spontaneous wailing thereafter followed, after which mourners dispersed to allow the departed to rest.



Plate 4: Positioning the Body in The Coffin to Face the Desired Direction Before Burial

Source: Taken by the Researcher on 29 July 2022 at Kibisi village in Kimilili constituency

A grave among the Bukusu was called *silindwa* and the English translation of this word is 'what is guarded'. This implied that graveyards were sacred places and securely guarded to keep off impurities that may have arisen if proper care was not taken (O.I., Nyongesa, 2022). Guarding the grave was also important in keeping away suspected killers whose malicious intention would have been to interfere with the grave as a way of ritually cleansing and absolving themselves from the wrath of the deceased's ghost. Always, suspected killers tampered with the grave by planting evil charms on it or drilling a hole in the head side, after which hot water was poured down, supposedly to inhibit the deceased ghost from haunting them (O.I., Kireba, 2022). Strong night vigils were put in place for as long as after the shaving ceremony to stop such evil plots.

Shortly after interment, there was a cattle drive ritual in which clansmen and agemates of the deceased rounded up their cattle and drove them around the grave to signify that the deceased was a skilful warrior and also succeeded in raiding the enemies' cattle (O.I., Wafula, 2022). Other accounts indicate that the cattle drive was done to honour the deceased as an outstanding farmer who successfully reared enough livestock. Similarly, the ceremony is comparable to modern-day Christian services during burials, where the deceased is eulogized for the success he or she realized.

Similar cattle drives were also performed with respect to senior women who brought up exemplary sons who also succeeded in raiding and rearing animals. Seemingly, the Tiriki also had a similar ritual. Karani (2017) adequately interrogated the cattle drive among the Tiriki in which the ritual was called *shilemba*. After the cattle drive, mourners went to the river to undertake the washing ritual, which entailed undressing the widow if the deceased was a man. Elderly women within the deceased's clan were tasked to undress the widow while the rest of the women formed a screen around the widow purposely for washing her (O.I., Chikati, 2021). Later in the evening, the widow climbed the rooftop of her hut to pull down the apex rod, which signified the dismantling of the male symbol in that homestead (O.I., Wafula, 2021).

Other accounts indicate that the nephew of the deceased (sister's son) removed the apex rod from the roof and received fowls as payment. The absence of the apex rod from any home

symbolised allowing the woman to be inherited by a man of her choice but within the bloodline of the deceased (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022). The widow kept the apex rod until after the shaving ceremony when she burnt it in a thicket under the supervision of women who undressed her during the washing ritual. A day after burial, there was a gathering called *kimikhalwa* or *mumikhalwa* (beer of gathering) whose sole purpose was to enumerate relevant litigations and other petty matters for discussion at the hair-shaving ceremony.

Three days after burial, the hair-shaving rite (*mulufu*-pertaining to the death) was performed. The spirit of the deceased disappeared to the spiritual world on this day, and any sort of contamination that may have been caused by the interaction with the departed was cleansed by shaving off the hair of those who were close to the deceased before the demise (Kassilly, 1999). Additionally, relatives of the deceased who were culturally prohibited from witnessing the burial were allowed to condole with the bereaved on this day. However, the grave was covered with a skin as a symbolic adherence to the 'in-lawship' respect that existed. Devoid of skins in modern days, graves are covered using blankets to uphold their traditions (See Plate 5 for the post-burial ritual of hair shaving).

This ritual also provided the opportunity upon which the public comforter (*omuseni kumuse*) addressed and comforted mourners while narrating the vital community's history (See plate 6: The *Omuseni kumuse*) (O.I., Natembeya, 2022). While doing so, he applauded the successes of the deceased as well as his clan and quickly downplayed any speculations that could have developed regarding the possible cause of the deceased's death (see plate 7: The ritual of *khusena kumuse* in progress). Being a special ritual among the Bukusu, *khusena kumuse* attracted many who were eager to learn historical and moral issues that were told like the poem narrations of today (Mukhwana, 1996).

Hence, the seating arrangement was made so that men took the higher ground positions on the side of the arena while women sat on the lower side. Other accounts maintain that the public comforter always arranged and rearranged the seats of his audience so that men took seats on the Northern side facing south while women occupied seats on the Southern and the Western sides. The deceased's family members sat down in a line without using chairs (O.I., Natembeya, 2022).

While performing his narrations, the public comforter walked in the row created between the seated men and women. While pacing from one end to the other, a path was created, which was believed to be the way the deceased would use while going to the spiritual world (see Plate 8: the path created after the *kumuse* ritual). The path was also a symbol of *kumuse* itself and a stage upon which the public comforter indulged in his oratory demonstration (Nakabayashi, 1982).



Plate 5: The Post-Burial Ritual of Hair Shaving

Source: Taken by the researcher on 11 June 2022 at Matunda village in Webuye West Constituency

Comparing this path with the Biblical teaching about the Kingdom of God, public comforters argue that it is similar to the narrow and small gate that will lead people to heaven, as recorded in the Bible. The scripture records that the road to heaven is very small and will only accommodate very few people who will meet the qualifications (Mathew 7: 13-14). Perhaps this explains why public comforters forbid the living from crossing the said path before and after the oratory condolences. It is stated that the path is meant to lead the deceased's spirit to heaven, and the living are completely discouraged from using it soon after the ritual (O.I., Natembeya, 2022).

During his solemn presentations, the *omuseni kumuse* was not supposed to swallow saliva. At the same time, people were not expected to cough or sneeze while in the arena. It was forbidden for the public comforter to continue with his work upon hearing loud peals of thunderstorms. In such situations, he was under obligation to cancel his engagement because an event of that kind was considered advantageous to him. In normal circumstances, however, he finished his presentation while uttering his last words faintly as he disappeared towards the other end of the row without looking back (O.I., Nyongesa, 2022).

It should be observed that the ritual of *khusena kumuse* was not performed anyhow without due consideration. For a man to qualify for this ritual, he was expected to have witnessed the circumcision of his son's boy (Nakabayashi, 1982). He was also supposed to have led a good moral life that was well-established in society. However, special exemptions allowed the observation of this ritual even if the deceased did not have a grandchild. Men with leadership, religious, and political roles were eligible for this ritual. That is why Bukusu politicians such as Masinde Muliro and Wamalwa Kijana attracted this ritual even though they did not have circumcised grandsons (Banda, 2017).



Plate 6: The Public Comforter

Source: Taken by the researcher on 11 June 2022 at Matunda village, Webuye West Constituency

Apart from *khusena kumuse* and the hair-shaving ritual, important and petty litigations were handled on this day. Pending litigations for the deceased were amicably settled, and the deceased's heirs agreed to clear such outstanding litigations. At the same time, those with outstanding debts were also identified and agreed on when to settle such balances to benefit the deceased's heirs (O.I., Nabangi, 2021).

Moreover, debts related to cultural dictates were settled on this day if they involved the deceased person. Such included the cow of *omwiwana* or *sibikho* (claimed from the maternal uncle before burial in relation to the bride price paid for his sister), the bull of *nangeso* (to recognize a woman's wealth making while at her parents' home), the bull of *kumwoulo* (demanded by a man who had fully paid bride price upon the demise of his brother-in-law) and the cow of *sitekho* (taken to a father-in-law upon the demise his son's wife) among others (O.I., Chikati, 2021).

Again, the deceased's will was made public on this day, and his male heirs distributed his property. In a home where there were no sons, the property was reverted back to the deceased's brothers, and widows were only given a milking cow for the sake of raising the surviving children. If it was a woman who died, her property was distributed to her immediate family members. In some circumstances, the husband's relatives demanded some of the bride price from the woman's kin if she died childless (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022).

The ritual of bringing back the shadow was held forty days after interment. This rite was not restricted to the Bukusu alone. It was widely spread among the larger Baluhya cluster of the interlacustrine region (Karani, 2017). This ritual was also found among the Bantu of Central and West Africa. The Dawayo of Cameroon also observed this ritual. In this community, a person's spirit, which was called *looreyo*, returned to the home of close relatives (Bockie, 1993). Upon death, therefore, it was mandatory for the spirit to be brought back to where the skull was buried (Nigel, 1981). Likewise, the Bukusu also adhered to the ritual in which the shadow of the deceased was brought back home, where they were buried. Nine months after burial, the widow was assisted to accomplish the ritual of *khumala silindwa* (cementing the grave). The bush around the grave was cleared, and cracks that had emerged on the grave were sealed, after which the grave's surface was smeared using clay.



Plate 7: The Ritual of *Khusena Kumuse*

Source: Taken by the researcher on 11 June 2022 at Matunda village in Webuye West Constituency

The cutting of ribbons ritual (*Khukhala kimikoye*) was thereafter conducted one year after burial. If the deceased was a woman, however, the ritual was held four months after the interment. In the case of a man, relatives gathered in his former homestead to pull down his living hut (*khukwisia likubili*) (O.I., Wafula, 2021). Very early in the morning on this day, the deceased's relatives rounded another cattle drive to the river, and an ox was earmarked for slaughtering by being smeared with clay (O.I., Chikati, 2021).

In the morning, which followed the cattle drive, the centre post was removed from the widow's hut and placed on the grave mound. The rest of the structure was pulled down (*khuyesia likubili*) and burnt. The earmarked bull was then slaughtered to entertain visitors with meat after which the widow washed and dressed herself like an ordinary unmarried woman to allow the cutting of the widowhood ribbons for burning. Thereafter, she moved to a new hut constructed by her sons or a prospective husband (O.I., Wamalwa, 2022).

One year after the *kimikoye* incident, the ritual involving burning the centre post left on the grave mound was conducted. Thereafter, the final death ritual was done in which the

deceased's skull was transferred to the new homestead of the living in a process that was called *khuuya lianga* (transferring the skull). Other accounts indicate that the deceased eldest daughter picked fresh grass or a stone from the grave, which was temporarily placed at the shrine constructed at the new site where family members had relocated (see Plate 9: a constructed shrine). Makila (1978) further recounts that the skull was always wrapped in a skin by an elderly woman who later deposited it at the place where they would settle.



Plate 8: The Path Created After the *Kumuse* Ritual

Source: Taken by the researcher on 11 June 2022 at Matunda village in Webuye West Constituency

In comparison with the Old Testament Biblical texts about death, Bukusu elders believe that the ritual of *khuuya lianga* originated from Joseph who instructed the Jews take back his bones to Israel from Egypt:

...and Joseph made the Israelites to take an oath and said, 'God will surely attend to you, and then you must carry my bones from this place...' (Genesis 50: 25).

Following these instructions, Moses took Joseph's bones with him before departing from Egypt during the exodus.

...Moses took the bones of Joseph because Joseph made the Israelites to swear an oath when he said, 'God will surely attend to you and then you must carry my bones with from this place'... (Exodus 13: 19).

Joseph's bones were thus carried back to Shechem and re-buried in a tomb that Abraham bought from the sons of Hamor. Therefore, Bukusu's claim of *khuuya lianga* should be given meaningful attention to the effect that the community's oral traditions point to Egypt as their cradle home. Their ancestors must have emulated Joseph's instructions and incorporated this practice into their anthropological practices of death.



Plate 3: A Freshly Constructed Shrine

Source: Taken by the Researcher at Kitale National Museum on 20th July 2022

Conclusion

From the foregoing, precolonial Bukusu constituted peculiar rituals that were strictly observed to give shape and meaning to the anthropology of death and dying. The observation of these rituals indicated their belief in life after death and it was the obligation of the living to uphold the said rituals. In other words, the anthropology of death among the Bukusu ensured the smooth and total transition from earthly life to immortal life devoid of death regardless of the prevailing conditions. Successful completion of death rituals thus enhanced the transformation of individuals from earthly humans to ancestors who acted as the link between humans and God.

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List of Informants

1. Natembeya, O. M. Khamulati, 9/5/2022
2. Nyongesa, V. Bokoli, 11/6/2022
3. Nabangi, D. M. Sengeli, 27/12/2021
4. Wamalwa, G. M. Lukhuna, 20/4/2022
5. Masoni, W. P. Lukhuna, 20/4/2022
6. Kisaka, F. Matunda, 10/6/2022
7. Wafula, M. B. Kibisi, 27/12/2021
8. Idilia, O. W. Khulwanda, 15/5/2022
9. Lusike, P. B. Kibisi, 27/12/2021
11. Elijah, J. W. Maeni, 3/10/2022
12. Kireba, N. Mahanga, 11/11/2022
13. Chikati, J. B. Sitabicha, 27/12/2022

Community Volunteers as Ambassadors of Peace: Strategies for Conflict Resolution and Management in Laikipia West Sub-County

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Abstract

This study investigates the role of peace ambassadors in conflict resolution within Laikipia West, Kenya, where inter-ethnic tensions have historically been exacerbated through drought and resource scarcity. Utilizing qualitative methods, this study involved in-depth interviews with peace ambassadors and local chiefs to understand their motivations, community perceptions, conflict challenges, and resolution strategies. Findings reveal that peace ambassadors are distinguished community leaders driven by a profound commitment to peace. Peace ambassadors use their local knowledge and cultural understanding to mediate disputes. They adopt a proactive, directive approach to conflict resolution, focusing on calming tensions, listening to both sides, and guiding parties toward mutual understanding and forgiveness. The study highlights the importance of integrating traditional conflict resolution methods with contemporary practices, suggesting a hybrid model that preserves cultural integrity while fostering effective legal accountability. Furthermore, it recommends replicating the model in other areas and advocates for a multi-level approach that addresses issues such as structural and cultural violence, intending to promote positive peace and address the symptoms and root causes.

Keywords: Conflict management, peace ambassadors, Laikipia West, village elders, volunteers

Introduction

Globally, the potential of community volunteers in peacebuilding is increasingly being recognized (Lough & Mwathi, 2012; Bounemra et al., 2020). Community volunteers are vital contributors to achieving Sustainable Development Goal 16, which aims to promote peaceful and inclusive societies (UNV, 2014; Milesi & Lopez, 2020). In Kenya, there are notable examples of how the involvement of community volunteers has led to significant peaceful outcomes, particularly during the 2007 post-election violence when the Neighbourhood Volunteer Scheme (NVS) was implemented (UNV, 2014). However, a critical question arises: Can these initiatives be sustainable over the long term? How can volunteers effectively play a role in preventing conflicts before they escalate? Addressing these questions is essential for maximizing the impact of volunteer efforts in peacebuilding and ensuring their sustainability.

Research about conflict management in African societies shows that traditional conflict management methods exist within communities. According to Pkalya et al. (2004), indigenous conflict management and resolution mechanisms rely on local actors and traditional community-based judicial and legal decision-making processes to resolve conflicts within or between communities. Research has also emphasized the crucial role of elders in African societies, which have remained resilient despite the impact of colonialism and the introduction of Western legal systems. In Africa, traditional justice systems have been in place for centuries,

with elders playing a vital role in resolving disputes (Kariuki, 2015). In Kenya, elders play a significant role as volunteers in public governance (Mutua & Kiruhi, 2021). The contribution of elders is particularly relevant to this study, as many peace ambassadors are also village elders. This overlap may suggest similarities in their roles and responsibilities.

Kenyan society is characterized by a strong emphasis on ethnic identity, with many individuals identifying strongly with their ethnic group. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the way of living between farmers and those who are pastoralists, which can lead to clashes between these two groups, especially during drought, when grazing ground is scarce and water is limited. In addition, cattle rustling has been a persistent problem among pastoral communities in Kenya, particularly among the Pokot, Turkana, and Samburu tribes. This has also affected the life in some areas in Laikipia West (Ogeto, 2023). Laikipia West is a constituency in Laikipia County, located in central Kenya. This area is known for its diverse landscapes, including semi-arid areas. Laikipia West is notorious for its history of inter-ethnic conflicts and violence, which encompasses both direct and indirect forms of harm.

According to Wanjiku et al. (2023), the roots of these conflicts can be traced back to the colonial era. The displacement of pastoralists and the purchase of farms by colonizers led to the settlement of other groups as workforce for the farms, creating tension and competition for resources. The authors state that factors such as strong ethnic identity, political tensions, inadequate pastures, and compromised political systems contribute to these conflicts.

In Laikipia West, conflicts have historically plagued the region due to tensions between diverse ethnic groups, which were exacerbated by the devastating effects of drought. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, St Martin, a faith-based, community-driven organization in Nyahururu-Kenya, has responded by partnering with volunteers from various sub-locations in Laikipia West Subcounty. These dedicated individuals have been designated peace ambassadors, working tirelessly to foster harmony and understanding within their communities. The researcher had the opportunity to meet with peace ambassadors from four distinct sub-locations, conducting in-depth interviews to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences. This study aimed to explore how volunteer initiatives, particularly the activities of peace ambassadors, influence conflict resolution and contribute to sustainable peace in Laikipia West.

It is crucial to explore the motivations and experiences of these peace ambassadors, the nature of the conflicts they encounter, and their collaborative efforts with local chiefs. This exploration aimed to evaluate whether this volunteer-driven approach is a viable and replicable solution for fostering peaceful communities.

Theory and Method

This study employed Galtung's concepts of peace and violence alongside grassroots-level peace approaches. Johan Galtung distinguished between negative peace, defined as the absence of direct physical violence, and positive peace, which involves building constructive relationships characterized by access to basic human needs (food, shelter, healthcare, education, and security), fair resource distribution, and active participation in decision-making (Galtung, 1969). He also defines violence as the gap between the potential and actual fulfilment of human needs. Lederach (1997) expanded on Galtung's theories by emphasizing the need to address peace at various levels including the grassroots, meso, and macro. He argued for the integration of local knowledge and agency in peace processes, asserting that those most affected by conflict should actively participate in peacebuilding efforts.

The study employed a qualitative research approach to explore the rich insights and stories of the peace ambassadors, seeking to capture their nuanced perspectives and experiences. Nine participants were interviewed, including seven peace ambassadors and two chiefs from various sub-locations. Two peace ambassadors' interviews were translated from Kiswahili to English.

The interviews were conducted during two exchange visits between peace ambassadors from different sub-locations, allowing for a unique opportunity to gather diverse perspectives.

Table 1: Demography of the Peace Ambassadors

Participant	Gender and Age	Education Level
Peace Ambassador 1	Male, 30 years old	Diploma
Peace Ambassador 2	Female, 44 years (Interview translated)	Primary school
Peace Ambassador 3	Female, 46 years	Secondary school
Peace Ambassador 4	Female 50 years (interview translated)	Primary school
Peace Ambassador 5	Male, 45 years	Primary school. Did not finish secondary school
Peace Ambassador 6	Female 36 years	Primary school. Dropped secondary school
Peace Ambassador 7	Male, 42 years	Primary school
Chief 1	Male	Not known, at least secondary school
Chief 2	Male	Not known, at least secondary school

The interviews were first transcribed. Thereafter, inductive content analysis (Mayring, 2000) was conducted with the support of Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDA) lite software. In addition to the initial interviews, nine additional peace ambassadors were interviewed using the Kiswahili language. The objective of the additional interviews was to gather a more diverse range of responses, including those from peace ambassadors who had not had the opportunity to attend school. The results of these interviews were incorporated into this study.

Findings and Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of peace ambassadors and their approaches to resolving conflicts within their communities. To achieve this, the first step was to explore how these volunteers perceived and described their communities. This provides a foundation for understanding their perspective on the social, cultural, and environmental contexts in which they operate.

Peace Ambassadors and Perceptions of Their Communities

The peace ambassadors talked at length about the challenges of explaining their perceptions of the communities to which they belonged. They further described their communities as very cosmopolitan, thereby promoting cohesive co-existence, though this was not always the case.

Challenges in the community: Poverty, unemployment, drug abuse and domestic violence

The interviewed peace ambassadors and area chiefs come from four distinct sub-locations, providing diverse perspectives. Regarding the economic status, peace ambassadors highlighted the pervasive economic crisis and its related challenges in their respective areas, which worsens in times of lack of harvest because of drought.

Some are very hungry. Some have spent even two days without food. There is a lot of conflict there in our areas. Between men and women. In marriages there is a lot of difficulty. It is due to the problem of poverty in that area. Because it is an area which is not developed. Peace Ambassador. (PA) 6.

Peace ambassadors in this study identified a strong correlation between poverty and domestic violence, as well as a connection between poverty/unemployment and drug abuse, particularly among the youth. These observations suggest that economic instability can have far-reaching consequences, perpetuating cycles of violence and substance abuse within communities.

According to the interviewees, many young people struggle to complete their education due to financial constraints, leading to feelings of despair and depression. The lack of job opportunities only adds to their frustration, leaving them without a sense of purpose or direction. This can have devastating effects on their mental health, self-esteem, and overall well-being, which also can lead to drug abuse.

Peace ambassadors from pastoralist communities emphasize that many children still do not attend school. However, others noted that the situation is improving and that positive changes are occurring. One peace ambassador remarked that people nowadays value education more than before. Additionally, the rights of women have been enhanced:

Today, women have the right to say yes or no, unlike before, when they were simply receiving direction and communication. (PA15).

A cosmopolitan community

Several respondents described their communities as cosmopolitan hubs where people from diverse ethnic backgrounds coexist in harmony:

This community are good people. They are not bad. They understand one another. They live together. They co-exist. Even if they are of different tribes, they co-exist together. (Area Chief 1)

While the peace ambassador described the community as peaceful, it was evident that conflicts simmered beneath the surface. This paradox highlights community dynamics' complex and multifaceted nature, where coexistence and cooperation exist alongside tensions and disagreements.

Many times, the children go to graze from different places, and maybe sometimes the cows go beyond eating somebody's things in the garden. So that one causes a bit of conflict. (PA 2, translated)

The interviewee hints at conflicts in the community, suggesting that the community is not as peaceful as described. Her description of children allowing cows to graze in restricted areas implies that this is a recurring issue. Her explanation that the conflict is due to children being careless rather than a deliberate act may be an attempt to downplay the problem.

One peace ambassador emphasized that the different tribes lived in co-existence, but that was not always the case. He recalled a violent conflict between the Pokots and Samburu in 2007, which was eventually settled. According to him, the Samburu emerged victorious, forcing the Pokots to leave their land (PA 5). These narratives challenge the notion that the different tribes coexist peacefully. The peace ambassador's assertion that there is peace in the area today suggests a trivialized view of conflict, implying that it only refers to violent situations. However, a closer examination reveals that the reality may be more nuanced. For instance, injustices and disputes over land ownership create an atmosphere of tension and unease. The fact that the community does not own the land they inhabit and that the landowners are afraid to settle indicates a deep-seated problem that is not being addressed.

Well, most people living in this area, they don't own land because of historical injustices. The previous regimes brought people outside this county and they were allocated land, (...) And now those who actually legally own the land, fear to come and settle there. Because they fear their lives. (PA 5)

When asked about specific cases he dealt with, the peace ambassador recalled a particularly violent dispute involving herders and farmers that escalated to the point of arrows being used. His matter-of-fact tone, however, belied the gravity of the situation, suggesting that, for him, it was just another ordinary case:

Recently, there was a conflict between one family around here. The Samburu boys, the herders, came and grazed on somebody's shamba, on somebody's garden. And the war broke out with arrows. With arrows, and people were injured. But we settled that one. (PA 5)

Another peace ambassador noted that while they live in harmony, conflicts tend to arise when the river dries up, leading to tensions between farmers and pastoralists (PA 13). Interestingly, according to a chief of another zone, these kinds of violent conflicts are less in his sub-location. Meanwhile, he confidently asserted that his region was peaceful, with minimal violence:

We normally have some minor cases like, you know, petty theft is normal. In some areas, you find a boy stealing a chicken, and somebody stealing a goat, but you don't also have that magnitude. (...) like killing or whatever, we have never had that. But normally, you have some theft, but not those ones of violence. Armed thieves, we have never had these in our area. (Area Chief 2).

It is striking to note that the chief's understanding of violence is limited to physical harm and theft, overlooking the deeper social and cultural complexities at play.

Meanwhile, a chief from a different region expressed a starkly contrasting perspective. He emphasized that his community is actively working towards living in harmony and that they prioritize peaceful coexistence:

These people try to be peaceful always. (...) Yes, they are peaceful people. They are trying to be peaceful always. Even in this area of ours, we don't have a police post in this area. The whole sub-location there is no police post. So, they are living all together peacefully. (Area chief 1)

This statement raises questions about the relationship between law enforcement and conflict. In addition, when someone says they always try to be peaceful, several questions emerge: Does this mean they actively avoid conflicts, or is it a guiding life attitude? Alternatively, does 'trying' suggest they do not always succeed but remain committed to peace? The answer may lie in a combination of these interpretations.

Types of Conflicts Peace Ambassadors Attend To

A description of challenges within the community already mirrors the key issues that peace ambassadors address. These issues include:

1. Conflicts between herders and farmers: Conflicts between herders and farmers are a persistent problem exacerbated by drought-induced resource scarcity.

2. Domestic violence and challenges between couples: One of the most prominent conflicts is domestic violence. As already mentioned, the economic crisis and domestic violence seem to be related to each other.
3. Cases of child marriage, defilement, female genital mutilation, and other illegal practices that are brought before the courts.

Peace ambassadors not only address conflicts but also focus on education and awareness. They provide information on human rights and promote a culture of peace by raising awareness about children's rights, domestic violence, and harmful practices like female genital mutilation and early marriage. They aim to create a more harmonious and just community through these efforts.

Peace Ambassadors and Advocacy for Peace: What Motivates them?

The peace ambassadors interviewed are respected leaders within their communities, often referred to as 'natural leaders'. Many of them hold leadership positions within multiple community groups, demonstrating their strong influence and connection with their communities. Their exceptional leadership skills are a defining characteristic, and a strong spiritual conviction underscores their role. Many believe that their talent is God-given, and they see themselves as vessels for serving their community (PA 5). Some describe it as a calling from their heart:

... it is a calling from my heart. I love to help people. I love peace. I love to solve difficulties in our area. (...) I love to help people, to do good, to help people. Where I meet conflict, I try to solve. (PA 6)

This inner drive is their primary motivation for this work, and they find personal fulfilment when they can contribute to resolving community issues. Many express a shared vision of creating a community where conflicts are minimal and harmony prevails. The wish to have the ability and the health to serve the community can be very deep.

Sometimes I get sick. I admit myself. I am sick. I have a problem. But I told God to give me courage and to heal me. So that I can continue in that serving community. (PA 6)

When asked about their advice for someone seeking to become a peace ambassador, they emphasize the importance of volunteering and self-sacrifice. They stress that being a peace ambassador is not a paid profession but a calling requiring commitment and availability. They must be prepared to put aside personal interests and dedicate themselves fully to the role, always ready to respond to emerging situations that demand their attention.

This is a job that you can be called, from the weird hours of the night. This is a job, a crisis can, you know, a crisis that can't send an alarm, or give you a prior notice. (PA 1)

Furthermore, a peace ambassador should be a vigilant individual who is well-versed in the conflicts and needs of their community, staying informed about local issues and being able to respond promptly to emerging conflicts or crises, acting swiftly and effectively to prevent escalation and promote reconciliation. In addition, peace ambassadors state that their role is to raise awareness in all day-to-day activities and wherever they go. Despite their humble economic circumstances, peace ambassadors are ordinary community members who farm small plots and attend to animals. What sets them apart is not their background or occupation

but their commitment to serving as mediators and facilitators. In fact, their lack of formal employment frees them up to devote more time and energy to their peacebuilding work (PA 5).

One respondent mentioned two things that qualify him, especially for this job as a peace ambassador. One is that he travelled when he was younger and got an understanding of the diverse cultures within Kenya.

So, if you have moved and mingled with different tribes, then that means you're experienced. You understand the cultural practices of every community around here. So, it's easier. (PA 5)

Other interviewees did not mention this. However, it was highlighted that it is important for them to have exposure visits and exchanges with peace ambassadors from other areas. The other thing the peace ambassador mentioned is that he has more knowledge, has the skill of acquiring knowledge, and wants to share the knowledge he has:

To assist those people who are not aware of their rights. Maybe myself, I've gone to school at a certain level, although I've not gone far, because of financial. (...) The little I know; I like to share with them. (PA 5)

Alongside their commitment to peacebuilding, peace ambassadors share a common trait; a desire to disseminate their knowledge and experiences. However, it is noteworthy that most of them have not pursued extensive formal education; some of them did not have the chance to go to school but still see themselves as 'knowledgeable person' (PA 15). Instead, their strengths lie in their ability to understand concepts, 'be sound in mind' (PA 13), communicate effectively, and share their knowledge with others.

Furthermore, several key qualities are considered essential for effective peace ambassadors, including being in harmony with their own family and neighbours, and possessing inner peace. These qualities enable them to approach conflicts with empathy and understanding.

One thing. First. Your home has to be in peace. And in a good family. You have to have peace inside. (PA 6)

In addition to sharing their knowledge and being in harmony with their community, peace ambassadors must also possess emotional intelligence and mental stability. This enables them to remain calm and composed in the face of conflict, allowing them to approach disputes with a clear head and a willingness to listen. One peace ambassador states how she approaches a situation where there is conflict:

But sometimes when dealing with some of these issues. These issues, she first calms down and goes to them and talks to them both relaxed, with peace at heart. (PA 4, translated)

This leads us to the next question on how peace ambassadors manage conflicts.

Peace Ambassadors and Management of Conflicts

When arriving at a conflict scene, a peace ambassador's role is to de-escalate the situation and unite the opposing parties. However, this task is not always easy. One peace ambassador shared

that she sometimes has to temporarily withdraw from the scene until tensions calm down (PA 2, *translated*). This challenge underscores why they often work in teams.

After calming the situation, the next step is to listen to both parties involved. Therefore, peace ambassadors must possess strong listening skills. They first patiently listen to both sides while trying to be neutral. After that, they help the parties to resolve their conflict. According to the chief, a key competency of being a peace ambassador is that they should also be able to solve problems (Chief 1). Here, he is in agreement with other peace ambassadors who state that the peace ambassador has to be focused and good at problem-solving. This also hints at how they resolve the conflicts:

Whenever there is a problem somewhere, they do contact me, I go visit the household, I counsel them, and I always leave that place, when there is a completion of every problem, and they always do appreciate. (PA 3)

It appears that the term ‘counselling and advising’ in conflict resolution involves active listening, where one first seeks to understand the nature of the problem before offering a solution. This approach aligns with statements that expect the peace ambassador to be focused and able to make informed decisions. Notably, one peace ambassador has extended this role to her own family:

Whenever there is something, even my elder sister does consult me, so I am the final person to decide on what or have the decision on the problem that should be solved. (PA 3)

After listening to each party, peace ambassadors strive to convey the value of peaceful conflict resolution to both sides. (PA 2, *translated*). Doing so aims to create a sense of mutual understanding and encourage parties to work towards a peaceful resolution.

We show them that fighting is not a solution to a conflict. It's good to settle cases amicably (...) we talk to them. Yes, we find an agreement. (...) When they agree, we tell the owner of the animals to compensate. So, we tell, we advise the pastoralists. (PA 5)

The interviewees’ responses show that after listening to the problem, they try to convince the parties. It seems that peace ambassadors are sometimes not neutral anymore. They make the grazers understand that they were wrong. For them, it is important that the grazers understand.

When we meet two people's fighting, we call them there. See, this is a shamba for someone, (...) Yes, we talk to farmer and also to the grazer. When we come, there is peace Yes, when we talk to them, there is peace. And they forgive each other. (PA 4)

Sometimes they have to talk a lot until they convince them. At the end of the conflict, they should forgive each other.

The analysis of the interviews reveals that most disputes between herders and farmers are resolved through a simple yet effective approach: The perpetrator agrees to compensate for the damages. In contrast, cases of domestic violence or marital problems are typically addressed by emphasizing the importance of harmony within the relationship. The peace ambassadors’

collaborative approach is noteworthy, as they often work in teams to provide mutual support. Interestingly, one young man felt constrained in offering advice to married couples due to his own unmarried status. To overcome this limitation, he sought the guidance of a respected village elder.

For example, on a particular day, my neighbour, they had this domestic, you know gender-based violence. And we have been told also that, as a topic in St. Martin, during our teachings, community teachings, that women. women normally face this gender-based violence, especially in marriages. And previously, I was not capacity-built on how to deal with a married couple. Because by that time I wasn't married, I was just living alone. (PA 1)

This statement highlights the positive impact of the training by St. Martin CSA in Nyahururu-Kenya, on the peace ambassadors. Notably, the peace ambassadors have become more proactive in addressing domestic violence cases, demonstrating a significant shift in their approach. Moreover, this example illustrates an important lesson: that experience and credibility are crucial when offering guidance. In this instance, the peace ambassador recognized the importance of seeking the wisdom of a village elder better equipped to advise a married couple. They went together to the couple and tried to understand the conflict and give guidance. They were advised that *'they shouldn't escalate the conflict higher, because it will cause them more conflicts, and they will regret later. (...). And since then, they have been staying happily'*. (PA 1)

In summary, the peace ambassadors employ a four-step approach to address conflicts in the community. Firstly, they intervene by calming the situation and gathering information by speaking separately with both parties involved. Next, they emphasize the importance of resolving conflicts amicably and having peaceful coexistence. The third step involves persuading both parties to reach a mutually beneficial agreement, often by taking sides in disputes, such as requiring the responsible party to compensate for damages. In cases of domestic violence, they focus on promoting harmonious relationships. The last step is to help both parties acknowledge their mistakes. The goal is to foster forgiveness, with the offending party taking responsibility for their actions.

Chiefs and Peace Ambassadors

According to the chiefs interviewed, peace ambassadors play a crucial role in maintaining peace in the area. They are the ones who know the community best and have a deep understanding of the neighbourhood. As one chief noted, they have the community 'at their fingertips' and keep their 'eyes and ears open' (Chief 1). This proximity to the community allows them to address conflicts effectively before they escalate.

The Area Chief explains how tribal clashes can arise from minor incidents, such as fights between children from different tribes. 'If one party reacts aggressively, it can escalate tensions, leading to involvement from others supporting their respective tribes. Conflicts can quickly spiral out of control without the intervention of peace ambassadors to manage and de-escalate the situation' (Area Chief 1).

The peace ambassadors' diverse ethnic backgrounds, which mirror the community's, are a significant advantage. This diversity allows them to understand and relate to the community's concerns, making them effective mediators in calming down tense situations. Moreover, their familiarity with the community is a major strength, as they are able to tap into their knowledge and connections to address conflicts.

The peace ambassadors see their autonomy from government institutions as a major advantage. Unlike the adversarial approach taken by the police and courts, their approach

prioritizes dialogue and understanding, leading to more peaceful outcomes. Moreover, when conflicts are resolved through official channels, such as the police and courts, the parties involved often emerge with feelings of resentment and hostility (PA 1).

Peace Ambassadors argue that some conflicts cannot be resolved by the government alone and require a more amicable approach. In cases of personal disputes that escalate into violence, government intervention often leads to legal consequences, such as arrests and court prosecutions, which can further worsen animosity between the parties involved.

In contrast, the peace ambassadors' approach focuses on calming the situation and finding a mutually acceptable agreement between the parties. One peace ambassador noted that this approach often yields a win-win outcome. Moreover, this method is more peaceful and significantly faster than other conflict resolution methods.

They (the community) think the peace ambassadors are doing a good job, because they resolve some of these issues even without involving a court. And it's kind of. It's a more efficient. And more faster way. To resolve some of the issues and some of the conflicts within the community without involving the court. (PA 4)

The peace ambassadors' approach resolves conflicts more quickly and peacefully and prioritizes privacy. When cases arise in the community, the peace ambassador is the usually first contact. The peace ambassadors then assess whether they can manage the cases themselves.

Just to reconcile, to reconcile and settle those cases which are out of court, but the serious cases we forward to the court. (PA 5)

According to the peace ambassadors, they hand over the cases of criminal offences to the government structures through the chief. Such offences are also cases of child abuse, defilement, early marriages, and female genital mutilation. One peace ambassador notes that these cases are quite frequent in his area. The peace ambassadors focus on providing information about these issues, as they have been officially recognized as crimes against humanity, leaving legal action to the government. In addition, when cases cannot be calmed down, they involve the chief and the police, as already discussed.

Conclusions

This study has emphasized the pivotal roles played by peace ambassadors from St. Martin CSA in conflict resolution across their communities in Laikipia West, Kenya. These individuals, sharing similar socioeconomic backgrounds with their neighbours, differentiate themselves through their outstanding leadership qualities and commitment to fostering social harmony.

Collaborating closely with local chiefs, peace ambassadors leverage their standing within the community and cultural insights to mediate disputes, particularly between pastoralists and farmers, as well as married couples. Their conflict intervention emphasizes principles of forgiveness, mutual understanding, and amicable resolutions. Unlike professional mediators, peace ambassadors adopt a proactive and directive approach, actively calming conflict situations and persuading disputants toward reconciliation. This model deviates from the more neutral stance typically embraced by mediators, who prioritize facilitating open dialogues and allowing parties to navigate their own solutions. The approach utilized by peace ambassadors appears to draw significantly from traditional methods of conflict resolution instead of Western strategies that have often been found to be ineffective in African contexts since they may not adequately address the unique cultural, social, and historical realities that shape conflicts within local communities.

Integrating peace ambassadors and village elders in Kenya presents a significant opportunity for effective conflict resolution. Their collaboration with government institutions exemplifies a balanced approach that respects cultural traditions while adhering to established legal frameworks. This hybrid model successfully combines community-centred traditional methods with contemporary systems rooted in the community's unique experiences. The partnership between government representatives and local leaders holds considerable promise for achieving sustainable development goals. However, the application of this collaboration should extend beyond conflict situations to serve as a proactive measure for fostering an inclusive society. Consequently, there is a pressing need for policy reforms that facilitate incorporating traditional conflict resolution practices into formal governmental structures.

It is recommended that the role of peace ambassadors be recognised. In this respect, they should be empowered within local governance structures to enhance their influence and effectiveness in conflict resolution. There is need to provide resources for community-led initiatives. This should be able to support grassroots conflict resolution programmes led by community members while ensuring that local voices are prioritized in peacebuilding efforts. Finally, partnerships should be encouraged. This will foster collaboration between local organizations and government bodies to strengthen collective capacities for conflict resolution and promote shared responsibility in maintaining peace. These initiatives should be implemented broadly to address not only ethnic conflicts but also other societal challenges, as peace ambassadors also advocate for children's rights, gender equality, and the elimination of harmful practices.

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Udhalilishaji wa Asasi Kuu za Kijamii katika Muziki wa Kisasa

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Abstract

Pop music is one of the genres with the greatest appeal to the Kenyan youth, and it continues to impact them profoundly. Although this music is a form of entertainment for the youth, Contemporary Pop Music has been used as a platform for disseminating the youth's problems in society. From time immemorial, music has been used to highlight societal challenges. Therefore, this paper critically analysed how the youth has used Contemporary Pop Music to subvert entrenched customs, beliefs, and institutions in society. The study aligned itself with Jean-Francois Lyotard's idea of postmodernism which is rooted in the subversion of institutions and ideological forms of knowledge as instruments of oppression in the society since they have failed to capture the local realities. Using purposively selected 5 contemporary popular songs in Kenya, this article provides a textual analysis of how postmodernism styles used in the songs serve to subvert entrenched customs, beliefs, institutions, education, language, and religion as instruments of oppression. Challenging these established norms allowed the youth to express themselves freely through music. This study will help shed light on issues of concern to the youth and hopefully help policymakers by offering reference material for the formulation of policies and strategies that will address these issues. More specifically, the findings of this study will contribute to the field of discourse analysis in Kiswahili, literary linguistics, and Oral literature and will help linguistics and literature scholars as reference material in understanding contemporary pop music. Finally, this study will bring a new perspective to understanding contemporary pop music in our society.

Keywords: Contemporary pop music, established norms, postmodernism, subversion, youth

Ikisiri

Muziki wa Kisasa ni mojawapo wa muziki maarufu sana kwa vijana nchini Kenya. Licha ya kuwa kitumbuizo kwa vijana, muziki huu hutumika kama nyenzo ya kuwazindua vijana ambao wako kwenye shinikizo zito kutokana na matatizo yanayowakumba katika jamii. Tangu miaka na mikaka, binadamu amekuwa akitoa hisia zake: za uchungu, kero, mafadhaiko au furaha kupitia muziki ambao husawiri mazingira yake. Mintarafu ya hayo, makala haya yalichunguza jinsi muziki wa kisasa unatumika kudhalilisha asasi kuu za kijamii ambazo badala ya kutoa suluhisho la matatizo chungu nzima yanayowakumba vijana, asasi hizi ndizo chanzo kuu cha matatizo hayo. Mawazo ya Jean-Francois Lyotard katika nadharia ya usasaleo kuhusu udhalilishaji wa tamaduni na asasi kuu zinazokandamiza maisha ya watu kwani haziakisi hali halisi ya maisha yalikuwa dira katika uchunguzi huu. Muundo wa utafiti huu ulikuwa wa kiuthamano na kimaelezo na ulifanyika maktabani. Data ya msingi katika utafiti huu ilikuwa nyimbo tano za Genge ambazo zilipakuliwa mtandaoni. Makala haya yanaonyesha kwamba Muziki wa Kisasa umewapa vijana jukwaa la kudhalilisha asasi kuu kama vile dini, lugha na vyombo vya dola kwani vinawasababishia vijana mahangaiko mengi. Udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu katika tungo zao umewapa vijana njia salama ya kujikomboa kutokana na mifumo ya awali ambayo haikuwapa nafasi ya kujieleza wala kuruhusu mabadiliko. Matokeo ya utafiti huu

yatakuwa malighafi katika taaluma za isimu na fasihi pamoja na uchanganuzi diskosi matini Aidha matokeo ya utafiti huu yatotoa mwanga kuhusu maswala yanayowakumba vijana hivyo basi ni marejeleo muhimu kwa washika dau wote wanaobuni sera na mikakati kabambe ya kuwainua vijana ambao ni nguzo muhimu katika jamii.

Istilahi kuu: Asasi kuu, muziki wa kisasa, udhalilishaji, usasaleo, vijana

Utangulizi

Vijana ni nguzo muhimu katika jamii na taifa kwa jumla tena wana nafasi kubwa ya kujenga jamii yao kiuchumi, kisiasa na kijamii. Hata hivyo, jamii imeundwa kwa namna kwamba asasi kuu zinawakandamiza vijana huku watu walio na uwezo wakiendelea kuwadhulumu na kuwanyima haki. Ogutu (2021) anaelezea kuwa vijana wapo kwenye shinikizo zito linalowazuia kuafikia malengo na matamania yao katika maisha. Hali hii imewalazimu vijana kutumia muziki wao kama jukwaa la kudhalilisha asasi kuu zinazowasababishia matatizo chungu nzima. Binadamu amekuwa akitoa hisia zake za uchungu, kero, mafadhaiko au furaha kupitia muziki. Kazi ya msanii ni kusawiri masuala yaliyomo kwenye jamii kama vile ukosefu wa kazi, unyonyaji, ukoloni mamboleo, uzalendo, usaliti, matumizi ya dawa za kulevya miongoni mwa mambo mengine yanayoikumba jamii (Wanjala 2016). Kutokana na hayo, muziki wa kisasa basi ni zaidi ya sauti tu ambazo huimbwa na kucheza. Muziki huu ni sauti na satua ya vijana katika kuelezea yanayowakumba katika jamii.

Licha ya kuwa watafiti wengi wamekuwa wakijikita katika mitindo na maudhui ya sanaa ya jadi, baadhi ya tafiti zinazohusu aina ya muziki huu (Kipsang, 2016; Koech, 2021; Kasyoka, 2022) zimejikita katika uhakiki wa masuala nyeti kama vile ngono pamoja na matumizi ya dawa za kulevya yanayodhihirika katika muziki huu. Kwa upande mwingine, udhihirikaji wa masuala hayo nyeti ni ishara ya upingaji na udhalilishaji wa tamaduni ambazo zimetawala mfumo wa maisha ya watu kwa muda mrefu (Mukasa, 2022). Ni dhahiri kuwa swala la udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu za kijamii katika Muziki wa kisasa limetiwa kapuni ilhali ni wazi kuwa muziki huu ni nyenzo maarufu ya kudhalilisha hali na asasi kuu katika jamii zinazowasababishia vijana masaiibu mengi.

Dhana hii ya udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu ilifafanuliwa na Mfaransa Francois Lyotard (1979). Lyotard alipinga matumizi ya asasi kuu zilizokuwa zinakandamiza maisha ya binadamu. Hii ni kwa sababu asasi kuu hazina uhusiano wowote na hali halisi ya maisha. Kwa hivyo, Lyotard alipendekeza matumizi ya asasi ndogo ndogo zinazosimulia na kuakisi hali halisi ya maisha. Aidha, Lyotard anaelezea kuwa maendeleo ya viwanda yalibadilisha kwa kiwango kikubwa ufahamu wa jamii. Ufahamu huu umewapa wasanii kibali cha kuwasilisha hisia zao na za wanajamii wengine kuhusu hali zinazowakumba kwa kutumia nyenzo zinazokiuka kanuni zilizozoeleka za jadi na kuienzi mitindo ya kisasaleo.

Carter (2006) anahoji kuwa jaribio la kuelezea ukuaji wa jamii na tamaduni zake kwa kutumia asasi kuu na nadharia hazifai na hazikubaliki tena. Swala hili linaungwa mkono na Barry (2002) anayependekeza kuwa watu watumie urazini na umantiki ili kuleta suluhisho kwa matatizo ya kijamii. Kwa hivyo, ni wazi kuwa jamii haitegemei tena asasi kuu kuipa mwelekeo wa maisha. Walmsley (2006) anaonyesha kuwa udhalilishaji wa asasi hizi hulenga maana ya uasi dhidi ya kaida zilizopo au zilizokuwepo na kusababisha asasi hizi kufifia zenyewe. Hivyo basi, Muziki wa Kisasa umetungwa na kuimbwa kwa lengo la kudhalilisha asasi hizi. Aidha, Kipkemoi (2018) anafafanua kuwa nyimbo ni matini ambayo inaweza kuchanganuliwa jinsi zilizovyo matini nyingine. Isitoshe kupitia kwa nyimbo, vijana wana nafasi kubwa ya kudhalilisha na kuhujumu mifumo na asasi zinazowasababishia matatizo mengi katika jamii.

Zaidi ya hayo, Wamitila (2006) anaelezea kuwa kutokana na mabadiliko ya kisiasa, kiuchumi, kijamii, kisayansi, kiteknolojia na kisanaa, sifa za nyimbo zilibadilika hasa baada ya karne ya ishirini na moja. Nyimbo hizi zilihusishwa na udhalilishaji wa simulizi kuu. Huelezea au kuzitambulisha sifa mpya za dhamira, tanzu, dhana na mitindo ya kifasihi inayohusishwa

na miongo ya kwanza ya karne ya ishirini. Mintaarafu ya hayo, nyimbo husika zilichunguzwa kutoka juu, chini, kulia na kushoto ili kubainisha asasi kuu ambazo zimedhalilishwa kwani zimehangaisha maisha ya vijana.

Mapitio Ya Maandishi

Vijana wanaweza kutumika katika jamii ili kuleta mageuzi. Kiongera (2010) katika tasnifu yake alishughulikia mchango wa vijana katika kuleta mabadiliko chanya. Alionyesha kuwa vijana wanatambua maovu ya viongozi wa kisiasa ambayo yanawafanya wapitie maisha magumu. Alihitimisha kazi yake kwa kuonyesha jinsi vijana wamechangia katika kuleta ukombozi wa jamii. Utafiti wa Kiongera ni tunu kwa makala haya kwani ulisaidia kuonyesha vile vijana wana uwezo wa kutambua maovu ya viongozi na hivyo kutumika kuzindua vijana wengine ili waelewe hali halisi ya mambo katika jamii yao.

Utafiti wa Njoroge (2014) ulionyesha kwamba matatizo hasi yanayozikumba jamii za leo yamesababishwa na asasi kuu za kijamii. Aidha, mabadiliko hasi yanayoshuhudiwa katika nchi na jamii mbalimbali husababishwa na viongozi ingawa viongozi wanastahili kuwa mawakala wa mabadiliko chanya. Vilevile, lililodhihirika katika makala haya ni kwamba wanajamii kwa kutofurahia mabadiliko haya hasi, walijitetea kwa kuyakaidi hata ingawa wengi wao hawakufaulu. Ingawa utafiti wa Njoroge ulichanganua viongozi kama visababishi vya mabadiliko katika riwaya, uliyafaa makala haya katika kuonyesha jinsi wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa wanavyopinga uongozi mbaya na kuwataka raia wajikakamue wabadilishe hali ilivyo.

Gromov (2022) anafafanua kuwa wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa wanapinga mifumo ya utawala ya nchi zinazoendelea ambayo wanaona haina neema yoyote kwa raia. Wasanii hawa huonyesha hasira zao kwa kile ambacho wao wanaona ni ujinga wa viongozi au serikali hizo kukubali kiholela masharti yanayowekwa na mataifa makubwa. Kwa mujibu wa wasanii hawa, kukubali kudanganyika kirahisi na mambo haya, kumesababisha kuporomoka vibaya sana kwa nchi zinazoendelea katika sekta zake zote. Hivyo basi kulingana na Gromov mataifa makubwa ni asasi kuu ambazo zinastahili kudhalilishwa ikiwa nchi zinazoendelea zitapata uhuru wa kijiamulia yanayozifaa. Aidha, anadhalilisha imani za usasa kuhusu maendeleo ya lazima katika hatua za maisha ya binadamu na yasiyojali athari zake kwa mazingira na kupendekeza maendeleo yanayozingatia uhifadhi wa mazingira. Mawazo haya yaliongoza makala haya.

Njeri (2018) anahoji kuwa vijana wana nafasi kubwa ya kupigania haki. Utafiti wake ulishughulikia mchango wa vijana katika kuleta ukombozi katika kazi za Leonard Sanja. Utafiti wake ulibaini kuwa vijana wanakumbwa na matatizo mengi yanayowalazimu kupigania haki zao. Utafiti huu ulikuwa hazina kwa makala haya katika kubainisha matatizo yanayowakumba vijana, jambo ambalo linawalazimu wanamuziki kutumia muziki wao kuwazindua vijana kuhusu hali hii.

Kipkemoi (2018) alichanganua jinsi simulizi za virusi vya ukimwi zinavyodhihirika katika nyimbo za jamii za Kenya kibaadausasa. Alihakiki jinsi miundo na taratibu za kijamii zilivyowezesha asasi kuwa na mamlaka na udhibiti kwa kuwatenga wanajamii wengine hasa wendawazimu, wagonjwa, wachochole, wahalifu na waliokiuka maadili. Isitoshe, alionyesha kuwa nyimbo katika muktadha wa baadausasa zina simulizi kuu na simulizi ndogo zinazolenga kujadili suala la VVU/UKIMWI. Aidha utafiti wake unadhalilisha nguvu za awali au zilizokuwa zinatawala kama zile za kisayansi na wanajamii kuhusu VVU/UKIMWI na waathiriwa na kuonyesha kuwa nyimbo zinaweza kuwa njia mbadala inayoweza kutumiwa kukabiliana na janga la UKIMWI. Kwa kuwa mbinu za kisayansi hazijafaulu kabisa katika vita dhidi ya VVU/UKIMWI, kuna haja ya kutumia mbinu anuwai zikiwemo za kitamaduni kama vile nyimbo pamoja na mbinu za kisayansi. Mawazo haya yake ya kupendekeza simulizi ndogo ndogo kama nyimbo yamekuwa dira katika makala haya.

Utafiti wa Njogu na Chimera (1999) ulionyesha namna wanariwaya kama S.A Mohamed, M.S Mohamed, S.A Shafi na George Orwell walivyomulika matatizo mbalimbali yaliyokumba

jamii kwa kudhalilisha asasi kuu za kijamii. Katika utafiti wao, walionyesha jinsi matatizo hayo yangesuluhishwa kwa kutumia mapinduzi. Japo watafiti hawa walijikita katika riwaya, utafiti wao ulikuwa dira katika kuonyesha jinsi wasanii wametumia Muziki wa Kisasa kuwazindua vijana kuhusu matatizo yanayowakumba na kuonyesha jinsi matatizo haya yangesuluhishwa. Hivyo basi, utafiti wao ulipatia makala haya mwelekeo wa kutathmini udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu za kijamii katika Muziki wa Kisasa.

Msingi wa Nadharia

Udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu umechanganuliwa kwa kuzingatia nadharia ya Usasaleo. Dhana ya usasaleo hutumiwa kueleza uasi dhidi ya kanuni hususan zilizojikita katika kipindi cha usasa. Kulingana na nadharia hii, jaribio la kuelezea ukuaji wa jamii na tamaduni zake kwa kutumia asasi kuu na nadharia hazifai na hazikubaliki tena. Hii ni kwa sababu asasi hizi kuu hazina uhusiano wowote na hali halisi. Mawazo ya Jean-Francois Lyotard (1979) katika nadharia hii kuhusu udhalilishaji wa tamaduni na asasi kuu zinazokandamiza maisha ya watu kwani haziakisi hali halisi ya maisha yalikuwa dira katika makala haya. Lyotard anahoji kuwa simulizi ndogo ndogo huhusu 'vijihadithi' vinavyosimulia na kuakisi hali halisi ya maisha ya wanajamii.

Fauka ya hayo, Lyotard anaeleza kuwa katika sayansi, mbinu hii ya kutumia simulizi ndogo ndogo ni nyenzo kuu katika kusuluhisha matatizo ya kijamii, kiuchumi na kisiasa. Hii ni kwa sababu mbinu hii huwawezesha kutafuta kweli kinzani, udhaifu na yasiyojulikana ambayo huwezekana kupitia simulizi ndogo ndogo ambazo zinakumba sehemu ndogo kuliko simulizi kubwa ambazo zinakumba ulimwengu mzima. Aidha, Lyotard anaelezea kuwa maendeleo ya viwanda yalibadilisha kwa kiwango kikubwa ufahamu wa jamii. Ufahamu huu umewapa wasanii kibali cha kuwasilisha hisia zao na za wanajamii wengine kuhusu hali zinazowakumba kwa kutumia nyenzo zinazokiuka kanuni zilizozoeleka za jadi na kuienzi mitindo ya kisasaleo. Hivyo basi, nadharia hii ilikuwa nguzo katika makala haya katika kuonyesha jinsi asasi kuu zinavyodhalilishwa katika Muziki wa Kisasa.

Mbinu za Utafiti

Utafiti huu ulifanyika maktabani. Data ya msingi ya utafiti huu ni matini za nyimbo teule za Muziki wa Genge. Data yenyewe ilipakuliwa kutoka mtandaoni. Khakasa (2016) anahoji kuwa mtandao una rasilimali nyingi na hutoa fursa kubwa kwa watumiaji wake. Kila kitu kinaweza kupatikana kwenye wavuti ya ulimwengu. Mtafiti alitumia sampuli kusudio kuteua nyimbo tano za Genge ambazo ni: *Kuna Siku Youth Wataungana* ulioimbwa na Wakadinali, *Kwenda* ulioimbwa na Khaligraph Jones, *Khalicartel* ulioimbwa na Khaligraph Jones, *Tujiangalie* ulioimbwa na Sauti Sol na *Wajinga Nyinyi* ulioimbwa na King Kaka. Uteuzi huu ulizingatia nyimbo ambazo zinadhihirisha udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu za kijamii.

Nyimbo zilizoteuliwa zilikodiwa na kupangwa mintarafu ya madhumuni ya makala haya. Nyimbo hizo zilipewa nambari G1-G5, herufi G ikirejelea aina ya muziki: Genge. G1, *Kuna Siku Youth Wataungana*, G2 *Kwenda*, G3 *Khalicartel*, G4 *Tujiangalie* na G5 *Wajinga Nyinyi*. Vilevile nyimbo hizi zilipangwa katika beti na kila mstari katika beti hizo ulipewa nambari. Aidha, data ya matini za nyimbo zilizoteuliwa iliyoakisi madhumuni ya makala haya, na ambayo ilikuwa katika lugha ya Sheng, Kiingereza na lugha zingine za mama ilitafsiriwa katika lugha ya Kiswahili. Newmark (1991) wanaeleza kwamba katika kazi ya kutafsiri, maana asilia ya maneno kutoka lugha chanzi ndiyo huzingatiwa.

Matokeo ya Utafiti

Makala haya yamebaini kuwa Muziki wa Kisasa umedhalilisha asasi kuu za kijamii. Kulingana na Lyotard (1979), asasi kuu ambazo aghalabu zimeundwa ili kusuluhisha matatizo ya watu ndizo zinakandamiza maisha ya binadamu. Hii ni kwa sababu simulizi kuu hazina uhusiano

wowote na hali halisi ya maisha. Kwa hivyo, Lyotard alipendekeza matumizi ya simulizi ndogo ndogo zinazosimulia na kuakisi hali halisi ya maisha. Kutokana na hayo, ni wazi kuwa jamii haitegemei tena asasi hizi kuu kuipa mwelekeo wa maisha kwa hivyo asasi hizi zitafifia zenyewe. Udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu zilizochunguzwa katika makala haya ni pamoja na vyombo vya dola, elimu, lugha na utamaduni na dini.

Vyombo vya Dola

Vyombo vya dola ni asasi za kijamii zinazokabidhiwa jukumu la utawala na uongozi wa jamii hiyo. Makala haya yameng'amua kwamba vyombo hivi vya dola vinadhalilishwa na wasanii. Hii ni kwa sababu ingawa vyombo hivi vilibuniwa kwa madhumuni ya kusuluhisha matatizo ya jamii, vyombo hivi vimesababishia watu mateso na mahangaiko mengi sana. Vyombo vya dola vinavyokandamiza maisha ya watu ni kama vile polisi, mahakama na bunge.

(i) Polisi

Kulingana na katiba ya Kenya (2010), jukumu la huduma ya polisi ni kutoa ulinzi wa maisha na mali ya raia, kudumisha amani ya umma na hali nzuri, na kuzuia, kuchunguza na kutatua uhalifu kwa kuwaleta wahalifu katika mfumo wa sheria. Hata hivyo, kwa mujibu wa matini zilizochanganuliwa, makala haya yamebaini kuwa badala ya polisi kulinda raia, wanawasababishia mateso na mahangaiko mengi ndiposa asasi hii inadhalilishwa na wasanii kama inavyodhihirika katika matini ifuatayo.

Matini 1

G3 Khalicartel 3 (Ubeti 7, 7-8)

7. *Hii upande hatunanga kitu si huishi daily [kila siku] na imani*

8. *Lullaby huku mtaa yukuwa ni sauti ya risasi [bembelezi ya mtaa wetu ni sauti ya risasi]*

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi Ubeti 7 (12-17)

12. *Petroli imepanda so inamaanisha polisi wata operate kama customer care [Petroli imepanda kwa hivyo polisi watakuwa waelekezi wateja]*

13. *Busaa na chwara zinamaliza mayouth*

14. *Wachane na polisi wafanye raid tena [Polisi wavamie tena]*

15. *Ama ni vile OCS hajapewa yake na kila mwizi*

16. *Oh, i mean ya kila mwezi [samahani, ninamaanisha ya kila mwezi]*

17. *Na polisi wako in cahoots, hao ndio uSupply wagondi na guns za ku shoot [polisi ndio huwapa wahalifu bunduki]*

Ubeti 5 (8-9)

8. *Wakinisnipe tonight si mnajua ni kwa nini [nikishikwa leo usiku si mnajua ni kwa nini]*

9. *Nitakufia watu mi siogopi mimi*

Kinachobainika katika matini hii ni kwamba wasanii wanadhalilisha idara hii ya polisi kwa kuwa badala ya kuwalinda raia, wanawadhulumu. Idara hii inalanganishwa na sehemu ya kuwasaidia wateja katika shirika au kampuni ambapo huduma bora zafaa kutolewa. Hata hivyo, huduma za idara hii ni mbovu. Wimbo wa G3 mstari 8 unaonyesha jinsi polisi wanawahangaisha raia mtaani kiasi kwamba hawawezi kulala. Hali ya kawaida ingekuwa raia wanalala usingizi wa pono wakijua kuwa wako salama kwani wanalindwa na polisi. Kinaya ni kuwa hawalali kwa sababu ya kuhofia kupigwa risasi na polisi wakishukiwa kuwa wahalifu.

Isitoshe, wasanii wanadhalilisha idara hii ya polisi kwani polisi wanashirikiana na walanguzi wa zana za uhalifu. Kwa sababu hiyo, vita dhidi ya uhalifu haviwezi kufaulu. Wale ambao wanapaswa kuwa mstari wa mbele kuhakikisha uhalifu umekomeshwa ndio

wanawasaidia wahalifu kuuendeleza, kama inavyobainika katika G5 ubeti 7 msitari 17, “*Na polisi wako in cahoots, hao ndio hu supply wagondi na guns za ku shoot*”. Polisi wanastahili kujali maslahi ya raia pamoja na kuwatumikia. Hata hivyo, asasi hii inadhalilishwa kwani imewasukuma vijana wengi kushiriki katika matumizi ya mihadarati, pombe haramu na wizi kwani polisi wanakosa kuwajibika katika kupiga vita maovu haya (G5: *Busaa na chwara zinamaliza mayouth*). Wengi wamejipata kuwa wezi na watumizi sugu wa mihadarati kutokana na utepetevu wa idara hii. Zaidi ya hayo, polisi wanashirikiana na wezi katika wizi kwa kuwapa silaha za wizi ambazo hutumiwa na wahalifu kutekeleza maovu katika jamii. Hivyo basi wanasanii wanadhalilisha idara hii ya polisi kwani badala ya kuangamiza uhalifu wanazidi kuendeleza. Haya yanaafikiana na mawazo ya Njoroge (2014) anayehoji kuwa maafisa wa polisi wana wajibu wa kufanya kazi zao kwa utaalamu na kuonyesha uadilifu katika kila kitu.

Fauka ya hayo, makala haya yamedhihirisha kuwa idara hii inaendelea kudhalilishwa kutokana na vitendo vya polisi kuwahangaisha na kuwaangamiza wanaotetea haki za wanyonge badala ya kutumika kulinda haki zao. Wimbo G5, ubeti 5 (8-9) unadhihirisha hofu ya msanii ya kuuawa usiku kwa kuzindua raia kuhusu hali inayowakumba. Hata hivyo, yeye anasema hataogopa bali yuko tayari kufa kuhakikisha usawa umedumishwa. Kudhalilisha idara hii ya polisi ni dhihirisho polisi hawastahili kuwa na ubaguzi dhidi ya mtu yeyote kwa misingi ya rangi, taifa au kabila, lugha, dini, jinsia, umri au kimaumbile bali wanastahili kuwajibika na kuwatumikia raia wote.

(ii) Jela na Mahakama

Jela na mahakama ni vyombo vya dola ambavyo vimepewa jukumu la kuhakikisha haki imetekelezwa kwa kila mwanajamii. Kwa sababu hiyo, asasi hizi zinapaswa kutekeleza wajibu wao bila mapendeleo wala mwegemeo wowote. Imedhihirika kuwa hali hii haitekelezwi ipasavyo na bila shaka wanasanii wamejitokeza kupinga utendakazi wa vyombo hivi. Vyombo hivi vinajitokeza kama asasi kuu zinazokandamiza maisha ya binadamu hivyo basi vinadhalilishwa. Ingawa vilibuniwa kwa madhumuni ya kusuluhisha matatizo ya binadamu, vinasababisha mateso na mahangaiko mengi sana inavyobainishwa katika matini ifuatayo.

Matini 2

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi (Ubeti 4, 9-10)

9. *Ukipelekwa kortini ni escort ya polisi kama sita* [Ukipelekwa kortini unalindwa na polisi kama sita]

10. *Iba hizo mamita mmh-scott free, niibe tu kuku ntalala ndani* [iba hayo mamilioni mmh-bila kukamatwa, niibe tu kuku nitalala ndani]

Jela na mahakama ni asasi kuu zinazodhalilishwa katika matini hii. Vyombo hivi vinafaa kutekeleza haki na ni mahali ambapo haki ingefaa kutendwa. Hata hivyo, vyombo hivi vinajitokeza kama asasi kuu zinazokandamiza maisha ya binadamu kama inavyodhihirika katika matini hii. Asasi hizi zinadhalilishwa kwa vile zinafanya kazi kwa hali ya mapendeleo na ubaguzi. Kuna wale wanaoiba mamilioni ya pesa na wanaachiliwa huru. Kinaya ni kwamba wezi wa vitu vidogo vidogo kama vile kuku ndio wanafungwa. Mawazo haya yanafanana na ya Kimugung (2015) anayedai kuwa ingawa vilibuniwa kwa madhumuni ya kusuluhisha matatizo ya binadamu, vinasababisha mateso na mahangaiko mengi huku vikitoa huduma kwa mapendeleo.

(iii) Bunge

Jukumu la bunge ni uwakilishi wa raia, uangalizi wa utawala na utunzi wa sheria. Ikiwa wabunge hawatatekeleza majukumu haya vilivyo, raia wataathirika pakubwa. Bunge linastahili kuhimiza usawa na haki kwa watu wote kupitia kwa majadiliano na makubaliano ya

wanabunge katika utunzi na utathmini wa sheria ili kusuluhisha matatizo yanayokumba raia wa taifa. Hata hivyo, makala haya yamedhihirisha kuwa asasi hii inapingwa na kudhalilishwa na wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa kama inavyoakisiwa katika matini ifuatayo.

Matini 3

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi

Ubeti 7 (1-4)

1. *Hapo parliament kwani mnashida gani?* [Hapo bungeni kwani mna shida gani]
2. *Hesabu ya 1 plus 1 inawachenga* [Hesabu ya 1 ongeza 1 inawachenga]
3. *Mtaenda retreat kuidiscuss tena?* [Mtaenda semina kujadili tena?]
4. *Mmetumiwa shetani gani na job ziko wapi?* [Mmetumiwa shetani gani na kazi ziko wapi?]

Kinachobainika katika matini hii ni kuwa bunge ni asasi kuu isiyokidhi mahitaji ya raia. G5 ubeti 6 mstari 1 unadhihirisha wazi kuwa wabunge hawajali maslahi ya raia bali hilitumia kuendeleza mahitaji yao. Isitoshe, uwezo wao katika kutekeleza majukumu ya bunge ni wa kutiliwa shaka kwa kuwa hawawezi kuunga moja na moja wakapata mbili. *Hesabu ya 1 plus 1 inawachenga*. Pia wabunge wameshindwa kutimiza ahadi walizoahidia raia kwa manifesto kama vile kubuni nafasi za ajira. Hali hii husababisha ukosefu wa maendeleo na kurudisha taifa nyuma. Mawazo haya yanaoana na maoni ya Njeri (2018) anapohoji kuwa bunge hubadilisha vipengele vya sheria na kutunga vingine ili kuwafaidi walio mamlakani. Kudhalilisha asasi hii ni hatua ya wasanii kuwazindua raia kwa kuwaonyesha kuwa bunge alitimizi wajibu wake na wabunge hawana haja na raia waliowachagua bali haja yao ni kujinufaisha wao wenyewe.

Matini 4

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi

Ubeti 5 (5-7)

5. *Nchi inaongozwa na thieves* [nchi inaongozwa na wezi]
6. *Na ukiogopa jua hauwezi kuwa chief* [na ukiogopa huwezi kuwa chifu]
7. *Si mtuibie kiplani* [si mfanye ujanja mtuibie]

Matini hii inadhihirisha kwamba viongozi walio mamlakani ni wezi. Kutokana na hayo raia hawawezi kutarajia maendeleo yoyote kutimizwa kulingana na ahadi za wabunge. Msanii anadhalilisha mchakato wa uchaguzi wa wabunge kwa kuwa raia wenye maadili mema hawawezi kupewa nyadhifa za uongozi kwani wananchi wamezoea viongozi wanaoiba mabilioni ya pesa. Nyadhifa za uongozi zimekuwa daraja la kuelekea kwa uporaji wa mali ya umma. Aidha, viongozi hawa wanafahamu kuwa hamna hatua yoyote inayoweza kuchukuliwa dhidi yao. Viongozi hushamirisha ufisadi maadam raia wanaendelea kunyamaza. Kutokana na hayo, wasanii hawa kwa kudhalilisha asasi hii, wanataka raia wabadilishe hali hii na waanze kuwachagua viongozi wenye maadili mema katika jamii. Isitoshe, inahalisi hatua kali zichukuliwe kwa viongozi fisadi na wang'olewe mamlakani.

Wasanii pia wanadhalilisa bunge linalomilikiwa na wazee kwani wazee wanadumu uongozini milele. Vijana huitwa viongozi wa kesho ilhali wazee wanaendelea kukatalia uongozini. Hata hivyo, wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa wanadhalilisha wazo hili kwa kuwahimiza vijana kuwania nyadhifa za uongozi kama inavyojitokeza katika muziki wao. Wasanii hawa wanaonelea kwamba hiyo ndiyo njia ya pekee ya kuhakikisha kwamba kuna mabadiliko katika uongozi kwa kupendekezea wanajamii wachukue hatua zitakazotoa suluhu la matatizo yao. Haya yanalandana na maoni ya Njoroge (2014) kuwa matatizo yanayoikumba jamii yamesababishwa na viongozi waliokatalia uongozini na kuwanyima nafasi vijana kuongoza. Vijana kukaide hali hii na kujitosa uongozini ni dhihirisho la uanaharakati wa kijamii.

(iv) Elimu

Elimu bora humfanya mtu kuhitimu katika taaluma mbalimbali kama vile udaktari, uhasibu, urubani, ualimu, uhandisi, uanasheria na taaluma nyinginezo. Kukosa elimu katika karne hii humtia binadamu katika mikururo ya mikasa (Ogutu, 2021). Mtu yeyote anayezingatia na kuthamini elimu anaweza kusoma yaliyoandikwa vitabuni na wajuzi na wataalamu mbalimbali, kisha akaerevuka na kuishi maisha yatakayomwezesha kukumbana na changamoto za maisha (Kimugung, 2015). Hata hivyo, utafiti huu umebaini kuwa elimu ni asasi kuu inayopingwa na wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa. Mtafiti amegundua kuwa licha ya vijana hawa kusoma bado wanakumbwa na changamoto nyingi za maisha na kushindwa kukidhi mahitaji yao muhimu.

Matini 5**G3 Khalicartel 3 (Ubeti 4, 15-16)**

15. *Industry ngori, yaani ku manoeuvre si ni struggle* [kufanikiwa katika taaluma ni shida sana kwa kuwa sharti mtu apambane]

16. *Interviews, me siko booked, kama libu haina vitabu* [Sijaalikwa mahojiano kana kwamba sikusoma]

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi

Ubeti 3 (1-4)

1. *Fununu ni ati system ya education ni ya uduu* [fununu ati mfumo wa elimu haufai]

2. *Is it true? that's why umepeleka mtoi wako akasome majuu*, [je ni kweli? Ndio maana umepeleka mtoto wako kusomea ng'ambo]

3. *While graduates wanashika placards kwa traffic* [Wakati wale wamehitimu wanabeba mabango barabarani]

4. *Mtu wa actuarial science anataka kujimada, its so tragic* [aliyesomea utakwimu bima anataka kujiua, inasikitisha]

Ubeti 8 (2)

2. *Kazi ni formalities tu, na uki apply ina bounce* [kutuma maombi ya kazi ni utaratibu tu, hata hutafanikiwa]

Matini hii inaonyesha kuwa mfumo wa elimu uliopo hauwasaidii vijana kupambana na changamoto wanazokumbana nazo maishani. Hiki ni kinyume cha matarajio yao kuwa elimu ingewafaidi kwa kuwawezesha kupata kazi. Kwa sababu hii, msanii anasema kwamba mfumo wa elimu uliopo hauna manufaa yoyote kwao. Ingawa vijana walihitimu katika taaluma mbalimbali, taaluma hizo haziwasaidii na wanaendelea kuhangaika kiasi kwamba wengine wanatamauka hadi kuwazia kujitoa uhai. Inashangaza kwa kuwa kijana aliyehitimu hadi chuo kikuu anataka kujiua. Matini hii pia inadhihirisha vile vijana wanaambulia patupu licha ya kutuma maombi ya kazi. Elimu hii isiyo na manufaa kwa vijana inadhalilishwa na wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa kwani hata baada ya kusoma hawapati kazi wala kualikwa kwa mahojiano. Kutuma barua za maombi ya kazi ni utaratibu tu usio na maana yoyote. Aidha, makala haya yamebainisha kuwa nyadhifa nyingi za kazi zinatengewa wazee huku vijana wakitengwa na kuwekwa pembeni.

Matini 6**G3 Khalicartel 3 ubeti 7 mstari 4**

4. *Bado bado ndani ya ofisi mmejaza ma vitambi.*

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi ubeti 6 (5-8)

5. *Ni ukweli lazima uretire ndio upate job* [ni ukweli lazima ustaafu ndipo upate kazi]

6. *So inamaanisha lazima kwanza nipatie job, ndio nipate job job?* [kwa hivyo ina maana lazima niwe nimefanya kazi ili niajiriwe?]

7. *The youth ni moody at 90 na Gikonyo at 80* [vijana ni Moody akiwa na miaka 90 na Gikonyo akiwa na miaka 80]
8. *Manifesto mlisema job ni plenty* [manifesto mlisema kazi ni nyingi]

Katika matini hii, wasanii wanadhalilisha mfumo wa kusaka ajira kwa kuwa serikali inawabagua na kuwatenga hasa kuhusiana na swala la kazi. Ingawa serikali iliahidi kubuni nafasi za kazi, nafasi hizi hupewa watu wa umri wa makamo au wazee waliostaafu. Dhana inavyojitokeza katika G3 mstari 4 ni kuwa wazee wamekatalia ofisini huku vijana wakibaki nyumbani wakisongwa na mawazo tele kwa vile hawana kazi. Wazee wanapoendelea kuongoza, wanawafumba macho vijana kwa kuwapa ahadi za uwongo. Ahadi hizi zinakusudiwa kuwapumbaza wasing'amue kwamba tatizo lao limechochewa na hawa wazee. Moody na Gikonyo ni mifano ya wazee waliwahi kushikilia nyadhifa kubwa serikalini. Hata ingawa walistaafu, waliendelea kupewa vyeo vingine serikalini huku vijana wakinyimwa nafasi yoyote. Haya yanavyojitokeza katika G5 mistari 5-8. Isitoshe, Makala haya yamebaini kuwa mbali na wazee kupewa nyadhifa za kazi, serikali haina mipango kabambe ya kubuni nafasi za ajira. Ipo haja ya serikali kupanua nafasi za kazi ili kukidhi idadi kubwa ya vijana ambao kulingana na matokeo ya Sensa ya mwaka wa 2019, wao ni asilimia sabini ya idadi ya watu wote nchini. Hivyo basi katika hali hii inahalisi serikali kupanua nafasi za kazi ili vijana wapate nafasi hizo.

Vilevile, ukosefu wa ajira unachangia kuchipuka kwa matendo maovu ambapo vijana hulazimika kujiingiza katika uasherati, ulanguzi wa mihadarati pamoja na kucheza kamari ili wapate pesa za kukidhi mahitaji yao ya kimsingi. Hili ni jambo ambalo limefafanuliwa katika matini ifuatayo.

Matini 7

G1 Kuna Siku Youth Wataungana ubeti 3 (1-3)

1. *Ka Sila na Paul, milango ziliji-open* [kama Paulo na Sila milango ilijifungua]
2. *Casino za tao, mipango zao ni all same* [Mipango ya kamari zote za mjini ni sawa]
3. *Nipate, nikose, nisote mpaka nikope*

G5 Wajinga Nyinyi ubeti 3 (12-13)

12. *Time will tell, Vijana wanabet na Kifo* [Punde si punde uchezaji kamari utawasababishia vijana kifo]
13. *Wanadai betting imewapea job kuwaliko* [Wanadai kucheza kamari kunawapa kazi nzuri kuwaliko]

Imebainika katika matini hii kuwa ukosefu wa ajira umewasukuma vijana wengi katika kushiriki ukahaba na ulanguzi wa dawa za kulevy kama njia ya kujipatia riziki. Katika G1 ubeti 3 mstari 1, inadhihirika jinsi vijana wanafurahia kupata nafasi hii ya kucheza kamari. Msanii analinganisha hali hii na furaha waliyopata Sila na Paulo katika Biblia milango ya gereza ilipofunguka. Hawa walikuwa mitume wa Yesu waliofungwa korokoroni kwa kueneza injili. Hata hivyo, usiku wa manane milango ya gereza ilijifungua na wakawa huru. Hivyo basi, vijana kushiriki uchezaji kamari ni mwanya ambao umefunguka wa kutatua matatizo yao (*Ka Sila na Paul, milango ziliji-open*). Imebainika katika makala haya kuwa vijana hushiriki uchezaji kamari bila kujali kama watapata au watapoteza pesa. Mstari 3 unadhihirisha haya anaposema, *Nipate, nikose*. Uchunguzi wa mtafiti umebaini kuwa mchezo huu umewasukuma vijana katika bahari ya madeni kwani inawalazimu wakope ili waendeleo kucheza. Hili linajitokeza katika wimbo wa G1 mstari 3 msanii anaposema, *Nisote mpaka nikope*. Matini hii inadhihirisha hali ya kutamausha ambapo vijana wako tayari kufanya lolote hata lile linaloweza kuhatarisha maisha yao katika uchezaji kamari ili wapate pesa. Kushiriki katika matendo haya

maovu ni ishara ya udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu ambazo zimeshindwa kuwanasua vijana kutoka lindi hili la matatizo.

Hali kadhalika, ilibainika katika makala haya kuwa ili kutosheleza mahitaji yao ya kimsingi, vijana wengi wamejiingiza katika ukahaba na ulanguzi wa dawa za kulevya. Mawazo haya yanaoana na ya Ogutu (2015) anayeleeza kuwa ukosefu wa ajira umewasukuma vijana wengi katika ukahaba na matumizi ya mihadarati. Mara nyingi mtu ambaye hana la kufanya hutafuta jinsi ya kujiburudisha na kujichumia. Katika hali hii vijana huishia kushiriki katika matendo haya kama kitega uchumi ili kujaribu kubadilisha hali yao ya maisha kama inavyojitokeza katika G1 (*Juu ya madawa, vijana wetu wamepagawa, wasichana wetu kazi wameshindwa, wanagawa*). Hali hii imewasukuma vijana kudhalilisha simulizi kuu na kutafuta njia mbadala za kubadilisha jamii yao.

Kinachobainika katika Makala haya ni kwamba vijana wanalazimika kutumia njia zisizofaa na zisizo halali ili kujikimu kimaisha kama inavyojitokeza katika G1 na G3. Vijana kujiingiza katika uchezaji kamari, ukahaba na ulanguzi wa dawa za kulevya ni udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu. Imedhihirika wazi kuwa vijana hawategemei tena serikali kubuni nafasi za ajira. Wamebuni njia zao za kujipatia pato. Lyotard (1979) alipendekeza matumizi ya simulizi ndogo ndogo zinazosimulia na kuakisi hali halisi ya maisha na kuwa watu watumie urazini na umantiki ili kuleta suluhisho kwa matatizo ya kijamii. Kwa hivyo, uchezaji kamari, ukahaba na ulanguzi wa dawa za kulevya ni nyenzo ambazo vijana wamebuni kusuluhisha matatizo ya kijamii na kiuchumi kama njia ya kudhalilisha serikali kwa vile imeshindwa kupanua nafasi za ajira.

Hivyo basi, elimu inaangaziwa kama isiyosaidia na isiyo na manufaa. Hali hii inaoana na kile Lyotard (1984) alisema kuwa elimu ni mfumo wa maisha wa kipindi cha kisasa ambao ulidhaniwa kuwa ungesuluhisha matatizo ya kijamii. Hata hivyo, mfumo huu unasababisha mahangaiko mengi. Mintarafu ya haya, Lyotard alipendekeza asasi ndogo ndogo zinazoakisi hali halisi ya maisha na hivyo kuleta suluhu. Hivyo basi, wasanii wanawahimiza vijana watie bidii katika taaluma ambazo zinaweza kuwasaidia kupambana na changamoto za maisha kama vile taaluma ya muziki kwani ni nyenzo ambayo ina uwezo wa kuwakwamua kutoka lindi la umaskini (Omari, 2009). Kuwahimiza vijana waendeleo kujitahidi katika taaluma hii ya muziki ni udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu kwa vile aina hii ya muziki imefanikisha kuwakwamua kutoka hali mbaya ya uchumi. Isitoshe, kulingana na usasaleo, hii ni mojawapo ya simulizi ndogo ndogo zinazoakisi hali halisi ya maisha ili kuleta suluhisho kwa matatizo ya kijamii. Wakiunga mkono mawazo haya ya Lyotard (1984), Carter (2006) na Barry (2002) wanaelezea kuwa asasi hizi kuu hujidengua na kutafuta njia mbadala. Wengi wa wasanii hawa walikuwa hawana kazi na walikuwa wanashinda mitaani wakijiingiza katika ulevi na uchezaji kamari. Isitoshe, kupitia taaluma hii, vijana wengine wamepata kazi ya utangazaji na uchezaji santuri katika vituo mbali mbali vya redio na televisheni na kumbi za starehe. Hivyo basi, wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa, kwa kuwahimiza vijana wajitahidi katika taaluma ya muziki, wanadhalilisha asasi kuu ya elimu na kutafuta njia mbadala ya kusuluhisha matatizo yao. Hivyo basi, serikali inafaa kubuni sera thabiti za kuupiga jeki Muziki wa kisasa badala ya kuupuuza kwani ni chanzo cha ajira kwa vijana wengi.

(v) Lugha

Wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa wanadhalilisha lugha na tamaduni za kigeni kwa kutumia msimbo wa Sheng na lugha za kiasili katika nyimbo zao. Aidha Sheng ni msimbo wa lugha unaowatambulisha vijana kwani unawawezesha kuwasilisha masuala yao. Msimbo huu wa Sheng unaweza kuhesabiwa kama suluhisho la vijana ambao wanachukizwa na jamii iliyogawika katika matabaka, na hali ya lugha ya Kiingereza na Kiswahili ambazo zina ubaguzi dhidi ya matabaka fulani. Akishadidia mawazo haya, Nabea (2009) anaeleza kuwa lugha ni chombo cha kukuza hejemonia anapoonyesha jinsi lugha ya Kiingereza ilitumika na watu walio

katika tabaka lenye uwezo kutawala wasiojiweza. Udhalilishaji wa asasi hii unajitokeza pale ambapo nyimbo zote zilizochunguzwa zinadhihirisha matumizi ya Sheng hivyo basi kupinga hejemonia ya lugha ya Kiingereza na hata ya Kiswahili. Hii ni ishara ya kutoridhishwa na matumizi ya lugha moja na kuonyesha kuwa lugha zote ni sawa. Aidha wasanii, wanawasuta raia wanaopendelea muziki unaotumia lugha za kigeni na kuchukia muziki wao. Wasanii wanaona kwamba kuchukulia lugha za kiasili pamoja na Sheng kuwa duni ni mtazamo ambao hauna mashiko na unahitaji kutupiliwa mbali. Sharti wenyeji wakuze na kupenda lugha na utamaduni wao. Hili linadhihirika katika matini ifuatayo.

Matini 8

G2 Kwendaa (kibwagizo 1-5)

1. *Sipendi mangoma za Kenya (Kwenda! Kwenda!)*
2. *Mi sitambui Omollo (Kwenda! We kwenda!)*
3. *Ah, si huyu boy huringa? (Kwenda! Kwenda!)*
4. *Mi sijawahi hire madinga (Kwenda! Shenzi!)*
5. *Ah, mi sipendi hizo mangoma (Kwenda! Kwenda!)*

Kinachobainika katika matini hii ni kuwa wasanii wanapinga kasumba za kigeni kama asasi kuu. Wanawasuta wale ambao wanachukia muziki wa wasanii wa hapa nchini Kenya na kupigia upatu muziki wa kigeni. Kulingana na Njogu na Chimera (1999), lugha ya Kiingereza na fasihi, zikiwemo nyimbo, ni vyombo vya ukandamizaji. Ili kuwapumbaza Waafrika, wakoloni walionyesha Waafrika kuwa utamaduni wao ulikuwa ni ushenzi na kwa hivyo kuwarai wakumbatie mafunzo ya kigeni. Lugha za Kiafrika zilichukuliwa kuwa duni (Ngugi, 1986). Mwafrika alishawishiwa kuwa utamaduni wake ni wa kishenzi. Waafrika walirithi baadhi ya tamaduni za kigeni na kuchukia tamaduni zao. Hivyo basi, wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa kupinga hali hii ni ishara ya udhalilishaji wa asasi kuu. Aidha, Makoni na wenzake (2010) wanahoji kuwa Waafrika kuendelea kupendelea lugha na tamaduni za kigeni ni kujirudisha katika minyororo ya kikoloni. Anaelezea kuwa hii ni asasi kuu ambayo haitaleti suluhisho la matatizo yanayowakumba Waafrika. Anadai kuwa suluhisho la uelewa mwafaka wa fasihi ya Waafrika litapatikana iwapo Waafrika watatumia lugha zao kuendeleza fasihi yao zikiwemo nyimbo.

Isitoshe, wasanii wanapochanganya lugha mbili au zaidi katika tungo, wanataka lugha zao zipewe nafasi katika jamii ikiwemo Sheng. Isitoshe, hii ni ishara ya kutaka kujikomboa kutokana athari za ukoloni mamboleo ambapo lugha moja ilionekana kuwa bora kuliko lugha zingine. Kwa mantiki hii, wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasa wanajitokeza kuwa wanaharakati ambao wanatetea usawa wa lugha katika jamii ikiwemo lugha ya Kiswahili ambayo imetambulika duniani kote. Wanataka kuona jamii ambamo hakuna lugha inayochukuliwa kuwa bora kuliko nyingine. Haya yote yanabainisha kuwa wanadhalilisha matumizi ya lugha moja katika sanaa.

(vi) Dini

Dini ni kipengele cha asasi kuu kinachodhalilishwa na wasanii wa Muziki wa Kisasai. Utafiti huu umebaini kuwa badala ya viongozi wa dini kuwapa raia matumaini ya kuendelea kuishi na kuhimiza watu kuwa waadilifu katika jamii, wanahusika katika kuendeleza maovu katika jamii. Haya yanaoana na maoni ya Ogutu (2015) anapolezea kuwa dini inafaa kuwa msaada kwa wanajamii badala ya kuwa kitovu cha mahangaiko yao.

Udhalilishaji wa asasi ya dini unabainika pale ambapo wasanii wanapinga uzandiki wa viongozi wa kidini. Wasanii wanawakashifu viongozi hawa kwa ajili ya tamaa yao ya pesa inayowakandamiza raia kwani kila mara wanahitajika kutoa sadaka au fungu la kumi (G4: *Waumini...kushoto fungu la kumi, sadaka kulia*). Ni wazi kuwa dini ni kikwazo kikubwa cha

maendeleo ya jamii kwani ni nyenzo ya kuwanyanyasa raia na ni kimbilio la viongozi fisadi wanaopokelewa kwa mikono miwili na viongozi wa dini (G4: *Ndio maana mbele ya kanisa mheshiwa anakula sakramenti kabla ya raia*). Inasikitisha kuona viongozi wa dini wakifurahia kupokea pesa za ufisadi huku waumini wao wakishangilia. Viongozi hawa wanatumia mahudhurio ya makanisa kama jukwaa la kuonyesha kwamba hakuna maovu yanayoendelezwa na utawala wao. Haya yanadhalilishwa na wasanii kwani suluhisho la maovu ya jamii yanastahili kupatikana kupitia kwa dini wala si dini kuendeleza maovu haya. Ogutu (2021) anakubaliana na mawazo haya anapoelezea kuwa dini ni chombo kinachotumiwa kuwadhulumu waumini na raia kwa jumla. Ikiwa hili halitakomeshwa bila shaka vijana watakosa wale ambao watakuwa vielelezo vya maadili kwao ili kuwawezesha kutimiza ndoto zao.

Hitimisho

Makala haya yamethibitisha kuwa nyimbo zilizochanganuliwa zimetumika kudhalilisha asasi kuu za kijamii kwa vile zinasababishia raia mahangaiko mengi. Asasi kuu zinazopingwa katika Muziki huu wa Kisasa ni pamoja na vyombo vya dola, elimu, dini na lugha. Hii ni kwa sababu asasi kuu hazina uhusiano wowote na hali halisi ya maisha. Udhalilishaji huu umeibua mitazamo na hatua tofauti za kusuluhisha changamoto zinazokumba jamii ya usasaleo na hivyo basi kuboresha maisha ya vijana. Kwa hivyo, wasanii wanaendekeza matumizi ya asasi ndogo ndogo zinazosimulia na kuakisi hali halisi ya maisha ya vijana kama vile kujitosa katika uimbaji wa muziki wao wa kisasa.

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