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Africa in the Context of Investment in Research, Education, Training and Innovation:
Challenges and Wayforward

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Journal of Education and Social Sciences

Editorial

Judging from the first series of MKU Journal of Education and Social Sciences, we can enter into the second series of the existence of our journal with a considerable measure of confidence. The papers in this second journal of Education and Social Sciences, Volume 1, Number 1, ISSN 2220-4091, May, 2011, were presented in the second academic conference held in Mount Kenya University, Nakuru Campus in November 2010. Through the fine scholarly qualities of individual contributors, the high standards of our peer reviewers and the authors' positive response to criticism we have been able to produce a journal that give a fair representation of topical issues in the world of scholarship and of overlapping interests in Research.

The first paper is by Catherine W. Mbiyu and is concerned with Social control and Gender relations in Kikuyu Proverbs. The paper reflects Kikuyu proverbs a tool that echo dominant social rules and norms concerning women and men's behaviour in a patrilineal Kikuyu society. The second paper by R. Nyambura is on Cosmetics use and Effects on Women's Health in Kenya: A Case of Nakuru Town. The paper creates awareness on the negative effects of the use of cosmetics on women's health in Kenya today considering that they are the major users of cosmetics. F.O. Ogola explores the contribution of Charismatic Christianity to the Social and Individual Well being in Western Kenya and notes that the idea of the "prosperity gospel" can be detrimental on one hand but generally spirit-empowered religion breeds steadiness and strength of character and individual wellbeing. R. Nyambura presents a paper on Evolution of Shoe Culture in Africa. The paper acknowledges that beside their actual purpose of shielding the feet, shoes link us to the period from which they come from and help us compare periods of history.

J. Kay makes a presentation on Existential Fulfillment and Teacher Burnout and recommends further investigation of the prevalence, causes, consequences and management of teacher burnout is needed. W. Nabea presents Multiple literacies in Rural Kenya: The Case of Murugi Villagers, Maara District. The paper contests that multiple literacies are vivacious among ex-students and advises against reifying schools at the expense of multiple literacies, which could be typical of the everyday lives of many people in rural areas. Macharia Maina captures Writings Everywhere: The Import of Graffiti in Universities of Kenya. This paper analyses the male and female attitudes to different aspects in life and how gender differences are marked. S. Wachanga and F. Kimotho focuses of Comparison of Academic Performance of Secondary School Students from Private and Public Primary Schools in Nakuru District, Kenya. The paper acknowledges that teachers' classroom practices play an important role in students' academic achievements. G. E. Aberi, focuses on Interpersonal Dynamics Affecting Managerial Communications, this paper will be of use to managers and the corporate management, in problem solving, conflict resolution and decision making, both at the individual and organisational levels. J. K. Mwangi presents a paper on Relationship Between Sales Growth, Profitability and Firm Value in Firm Value Creation Strategy: A Study of Companies in Young Emerg-

ing Market Economies and asserts that there is a positive relationship between sales growth and firm profitability up to a certain extent beyond which the converse is true. D. Kadagor's paper on Rethinking the Role of the Multinational Tea Companies (MTC) among the Kipsigis of Kenya Since 1903 notes that MTC's has played a major role in the economic transformation of the Kipsigis has been enormous but whether this change contributes to a better standard of living cannot be ascertained since the community's views on the benefits are divided.

J.O. Osamba focuses on Power sharing as a mechanism of Managing Ethnopolitical Conflicts in Post-Cold War Kenya and notes that power-sharing would be a better political model for Kenya than the 'winner take all' system that has been used in the past regimes. Bumbe Were writes on Teaching Tribalism: Planting the Seeds of Stable Nations in Sub-Saharan Africa. He asserts the need on positive tribalism to enhance socio-economic development, justice and democracy in post- colonial Africa. J.M. Mironga in his Evaluation of Water Hyacinth Control Methods: A Case Study of Lake Naivasha, Kenya, conludes that there is urgent need to have comprehensive economic data on costs and effectiveness of reducing water hyacinth in Lake Naivasha. J. Mwiti focuses on Prelude to Human-Wildlife Conflicts in Meru District, Kenya and recommends a consideration of various socio-cultural aspects among the residents in the future wildlife conservation endeavours in the district.

R. Nyambura,
For the Editorial Board

Keynote Address
Prof. Stanely Waudo,

Vice- Chancellor, Mount Kenya University (MKU)

Role of Research in Economic Transformation

Introduction
Universities worldwide have a wide mandate, including teaching, conducting research, generating and disseminating knowledge, and skills, as well as providing service to the larger community. Mount Kenya University has demonstrated its commitment to implementing its mandate through committing part of its resources to research. Further, the University has developed a research policy, established a Vice Chancellors Research Grant and Postgraduate Student Training Scholarships.

This conference is born out of the realization that dissemination of researched findings and their utilization is critical in the process of policy formulation and economic transformation. The conference is further premised on fact that we live in a global village whose functioning is dominated by partnerships, networks, flow of resources and knowledge transfer across borders.

Education Under guards Research
It needs to be pointed out that research without reference to education is like considering an organ without reference to the organism. Competencies, skills, and attitude researchers use, are derivatives of the education process. Education imparts knowledge, skills and values that promote generation of knowledge needed in socio-economic development of societies. Education promotes social equity, as well as critical thinking. It facilitates the spread of innovation and removes barriers that would otherwise hinder vulnerable and marginalized members of our society from making meaningful contribution to their development and that of the rest of our society.

To a large extent, many of the hindrances to education in Kenya have recently reduced, thanks to increased access to primary and secondary education. These developments have come with the introduction of free primary education (FPE) in 2003. This has tremendously expanded enrolment in primary schools from 5.9 million in 2002 to 8.2 million in 2008. The subsequent introduction of free day secondary \education (FDSE) in 2008 has resulted in increased transition rate from primary to secondary schools. In 2008 only 25.7of the candidates who attained a mean grade of C+ and above at Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) were admitted via the Joint Admission Board (JAB) to universities. Over 70 % of the qualified candidates were left out, on account of limited admission capacity, high cost of university education, and limitations associated with the mode of delivery. This number could easily grow unless major steps are taken to increase access to university education.

Research has the objective of providing information required for problem solving. Research generated information provides a key link to making discoveries, innovations, inventions and policy formulation. These in turn lead to:
    i)   Increased rates of economic development rate

ii) Increased per capital income,
iii) Increased access to quality education, medical care and shelter
iv) Increased food security, and
v) Improved quality of life

The important role that research plays in socioeconomic transformation calls for support not only from the public but also the private sector. Indeed, in view of the heavy investment required in research, there is need for increased participation in the research enterprise by both sectors. Such investment could help to expand production of human capital, goods and services, thereby growing our GDP with prospects for socioeconomic development.

To put research in a broader perspective, it is useful to note that we live in an ever increasingly knowledge-based society. Knowledge plays a key role in boosting and supporting wealth creation, social welfare and international competitiveness. Knowledge generated from research provides a better understanding of the social and natural environment we live in, giving rise to cultural and intellectual enrichment. Competitiveness of a nation in today's international market place is largely dependent upon the ability to translate knowledge into products, goods and services. It is gratifying that the Kenya Vision 2030 not only recognizes this, but also places due emphasis on the role of science knowledge in the modern economy.

The recognition has a history dating back to Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1982 on S*cience and Technology for Development.* This document underscored the critical importance of scientific knowledge as a tool for economic transformation and made provision to spend up to 1% of the national gross domestic product (GDP) on science, technology and innovation. This target, however, is yet to be realized. Expectation was that investment in research could have increased in order to enhance quantity and quality of research output which the country critically requires for development. Among products of research generated knowledge are Innovations and inventions. Thomas Edison, the ultimate inventor of the light bulb, carried out one hundred (100) experiments before coming up with the bulb. It was with the 101st experiment that the bulb lit. The lesson from this story is that returns from research can take a long term to come by, but once they occur they impact positively on people's living standards.

Institutional Framework for Enhancing Research
It needs to be stressed that exploitation of knowledge generated from research requires a dynamic and innovative institutional frame-work to effectively facilitate communication, promote provision of incentives, encourage sharing of knowledge and promote development of innovative systems. An innovative institutional system may comprise among other ingredients, research centres, science parks and groups of researchers.

Networks bolster research efforts; they help in pooling resources and creating synergy. An example worthy of citing is the Talloires Network Twinning Programme (TNTP). This innovative idea aims at building sustainable partnerships among universities as well as implementing recommendations of Talloires Declaration of 2005, signed by 150 universities in more than 50 countries. Above all, the Talloires network aims at enhancing sharing of information through a website where universities can easily link up with others to share newsletters, documents, reports and publications. The Website

encourages collaborative relations and makes it easy to conduct joint teaching, research, student and staff exchange programmes and sharing information on "best practices"

Innovation and Creativity – Two Pillars of Research

Innovation, defined simply as the attempt to turn an idea into practice is a key element of economic transformation. Innovations in Kenya are hard to come by but not altogether absent. A good example of a milestone innovation is the achievement by Mr. Imani Maore Nyambengi, a student at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), who obtained a C- (minus) in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) and later obtained a Diploma in information Technology. At age 20, he designed computer enabled system to facilitate broadcasting, computer games and clearing –software.

Many of us may be more knowledgeable of big time innovations such as those associated with corporations the likes of Microsoft, Google and Facebook. It is instructive to remember that all the three innovations had their roots in Universities, in the USA. Facebook was founded by Mark Zuckerberg at Harvard University in 2004. The Google search engine was founded by Larry Page and Segury Brine at Stanford University, while Bill Gates and Paul Allen founded the giant Microsoft Corporation at Massachuset Institute of Technology (MIT).

Creativity is another critical and integral component of the research-development nexus. Simply defined, creativity is the ability to use one's imagination and creative thinking skills to produce new ideas and make things. Creativity is a key element in the process of economic transformation as the story of Mr. Ishmael Matsku Sheba so aptly demonstrates. Mr. Sheba nurtured the dream of becoming an engineer one day. But this dream crushed as he dropped out of primary school due to lack of fees. Mr. Sheba would eventually end up joining his father in farming. He however took an interest in helping his father in repairing posho mills, in the process of which, he discovered how a posho mill engine can be used to power sugarcane crushers. Today Mr. Sheba manufactures starters-mortars, nuts bolts, nails generators and many others.

Linking Research to Economic and Social Transformation

Economic transformation is an economic and social imperative in Africa given that the region currently enjoys the lowest standards of living the world over, notwithstanding its vast natural resources. Asia, which at one time fared worse in comparison, is now an economic giant. The open secret is that Asia was able to transform its economy as a result of heavy investment in education and research. In contrast, in Africa, investment in research is a mere 0.3% of the GDP. It is hardly surprising therefore that the little research being undertaken in African countries is largely funded by external agencies, most of whom use the funds given to leverage their own selfish interests. The attainment of United Nations' sponsored Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) to which many countries (Kenya included) are signatory to, represents a major prospect for achieving socio-economic transformation among African countries.

The MDGs seek to improve the standard of living through influencing positive and progress processes in the areas of education, health, gender equality, and environment, among others. The first MDG seeks to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger by 2015. However, the 2010 MDG study reports indicate that national food security incidence

stands at 45.6%. This suggests that nearly half of the Kenya's population is living under the threat of constant hunger. The ongoing climate change has served to worsen the already bad situation.

To avert the risk of increased numbers of people living on the threshold of hunger and starvation, it is important that modern farming technologies are adopted and utilized to increase food supply. The success of this option will rely entirely upon investing in research. The second MDG is to achieve universal primary education (UPE). By 2010 Kenya's primary school enrolment stood at 92.9% with a completion rate of 97.8%. This suggests a significant improvement in access to, and retention in primary schooling. It is hoped that these gains will translate into socioeconomic transformation and development.

The third MDG goal is to promote gender equality and empower women. This goal has received a major boast in the new constitutional dispensation. The new constitution not only creates and reserves special seats for women in the political arena but it also sets out to prevent domination by any one gender. Most significantly, this constitution outlaws discrimination against any gender.

The seventh MDG brings in the concept of environment. The import of this is that whatever we do to transform our socioeconomic environment should be guided by the principles of sustainable development. Sustainability underscores the safeguards we need to put in place in such a manner that those resources are used to meet today's needs with the future generations in mind.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that African countries, Kenya included, are well endowed with both human and natural resources. Past efforts to transform the lives of the citizenry in many African countries has been elusive mainly because of lack luster attitudes that have undermined adequate investment in research for development. It is possible however that with bold moves made to engage research in adequate measure the transformation agenda will be realized in the foreseeable future in Kenya, and indeed other African countries.

This Conference is timely, and should contribute towards energizing the transformation agenda that is so much in need. Above all, we together owe our country and the African continent needed solutions to problems which bedevil our society. It is my firm belief that this conference will come with concrete research-related measures that we as an institution can rely upon to contribute to solving problems in our Society.

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Social Control and Gender Relations in Kikuyu Proverbs

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Abstract

Language is the vehicle through which ideologies are transmitted in society. Proverbs which form an integral part of the society reflect and shape social life. In their concise form and authoritative style, they provide us with rich linguistic data for the study of cultural beliefs and social values of a particular society. Analyzing the discourse topics and discursive strategies embedded in Kikuyu proverbs provide a means by which gender-based power relations are renegotiated in everyday life. The study identified and described the discourse topics in Kikuyu proverbs which showed gendered power relations. The study was guided by Wodak's discourse-historical approach. The data consisted of Kikuyu proverbs which were purposively selected. Data was analysed with intention of arriving at inferences and conclusions. The findings of the study are relevant to the current debate on gender equality.

Introduction

Social control is defined as an influence which may be exerted through various means of control like public, social and religious organizations. To maintain society effectively, it needs some rules and regulations which must be implemented. Society, especially the traditional one, uses social control embedded in its customary culture relying on the socialization of its members to establish social order. Gender is one of the most effective means of social control. From birth, we are encultured into a dual gender system reinforced by all the major institutions. Without some type of social control, the society would be purely anarchic. It is crucial for a society to set up boundaries and categories so that people can make sense of the world. Unfortunately with these provisions, also comes a denial of self-hood and individualism. For both women and men, gender operates as a strict mode of social control right from birth. Individuals grow up in a culture imbibing the notions of what may be considered appropriately male or female qualities which include personality dispositions, mental and physical characteristics, the ability to perform certain tasks and a defined position in cosmology. These collective attributes basically form the social tasks appropriate for each gender as well as the division of labour, spheres and modes of interaction, the designated rights, duties and social expectations. Thus tied with the concept of gender, is the concept of 'social space', which is physical as well as a social and psychological concept, delineating a person's sphere of social interaction and inspirations. Mama (1996) states that the notion gender is stereotyped, contained and transmitted through multiple channels which include oral and written traditions, folklore, morals and myths (Mama, 1996).

Language is linked to power and ideological structures in a society and hence gender relations are perpetuated through language. Language can take various forms such as songs, proverbs, riddles, tongue twisters and narratives. This study will take proverbs as its main focus. According to Bukenya et.al. (2001), proverbs are the most widespread and the most respected genre of African oral literature. A proverb is a brief, clearly

expressed figurative comment on a situation. Proverbs draw their images from various sources like plants, people's habits, customs, occupations and beliefs, social and political institutions. They are an embodiment of traditional gender ideology.

They provide us with rich linguistic data for the study of cultural beliefs and social values of a particular society. Because proverbs are an oral form of popular culture at the level of local society, they provide a means by which gender-based power relations are renegotiated in everyday life. In Kikuyu proverbial lore, almost every aspect of life is commented on and evaluated. There are proverbs echoing the dominant social rules and norms concerning both women and men's behaviour and family roles and the necessity of social control. The Kikuyu society is concerned with maintaining its belief system. Munene (1995) observes that the society is often guided by the truth often gotten from proverbs.

The study had two objectives.
1. To identify and describe the discourse topics in Kikuyu proverbs which show gendered power relations.
2. To analyse the discursive strategies embedded in the proverbs.

Significance of the study
The study will help in expanding the meaning of various Kikuyu proverbs and also show their culture and beliefs. It will also help in contributing to the current fight against gender inequality.

Theoretical Framework
An offshoot of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) known as the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2001) offers insightful approaches to the topic. It enables the proverbs to be critically analysed to expose the dominating masculine ideologies. Discourse Historical Approach maintains that language is not merely an instrument of communication, but ideologies and power are indexed in language. CDA draws attention to the three elements of criticality, ideology and power. Criticality basically entails distancing from the data. This means to uncover as critically as possible the unequal power connotations of the proverb. Ideology, which can be defined as the way meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, is seen as implicit in establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Mumby (1988) emphasizes the importance of ideology in shaping a people's worldview as follows:

Ideology does not simply provide people with a belief system through which they orient themselves to the world, but instead, it plays a much more fundamental role in the process by which social actors create reality of the world in which they live.

On power, in the context of a male-dominated society, CDA critically analyses the language expressed in proverbs. Thus here, Discourse Historical Approach, which is seen earlier as an offshoot of CDA, is interested in showing the unequal gender relations and improving on the condition of the disadvantage gender.

Methodology
Research design
The study used a descriptive research design. Kasomo (2006) says that in descriptive research, data analysis answers questions concerning the current status of a programme, project or activity. In this study, data analysis dealt with the interpretation of discourse topics passed across in Kikuyu proverbs which show gendered power relations and discursive strategies embedded in the proverbs.

Data Collection Tools and Procedure
Kikuyu proverbs formed data to the current study. Library research was used as a means of collecting data. Twenty five proverbs were purposively collected, translated and analysed qualitatively with the aim of revealing social control and gender relations. Mugenda (2003) says that in purposive sampling, cases of subjects are handpicked because they are informative or they process the required characteristics. The results were presented descriptively.

Using the principled criteria of Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach, the discourse topics in Kikuyu proverbs were identified to reveal the social control and gender relations and the discursive strategies embedded in the proverbs were analysed. In analysing Kikuyu proverbs, the researcher was interested in answering the following questions:

- How are men and women named and referred to linguistically?
- What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- By means of what arguments and argumentation are unequal power relations justified in the proverbs?
- From what perspective or point of view are these naming, attributions and arguments expressed?
- Are the respective discriminatory utterances articulated overtly, or are they intensified, or are they mitigated? (adapted from Reisigil and Wodak 2001)

Results and Discussion

Brief History of the Kikuyu
The Kikuyu myths explain the origin of the Kikuyu tribe from Gikuyu (the first man) and Mumbi who had nine daughters who got married to men provided by 'Ngai' (God). It was formally a matriarchal society but the women's rule was tough and wicked. The men planned of the women's downfall by impregnating them at the same time and hence the Kikuyu society became a patriarchal society.

Kenyatta (1938) claims that Kikuyu men find the subject of sexuality to be imperative enough to warrant the creation of the narrative that legitimates their notion of masculinity (idea of having the qualities connoted to power contributed to men). They also construct their own ideas of manhood by seeking to legitimize their stronghold of power and patriarchy over their women and often result to the folktale of how men took power over women.

Onyango (2007) says that most African societies have always been patriarchal and its power ideological structure is always propagated through genres such as songs and proverbs which are used to show gender constructions. Izugbara (2005) delineates

two understandings about the male sexual organ that have relevant ramifications on the question of the power that is attached to masculinity: its physical function and its symbolic function,. In physical terms (expressive), he says that in a primitive mind, the erect male sexual organ has power. It is perceived to be hard, bold and strong. The erect sexual organ is also an element of domination. The liquid (semen) which it emits during ejaculation (viewed as a venom), weakens women. It is registered as a tool with which to demobilize, invade and disvalue women. Mama (1996) states that the advent of serious gender studies in Africa, in the last three and a half decades, has triggered off discussions over unequal power relations between men and women, the domination of men over women and ideologies that reflect male and females' points of view. Economically, Kikuyu were farmers and traders. Women often did business with the Maasai and Kamba and brought their returns to their husbands and sons (eldest) if a widow.

Kikuyu proverbs are means of propagating the society's ideals regarding birth, marriage, parenting, work, property ownership, leadership and death.

Birth of a Child

If a child was born, five ululations ('ngemi') were made symbolizing the birth of a boy child. The father cut five sugarcanes and squeezed water into the boy's mouth as a symbol of good life. If a woman gave birth to girls only, she was referred to as:

'Nyina wa irigu'
Mother of uncircumcised girls

A woman was a symbol of making her husband a boy who would inherit property and progress the family line. This is expressed in the following proverb:

'Kahii ni ithigi ria mucii'
A boy is the pole of the house

First born, girls and boys, were named from the man's side. The rest were then named from the mother's side. For both men and women, gender operates as a strict mode of social control right from birth. Children are socialized into a society where it defines gender into two distinct categories: men are seen to be strong, dominant and smart people while women are seen as passive, subordinate and emotional people and this constitutes what appears to be reality for the children. Through the logic of domination, it is clear that society puts everything into dualisms. The following proverb illustrates the above statement.

'Kihii koji ta ithe kabaritaga ta migwi'
A son as cunning as his father knows the arrows like his father.

A woman's job was to work in the garden, take care of the children, provide sexual satisfaction to the husband and give birth to male children to progress the family line. The woman's place was the kitchen as evidenced by the proverb below.

'Mwaki wa mucii uthereagwo ni mutumia"
Fire is maintained by a woman

A woman who was unable to give birth to children was considered a social misfit as seen below.

'Mutumia angikura atari mwana ndangiona mutahiri maai'
A woman that gets old without bearing a child will have nobody to draw water for her
Children are poor men's riches`

Women were also seen as lesser beings and given the same status as children. Men were considered the most important people in the society.

'Mutumia na kionje ni undu umwe'
A woman and an invalid man are the same thing

Circumcision
It was majorly meant to diminish sexual pleasure for women who had no say over their bodies. Kanogo (2005) affirms that tensions often arose from the perceived loss of control by both indigenous societies and colonizing agencies over girls and women's morality, sexuality, physical and socioeconomic mobility. Thus, concerns over clitoridectomy (circumcision), dowry, some aspects of maternity and the attainment of formal education were all debated in the context of women as threatened social capital. Female circumcision was one of the central cultural institutions in construction of gender and identity. It entailed the excision of the clitoris and in some cases the labia minora and part of labia majora as part of the rite of passage. This evidences the control of women. According to the Kikuyu law, after the initiation, a boy is no longer a boy but a man in the fullness of his rights and given higher responsibilities while a girl, even when circumcised, does not become entitled to new rights like inheritance.

'Uhii ni umagwo no uka ndumagwo'
The man comes out of childhood but the woman never comes out of womanhood

Bad traits in children were attributed to the mothers and not the fathers. This meant that the negative traits were inherited from the mothers.

'Kana ka ngari gakunyaga ta nyina'
Wicked children inherit their wicked mothe's ways

Marriage
Marriage and other domestic arrangements defined the lives of most women. Because of the institution of dowry, parents viewed daughters as investments that would bring wealth to the family in the form of the livestock customarily used as dowry payments. The marriages were mostly arranged and at times, girls were opposed to the arrangements. In his anthropological treatise on the Kikuyu, Jomo Kenyatta insisted that a Gikuyu wedding is a thing that baffles many outsiders who do not understand the Gikuyu custom. The girls seems as being forced to marry and even treated as chattels. The wedding day is fixed and kept secret from the girl. On the wedding day the boy's female relatives set out to watch the girl's movements. On finding her, they return with her, carrying her shoulder-high. The girl struggles and refuses to go with them and protests loudly. Sometimes women are also pawned (abducted). Boys selected girls who would eventually become their wives. Girls did not have a say and were instead kidnapped. This is reflected in the proverb below.

'Mwanake wina indo ndohanaga'
The young man who has enough to his girl need not beseech her

If a girl got pregnant before marriage, the man was expected to marry her. This is caught in the saying 'kuna buri kuguru' (to break a goat's leg). If the man did not want to marry her, he was only expected to pay a certain number or goats in regard to the agreement with the girl's parents. The girl could eventually be married as a second wife or to an old man.

'Muka mucangacangi ndagaga mwana'
A woman that hangs about does not lack children

This proverb warns against prostitution. Polygamy was allowed as seen in the proverbs below.

'Gutire jamba ya mwera umwe'
There is no cock that belongs to only one hen

The man is equated to a cock hence seen as someone powerful

'Muka umwe ni rigu wa gutema'
It is dangerous to have one wife. If she dies, her children will have many problems

As seen earlier, the girl's purpose was to bring property to the household.

'Muiritu mwega ahitukagira thome wa ngia'
A poor man cannot afford a beautiful girl

The dowry was paid in regard to a girl's virginity. Virginity was evidenced with blood on the skin. There was no evidence of the men's infidelity unless if he impregnated a girl and in this case he was only fined. During the dowry arrangement, the women were not involved. This was seen as men's jobs. The women's place was in the kitchen.

'Mutumia ndaturaga mutwe na ndaikagia ndahi ndua'
A woman does not split the head (of a slaughtered goat) nor dips the cup into the beer

Thairu (1975) notes that many families in Africa gave the woman a demeaning position in the society. This is clearly expressed in the proverbs below.

'Aka eri ni nyungu igiri cia urogi'
Two wives are two pots full of poison

This means the more women a man has in his house, the more troubles he must expect.

'Aka matiri icia ndiiro no cia nyiniko'
Women have no upright words but only crooked ones

The Kikuyu use this proverb to mean that women kept no secrets and seldom told the truth.

Kikuyu culture allows men to punish their wives and make them follow their orders as seen in the proverbs below.

'Mundu murume ni wa karugi'
Men act promptly

'Mumbia arume amburagwo na njuguma'
A woman who refuses a man's order is punished with a club

If a man had a problem with sterility, he agreed with the wife to have an intimate relationship with his brother and get pregnant but it was kept secret.

'Cia mundurume itiri iria'
A man's breast has no milk

If it was the wife who had the problem, the husband was allowed to marry other women.

Women were considered as one of the properties belonging to their husbands. If a woman had extramarital affairs, the husband was allowed to divorce her but if it was the man on the wrong side of the law, he was only punished by paying a fine in form of goats. Girls were used to bring peace between two conflicting communities. She was advised to form relations with a boy of the enemy, hence seen as instruments of peace.

Death
A dying man often called the sons only at his deathbed. The wife had no say even though she was present. The man shared property amongst his sons (girls were not supposed to inherit property). If he died, the eldest son took over the household.

'Maitho ma arume ti ma irang'a'
Men's eyes are not the eyes of the 'irang'a' ('irang'a' is an insect with very tiny eyes)

This proverb means that the eyes of this insect see very little while the men's eyes see everything.

'Ugi wa arume utemaga ta hiu'
Men's skill cuts like knives (words are for women, actions for men).

If a man got killed, a fine of a hundred goats was paid to his family while for a woman; only a fine of thirty goats was paid. The virtues (throughout the proverbs) of the women are seen in her relationships with other members of the household unit; husband and children. Moreover, her very life's mission and purpose are to reside within this household, to which she contributes but over which she cannot head. It is this latter concern to uphold the formative role of a wife and mother in the family household and through this society more generally the proverbs obtain their vigor and appeal.

Kanago (2005) argues that the power structures in the society discriminated against women as seen in the following quotation:

"In those days, it was customary for a widow to dance on a husband's graveyard. If the woman had any relationships outside marriage, she did not survive this dance. This belief made women to be very careful. It is apparent that the Kikuyu society only expected chastity from women and not men.

Conclusion

Kikuyu society is organized by the patrilineal and patriarchal kinship system wherein the family name and family estate was transferred along the male line and marriage was often patrilocal. The Kikuyu proverbs echo dominant social rules and norms concerning women and men's behaviour and emphasize the necessity of male control over women. Women as a group become a marked category and are subject to society's close scrutiny. Within this male-centered system, Kikuyu women inevitably occupied a marginal status. In their homes, women are often regarded as temporary members and a future loss to their families. Upon marriage, they are viewed as intruders or strangers by their husbands' kins. The low social status of women and attitudes towards them are clearly embedded in the proverbs above. Mama (1996) asserts that the advent of serious gender studies in Africa, in the last three and a half decades, has triggered off discussions over unequal power relations between men and women, the domination of men over women and ideologies that reflect male points of view. In this case, Kikuyu proverbs recapture cultural paradigms of gender relations and appear to reaffirm a gender-related social and cultural hierarchy in a patriarchal and patrilineal society.

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Cosmetics Use and Effects on Women's Health in Kenya: A Case of Nakuru Town

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Abstract

With the range of beauty products available today, there is a remedy for every problem. Natural cosmetics have lost their worth and relevance today amidst the flooding of synthetic cosmetics. The aim of this paper was to investigate the effect of cosmetics in Kenya. This was drawn from the hypothesis that billions of shillings are spent by both women and men on cosmetics to increase their beauty quotient. The study was carried out in Nakuru town. Data was collected from three sources: An interview schedule was administered to the respondents. Secondly was through literature search in the library. Lastly, through the researchers' personal experiences and interactions with the people within Nakuru town. The study established that cosmetics have a wide range of negative impact especially among women in Kenya. The findings of this study will assist in creating awareness on the use of cosmetics in Kenya today.

Introduction

Cosmetics are substances used to enhance the appearance or odour of the human body. Cosmetics are applied to the human body for cleansing, beautification, or alteration of the appearance without affecting the body's structure or functions. The word "cosmetae" was first used to describe Roman slaves whose duty was to bathe men and women in perfume (Cash, 1982). Cosmetics include skin-care creams, lotions, powders, perfumes, lipsticks, fingernail and toe nail polish, eye and facial makeup, permanent waves, coloured contact lenses, hair colours, hair sprays, gels, deodorants, baby products, bath oils, bubble baths, bath salts, butters and many other types of products. A subset of cosmetics is called "make-up," which refers primarily to coloured products intended to alter the user's appearance (Cox, 1989). Women from all cultures have tried to beautify themselves and look more attractive by using any materials available to them. Women today are no different. In fact, today's woman is spoilt for choice with the variety and innovation in the beauty industry. Today, it's not just women, but also men who are conscious of their looks and use beauty products. Both men and women now spend a good amount of money on skin care and beauty products. To a large extent therefore, the cosmetic industry has grown to be one of the most flourishing industries in the world. However, less attention has been put on negative impacts of cosmetics to the users (Graham, 1981).

History of Cosmetics in Africa

The first archaeological evidence of cosmetics usage was found in Ancient Egypt. For instance the eye shadow was used in Egyptian burials as early as 10,000 BC. Ancient Greeks and Romans also used cosmetics (Robins, 1993). The Romans and Ancient Egyptians, not realizing their dangerous properties, used cosmetics containing mercury and white lead fragrances. Frankincense and myrrh are mentioned in the Bible: Exodus 30: 34, and Gospel of Matthew 2:11. Ancient Egyptians had a wide extent of make-up utensils. Among this is kohl, which was used to outline the eyes. It was made up of lead, copper, burned almonds, soot, and other ingredients. It was believed that eye make-up

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could ward off evil spirits and improve the sight. Egyptians found out that kohl darkened the eyelids but made the eyes rounder and attractive (Silverman, 2003).

Egyptians used cosmetics regardless of sex and social status for both aesthetic and therapeutic reasons. Oils and unguents were rubbed into the skin to protect it from the hot air. Most frequently used were white make-ups, black make-up made with carbon, lead sulphide (galena) or manganese oxide (pyrolusite) and green make-up from malachite and other copper based minerals. Red ochre was ground and mixed with water, and applied to the lips and cheeks, painted on with a brush (Robins, 1993).

Egyptian perfumes were famous throughout the Mediterranean region. Perfumes were mostly based on plants: the roots, blossoms or leaves of henna, cinnamon, turpentine, iris, lilies, roses and bitter almonds were soaked in oil and sometimes cooked. Essence was extracted by squeezing, and oil was added to produce liquid perfumes, while creams and salves were the result of adding wax or fat. Many perfumes had more than a dozen ingredients and were kept in stone or glass vessels. During the New Kingdom in Egypt nobles applied minerals to their faces to provide colour and define features. In addition people were depicted carrying little cones in their hair, which are generally interpreted as having been made of solid perfume (Robinson, 1998).

Pleasant smells were associated with the gods. For example, Amen and Queen Ahmose, wife of Thutmose I, seems to have had a special relationship according to inscriptions describing the conception and birth of Hatshepsut their son:

> He found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She woke at the fragrance of the god, which she smelled in the presence of his majesty. He went to her immediately and slept with her, he imposed his desire upon her, he wished that she should see him in his form of a god. When he came before her, she rejoiced at the sight of his beauty, his love passed into her limbs, which the fragrance of the god flooded, all his odours were from Punt (Robins, 1993, p. 65).

For soap, Egyptians used natron, swabu (clean), a paste containing ash or clay, which was often scented, and could be worked into lather, or the like. The Ebers Medical Papyrus, dating from about 1500 BCE, describes mixing animal and vegetable oils with alkaline salts. The soap-like material was used for treating skin diseases, as well as for washing. The Egyptians had wash basins and filled them with natron and salt solution from jugs with spouts and used sand as a scouring agent. They washed after rising and both before and after the main meals, but one may assume that their ablutions were mostly perfunctory (Robins, 1993).

For mouth wash they used another solution called bed. If washing or perfumes did not help to get rid of body odours one might seek the advice of a physician who had a number of recipes at his disposal. For example; incense, lettuce and apple fruits were mixed and a patient was rubbed with it. Wrinkling of the skin which was an effect of excessive exposure to the sun and not just of old age, was treated by applying a wax- based remedy containing gum of frankincense, moringa oil, ground Cyprus grass and fermented plant juice (Silverman, 2003). In Ghana, soap was made from roasted coconut shell ashes mixed with palm oil and shea butter. The soap was used to relieve acne, blemishes and oily skins (Angeloglou, 1970).

Among ancient African communities, monthly periods were apparently seen as a time of cleansing. Men abstained from intimate contact with women who were menstruating and were considered unclean during their periods; women avoided the company of men of their own accord. Among the West Africans, sanitary towels consisted of folded strips of linen which were washed and reused. Oil was the base of most cosmetic products. The finest oil was pressed from the fruit of Balanites Aegyptiaca. Behen, oil from Moringa nuts, and a kind of almond nut oil were also used. These oils were mixed with organic and inorganic substances finely ground up serving as pigments (Shillington, 1989).

The Western part of the World was a late entrant into cosmetic history with the use of cosmetics starting during the middle ages. Here too cosmetics were an elite affair. The church ultimately banned its use. Queen Victoria extended her support for the Church's position. Thus, cosmetics found new lovers in the brothels where it adorned the faces of prostitutes (Robinson, 1998).

Hitler declared that cosmetics were better suited for the faces of Clowns and women belonging to the master race should shun its use. The next two hundred years witnessed a rapid growth in cosmetic usage and even women belonging to the lower strata of the society started to use cosmetic products. The 18th Century was very significant in terms of the changes in technology for the production of cosmetics. The French started to use new methods, chemicals and natural ingredients. Safer chemicals like zinc oxide were used as the base and use of lead or copper was abolished. At the end of the 19th Century, the first beauty salons were set up. Rapid use of makeup cosmetics started from the early 1930s to the 40s (Winter, 2006).

During the 1960s and 1970s, many women in the western World influenced by feminism decided to go without any cosmetics. Cosmetics in the 1970s were divided into a "natural look" for day and a more sexualized image for evening. Around this time, at least few companies started creating makeup for African American females. Before the 1970s, makeup shades for Black females were limited. Face makeup and lipstick did not work for dark skin types because they were created for pale skin tones. These cosmetics that were created for pale skin tones only made dark skin more gray. Eventually, makeup companies created makeup that worked for richer skin tones, such as foundations and powders that provided a natural match. Popular companies like Astarté, Afram, Libra, Flori Roberts and Fashion Fair offered reasonable prices for their products. With the introduction of electronic media especially television and radio, cosmetics became a part of every woman's life. To date the significance of cosmetics has not reduced, but in fact, increased in the life of women. It is now over a 50 billion dollar industry (Cox, 1986).

Role of Cosmetics in Skin Care and Beautification
Ageing presents several problems for skin health. Acne breakouts during puberty tend to affect self-confidence; the appearance of stretch marks during and after pregnancy destroys the flawless beauty of the skin; and as one ages, the appearance of wrinkles on the skin is defeating. The use of skin care cosmetic products like lightening cream or lotion, moisturizing cream, anti-wrinkle cream, beauty masks, and many more has become a need rather just a luxury. Cosmetics have been found to enhance some factors associated with greater attractiveness for men in dating relationships. Specifically, foundation creates an effective mask that increase facial symmetry and improve skin texture; variables associated with greater female attractiveness for males (Fink, Grammer & Thornhill, 2001).

Types of Make ups

Make ups are named according to the part of the body to which they are applied, including: lipstick, lip gloss, lip liner, lip plumper, lip balm, lip conditioner, lip primer, and lip boosters. Those applied on the face are foundation and concealer. These two types of cosmetics differ in that concealers tend to be more heavily pigmented, are applied on small areas and cover any imperfections of the skin. A foundation is usually applied to larger areas and is used to smooth out the face and cover spots or uneven skin coloration. It is usually a liquid, cream, or powder. A powder is used to set the foundation, giving a matted finish, and also to conceal small flaws or blemishes, Rouge, blush or blusher, cheek colouring is used to bring out the colour in the cheeks and make the cheekbones appear more defined (Cash, 1989).

A Bronzer is used to give the skin a bit of colour by adding a golden or bronze glow. Mascara is used to darken, lengthen, and thicken the eyelashes. It is available in natural colours such as brown and black, but also comes in bolder colours such as blue, pink, or purple. There are many different formulae, including waterproof for those prone to allergies or sudden tears. An eye liner is a cosmetic used to define the eyes. It is applied around the contours of the eye to create a variety of aesthetic illusions. Although primarily aimed at females, it has broadened its appeal to the male market, known commonly by the guyliner (Fink, 2001). Nail polish is used to colour the fingernails and toenails. There are Supplements such as hip boosters, breast enhancers, testosterone enhancers, slimming pills, lighters, soaps and sunscreens. (Graham, 1981).

MASCARA&EYE SHADOW

Lipstick and Manicure
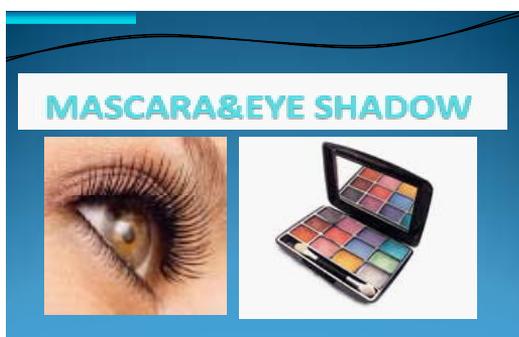
Methodology

The study was largely qualitative. Primary data was obtained from direct communication with respondents during the interviews. An interview schedule prepared before going to the field was employed to interview informants of the female gender. All interview responses were tape recorded for accurate retrieval after the interview sessions. The interviews covered the role of cosmetics on the women's health and solutions to the negative effects. Open ended guiding questions were used so as not to restrict the informants in the discussion. The researchers, however, guided the interviewees in case they delved into irrelevant issues. The interviews covered the main areas on which the respondents were knowledgeable. Interviews were conducted at both the individual levels and group levels for authenticity and objectivity. Purposive sampling method was appropriate for this study because it was readily available, less costly and a lot of data could be acquired within a short period. A sample of thirty informants from Nakuru

town was interviewed. The informants were interviewed from saloons, beauty shops and dermatologists from the town. The researchers were interested in answering the following questions:

a) How do women learn to use cosmetics?
b) What are impacts of using cosmetics on women's health?
c) Are there remedies for the negative impacts?

Results and Discussions

Negative Effects of Cosmetics

Most women confessed to have been introduced to cosmetics by friends, family members and observation from the media. However from the respondents the researchers found out that most women did not know their skin types nor the best products for their skins. Economic status and peer pressure are other factors that expose women to use of diverse skin care products.

A lot of beauty products today have caused several skin disorders and health related illnesses. Many skin whiteners contain toxic substances such as mercury (II) chloride or ammoniated mercury as the active ingredient. However, mercury has been banned in most countries because it accumulates on skin and could cause systemic absorption that leads to tissue accumulation of the substance (Malkan, 2006). Hydroquinone is a chemical that is a component of most cosmetics and inhibits melanin production. Its components have potent antioxidant abilities. Hydroquinone is a strong inhibitor of melanin production, suggesting that it prevents skin from making the substance responsible for skin colour. Hydroquinone does not bleach the skin but lightens it, and can only disrupt the synthesis and production of melanin hyperpigmentation. It has been banned in some countries because of fears of skin cancer risk (Winter, 2005).

The Environmental Working Group (EWG) a research company based in America-presented its findings in 2005 with the mission to protect children from the effects of toxic chemicals in the foods, water, air, and products we use daily. Their findings were as follows: Women, on average, use 12 personal care products daily that expose them to 160 toxic chemicals; 10 babies, still in their mother's womb, were tested for chemicals in their bloodstreams with these results; 287 toxic chemicals were found of which 134 were linked to cancer; 151 were linked to birth defects; 186 were linked to infertility; 130 were linked to the immune system. In addition, there has been an 84% increase in Acute Lymphocytic Leukemia in children from 5-10 years of age, a 57% increase in brain cancer during the same period; a doubling of Hypospadias (birth defect of the urethra in males) in infant males in the same period; sperm counts in men are dropping at a rate of 1% per year; 1 in 8 women will get breast cancer; 1 in 3 women will experience some form of cancer in their lifetime; 1 in 2 males will experience some form of cancer in their lifetime (Malkan, 2006).

It was proved scientifically that chemical based cosmetics are linked to disorders like dermatoid allergies, cancer and birth defects (Winter, 2005). One of the most harmful ingredients present in cosmetics is a sort of industrial plasticizer called phalates. Surprisingly, phalates are not listed by manufacturers in the ingredient chart of products as they are banned in a majority of countries. An average consumer is totally unaware of the presence of phalates in the products they buy; phalates are more prominently found in nail polish, tanning agents and hand rinse solvents. The accumulation of phalates in the body will eventually lead to mutation, hormone disruption and abnormalities in the reproductive tracts. An overuse of phalate induced cosmetics by an expectant mother can cause abnormalities in the reproductive system of the foetus, undescended testes or relatively smaller penises and demasculinasation of the male reproductive system (Winter, 2005).

Another hazardous ingredient is Para Hydroxy Benzoate, better known as parabens. Parabens are used in cosmetics as a preservative to prevent microbial growth; paraben traces are found more in deodorants and nail polish and are classified as a direct carcinogenic agent, cancer causative. The presence of parabens was confirmed recently in breast cancer tissue. It is not only parabens, but other cosmetic ingredients like formaldehyde and toluenes, which are also classified under the genre of carcinogenic agents. Thickening agents like Propylene Glycol and Polyethylene Glycol are broadly used in beauty products to alter their stability. These polymeric derivatives are widely used in the preparation of hair gels, anti-perspirants and aftershaves (Malkan, 2006).

IMAGES OF SKIN CANCER

How to Counter Negative Effects of Cosmetics

Beauty therapists recommended a visit to dermatologists to assist in assessing the skin and the best products to use. However the therapists only give such advice when their consumers become inquisitive about a certain product. Selecting a suitable cosmetic product is the most important step towards achieving healthy and radiant skin. In addition to the skin type, there are many other factors, such as stress, hormone disruption, air pollution, unhealthy diet, poor liver or stomach condition that affect the condition of your skin and therefore the choice of your skin care cosmetics. One of the key considerations in selecting a cosmetic is its ingredients. It is helpful to look for the ingredients that are used to prepare a particular cosmetic. It goes without saying that 'natural' products are unlikely to adversely affect your skin as compared to other chemical based formulations (Kay, 2005).

It is also important to buy skin care cosmetics from reliable stores. Reliable stores guarantee one of real cosmetics and duration of use. A cosmetic from a reputed retail store where sales transfer is high ensures you unsullied products. Long shelf life of cosmetics can cause increased carcinogenic reactions therefore strictly use the products before the stipulated time (Kay, 2005).

Home-made products such as yoghurt, unless your skin react to milk, plenty of water, citrus fruits, raw vegetables like stinging nettle, spinach, tomatoes to make the skin supple. Products that contain green tea, cucumber and aloe Vera by their nature are soothing and anti-inflammatory and harmless to the skin (Odero, 2011). Wash your face off makeup and camouflage applications thoroughly with water to keep the skin pores open before you go to sleep. Moisturizers' include any cream, lotion or oil applied on the skin. It hydrates the skin preventing surface dryness, peeling and improving the overall appearance of the skin. Keep your hands away from your face during the day or evening-you may be wiping off make-up without realizing it. (Njoroge, 2011).

Recommendation and Conclusion

The rise of products in Africa that cater to skin has led to dozens of women believe they are a remedy to every skin problem. However this paper recommends that every woman should visit a dermatologist regularly to have a history of her skin and the best skin product to use. Similarly the paper recommends the use of natural additives like fruits, water, milk and water and enough sleep to improve the skin and life of a being.

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Exploring the Contribution of Charismatic Christianity to the Social and Individual Well Being in Western Kenya

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Abstract

This paper examines the impact, if any, of the Pentecostal/Charismatic religion, one of the fastest growing religious movements within Christianity, on civil society among the Anglican congregations in Western Kenya. According to a recent report by the Pew Foundation, religion is becoming increasingly more powerful in shaping the identity of a people. This new emergence permeates across the vast diversity of religious traditions. Critical focus reflected on questions such as; does Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations encourage the idea that "God wants us to be wealthy,"? Do members of these churches tend to prosper (materially) at a higher rate in contrast to members of the Anglican Church? In contrast to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church, do Pentecostal/charismatic denominations contribute more or less to the theoretical and practical issues of healthcare, education, drug and alcohol addiction, addressing political corruption, and poverty?

Definition of Terms

Charismatic church – believing in special gifts from God and worshipping in a very enthusiastic way.

Pentecostal church – emphasize on gifts of the Holy Spirit such as power to heal the sick.

Prosperity gospel – emphasizes on financial and material success.

Methodology

The study sought to determine whether the introduction of Pentecostal and charismatic elements in the mainline denominations—especially the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches—in Kenya has contributed to or detracted from this effort. Multiple data collection methods (triangulation) were used. The primary data were collected from three sources. The first source was through constructed questionnaires and direct communication with the respondents during interviews. Secondly, data was obtained through the researchers' initiative in observing Pentecostal/Charismatic phenomenon in the churches through day in day out experiences. Lastly, informal personal inquiries from people the researchers interacted with, within the period of research. Secondary sources of data were mainly obtained through literature search in libraries. Descriptive statistics and philosophical reflections were used to analyse the data.

Researchers examined literature to adequately have a clear understanding of the relationship between the Charismatic religion and Prosperity gospel from the global, regional and Kenyan perspectives. Qualitative data was obtained through face to face interviews with key religious and civic leaders and group interviews with a representative sample of members from their congregation. The questions asked sought information regarding attitudes and beliefs of congregants about the relevance of the Charismatic church to economic, political, social development of their local and regional community.

Questions also addressed congregant's perceptions regarding the impact of religion on health, education and welfare of the populous. The ability of the churches to develop and foster networks of trust and reciprocity realized through observation sheet and conversation with the respondents.

The study addressed the under listed questions:
  (a) What contribution do the issues of "spirit-empowered" religion make to our understanding of the role of religion in human society?
  (b) Is Pentecostal/Charismatic religion contributing to economic growth? If so, how?
       In contrast to mainline denominations (Anglican and Roman Catholic), do Pentecostal/ Charismatic churches contribute more or less to economic growth or development in Western Kenya? If yes, in what specific ways to they do or fail to do this?
  (c) What are the impacts, as well as potential liabilities, of the "prosperity gospel"?
       (What are the potential positive and negative consequences of the "prosperity gospel"?)
       Since Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations encourage the idea that "God wantsyou to be wealthy," do members of these churches tend to prosper (materially) at a higher rate in contrast to members of the Anglican Church?
  (d)   How is Pentecostal/Charismatic religion addressing problems related to healthcare, education, drug and alcohol addiction, political corruption, poverty, etc? In contrast to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church, do Pentecostal/ Charismatic denominations contribute more or less to the theoretical and practical issues of healthcare, education, drug and alcohol addiction, addressing political corruption, and poverty?
  (e) Is this form of religion making any contribution to the development of a vibrant civic culture?
  (f) How does Pentecostal/Charismatic religion develop networks of trust and reciprocity?
  (i) Do these networks of "social capital" facilitate or retard economic and social cooperation?
  (ii) What is the potential political impact of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity on society?

Past researches reveal that the coming of the missionaries to Africa was a mixed blessing. There were many positive contributions. But there were some negative consequences to the manner the gospel was introduced to Africa. One of the most positive contributions by missionaries was the introduction, construction, and running of educational and health centers. Many churches in Kenya have maintained this effort. This study sought to determine whether the introduction of Pentecostal and Charismatic elements in the mainline denominations—especially the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches—in Kenya has contributed to or detracted from this effort.

Results and Discussion
This paper sought to determine whether there are some practices in the Revival Movement that are beneficial and which are not beneficial in alleviating these problems. If one can identify the positive consequences, can this be inculcated in the mainline denominations?

The additional philosophical question which was no addressed is whether "salvation" is being (unconsciously) given a materialistic connotation. There is an unstated assumption in the Revival Movement that if one is in the Lord, the Lord will supply all your needs—including material needs. How do Pentecostal and charismatic leaders help people avoid this sort of interpretation?

The Anglican Church in Kenya (at least in Western Province) seems to be divided as to whether to fully embrace the Pentecostal Charismatic tendencies of the non-mainline denominations. Thus, although Anglicans seem to admire the liveliness or spirit filled demonstrations of Pentecostal and charismatic churches, they do not seem to incorporate these practices fully within their worship services—except in a few congregations here and there. For example, for many Anglicans who belong to the Revival Movement, and following exactly the model set by Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches, "testimony sessions" tend to be held outside of the main worship service. In the Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations, these activities are quite central to worship. Thus, as Hefling and Shattuck note:

> "One of the great themes of the East African Revival was (and still is) the view that true Christian conversion must be accompanied by a contrite confession of sin. After being convicted of their wrongs by the preaching of the message of the cross, believers should be willing to give public testimony to what Christ has done in their lives and be willing to make restitution to anyone who has been harmed by their sins. . . Such confessions must also be accompanied by a willingness to lead a new life of honesty and openness, a lifestyle described as 'walking in the light' (see I John 1:6-7). The resolve of believers is strengthened by regular meetings of revival fellowships in which evangelistic preaching, testimonials, and the singing of gospel songs play a prominent part. Largely a lay initiative, the Revival Movement forms the backbone of most of the Protestant Churches in East Africa, including Kenya."

Anglicans who attend such sessions have as powerful testimonies as those in any other denomination. Further, their view of what is happening during testimonies is quite similar to those of non-Anglicans. For many in the revival movement, "God speaks in other moments of the ritual". The symbol of word extends to testimonies and narratives that place daily life as well as 'spiritual experiences' within a biblical/faith framework. These 'sharings' may occur in speech or song; they may take on a formal aim or be informally related. But by authentic testimony which speaks out of human experience, Pentecostals seek to discern the works of God in the life of the individual, of the faith community, and of the world." As a way of "doing theology," the narratives of these believers simultaneously "interpret the works of God and give voice to the words of God."

Among the fully Pentecostal and charismatic churches, the prosperity gospel seems to be taking root. This is seen in some of the articles in Christian journals. For example, in July 2007, the cover of Christianity Today had an article titled "Health and Wealth in Africa: How the Prosperity Gospel is Taking a Continent by Storm." In the same issue, we also find some core issues raised. Thus, another article discusses the question: "Gospel Riches: Africa's Rapid Embrace of Prosperity Pentecostalism Provokes

Concern and Hope." Thus, in this article by Isaac Phiri and Joe Maxwell, while Michael Okonkwo, one of the adherents of Pentecostalism, teaches that "It is not a sin to desire to be wealthy," (p. 23ff), David Oginde retorts that "The Kingdom of God is built on the cross, not on bread and butter."

On questions of health, we probably found the same thing that has been reported about Uganda by Kyalo Nguku, a journalist based in Nairobi Kenya. According to Nguku, there is a miracle taking place in Uganda. Namely, even in the midst of "war and persecution, Christians are experiencing a revival in Uganda that is marked by church growth, an unprecedented drop in AIDS prevalence and a changing political landscape" (Charisma, July 2006: pp. 37-41). Further, one finds the paradoxes that one usually finds in real life. For example, as Jackson Senyonga, a Ugandan Pastor, says in this article, "oppression has drawn" Uganda to God.

But the economic and social needs of the peoples in these regions are almost crashing. Thus, as the National Catholic Reporter noted in its May 2, 2008 issue, "Rising Prices threaten famine." The issue highlights 37 countries which are in urgent need of food aid. The African countries included in this list are: Chad, Central African Republic, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Mauritania. In other words, 21 of the 37 countries in urgent need of food are in Africa.

This paper is built on many other outstanding studies done in other parts of Africa. Among the most helpful works is Paul Gifford's Ghana's New Christianity. In this book, seeks to (a) participate in the conversation already going on regarding the sociopolitical role of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity and (b) delineate the scope and range of this type of Christianity. One reviewer has called Gifford's book a description of "The Charismatization of the Economy in Ghana." We are interested in finding out whether what is happening in Western Kenya can be called a sample of the Charismatization of the economy, education, and health in Kenya. As has been rightly noted, charismatic churches in Ghana have become extremely influential on the public scene. This is so much so that, according to Gifford, next to the business generated from foreign aid, Christianity is the single biggest employer in Ghana's economy (see Gifford, p. 81). And as Katrien Pype notes, "Much money circulates in transnational networks that are established on Christian ties, in the acts of gift giving during prayer gatherings, as well as in the local media business whose growth depends to a great extent on these churches. Most importantly, charismatic leaders often become national figures, and thus attain political authority." This book contributes greatly to the continuing effort by scholars of African religion to understand how religion, politics, and the economy thrive together. "Scholars like Birgit Meyer, Rijk Van Dijk, David Martin, and David Mawell have already pointed to the charismatic re-signification of money and commodities." Gifford fills in one of the elements that have been missing in these studies. For in this book Gifford systematically locates "charismatic Christianity within larger national contexts" and explores the specific "dialectical relationship" between this type of Christianity with the local economies and politics of Accra, the capital city of Ghana. We hope that other scholars will see if Gifford's explorations and findings can be replicated in other parts of the country. We, in turn, hope to see whether similar findings emerge in a relatively rural region of Kenya—Western Province.

The research agenda for scholars interested in religion and development is extremely broad—and has been noted to be so by many writers. In a Memo titled "Africa: How and why is Faith Important and Relevant for Development?" Katherine Marshall captures this scope quite adequately. As she notes, religion matters for development because of several factors. First, it plays a significant role in the lives of an extremely large number of people in Africa. Second, most observers now concede that, in developing countries, and especially in Africa, a significant percentage of social services are administered (or rather, given out) by faith-based communities and organizations. Thus, she continues:

  The dynamic life of religion in Africa is relevant in many fields.
  It is important that we seek to understand better how changes in
   religiosity impact delivery of social services and economic
  development. Religiosity in Africa is the subject of commentary
  and scholarship in a number of disciplines, notably departments
  of theology and sociology/anthropology, but the subject of religiosity
  also features increasingly in economics and political science. Among
  topics of current focus are the rapid rise of evangelical churches,
  some very large indeed, and the impact of traditional practices on
  decision-making in many spheres, notably economic and
  political" (p. 9)

Indeed, there is a growing body of literature exploring how the beliefs of certain religious traditions impact the behavior of adherents with regard to HIV/AIDS. Still this is an area that calls for significantly more research (Marshall, 9). Marshall reminds us of the World Banks effort to encourage participation by local communities in the developing countries supported by its funds. These efforts seem to be uneven and not well documented. The facts on which one must build include the following:

  "[T]hroughout Africa and in many parts of Asia in recent years,
  the design of World Bank financed projects has reflected to some
  degree the views of local religious people and institutions as key
  sources of community level information and mobilization. At the
  country level there have also been increasing contacts through the
  PRSP consultation processes. In peace and reconciliation efforts
  in a number of conflict and post-conflict African countries, we
  have engaged in dialogue and worked with faith groups. Throughout
  these processes, it is important to note, there has been a tendency
  to bias Christian groups; where dialogue with the faiths has occurred
  for the Bank, it is until recently fallen short of true interfaith
  cooperation" (Marshall, p. 9).

Another important area of this paper which our study found was the contribution, role and performance of schools run by religious groups. Many scholars and individuals working with international agencies—such as the World Health Organization, the World Bank, and UNICEF —who are interested in advances in education and health find a significant lack of necessary information for assessing such performance. As Marshal puts it:

There is much interest in how schools throughout approach issues of pluralism and tolerance, with evident implications for reconciliation and development of citizen ethics. With large parts of health systems run by faith institutions, we can ask whether our dialogue at different levels (Vatican to village) is inclusive of these systems. This is of concern for HIV/AIDS but goes well beyond. We know that many faith groups run microfinance schemes, that the sponsor water projects, and that they manage land and forest resources, but beyond that our knowledge in patchy. And as we focus on social inclusion, gender, treatment of children, approaches to disabilities, and countless other issues we should be sure that the faith institutions that are actively engaged in the area are at the table (Marshall, p. 11).

One of the most interesting finding is the impact of the anti-intellectualism of many Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. This may be one reason why "testimony sessions" are usually held outside the main worship services of the Anglican Church. Historically, the Anglican Church has emphasized that in doing theology and conducting our individual and communal lives, we must rely on Scripture, Tradition, and Reason. While experience is valued, it does not ever override the other three. In contrast, in many Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, experience—quite often in the form of "a personal relationship with God"—often dictates what is valued. While Pentecostal and Charismatic churches have produced and nurtured some of the most outstanding intellectuals in many fields, in general, it is well documented that anti-intellectualism is rampant. On the other hand, it is also well documented that Africans value education highly. Does the continuing influence of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity lead to some sort of cognitive dissonance? Some Christians who belong to deeply Pentecostal and Charismatic churches find themselves having to leave their "home" churches. As

Olson states it:
Not all Pentecostals are guilty of anti-intellectualism, but that attitude seems to pervade the movement to some degree; it appears to be built into the movement's DNA and it is one of the movement's main appeals. It attracts people who are suspicious of the overreach of reason especially in religion and overreact to that at first sight. Many Pentecostal preachers find it necessary to denigrate education and intellectual endeavors in virtually every sermon.

The findings of this study seem to be in agreement with the previous ones which had revealed that the coming of the missionaries to Africa was a mixed blessing. Although there were many positive contributions, there were some negative consequences to the manner the gospel was introduced to Africa. One of the most positive contributions by missionaries was the introduction, construction, and running of educational and health centers. Many churches in Kenya have maintained this effort. However, there is emerging tendency/trend of the church leaders being out to exploit the generosity of the congregants to enrich themselves. This is a phenomenon that is a total departure from the norms of Kenyan society.

Conclusion

The introduction of the idea of the "prosperity gospel" can be detrimental on one hand, but generally the spirit-empowered religion breeds steadiness and the strength of character which enables individuals to contribute positively in terms of individual and communal healthcare, education, the reduction of drug and alcohol addiction, and the repudiation of political corruption.

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See, for example, Roger E. Olson, "Confessions of a Post-Pentecostal Believer in the Charismatic Gifts," *Criswell Theological Review,* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Fall 2006): 21-40. The phenomena of anti-intellectualism is particularly well documented (and challenged) by one the movements insiders in Rick M. Nanez, *Full Gospel, Fractured Minds* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2006).

Olson in "Confessions of a Post-Pentecostal Believer in the Charismatic Gifts" confesses that he is an example of those who found it hard to stay within the church he was born. Olson, p. 31.

Evolution of Shoes Culture in Africa

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Abstract

Shoes have always held a special status for humans. The design of shoes has varied enormously through time and from culture to culture. This not only denote creativity of the human being but also appreciation of modern technology. The objective of this paper was to highlight evolution of women shoes from pre-colonial culture to the present. Women's shoes come in more varieties and shapes in comparison to those for men. This study was based on secondary data and observations. The findings reveal that as time goes by resources for example leather, become scarce and this calls for more innovation in production of alternative materials like synthetics. Shoes are important in order to give unique and stylish look to the outfit. Similarly historical period, status, age and profession determine the shoes to be worn.

Introduction

Shoes have served as markers of gender, class, race, ethnicity, leisure, sophistication and a period in history (Beazley, 2009). They tell alot about the wearer, they provide a clue about the personality and sometimes the career of a person. Shoes might tell us whether a person is wealthy and we could make an estimate of a person's height by the size of the shoe. Over time, the shoes might tell us something about the wearer's foot structure and how he walks and stands. They are also used as an item of decoration. In the book of Exodus, 3:5, when God appeared to Moses in the burning bush, his first command was "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy ground" (Beazley, 2009).

Conversely, going barefoot has often demonstrated humility and piety in the presence of God. Hindu documents and Muslim traditions thousands of years old, warned/warn worshippers to remove their footwear before entering a shrine or place of worship (Straus, 1999). Thrown shoes hold a particular significance in the Arab cultures of North Africa and the Middle East. Shoes are generally taken off before entering a home and are considered very dirty. To hit someone with the sole of a shoe is not only an insult but equates him with the dirt and filth on the bottom of a shoe (Blauer, 1999).

Footwear has figured widely in mythology, folk stories and superstition. For example, it is a tradition among the Greeks to tie a boot to the back of the newlyweds' car as a good luck token (Straus, 1999). Aristocratic women owned as many as twenty pairs of shoes, with a style to match every occasion. Slaves were employed solely to carry a supply of their lady's shoes when she left home; assuring that she would be appropriately shod throughout her travels. The Chinese custom of binding women's feet to keep them small is many centuries old. Bound feet were thought to ensure faithfulness, since with such deformed feet the wife would supposedly find it difficult to travel very far on her own. In addition, people wear new shoes in New Year, meaning a new beginning of life. In Holland, if a man is struck by lightning, his relatives must bury all his shoes as soon as possible. This is the only way to prevent spread of supernatural power. However, the ancient Greek declares that the best treatment for stomach illness is to eat an old shoe's tongue. In Madagascar, people believe wearing shoes made of monkey's skin can cure

any disease (Wilson, 1969).

In the West, shoes have had a place in marriage ceremonies for many centuries. In some cultures, the bride's father threw his shoes at the newlyweds to signify the transfer of authority from father to husband. In Anglo-Saxon ceremonies, shoes were as indispensable as the wedding ring is today. Instead of exchanging rings with her betrothed, the bride customarily passed her shoes to her husband, who then tapped her on the head with a shoe (Hall, 2000).

Shoes in the Early Civilizations

Sandals were the very first shoes to grace human feet. This is way back in the Ice Age, 5,000,000 years ago, when the first people were still wearing animal skins. Ancient civilizations such as Egyptians, Chinese and Vikings made simple shoes to provide protection for people to move over rough terrain. Egyptians were the first civilization to create a sandal. Most ancient Egyptian sandals were crafted from intricately woven and braided papyrus leaves. The sandals were initially made from a footprint in wet sand. Braided papyrus was then molded into soles. The soles were made of cowhide and the shoes were filled with grass to keep the feet warm. Lengths of fur were attached sometimes to the leather soles and worn to protect the legs from the weather. The design of the men's shoes was given more attention than those of women. Women's feet were often hidden beneath long skirts (Bronwyn, 2000).

In Egypt the sandal demonstrated a person's rank in the society. Slaves either went barefoot or wore crude sandals made from palm leaves. Common citizens wore sandals of woven papyrus, consisting of a flat sole tied to the foot by a thong between the toes. But sandals with pointed toes were reserved only for the nobles like the Pharaohs, queens and princes. Red and yellow coloured sandals were reserved for this rank (Yue, 1970). Slate tables from the reign of Pharaoh Narmer (3000 BC) depict that the Pharaoh followed by a slave bearing his sandals. Both figures wore sandals; however a peaked toe on the Pharaoh's sandals marked the difference between the master and the slave. Egyptians often dyed the soles of their sandals and crafted right and left foot models (Bronwyn, 2000). Wealthy Egyptian women often adorned their sandals with jewels. Later Egyptians adopted new shoe styles which were brought back by travellers, traders and warriors. By around 1300 BC most Egyptians were wearing shoes and it was improper to walk barefoot outside and no upper class man or woman appeared barefoot in the streets. Similarly India, China and Japan introduced rice straw sandals. South American populations wore sandals made of sisal plant twine (Yue, 1970).

Jesus is known to have preferred particular type of sandals that enabled him to walk long distances in his mission during the Roman era. The sandals came to be known as "Jesus Sandals" These sandals have been in fashion to the present (Brooke, 1971). Elsewhere in Africa, communities made sandals using animal skins and adorned them with beads. For example, akala sandals made of rubber from worn out tyres were common with pastoral communities like Maasai. They were famous for their durability and toughness and were capable of surviving all climatic conditions (McDowell, 1994).

Egyptian sandal   *Jesus sandals*

Shoes in Pre- independent Africa

When Europeans established trade routes with Africa in the fifteenth century, European products, including shoes, entered Africa and many Africans began wearing Western style foot coverings. Africans also created their own slippers and leather sandals modeled on Western examples. Shoes were available mainly to the wealthiest Africans (Blauer, 1999). Among them include pumps, ballet flats and modern sandals. The name pump was first used in the 1500s, when strapless shoes without heels were worn by men and referred to as "pompes." In the 1500s, when the shoes were first worn, the easy-to-wear style was often seen on the feet of servants because they did not have the time or money for fussy buttons and laces. By twentieth Century however, things had changed dramatically and the classic style had become associated with style and glamour for women. Pumps are designed to be worn with almost anything, although they look best when worn with skirts, dresses or dress pants, and of course they accentuate the graceful curves of high arches (Linda, 1996).

Ballet flats are shoes with a very thin heel or the appearance of no heel at all. The style usually features a ribbon-like binding around the low tops of the slipper and may have a slight gathering at the top-front and a tiny, decorative string tie. Ballet slippers can be adjusted and tightened to the wearer's foot by a string. The ballet flats co-existed with the pumps. They were popular with both men and women. They only came out of fashion in the 17th and 18th centuries when the high-heeled shoe came into fashion. Today flats are of different colours for both men and women (Linda, 1996).

Sandals are still very popular today, with hiking sandals, flip flops, polo sport sandals, and lots of different women's and men's sandals. Sandals were not considered fashionable until the twentieth century. Today's sandals are designed for just about every purpose, including fashion and exercise. They have been modified and are made of soft materials at the top and the rubber as the sole. Here are samples of modern pumps, ballet flats and sandals respectively.

Pumps

Ballet Flats

Modern Sandals

Platforms also known as Disco Boots were worn in various cultures since ancient times for fashion or for added height. They were first worn in Europe in the 18th Century. Platforms enjoyed some popularity in the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom in the 1930s, 1940s, and very early 1950s, but not nearly to the extent of their popularity in the 1970s and 1980s, when the biggest, and most prolonged, platform shoe fad in United States of America history began at least as early as 1970 and continued through the late-1980s (Swann, 1982). At the beginning of the 1980s, they were worn primarily by young women in their teens and twenties, and occasionally by younger girls, older women, and particularly during the disco era by young men. Although they did provide added height without nearly the discomfort of spike heels, they seem to have been worn primarily for the sake of attracting attention. The entire sole of the shoe can be completely elevated, having a rubberized or cork bottom, or merely the toes and heels have a platform base. Heel sections are generally quite wide. Here are illustrations of a platform in the 1930s, 1960s and the current platforms respectively.

The word "moccasin" comes from an Algonquian word, also spelled mocasin, meaning a sturdy slipper-shaped type of shoe sewn from tanned leather. Moccasins were traditionally worn by native Americans as early as 1900 (Brooke, 1971). They were originally made of soft leather stitched together with sinew. Though the basic construction of Native American Indians moccasins was similar throughout North America, moccasin patterns were subtly different in nearly every tribe, and Indians could often tell each other's tribal affiliation simply from the design of their shoes. Tribal differences included not only the cut of the moccasins but also the extensive bead work, quill work, and painted designs many Indian people lavished on their shoes.

In some tribes hardened rawhide was used for the sole for added durability, and in others rabbit fur (or, later, sheepskin) was used to line the leather moccasins for added warmth. Indian women also wore moccasin boots sometimes, which were basically thigh-length. In Mesopotamia, (c. 1600-1200 BC) a type of soft shoes were worn by the mountain people who lived on the border of Iran. The soft shoe was made of wraparound leather, similar to a moccasin (McDonald, 2006). Similarly Heavier-duty boots called mukluks were the invention of the Eskimos, who made them of sealskin, fur, and reindeer hide. Mocassins were modified to loafers/slip-ons in the 1930s. They were originally worn by Norwegian farmers in Europe living in a cattle loafing area. Cobblers started making shoes based on this design and named them loafers. They began as casual shoes but have increased in popularity to be accepted as part of official wear (Hall, 2000).

Boots are shoes that cover above the ankle. They were worn in the 19th and 20th centuries by American Cowboys. They vary from length to shapes and even designs. This includes: Ankle boots, Full length boots, flat boots, Cow boy boots and hiking boots. They are more often worn in rainy seasons (McDonald, 2006).

Slide is a common term that refers to a shoe that is backless and open-toed. Slides originated in Europe in the late 19th Century. Generally all slides are a type of sandal. However slides can be high heeled and may cover nearly the entire foot from ankle to toe. It may have one or two straps. The term is descriptive in that this shoe is easy to slide on and off the foot when the wearer wants to do so. Slides are the best shoes to show off the perfect set of nails (Straus, 1999).

After Second World War natural textiles were replaced by man-made materials in the world since resources were scarce. The new materials were advertised as "miracles" because of how easy they were to care for no shrinking, no ironing and no staining. Plastic shoes were among the items made from these man-made materials. They mainly formed as sandals. A popular style called the 'peek a boo' featured a wide plastic strap over the front of the foot with a small opening at the front to show some of the woman's toe. By

Slides

the 1980s both children and women wore soft plastic sandals called jellies or sandak. Plastic shoes have remained popular into the 21st Century (Straus, 1999). Jelly shoes are an almost nationally recognized nostalgic symbol for childhood, particularly for people who grew up in the 1980s or 1990s. The shoes became significant for many because they represented a childhood memory or played a part in the growth of an entire generation (Blauer, 1999). Below is a contemporary jelly.

Shoes in the Contemporary Africa

With the coming of the missionaries in Africa, modern education was one of the benefits to the Africans who had to attend modern schools and acquire skills. Mary Jane which is round-toed, low-heeled shoe was/is worn by children to school (also known as Back to School). A distinctive feature of Mary Jane is the single or double strap that crosses the middle top of the foot. It comes in varying heights, colour and styles.

A high heel is footwear that raises the wearer's foot significantly higher than the toes. High heels are considered to be between 1 and 3.5 inches. The high heels originated from ancient Egypt dating back from 3500 B.C. They were worn mostly by the nobles. In addition, Egyptian butchers wore heels to help them walk above the dead beasts (McDowell, 1994). In ancient Rome where sex trade was legal female prostitutes were identified by their high heels. During the Middle Ages both men and women wore patterns of wooden soles to keep them out of the mud. By the late 17th Century, men's heels were commonly between three to four inches high while women wore four inches. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries heels became synonymous to wealth and nobility. In the late 18th Century, the practice of wearing heels fell into decline in the world due to its association with wealth and aristocracy. Flat shoes and sandals were worn by both sexes. The heels resurfaced in fashion during the late 19th Century among women. This went on and by the 20th Century the shape of the heel changed from blocks in the 1970s to tapered in the 1990s.

Today high heels are typically worn by women, with heights varying from a cone: which is a round heel that is broad where it meets the sole of the shoe and narrower at the point of contact with the ground; a kitten is a short, slim heel with maximum height of 2 inches or less. They are not necessarily attractive on the foot though (Njoroge, 2011). A prism is three flat sides that form a triangle at the point of contact with ground. A sling

back is backless, has a strap that crosses behind the heel or ankle and has a height of 1 to 2 inches, French heels are shoes with a medium height, having a curved heel that is somewhat chunkier than a Kitten heel (Mcdowell, 1994). Clogs are excellent way to wear the maxi dress or skirt over the weekend (Njoroge, 2011). Heels make the wearer appear taller, make legs appear longer and make the foot appear smaller. However they can cause foot pain, increase the likelihood of sprains and fractures, make calves look more rigid and sinewy, can create foot deformities, shorten the wearer's stride and can cause unsteady gait (McDonald, 2006). The comfort of the heels mainly depends on one's feet. Most women complain that the heels they have cannot walk for long distances. Diversity is the key when you want to look good and comfortable in heels (Mwai, 2011). Here are examples of the heels.

Kitten

Wedges have been around since the 1930s. The first wedges did not have a distinct heel and had cellophane straps they were designed by an Italian designer Salvatore Ferragamo. He designed the orthopedic wedge in 1935 and the wedge heel in 1936 (McDowell, 1989). Ferragamo used cork and wood because of a leather and rubber shortage. Cork was more popular than wood because it was lighter. The cork sole was also sturdy and durable. Wedges grew in popularity during the Second World War because of the lack of leather and rubber available in the United States. Leather and rubber were needed for the war effort. Wedges then were popular for women and reached up to 5 inches during this time period. Wedges resurfaced in the

Prism/Spool

Sling back

Clogs/Mules

Cone

1970s. Designs were rounder, more colourful and outrageous. One design even allowed for a goldfish to live in the heel. Men and women wore platform wedges, unlike during World War II when it was strictly a women's fashion. Wedges came back in style in the 1990s. Wedge sneakers first appeared in parties and entertainment joints then moved on toward the rest of the world. Currently wedges range from boots, high heel and sandals. Wedge heels offer more support than stilettos or high heels. Balance is easier on a wedge, reducing the number of falls that accompany high heels. Wedges offer more arch support, reducing foot and ankle problems (Ambrose, 1999). A contemporary wedge.

The word stiletto is derived from stylus, meaning a pin or stalk. It is also the Italian word for small dagger with a slender, tapering blade (Mitchell, 1997). The design of the stiletto heel originally came up in the late 1950s. It was designed by an American; Roger Vivier. The stiletto heel came with the advent of technology using a supporting metal shaft or stem embedded into the heel, instead of wood or other weaker materials that required a wide heel (Beazley, 2009). As time went on, stiletto heels became known more for their erotic nature than for their ability to make height. After an initial wave of popularity in the 1950s, they reached their most refined shape in the early 1960s, when the toes of the shoes which bore them became as slender and elongated as the stiletto heels themselves. As a result of the overall sharpness of the outline, the whole shoe was referred to as a "stiletto", not just the heel. Although they officially faded from the scene in the 196o's a version of the stiletto heel was reintroduced in the 1970s and 80s which were round-toe shoes with slightly thicker semi-stiletto heels, often very high in an attempt to convey slenderness. They were frequently worn at the office with wide-shouldered suits (McDowell, 1994).

The style survived through much of the 1980s but almost completely disappeared during the 1990s, when women took to wearing shoes with thick, block heels. However, the slender stiletto heel staged a major comeback after 2000, when young women adopted the style for dressing up office wear or adding a feminine touch to casual wear, like jeans. Stiletto heels are often considered to be a seductive item of clothing, and often feature in popular culture. Stilettos give the optical illusion of a longer, slimmer leg, a smaller foot, and a greater overall height. They also alter the wearer's posture and gait, flexing the calf muscles, and making the bust and buttocks more prominent (Linda, 1996). Here is an example of a stiletto heel.

The history of gladiator shoes date back to ancient culture of the Greeks and the Romans. Primarily loved and worn by women and were essentially flat. They were known for their comfort and were designed to be worn in warm or pleasant climate. Their many straps formed a distinct 'T' and came to be known as gladiator shoes. Romans and Greeks used them while working and even during wars. With modernization, the gladiators too changed and are now available in a lot of variations that can be no longer associated with the

gladiators used in the ancient years- for example high heeled gladiators and gladiators with zippers (Wilson, 1969). There has been a variation even in the basic material used. Whereas, in olden times, gladiators were made of leather, the modern ones are made of leather, synthetic leather and plastic. While the focus of the ancient gladiators was more on comfort, today's gladiators are trendy, in addition to being comfortable. In the year 2008, gladiator shoes topped the fashion charts and have been a rage ever since. The intricate designs which the criss-cross straps form on the legs, add enormous beauty to the legs of the wearer. The outfit that goes best with gladiator shoes is a short flowing skirt, pencil skirt or trouser (Christdean, 2008).

Conclusion
Shoes have a long history in Africa. Beside their actual purpose of shielding the feet, it is the shoes of an individual or group that we get to learn the monetary value, fashion and style. Shoes tell a story of the journey through which they have travelled. They link us to the period from which they come from and help us compare periods of history.

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Existential Fulfillment and Teacher Burnout

James Kay

Abstract

The teaching profession is one of the most visible in the world. Although the teaching role has traditionally been one of nurturing and developing students' potential, teachers' work today comprises a complex mix of various demanding roles that raise concerns about teacher well-being and competence. Regardless of significant improvements in pedagogical practices, the gap between the public's expectations of education and the teachers' ability to deliver that education continues to widen, resulting in teacher burnout. In research burnout has been related to many person-specific variables; one of these, the variable of existential fulfillment, has received very little attention thus far. The aim of this paper was to explore the relationship between existential fulfilment and teacher burnout. Existential fulfilment was made operational by means of the Existential Fulfilment Scale, which distinguishes between three dimensions: self-acceptance, self-actualization, and self-transcendence. A confirmatory factor analysis revealed a three dimensional construct with interdependent dimensions. Burnout was measured by the Dutch version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory for teachers. Negative relationships between the existential fulfilment dimensions on the one hand and the burnout dimensions exhaustion and cynicism on the other were hypothesized, as well as positive relationships between the existential fulfilment dimensions and the burnout dimension professional efficacy. The relationships between self-transcendence and exhaustion and self-transcendence and cynicism, appeared not to be significant. The inquiry demonstrated the importance of existential fulfillment for the prevalence and prevention of burnout among teachers.

Key words: Existential Fulfillment; self-acceptance; self-actualization; self-transcendence; Burnout, Teachers

Introduction

Burnout is a psychological syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and a sense of low personal accomplishment that can occur among individuals who work with other people in some capacity (Maslach, Jackson & Leiter, 1996). It is associated with decreased job performance (Brouwers & Tomic, 2000; Evers, Brouwers & Tomic, 2002), reduced job commitment and predicts low career satisfaction (Lemkau, Rafferty & Gordon, 1994), and stress-related health problems (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001). Längle (2003) explained the genesis of burnout by referring to the concept of existential vacuum and fulfillment. Burnout can be seen as a special form of existential vacuum, or as a deficit of fulfillment, which entails a loss of interest, a lack of initiative, and emotional exhaustion. Burned-out professionals are described as being extrinsically focused on objectives like influence, income, recognition, appreciation, and social acceptance that prevent them from freely dedicating themselves to their job and truly accepting the related responsibility.

Burnout has been exposed in research as a serious occupational hazard among school teachers (Van Horn, Calje´, Schreurs & Schaufeli, 1997). The stress levels among teachers are found to surpass the average levels among people working in other client-related professions (Travers & Cooper, 1993), and the correlations between work load,

stress and burnout symptoms are widely recognized (Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998). Three dimensions have been identified which together contribute to the syndrome: emotional exhaustion, or feeling of total mental and emotional loss; cynicism, or a mental distance toward work and the people with whom one works (initially labelled as depersonalization); and lack of efficacy, or perceived own competence (initially labelled reduced personal accomplishment) (Tomi'c & Tomi'c, 2008). Besides environmental variables that predict burnout phenomena, for example workload, social support and school administration, personality factors have also been identified as significant in the research on teacher burnout; these include personality traits (Cano-Garcia, Padilla-Muñoz, & Carrasco-Ortiz, 2005), perceived self-efficacy (Brouwers & Tomi'c, 2000; Evers, Brouwers, & Tomi'c, 2002), existential fulfillment (Tomi'c, Evers, & Brouwers, 2004), constructive thinking (Evers, Tomi'c, & Brouwers, 2005), and work engagement (Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006).

The concept of existential fulfillment was introduced by Viktor Frankl's adepts (Längle, Orgler & Kundi, 2003). Frankl (1962) coined the term 'existential vacuum' for a mode of existence without any life-meaning and purpose, characterized by boredom and attempts to escape this by distraction, and prone to neuroticism. The opposite, existential fulfillment, refers to a way of life full of meaning and purpose, and reveals an existential psychological approach to life (Loonstra, Brouwers & Tomic, 2007). The construct of existential fulfillment reveals an existential psychological approach to life. Characteristic of existential psychology is the attention paid to the boundary experiences of human beings as determinants of human existence (Yalom, 1980).

As human beings, teachers' existence is confronted with several existential boundaries that evoke psychological conflicts that they have to overcome to obtain a fulfilled existence. They have to accept their own mortality, the limitations of their potentialities, as well as their being only a part of reality. They have to be eager to explore and develop their limited potentialities, and they have to recognize the otherness of the outer world and relate themselves to it. In fulfilling these existential tasks, people find life-meaning, and a fulfilled existence. The three existential tasks can be summarized as self-acceptance, self-actualization, and self-transcendence. These three notions can be interpreted as basic attitudes to pursue existential fulfillment, and to overcome the psychological conflicts caused by human limitedness. A teacher who accepts the self accepts his or her potentialities and intrinsic limitations. One who actualizes the self explores and develops his or her possibilities and potentialities for the sake of personal growth in understanding and abilities. The one who transcends the self recognizes the otherness of the reality beyond the self, looking for respectful relationships with it, deriving life-meaning from these relationships, feeling responsible for them, feeling part of a larger whole, distinguishing interests that surpass self-interests, and being able to see the self in perspective of the outer reality (Loonstra, Brouwers & Tomic 2007).

Teachers need to believe that they are significant in the larger scene of things. In a more and more secularized environment work has become a frequently chosen alternative source of meaning. According to Pines (1996) this happens particularly in the lives of idealistic and highly motivated individuals. They work hard because they expect their work to make their lives matter in the larger scheme of things and give meaning to their existence. Pines (1993) asserts that the cause of burnout lies in our need to believe that our lives are meaningful and that the things we do are useful and important. When

educators fail in these efforts, they are prone to burnout which emerges out of the experience of meaninglessness. This framework presents burnout as a result of a gradual disillusionment in a quest to derive a sense of existential significance from work.

Humanistic psychology, being cognate to existential psychology, has taken due note to the ideas of self-acceptance and self-actualization. The first basic attitude of self-acceptance or authenticity is opposed to self-alienation. Fromm (1962) borrows the term 'alienation' from Marxist social theory, to indicate not only social but also psychological estrangement. He distinguishes two modes of existing: the being mode and, as its opposite, the having mode (Fromm, 1976). The being mode points towards self-acceptance, the having mode is characterized by self-alienation: a way of life determined by possession, a consumptive lifestyle, jealousy and fear of loss. In order to pass from the having mode into the being mode, life has to be freed from its contradictions and irrationality occurring in the having mode. For Rogers (1961) self-acceptation is frustrated by a behaviour in which individuals pursue values, which will bring social approval, affection, and esteem. In this way they try to 'buy love' (Rogers, 1964).

Similarly, Maslow (1943) views self-actualization as the pinnacle of the hierarchy of human needs and defines it as the desire for self-fulfilment, and the tendency to become more and more who one is. Among the features of an actualized self he reckons an efficient perception of reality, acceptance of the self, others, and nature, spontaneity, a problem-centred, rather than an ego centred approach, autonomy, peak experiences, community feeling, and creativeness (Maslow, 1970). Fromm, (1947) is the same, but uses the term 'self-realization'; in it the total personality is involved, by the active expression of both emotional and intellectual potentialities. In line with this view, Rogers (1961) identifies self-actualization as the growth tendency of the individual. It is the urge to express and activate all the innate capacities, become autonomous, and mature. In more recent inquiry and literature these theoretical impulses have been adopted and more developed. Sheldon and Kasser (1995) relate 'personality integration' to the pursuit of intrinsic goals that are assumed to fulfil people's psychological needs. Deci and Ryan (2000) introduce the self-determination theory, which maintains that an understanding of human motivation requires a consideration of innate psychological conditions for competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Sheldon (2001) extends it to a self-concordance model that accounts for the individuals' striving for personal meaning. In this context, words like authentic becoming (Kasser & Sheldon, 2004) are used to characterize the concept.

The third concept playing a part in connection with existential fulfilment is the concept of self-transcendence. Fromm (1959) uses the notion to explain that human individuals have the need to unite themselves with the world and the need for relatedness. Frankl (1962) considers self-transcendence as the essence of human existence. This is linked up with the spiritual dimension of human beings that distinguishes mankind from all other living organisms. This spiritual ability enables the individual to make intentional contacts with the world beyond the self, which gives ultimate meaning to life (Loonstra, Brouwers & Tomic, 2009). From a developmental perspective Reed (1991) defines self-transcendence as the expansion of one's conceptual boundaries, inwardly through introspective activities, outwardly through concerns about others' welfare, and temporally by integrating perceptions of one's past and future to enhance the present. To Cloninger, Svrakic and Przybeck (1993) self-transcendence is a personality trait, consisting of a sense of wholeness, a consciousness of extraordinary powers, and flashes of insight.

In this diversity of interpretations the one by Frankl (1962) is preferable, for it accounts for the otherness of the transcendent reality. In the encounter the outer world appeals to the subject to respond. This element is lacking in the presentations by Reed (1991) and Cloninger et al. (1993), who see self-transcendence as a kind of self-expansion, and as a sort of sixth sense, respectively. Batson and Stocks, (2004) notice the same shortfall of lacking otherness with Maslow. They recall that Maslow hinted at the possibility of transcendence, but that he conceived it as a 'need for transcendence', consistent with his emphasis on personal needs. The same applies to Fromm (1959). Real self-transcendence, however, should be a qualitatively different process, because it transcends personal needs. The authors suggest that the self-transcendent function might be the most promising for shedding new light on the nature of the human psyche.

Intervention programmes focusing on personality factors are likely to be more effective than those focusing on environmental conditions because they appear to be more easily altered than organizational factors (Tomic et al., 2004). Among the personality factors, the concept of perceived self-efficacy is compatible with constructive thinking. Evers et al. (2005) argue that constructive thinking is more fundamental to an individual than are coping strategies, because it relates to underlying thought patterns. In the same way, it can be argued that the existential level of an individual is more fundamental than his or her cognitive level, because the former affects basic motivations and attitudes towards life with its possibilities and limitations. Constructive thinking therefore appears to be rooted in existential fulfilment, which has been suggested to play an important role in teacher burnout (Längle, 2003).

Method
Participants
A 40-item, self-administered survey was administered to 100 randomly selected teachers in from schools in Nakuru County. The survey addressed topics in the following order: demographic characteristics (gender, age, lessons taught per week and years of work experience), existence scale, and burnout inventory. The purpose of the study as explained to the respondents was to better understand teachers' feelings of personal fulfilment in one's existence and teacher well-being. They were also informed that participation was elective and that responses would be anonymous. Teachers were blinded to any specific hypothesis of the study, and burnout was not mentioned in the briefing. In total 75 respondents fully responded to the questionnaire 75%, which is not only very good for survey research according to Babbie (2006), but also in accordance with the findings of Asch et al, (1997), Jedrziewski and Christakis, (1997). The number of respondents was 44 (37.33%) male and 47 (62.67%) female teachers with a mean age of 33.46. There was no significant difference concerning the variable "age" of the 75 respondents.

Instruments
Existential fulfilment, composed of the three dimensions self-acceptance, self-actualization, and self-transcendence, was measured by means of the Existential Fulfilment Scale (EFS) (Loonstra et al., 2007). The EFS consists of 15 items, 5 items for each dimension, measured on a 5-point Likert scale, running from 0 to 4, meaning 'not at all' to 'fully' relevant to me. The five items about self-acceptance refer to the urge to prove oneself to others, rejection of the self, inner uncertainty, and psychological reliance. For example: 'Often I do things more because I have to than because I want

to.' The scores were recorded in order to use them as indications of self-acceptance. The self-actualization items are about intrinsic motivation, the passion of one's own ideals, and feeling free to calmly pursue one's goals. One item is, for instance: 'I remain motivated to go on, even when things are going against me.' The items regarding self-transcendence are about feeling part of a larger, meaningful totality, conceiving a sense of life that transcends personal interests, and being convinced that life is good for something, conceptualized as self-transcendence.

Burnout was measured with the standardized educator version of Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach, Jackson & Leiter, 1986). The MBI (20 items) consists of 3 sub-scales: emotional exhaustion (8 items), e.g. "Working with people all day is really a strain for me"; depersonalization (5 items), e.g. "I don't really care what happens to some of the young residents; and personal accomplishment (7 items), e.g. "I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job". Teachers responded on a 7-point scale, from "never" to "always". MBI reliability tests (Schaufeli, 1990) showed that the emotional exhaustion sub-scale is the most reliable of the three; Cronbach's alphas vary between .80 and .90. The other two sub-scales appeared to have Cronbach's alphas of between .70 and .80, which may be regarded as sufficient for research purposes according to Nunnally and Bernstein (1994).

The current study generated three hypotheses that were broken down into three statements each. H01. Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict lower scores on the burnout dimension mental exhaustion. This hypothesis was subdivided along the lines of the three dimensions of existential fulfilment: H01a - higher degrees of self-acceptance induce lower scores on mental exhaustion. H01b - higher degrees of self-actualization induce lower scores on mental exhaustion. H01c - higher degrees of self-transcendence correlate with lower degrees of exhaustion. H02: Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict lower scores on the burnout dimension cynicism. The dependent hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c maintain that higher scores on the three dimensions of fulfilment, i.e. self-acceptance, self-actualization, and self-transcendence, bring about lower scores on cynicism. H03: Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict higher scores on the burnout dimension professional efficacy. The related hypotheses 3a, 3b, and 3c state that higher scores on the three dimensions of fulfilment are accompanied by higher scores on efficacy.

Results

The lowest value of the standardized regression coefficients of the three-factor correlated model was .49, which implies that the items loaded well on the factors in question. After scaling, the means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations were computed. Reliability analysis resulted in Cronbach's Alphas of .91 for exhaustion, .66 for cynicism, .79 for professional efficacy, .78 for self-acceptance, .71 for self-actualization, and .86 for self-transcendence. The three existential fulfillment factors were significantly and positively related to each other, except for the relationship between self-acceptance and self-transcendence. Self-acceptance as well as self-actualization was significantly and negatively related to the cynicism and exhaustion dimensions of burnout, and significantly but positively related to efficacy. Self-transcendence showed to be significantly and negatively related to cynicism and significantly and positively related to efficacy, but showed no significant relationship to exhaustion. The total number of lessons per week seemed only to be significantly and positively related to the burnout dimensions, but not to the existential fulfilment factors. Although scores on the exhaustion and efficacy dimensions of burnout as well as the three existential fulfilment factors showed no significant gender differences, male teachers had significantly higher scores on cynicism than their female colleagues.

Means and standard deviations of the variables and correlations between the variables (N = 100)

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender	-	-	-								
2. Age	35.21	8.39	-.11*	-							
3. Years of Teaching	14.64	10.91	-.14**	.68**	-						
4. Teaching Lessons per Week	26.20	4.34	-.26**	.07	.07	-					
5. Self-Acceptance	2.81	.77	-.08	.07	.07	-.07	-				
6. Self-Actualization	2.56	.67	.06	07	-.01	.00	.46**	-			
7. Self-Transcendence	2.24	1.05	.09	-.01	-.07	-.06	.03	.37**	-		
5. Emotional Exhaustion	2.03	1.24	-.01	.03	.05	.11*	-.58**	-.38**	-.05	-	
6. Depersonalization	1.08	.82	-.20**	.04	.04	.11*	-.43**	-.29**	-.11*	.52**	-
7. Personal Accomplishment	4.20	.83	.02	-.05	-.07	.11*	.32**	.47**	.25**	-.27**	-.33**

* p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 1 presents the mean scores, standard deviations and correlations between the three existence sub-scales and three burnout dimensions.

Discussion

All three main hypotheses on the relationships between the existential fulfilment dimensions and symptoms of burnout were confirmed. H01: Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict lower scores on the burnout dimension mental exhaustion. People who accept themselves and their limitations are less dependent on the acceptance, recognition and appreciation of others. They spend less energy satisfying others and therefore do not run the risk of premature exhaustion. Self-actualization is motivated by internal drives instead of external obligations, work engagement correlates negatively with exhaustion (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). This is suggested by the reflection that self-transcendence supposes relationships that are inspiring instead of exhausting.

H02: Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict lower scores on the burnout dimension cynicism. Cynicism is caused by job frustration. Lack of self-acceptance makes people rely more heavily on the approval of others. If they fail to gain such approval, frustration follows, leading to cynicism. If the job does not make it possible to actualize one's opportunities, self-actualization may function as an inner drive that subordinates the job to a comprehensive life project of self-realization. Without such a drive, frustration may once again result. And finally, if self-transcendence is low, there is only a faint notion of meaning and value beyond the self, which fosters cynicism.

H03: Higher degrees of existential fulfilment predict higher scores on the burnout dimension professional efficacy. People who accept themselves and their limitations are aware of their finite possibilities and believe in their efficacy within these limitations. Moreover, teachers who actualize their opportunities are self-confident in exploiting their potential, which is a sign of efficacy. Finally, self-transcendence, the sense of meaning in the world beyond the self, may serve as a source of inspiration and strength when performing one's duties. It is theoretically important to expand burnout research to a significant plausible factor. Existential fulfilment may contribute to the theory of the onset of burnout among teachers. An adequate theory is of practical value and a prerequisite for developing effective interventions for preventing and alleviating burnout complaints among these professionals. Existential fulfilment explained a significant percentage of the burnout.

Description of Nakuru Municipality

Mensions exhaustion, cynicism and professional efficiency. There was negative correlation between exhaustion and cynicism and existential fulfilment, and positive correlation between efficacy and existential fulfilment. Confirmation of relationships between the existential fulfilment and burnout dimensions can be explained as follows. Teachers who accept themselves and their limitations to some extent do not lose much energy in creating situations in which they receive an amount of extra appreciation they required. Rather, they can concentrate themselves more fully on the job they have to do, and have therefore more chance to actualize themselves in the challenges of working with students and learning objectives. The internal drive, typical for self-actualized individuals, is related to a greater amount of work engagement, which is found to be protective for the arising of mental exhaustion as confirmed by Laschinger, Wong, and

Gredo (2006) and Schaufeli and Bakker (2004). Self-acceptance and self-actualization contributed significantly to explaining the variance of exhaustion, cynicism, and professional efficacy. This confirms sub-hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b. Although self-acceptance and self-actualization were both related to burnout, self-transcendence did not contribute to explaining the variance of both exhaustion and cynicism, so sub-hypotheses 1c and 2c were not confirmed. Hypothesis 3c has been confirmed, indicating that self-transcendence contributed significantly to explaining the variance of professional efficacy.

It was not clear why no relationship was found between self-transcendence and the burnout dimension exhaustion and cynicism. The research rationalized that it is private conviction that fosters a sense of meaning in life, with no impact on working life. Still, self-transcendence does relate to professional efficacy. It may be that self-transcendence enhances self-confidence, which in its turn promotes efficacy even in a professional context. However, self-acceptance and self-actualization were found to affect the burnout dimensions exhaustion and cynicism, which implies that these fulfilment dimensions influence the professional situation more than self-transcendence does. Personal experience is so closely involved in self-acceptance and self-actualization that it is directly related to the measures of exhaustion and cynicism.

There was a statistically significant observed association between existential fulfilment and teacher burnout that was large enough to suggest that the findings could be meaningful. The present study established that existential fulfilment is strongly negatively correlated with burnout dimensions. A high level of existential fulfilment predicts low burnout scores. The study has confirmed the influence of existential fulfilment on the prevalence of teacher burnout, which was observed in some studies by Nindl (2001) and Tomic et al. (2004).

Results showed that existential fulfilment – self-distance and self-transcendence – is significantly negatively related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and positively to reduced personal accomplishment. These findings are in agreement with Langle's (2003) conception of burnout and existential meaning. The present study also confirms Karazman's (1994) research on female Austrian physicians. Nindl (2001) examined the relationship between existential fulfilment and three dimensions of teacher burnout. He observed significant negative correlations between the three dimensions of existential fulfilment and emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. These results support the findings in this study.

Future longitudinal studies are required to evaluate the possibility of a causal relationship between existential fulfilment and teacher burnout. In addition to longitudinal studies, it is recommended to investigate causal relationships using experimental designs in order to test the psychological impact of interventions. Increased understanding of existential fulfilment – self-distance, self-transcendence, freedom and responsibility – that lead to teacher burnout seems to be essential. Therefore, it is important to conduct future studies, with a wider scope, which hopefully replicate our findings. The present study shows that existential fulfilment in one's existence was associated with burnout dimensions. Further investigation of the prevalence, causes, consequences, and management of teacher burnout is needed.

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Multiple Literacies in Rural Kenya: The Case of Murugi Villagers, Maara District
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Abstract

This paper presents the results an investigation on the practice of multiple illiteracies among villagers in rural Kenya with special reference to Maara district. It explains the inspiration of the research as assertions that Kenyans stop to read immediately they are through with formal schooling, implying that they are bound to relapse into illiteracy. However, the paper contests this postulation by arguing that it is based on the psychological approach to literacy, which is linear. It presents results of a research conducted in Murugi villages, Maara district, Kenya; which showed that multiple literacies are vivacious among ex-students. The paper further shows the ways in which these literacies are practised. A word of caution is made that literacies are not conspicuous because they are situated on socioeconomic ventures of the people, and can only be unearthed through such exercises as research. The paper advises against reifying school or dominant literacy at the expense of multiple literacies, which could be typical of the everyday lives of many people in rural areas. It suggests that by recognising multiple literacies, society will not only be able to empower people who practice them, but will also be reaping one more epistemological resource, besides the school literacy.

Introduction

Since independence in 1963, the Kenyan government has invested a lot of resources and manpower to make Kenyans literate. The goals of this campaign were articulated in the Kenya Sessional Paper No. 10, 1965. The paper spelt out its objectives as to eradicate three vital enemies: Illiteracy, poverty and disease. Prior to this, there was indigenous learning, which was mainly disseminated through participant observation from one generation to another (Metinhoue, 1997). However, the advent of colonialism brought literacy education, which was taught guardedly in accordance with the interests of the missionaries, administrators and settlers. Upon independence, a vivacious campaign was mounted in a bid to realise a high literacy turnover. Literacy promotion was certainly informed by the principle that literacy was a prerequisite for people's psychosocial developments. It was also occasioned by the 1964 UNESCO's concern over the social, political, intellectual and economic problems stemming from illiteracy, necessitating measures to curb it (Verhoeven, 1994).

According to Barton (1994a) and Street (1995), it has generally been held that developing countries must be brought to at least 40 percent literacy in their populations, if they are to realise social progress in form of modernization, industrialisation and in the contribution of World economic order. The literacy that was being promoted was functional in that it entailed learning to read and write as a preparation for vocational training and for self advancement (Verhoeven, 1994). This is understandable putting into consideration that to date, levels of literacy are deemed as indices of social and economic development in most parts of the world. The Kenyan government efforts to promote literacy among its

citizens have significantly paid off since statistics show that over 65 % of the population is literate (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2008). However, literacy acquisition occurred at a price. While formal literacy became the norm, indigenous forms of education gradually got stultified.

The goal of formal literacy which replaced the customary African education was not simply to make people know how to read. Salinas (1990, 43) argues that "... the ability to read is in itself only a potential state. To know how to read is one thing, but to actually read is another." The literate were expected to continue reading all through their lives in order to acquire more knowledge and skills, and consequently become more productive members of society. In spite of the apparent success of literacy campaigns in Kenya, scholars decry the dearth of the same when they claim that the literate stop to read immediately they are through with formal schooling (Chakava 1988, Mazrui & Mazrui 1995, Mbae 2004). They warn that if poor reading habits are not checked, the literate stand to relapse into illiteracy, yet they cannot recourse to indigenous education since it has been eliminated by formal schooling. Illiteracy is feared because it is purported to be an index of poverty and disease (Silvain 1990, Verhoeven, 1994).

There is nonetheless a flip side to the conceptualisation of literacy from the psychological premise. Unlike scholars who hold that literacy skills are rendered into disuse after former schooling, there are other scholars who assert that such a postulation is hollow. They stress that literacy is not a single variable as is normally articulated in school circles, but a range of practices which are carried out even out-of-school (Graff 1987, Street 1988, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Camitta 1993, Barton 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Barton and Hamilton 2000, Collins and Blot 2003). They argue that scholars who treat literacy as a single variable either ignore or are oblivious to the existence of multiple literacies, whose practices may be different from those of the school literacy.

It is mainly as a result of the foregoing arguments that this study set out to investigate the literacy practices of former students among villagers in Murugi location, Maara District, in Kenya. It was also inspired by the fact that national and international literacy campaigns have been documented as willingly or inadvertently failing to recognize that local people, to whom they take literacy, already have some form of literacy practices (Barton 1991, Street 1994a). In this case, such campaigns fail to build upon what people have already, while approaching them as if they are in a literacy vacuum. The study postulated that villagers in Murugi Location were not apt to reverse into illiteracy considering that they were involved in literacies, which were however not recognised by the government, agencies and other many proponents of the single-literacy model

Methodology
An ethnography study was conducted among villagers in Murugi Location for a period of 6 months between 2007 and 2008. Murugi Location comprises of six villages: Gantaraki, Gitombani, Kianjagi, Kiriani, Munga and Kithare. Figure 1 shows the locality of Murugi Location on the map of Kenya.
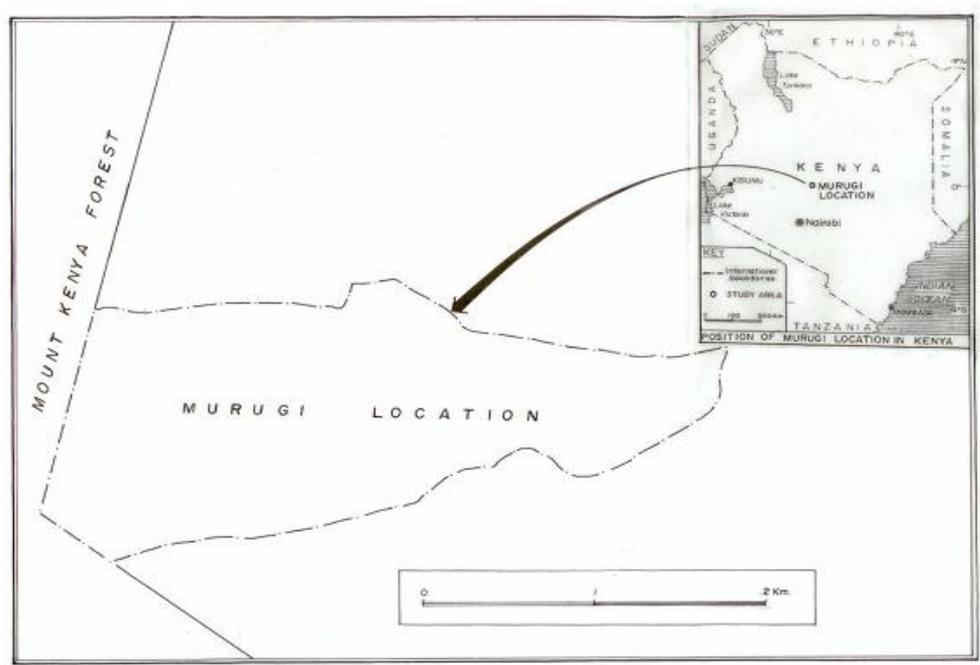
Figure 1: Murugi Location on the map of Kenya

The research was guided by the questions whether ex-student villagers practised literacies, and if so, how they were practised. It entailed studying the daily lives of the villagers as a group culture. To facilitate this, it was found necessary to live, participate and observe what the villagers did in their daily lives. The goal was to describe the social activities of the villagers from an epic or insider's point of view. The study involved a triangulation of methods such as in-depth interviews, literacy diaries, literacy documents, field notes and participant observation. However, in this paper, the results that are presented are those that were obtained from the interviews.

Interview questions were largely generated from the diaries entries. In this case, the interviews were rather 'home-grown,' putting into account that they were informed by the material that had come from the villagers themselves. A total of 30 interviews were carried out, 24 with the villagers and 6 with careerists in the book industry, who were sourced from urban centres for comparative reasons. This dichotomy was necessitated by the fact that Barton (1994a) observes that literacy is normally characterised by everyday theories of lay people and specialists. He argues that though the two theoretical binaries tend to overlap sometimes, the professional ones are more compact and enjoy higher status and influence as a result of several factors, their appearance in print form being one. Nonetheless, this paper presents results that were obtained from interviews with the 24 villagers in line with topic.

Results and Discussions
Data Analysis
Data analysis was done in accordance with the methods that were employed in conducting fieldwork. In this case, the analysis involved triangulation, whereby there was gathering

and analysis of data from more than one source in order to gain a comprehensive perspective of the situation that was being investigated. Triangulation was done at the levels of data source and respondents, the methods of gathering it and through qualitative and quantitative approaches. To this end, it was possible to uncover varied strands from the data which offered different insights and views. The interviews were subjected to analysis in connection with the research questions.

The units of analysis were keywords, sentences, literacy practices and literacy events; which provided a framework of literacies which were practised in the villages. Identification of such aspects also included relating to precedence such as Street's (1988) identification of maktab literacy in Iran's villages, as well as personal ingenuity. Literacies were also identified in view of the definition of literacy in New Literacy Studies as already mentioned. Besides the use of the analytical frame for identifying prominent patterns in the data, the analysis also included comparing and contrasting, clustering, counting and subsuming a maze of particulars into the general few. Salient issues on each of the data category were identified. These included themes, ideas, suggestions, propositions and hunches, as well as the choice and usage of available languages by the respondents. After an evaluation of all these factors, several results emerged.

The Practice and Invisibility of Literacies

In view of research question 1, the interviews revealed that the villagers practised several literacies. Three types of literacies were identified, each bearing one or several strands. The first was communal literacy which entailed culinary, health, familial, legal, religious and self-help strands. There was also economic literacy which comprised of agriculture, business and shopping strands; while there was also leisure and media literacy, comprising both leisure and media strands.

The literacies were found to be situated on the socioeconomic activities of the people such as weddings, land disputes, farming, self-help groups or church activities. For this reason, it was established that the literacies tend to be invisible and demand unpacking, for example through research to be noticeable. Though this research cannot be tendered as representing other regions in Kenya, the invisibility of the villagers literacies may nonetheless explain why there could be assertions to the effect that that Kenyans stop reading immediately they are through with formal schooling (Chakava, 1988, Mazrui & Mazrui, 1995, Mbae, 2004).

The invisibility was found to be at variance with the conceptualisation of the first research question considering that villagers' literacies are embedded in socioeconomic activities, and are never on the surface. In this case, research question 1 was found to be misplaced putting into account that it treated multiple literacies as full-fledging entities, but the results showed that they were etched on valuable societal undertakings. This tallies with Barton (1994a, 49), observation that "in general, people do not read in order to read, nor write in order to write; rather, people read and write in order to do other things." In a similar token, the literacies were found to be rather tenuous considering that they were never the villagers priorities, but were simply used as tools for attaining particular socioeconomic benefits. It was established that priorities of the villagers were socioeconomic activities, which were founded on several domains. In the light of this, literacies were figured out as conduits which facilitate the attainment of targeted gains. It emerged that villagers' literacies were never practised independent of each other

since there was a lot of overlap between them. For example, while communal literacy could entail the parents and their school-going children doing homework together in the familial strand, the same family could also engage in economic literacy for instance, when parents sent children to the shops with shopping lists. Figure 2 shows the literacies that were found in the villages, their strands inclusive; as well as the average rate of each strand in relation to the number of respondents who indicated to engage it.
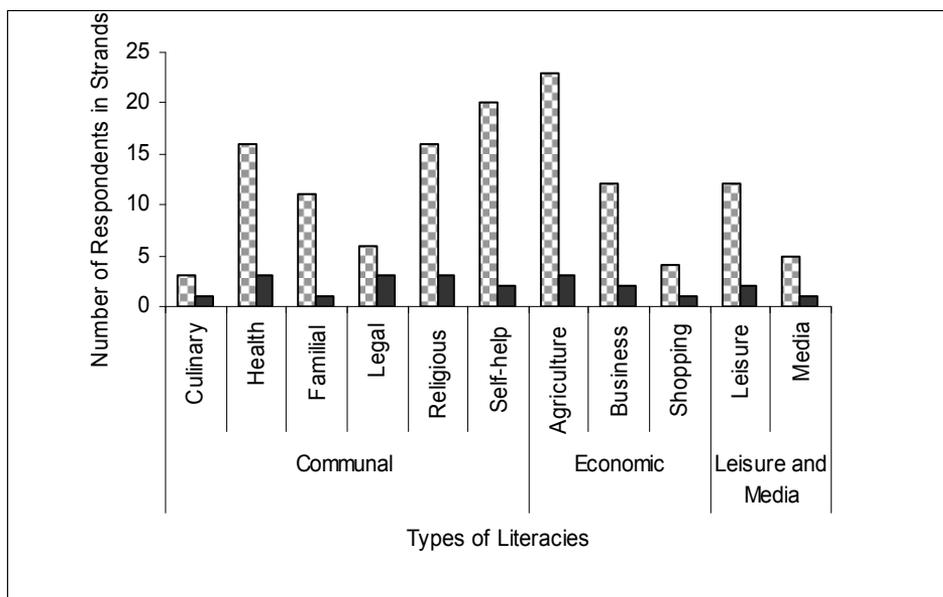

Figure 2: Multiple literacies, their strands, and the average participation in strands
Figure 2 shows that according to the interviews, agriculture and self-help strands of economic and communal literacies respectively score high at 23 and 20 among the 24 interviewees, in comparison with the other components of literacies that the villagers engage in. It can be surmised that they attach great importance to these literacies in comparison with others. Religious and health strands of communal literacy also score substantially high at 16 each. However, culinary and shopping strands are at the bottom, with scores of only 3 and 4 respectively, indicating that such strands of literacies are not given a high premium by the villagers.

It should however be noted that while each strand of literacy is entered as only a mark on each interviewee, individual respondents showed that they engaged in some strands of literacies more than others. In this case, several instances of one strand of literacy could be documented from one interview. For example, 9 cases of the health strand were abstracted from Serial Number (S.N.6), while 7 cases were garnered in the legal strand from Serial Number 18. However on the chart, all these cases are entered as one strand from the respondents in question.

The motivation to treat several cases of literacy strands from an individual as singular arose from the objective of the study which was to appraise the villagers' literacies,

as opposed to unearthing individual engagement in one type or strand of literacy. In view of this, an average rate of each strand of literacy is shown in Figure 2. It shows that agriculture, religious, health and legal strands score a high average rate of 3, while culinary, familial, leisure, and shopping strands score a low of 1 each. It is deducible that the average figures show which threads of literacies are highly or lowly valued by the villagers, certainly going by the gain that they derive from each.

Ways of Practising Literacies

The second research question was concerned with the ways in which villagers practised multiple literacies. It emerged that literacies were practised in several modes. These included participant observation, reading, writing, arithmetic or oralisation of written texts. There is need to state at the outset that these modes of using literacy were found to be intertwining in several cases. A case in point was in the selling of a dairy product like milk, whereby the buyer would read and record the kilos on the farmers dairy card. Simultaneously, both the farmer and the buyer would be doing calculations separately in order revise and confirm the cumulative on a daily basis, up to the end of the month. Figure 3 shows the distribution of arithmetic, oralisation of writings, participant observation, reading and writing, as spelt out by 24 interviewees.
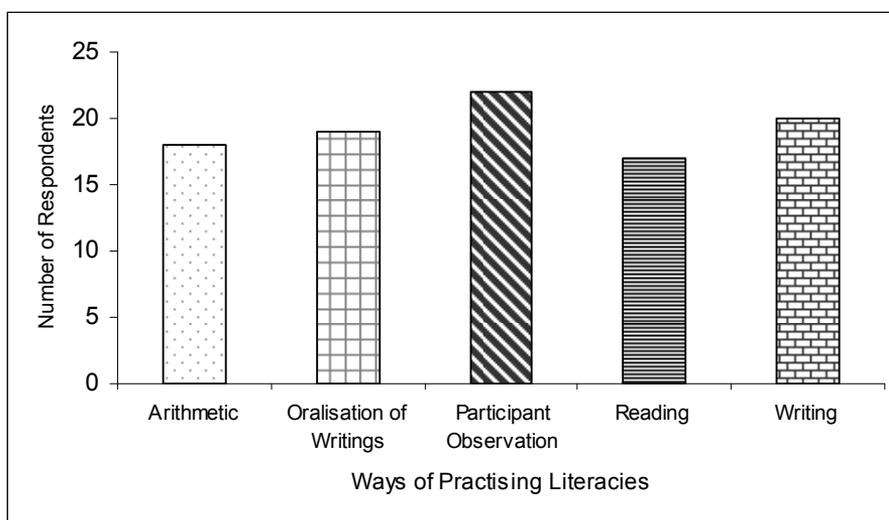
Figure 3: Ways of participating in multiple literacies.

Arithmetic

Interviews revealed that arithmetic was a common practice among respondents. One respondent indicated that he did arithmetic so that he could know how to tithe in the church. From his earnings in a month, he had to do calculations to determine ten percent to take to the church, just as is stipulated in the Bible. More arithmetic was found to take place in the churches when those who were assigned the role of counting the offertory and tithes did their calculations. These were recorded by secretaries of various districts in the church, before forwarding the sums to the church's registrar. The registrar in turn

computed all the sums from each district in order to arrive at the aggregate of all the money from all the districts of the church. Similar additions were found to be carried out by people who were running small scale businesses like shops. They did arithmetic after closing down businesses for the day as a way of gauging whether they had made profit or not.

Oralisation of Written Texts

A common way of practising literacies among the villagers was through the oralisation of written texts. Oralisation of written material was found to happen in such activities like Bible reading or group-minutes reading. It was unearthed that minutes were always written in English, as a result of a long, bureaucratic tradition of the practice. However, putting into account that not everybody was conversant with English, it became necessary to render them in Meru. To this end, the secretary to the group would read each minute quietly as written in English and convey it orally in Meru.

However, this practice should not be misconstrued for translation or interpretation since it involved more than dissemination of what was written, in an effort to put the material within the context of the people. The secretary could even offer the background to the minute such as its motivation or even its import. Similar oralisation was found to take place in Bible reading. While English Bibles could be read to people who never understood the language, the message was eventually transmitted orally to congregants, not on word by word basis as it appeared in the text, but depending on the style and ingenuity of the speaker, in order to make the message as vivid as possible. This oralisation is distinct from other types of reading in which case the explication of the message must strictly fall within the facts and parameters of the written texts, unlike in the villagers' case, where the oraliser enjoyed much latitude. Such renditions are in tandem with the definition of multiple literacies as earlier noted.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was found to be a common method used in the villagers literacies. The method is in line with the customary African education, where people learnt through apprenticeship (Bassey, 1994, Metinhoue, 1997). It is indeed a truism to state that all learning that takes place worldwide entails participation and observation (Lave & Wenger, 1995). During the interviews, all respondents mentioned or alluded to getting involved in this learning method. The method was especially found to be common in the agriculture strand of economic literacy. Farmers explained that it was normal for them to gather on other people's farms, which had been selected for demonstration purposes. The educators, who were mainly agricultural extension officers, would demonstrate the various methods of farming while farmers participated in the exercises.

Additionally, it was established that skills like timber cutting by use of sawmills or power saws were largely learnt through participant observation, over a continuous period of time, sometimes from as early as one's childhood. The learners reported that they occasionally wrote down points about their participant observation. The villagers acknowledged these methods of learning by revealing that they equipped them with practical know-how, which they found easy to implement on their farms.

The villagers also stated that they learned a lot through observation, with respect to how their neighbours, friends or even strangers practised farming. One respondent explained that she was accustomed to learning from her friends how to grow vegetables on her garden. She said that this happened whenever she made an excursion within or outside the village, and chanced to see a good vegetable farm. In such a case, she said, she would seek the permission of the owner to see the farm. In the course of observation, the respondent indicated that she asked the owner how he or she managed the garden. After such learning, the respondent said that she went back to her farm and practised what she had observed or been advised.

Reading

With respect to reading, the interviews demonstrated that there were appreciable cases of readers among the villagers. The findings should throw caution to some scholars inclination to generalise the case of poor literacy practices to all Kenyans, as mentioned at the outset. However, most of the reading was found to be either religious or agricultural-based. One respondent put her reading practice as follows:

> *I read magazines and Theology Education by Extension (TEE). In TEE, there are theology books which one must read everyday. There are a total of eight books. Each book has five lessons and each lesson is supposed to be covered in a week. After every lesson, we sit for the tests which are done on weekly basis. We mark the tests ourselves because there are answers that are brought alongside the books. […] When you are through with all the lessons in the eight books, you sit the final examination, which is marked in Nairobi. Right now we are studying Book 5, which is called The Church History. We started with the Old Testament and we are now studying the New Testament, in which we have already covered the books of Mark and Mathew. This is a diploma course, after which we will take lessons in preaching, before sitting the final examination.*

> *(S.N.20)*

Further reading was found to involve fiction, though as earlier mentioned, this was a rare practice. One interviewee cited some works that he had read in the immediate past as A Grain of Wheat, Truphena the City Nurse and The Concubine. This informant was even proud to share some of the stories that he had read in these novels with the interviewer. It was also established that some parents read their children's textbooks. One such parent indicated that she read "funny" or topical issues like HIV/AIDS in her daughter's textbooks. Another parent cited examples of Betrayal in the City, as one work he had read because his daughters who were in high school were studying them. The interviews also revealed that there was regular reading of smaller documents like letters, which villagers received sporadically. Letters came from schools, politicians, groups of people or from various committees.

With regard to newspapers, the study found out that the informants re-read old ones as a result of economic constraints. The respondents were unanimous that there was dearth of reading materials in the village. This was demonstrated by the fact that they could only access newspapers, magazines or novels in urban centres. Some other villagers

cited economics as the militating factor against their reading. They indicated that it was difficult to buy reading materials when there were more pressing needs. This observation somewhat corroborates Chakava's (1988) observation that pressing financial needs impede good reading habits in Kenya. The research further demonstrated that there was no public library in the whole administrative district, a further explanation as to why spirited fiction reading could be wanting among informants.

Writing

Another common mode of literacy practice that was found to be in the villages was writing. The interviews ascertained that writing was widely used by the villagers, and for various reasons. Shuman (2003) demonstrates that writing can be face-to-face (proximate) or mediated (distant). Nonetheless, in Murugi villages, three types of writing were fleshed out all in concordance with Shuman's argument. There was direct writing which was done by individuals themselves, proximate-mediated writing which was done on behalf of a person in a one-on-one situation, and distant-mediated such as in the filling up of health forms, whose instructions were written by distant or even unknown authors.

1.Direct Writing

Interviews made bare the fact that direct writing was done for personal interests. This type of writing was done by a person directly without any mediation by a second person. A case in point is the informant who stated that she listened to music on the radio and transcribed it if she deemed it interesting. She stated that she wrote the music by bits whenever it was on air until the full song was complete.

I have had a lot of interest in music for long. Whenever I hear a nice song on the radio, I start writing and practising it. This is because I am mainly here alone. Considering that good music is played repeatedly on air, especially the hits which they present as 'the song of the week,' and I chance to like it, I take an exercise book or a piece of paper to write down, one item after another. I begin writing the chorus because it is easier to master. Sometimes I write the songs with my house-help. When I finish writing, I sing it alone or with other people whenever an opportunity arises.

(S.N. 20)

The interviews also unearthed that direct writing took place when some parents got involved in the counselling of school pupils, particularly adolescents. One such counsellor revealed that before engaging in a guidance session, she had to make a written plan. In this case, the writing was directly done by the counsellor as opposed to mediated writing. The counsellor explained that she first liaised with the class teacher to agree on what items to address in the advising session. To facilitate this, she confirmed that she wrote notes with regard to the type of instruction that she was expected administer. She then shared this information with the class pupils or with parents during school meetings.

The interviews also demonstrated that the villagers involved themselves in direct writing when they prepared for shopping. This happened when they wrote shopping lists before going to the market themselves or before sending somebody else with the lists. The lists were acknowledged as handy when people did bulk shopping such as for weddings, get-togethers or for church functions. In a like token, there was proof of direct writing when people did their weekly or monthly budgets. The budgets helped in establishing

what and how much was consumed within a given period of time, and at what costs. The respondents stated that the writing down of budget was a good guide to finding out whether one was thrifty or extravagant.

2. Proximate-Mediated Writing

An example of proximate-mediated writing would be that of the written report in the police office at Chogoria, following the mugging of a couple. One victim of the mugging, who was an interviewee for the study, explained that when she and her husband went to the police station to report the attack, they verbally gave an account of what transpired before, during and after the assault; while the police officers did the transcription. Though this type of writing is proximate, it is nevertheless mediated in the sense that it is not the victims that did the writing, but the police officer. When the report was ready, it was read out to the victims, who confirmed it as valid, before appending their signatures to authenticate it. In this case, the only direct writing of the report by the victims was through their signatures. Besides the police officers and the victims, the sub-area, to whom the mugging was first reported, also went to the police station to record his report in proximate-mediated writing. Days later, the mugged couple went back to the police station to record a statement, whereby a similar process to that of report writing was followed.

The interviews brought to fore further evidence of proximate-mediated writing in the dispute settlement that was under the aegis of Njuri Ncheke elders. With regard to the law, it was established that after a crime is committed in Meru, the complainant has the choice of pursuing justice in the modern law courts or in the customary legal court of Njuri Ncheke (Narrow Jury). The customary litigations were found to be settled at the community level in line with the traditional jurisprudence of the Njuri. One respondent gave an account of a dispute involving an alleged case of impregnation and denial, which was being arbitrated by the traditional court. In the case, both the plaintiff's and the defendant's versions were recorded in writing by the secretary. Similar recordings were made from the statements of the relatives of both the complainant and the accused.

Other disputes that were said to require written records were those between parents and schools administrations or those between siblings over land demarcation. In such disputes, there was writing of each party's statements, the questions and answers, and the rulings that were made. In these instances too, though the writing was proximate, it was also mediated in the sense that it is not the disputants themselves who wrote down their arguments, but a third party in the name of the secretary.

Similar records were documented when there occurred disputes between married people or over refusal to pay debts. In the face of such disputes, it was revealed that the matter would be reported to the sub-area, who would arbitrate among the disputants with the help of other leaders in the village, sub-location or location. Deliberations during such arbitration were recorded in proximate-mediated writing. This was necessitated by the fact differences involving the same disputants could recur after settlements, compelling recourse to the earlier case. It was determined that some of these cases could end up in the modern court of law, precipitating the need to refer to the history of the case just as it was recorded in writing. In this connection, it became clear that such writings augment the modern legal system.

Distant-Mediated Writing

Interviews brought to fore distant-mediated writing in form of signatures of documents. For instance, when one respondent went to collect her daughter's school leaving certificate, she signed to verify that she had collected it. In this case, there was already a written document in form of a certificate, which also bore a slot for the collector's signature. Accordingly, all the informant did was to append her signature for authentication. This is distant-mediated writing because the informant did not even know who wrote the document, where or when; though she still entered her signature. Similar signatures were found to take place in the banks, in the school committees or when applying for farmers loans. For example, in the application for the farmers loans, it was disclosed that it was mandatory that the applicant must have guarantors and witnesses to sign application forms for him or her. Another good example of distant-mediated writing is that of the community health worker, who filled health forms regarding her clients health statuses within some of the villages.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has presented the results of a study that appraised the practice on multiple literacies in rural Kenya, among ex-student villagers. Contrary to the views that Kenyan ex-students stand to ossify into illiteracy for failure to continue reading after formal schooling, the villagers in Murugi were found to engage in an array of literacy practices. In view of this, suffice to state that warnings over poor reading habits in Kenya are over-generalised and fail to take cognisance of multiple literacies that different people could be engaged in different contexts as the case of Murugi villagers demonstrates. Accordingly, it transpired that as far as the case of the villagers is concerned, literacy standards were not declining after formal schooling, but were diversifying, a factor that the government, agents and many scholars are yet to appreciate. It is arguable that the critics of poor reading habits after formal schooling inadvertently or willingly fail to acknowledge the existence of multiple literacies in their specific contexts. This position smacks of an insular perception of literacy in which case it is taken as reading of some particular literature, unfortunately a premise that is empirically anomalous.

This paper recommends that all the people and agencies involved in literacy activities in Kenya rethink their standpoint regarding literacy. This way, they will be able to acknowledge and support multiple literacies as important basis of knowledge just as they recognize formal schooling. Just as Pardoe (2000) cautions, the concept of literacies may be viewed as being rather relativistic, but there is need to tease out what is important in this relativism. This will go a long way in helping to theorize and understand knowledge from an emic point of view, rather than wait for packages on education from some regions of the world on a top-down axis.

By recognizing literacies as valuable activities also, it will be possible to harness and revitalise creativity and home-grown innovations, which are otherwise trashed when the earlier are ignored. A case in point of such inventions is that of Joshua Oshitelu of Nigeria as outlined by Probst (1993). It is possible to take cue from orature which was scorned for a long time as unimportant, but was later incorporated in literary studies proving to be a valuable epistemological resource. Through it, it became possible to harness people's oral-literary exploits, enriching the field of literature in a wide range. There is need to take into consideration the fact that 'new literacy' studies does not interrogate the traditional mode of literacy just for the sake of opposition, but to make

bare the value of what this model has ignored through its universalisation approach. Granted, it is such interrogation that will provide relevant literacy practices to some countries especially in the developing world. While the single-literacy model has been in place from colonial times, its fruits are yet to be yielded by the masses on whom the multiple-literacy model largely premises as the case of Murugi villagers manifests. So far, institutionalisation of education in Kenya has failed to harness community practices which impinge on lifelong learning, and unless this is done, the perspective of Kenyan education will remain linear.

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Writings Everywhere: The Import of Graffitti in Universities of Kenya

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Abstract

This paper analyses the import of graffiti in higher institutions of Kenya. Graffiti refers to the crude inscriptions or drawings which can be found on the doors and walls of some public places. Whereas most researches focus on those writings that were initiated by the students, this paper seeks to consider the modified versions as well. These are additional inscriptions or drawings conducted on the already existing graffiti or texts. They literary distort their original meanings and in the process contribute to totally different themes. This paper summarises an investigation of one aspect of some students' campus behaviours. Specifically, it draws attention to students' graffiti, points out the desires or thoughts expressed in them, and attempts to raise a few issues about the tentative explanations of the motives or significance of these writings. It also attempts to analyse graffiti as a non-reactive indicator of male and female attitudes and even to explain whether there are marked gender differences in the expressions of graffiti. The graffiti recorded and analysed in this study were collected from two of Kenya's universities. They were categorised into those with sexual connotations; those directed at the establishment; those on moralising and those with general themes. This is expected to clarify some aspects of students' campus behaviour enabling educators, psychologists and counsellors deal with students' matters with greater precision. Similarly, it will show the male and female attitudes towards different aspects in life and how gender differences are marked.

Introduction

Graffiti are rampant in universities in Kenya. There are many important concerns incorporated in graffiti that are found in these universities. Different sexes portray different attitudes towards different themes. Graffiti reflect thoughts and problems of students in the university. In this paper, there is an attempt to analyse graffiti as a non-reactive indicator of male and female attitudes and to explain marked gender differences in the expressions of graffiti. Graffiti were collected and recorded from the doors and walls of students' toilets in the lecture blocks, desks in library and hostels. In addition to this, some students were individually interviewed on what they thought about the graffiti (Adler, 2008).

Significance

This is expected to clarify some aspects of students' campus behaviour enabling educators, psychologists and counsellors deal with students' matters with greater precision. Similarly, it will show the male and female attitudes towards different aspects in life and how gender differences are marked.

Literature Review

Graffiti and graffito are from the Italian word graffiato ("scratched"). This was primarily used by potters who would varnish their merchandise and then scratch a design into it. In ancient times graffiti was carved on walls with a sharp object. The term graffiti

referred to the inscriptions, figure drawings, etc., found on the walls of "ancient sepulchers or ruins, as in the Catacombs of Rome or at Pompeii". These illustrations were often placed in "ceremonial and sacred locations inside of the caves". The images drawn on the walls showed scenes of animal wildlife and hunting expeditions in most circumstances (Erickson, 1968). Graffiti occurs between visual and verbal expression. Some scholars define graffiti as a pictorial and written inscription on a publicly accessible surface (Ferrell, 1995; Hanauer, 1998; Remlinger, 1996). Modern graffiti integrates stratified levels of linguistic and artistic form to express its messages of personal and social communication. Graffiti has a long history that can be traced back to ancient civilizations (Shillington, 1989). Graffiti has been implemented as a powerful tool for vocalizing political dissent and forcing its message into a public forum (Prevost-Lebeuf 2008). "Many criminologists believe that a community filled with graffiti experiences a sense of social disorder that encourages criminal behaviour. This is known as the Broken Windows theory" (Adler 2008).

McGregor (2006) views it from a dominance perspective, "We approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance." Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality. This reproduction process may involve such different modes of discourse power relations as the more or less direct or overt support. This includes the enactment, representation, legitimization, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance, among others. More specifically, critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction. The aim is to understand the messages they are sending to themselves and others and to understand the meanings of the words spoken and written by others. (McGregor, 2006). This may examine the style, rhetoric or meaning of texts for strategies that aim at the concealment of social power relations, for instance by playing down, leaving implicit or understating responsible agency of powerful social actors in the events represented in the text.

 In this paper, the term is specifically used to refer to inscriptions or drawings which are found on the walls and doors of some public or private places in some of the institutions of higher learning in Kenya. The themes of these graffiti ranged from mild criticism of their lecturer, such as by mimicking them or giving them nicknames and writing these on the board during their evening study hours; to mere rehearsals of some of the formulae and theorems they had learnt. Some others were inscriptions that had obvious sexual connotation, usually found in the students' hostels. In the universities, there is a higher incidence of writing graffiti among the boys than among the girls. The boys' are characterised by the use of human faeces (Yieke 2006). Boys' games (and other activities) are more competitive and aggressive while girls' games (and other activities) are geared towards interpersonal negotiation and cooperation (Tannen 1998). However, girls' are almost invariably centred on men and sexual matters, and that they do in fact use words and expressions which are sometimes more "dirty" than the types found in boys' toilets. This lends support to the observation of Hurlock (1955) that girls' cliques are more closely knit than boys' cliques. The peer group helps the boy mainly in his search for autonomy because "he wants a band of rebels with whom he can identify, and

so gain the strength he needs for a stance against adult authority" (Douvan and Adelson, 1966, p. 197). A close friend becomes for the girl the repository of confidences and a source of support, but not necessarily ally to open rebellion.

These graffitti could be regarded as a reflection of the "differentness", the exclusively peculiar way of life that characterises the young people's adjustment. Using Hurlock's (1955) definition of adolescence as "the period roughly between the beginning of the teen years and the age of 21", then many of Kenya's undergraduates are adolescents. Similarly, if we also accept the criteria which are said to mark the end of adolescence such as entrance into marriage, achievement of economic independence, more or less total emancipation from parents, completion of education and/or reaching the age of twenty-one (Hurlock, 1955, Rogers 1972 (a), Mitchell, 1974). Therefore, these graffitti represent one of the ways by which young people dramatise the adolescent fad- with all its surplus of peculiar dress, peculiar language and other peculiar behaviours. Sometimes, young people become intolerant and cruel in their exclusion of those that they view as "outsiders" whom they see as "different" in tastes and in every dimension in which the "in-group" has arbitrarily decided to distinguish itself from the "out-group". This intolerance is said to be the adolescent's defence against a sense of identity diffusion necessitated by the conflicting possibilities and choices that life presents (Erikson 1968, Feibleman, 1969).

In this regard, graffitti could also represent the reaction of the young people against most of the beliefs, behaviours and practices of the adults. This was how the hip-hop culture or subculture was evolved and sustained — to dramatize the young people's opposition to, and disapproval of adult ways. In this process, the "hippies" often employed the mode of "deviant" behaviour, "deviant" dress and "deviant" speech to show this disapproval (Johnson, 1969, Wilson, 1971). Kenya may be beginning to witness signs of a possible emergence of a distinct subculture of youth represented by the university students.

Theoretical Brief
The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) formed the basis of the discussions in this paper. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk. CDA helps make clear the connections between the use of language and the exercise of power (Thompson, 2002). Given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing, and critiquing social life reflected in text (Luke, 1997). CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). The objective of CDA is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written text or oral speech in order to resist and overcome various forms of power over or to gain an appreciation that we are exercising "power over," unbeknownst to us (Fairclough, 1989). CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. It strives to explore how these non-transparent relationships are a factor in securing power and hegemony, and it draws attention to power imbalances, social inequities, non-democratic practices, and other injustices in hopes of spurring people to corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993). There are three central tenets of CDA

(Fairclough, 2000). Firstly, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure which includes class, status, age, ethnic identity, and gender. Secondly is the culture which is shaped by our professional culture, socialization, and member profile (social structure) and lastly the discourse i.e. the words and language, which is used that helps shape and constrain peoples' identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. The identities, the nature of their social relationships, and the knowledge and belief systems are shaped and constrained by the language and words espoused by them and by others.

CDA tries to unite, and determine the relationship between, three levels of analysis; the actual text; the discursive practices i.e. the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and hearing; and the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000). CDA focuses on dominance and inequality. It is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis. CDA takes an explicit socio-political stance. Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality. Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice. That is, one of the criteria of their work is solidarity with those who need it most. Their problems are real problems, that is the serious problems that threaten the lives or well-being of many, and not primarily the sometimes petty disciplinary problems of describing discourse structures, let alone the problems of the powerful (including the problems the powerful have with those who are less powerful, or with those who resist it).

Results

Table 1 is a summary of the analysis, by sex, of the graffitti collected, grouped under five categories.

*Table 1: Students' **graffitti** categorised according to theme and sex of writers*

Subject/Themes	Frequency among male Subscribers	Frequency among female Subscribers	Total
Sex/Sexual matter	68	9	77
Politics, national & International issues.	21	3	24
The university staff/ establishment	35	5	40
Morals/Religion	26	4	30
Others	11	1	12
Total	161	22	183

A close study of Table 1 shows that a majority of the students' graffitti collected from the lavatories of two universities in Kenya dealt with sex and sexual matters. Among the male students, the themes of 68 out of the 161 writings and drawings collected were

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on sexual matters. This represents about 42.24 per cent of the total graffitti collected in the male toilets. A similar trend is discernable from the graffitti collected in the female toilets. Of the 22 writings and drawings recorded, 9 (or 40.90 per cent) dealt with sexual matters. The X2 was also computed on the frequencies separately for the male and the female subgroups. This yielded a significant value of 59.12 for the male and 8.28 for the female. This calculation was based on the figures presented in Table 1.

In all, some 80 items of graffitti were collected from the public places visited. Over 50% of the small sample interviewed thought that graffiti were purely for fun. This represents only writings that formed complete statements and therefore conveyed some meaning, and diagrams and figures that stood out as distinct identifiable units. This figure, therefore, does not represent all the graffitti that can be found if the same public places are revisited. There is also the difficulty of deciding where an individual contributor's ideas end and another's start. The way this was determined was again to look for complete statements and also to observe the change in handwriting.

The drawings were even more difficult to classify in this manner. Sometime, a contributor starts a drawing in black or blue ink and it appears that the same contributor or another one completes the drawing in red or green ink. There is, however, evidence in support of the possibility that different people may have contributed to the drawings, as the differences in handwriting would tend to suggest. This was done for the lavatories in the lecture blocks, and those in the libraries. However, it was observed that a majority of the graffitti recorded were made on the walls and doors of male toilets. This is probably due to the fact that there are more male hostels, and therefore more male lavatories, than there are for the female in most of the institutions of higher learning. This situation also reflects the ratio of male to female students in these institutions. It may also be due to the fact that many more non-student males have access to the male facilities than the non-student females who use the female facilities. This may explain, in part, why 68, representing about 77 per cent, of the total number of graffitti recorded were from male lavatories. It appears justifiable, therefore, to conclude that female students produce less graffiti than male students. However, as regards the content, the female are more explicit than the males. An attempt was also made to classify the writings and drawings collected according to their themes. The following five were identified as the most frequently occurring themes:

   (a)   *Graffiti on sexual matters, for example;*
           • Adhis is a **loser**………..Adhis is **loose**
           •We offer free **Psychology**………………. We offer free **Bootiology**
           •**Beat** & overcome………….**Bend** over & come
           •.**Kuna chura** saba campo……**Tuna chora** saba campo
           •**ZOO** 100: Introduction to **Zoology**……….**SEX** 100: Introduction to **Boxiology**
   (b)   *Graffiti on national and international politics e.g.*
           •**Tunajivunia** kuwa Wakenya………**Tunavumilia** kuwa Wakenya
           •.Yes we can……….Hakuna kitu
   (c)   *Graffiti on the university staff e.g.*
           •.Dr. Benga **anapendelea** mashwari…… Dr. Benga **anapandilia** mashwari
           •.Prof. Wanjiku is generous with **books**…… Prof. Wanjiku is generous with **"books"**

(d) *Graffiti on morals or religion e.g.*
  •**Changeni** nyinyi……**Shetani** nyinyi
  •.**Chungu** tu sana………..**Mungu** tu sana
(e) Graffiti on general themes e.g.
  •We repair shoes…….We repair eggs…….. We repair broken eggs
  •.Things for hire……. "Things" for hire …….Thugs for hire
  •Usikojoe hapa……..kojoa hapa

  The samples exclude the numerous drawings mostly of the sex organs or a couple engaged in sexual act. Also omitted are the numerous writings which are capable of betraying the identity of the particular institution or specific parts of the institution where they were recorded. It is not quite clear whether these graffitti were all writings by students or whether other members of the university community contributed to them. May be they would, but it might be pointed out again that these lavatories are also used by some workers of the university as well as other casual visitors. However, evidence from the themes of these writings points to the possibility that a majority of them were written by students.

  One difficulty that should be borne in mind is that of determining the number of people involved in writing these graffitti. Could they be written by a syndicate made up of members who know themselves, or by various people who individually contribute to this free-for-all all "magazine"? In the examples presented above, an attempt was made to indicate what statements or specific inscriptions would be credited to each of the subscribers. One person starts with an idea, or a question, or a demand, and this occasion's responses or reactions, from others. And it is in this casual way that this free-of- charge wall or door "magazine" is sustained and grows until, perhaps, no space is left on the door or wall or until they are renovated and a new "page" is turned! It is interesting to note that the responses of the students interviewed varied considerably. The general question posed was "What do you think of these graffiti. One of the 15 students interviewed said, "Nothing". Another one simply said, "very dirty" Two of them gave responses to the effect that people who write or draw these things should be blamed. Less than 20% (or only 5 of them) thought that these inscriptions were just too bad and should be stopped at all cost. One of these five went further to add that it gave a poor image of the university students to people from outside the university campus. Four of the students interviewed regarded the graffitti as "just part of students' behaviours". The majority of the students (over 50%) gave responses to the effect that they were purely for fun and were therefore harmless. Moreover, only male students in one of the two universities were interviewed, some near the scenes of these inscriptions, others at some other parts of the campus. However, some of these responses, however spontaneous, appear to largely explain the students' side of the story, and should, as such, be taken seriously. The dirtier ones, especially explicitly sexual in nature, were recovered from the ladies' lavatories and their hostels.

Discussion
The samples of students' graffitti reproduced in this paper deal with a wide variety of topics or subjects, ranging from sexual matters to those relating to national and international politics. The graffitti on sexual matters however form the majority of the graffitti. The number of writings and drawings on this theme was the highest. It might very well be the case that students resort to writing these graffiti as a means of letting out

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pent-up feelings. It would appear therefore that, for some university students, graffitti on the doors and walls of toilets form a means of giving outlet to repressed feelings and thereby unloading their troubled minds. In this way, graffitti might serve a soothing purpose, providing temporary relief at least to troubled minds, the kind of relief one gets after discussing one's problem with someone ready to listen. This might be a valid way of interpreting these graffitti, particularly considering the themes of some of them. It is possible that mainly the motivation was by a desire to create fun. Graffitti might be just another students' campus behaviour which to the uninitiated, might be considered juvenile, particularly if that stranger had never had the opportunity and perhaps privilege of experiencing life as an undergraduate. To many of those who are in the system, or those who have passed through it and, perhaps in their own days had subscribed to a similar unedited free press, graffitti might represent one of the means by which students provide for themselves invaluable mirth, free of charge to lessen the rigour and boredom and frustrations that often characterise most university academic work. The contention here is that these graffitti might very well be a way of creating fun particularly when it is observed that many of them appear absurd or impossible.

It is possible that the graffitti also show that students are generally sensitive to happenings around them. It might very well be the case that students comment on these happenings in the informal, casual manner of graffitti when they feel that they do not have the opportunity or means of expressing their feelings in any other manner. The majority of these graffitti deal with sexual matters. Sexual matters easily tickle many people no matter how much some people may pretend that they are not thrilled by them. Besides, sex appears to be one topic about which societies, almost without exception, express characteristic shyness. It is not a topic for open discussion; the younger members of the society are not expected to engage in it until they are married, parents do not give meaningful sex education nor do the schools (Hake, 1972; Esen, 1974, Uka, 1974).

For most young people, ". . . peers are the main confidants in sex discussion" (Esen, 1974). These graffitti could represent a source of information on matters, such as sex, tabooed or frowned upon by the larger society. Similarly, they could also be a way, no matter how crude, of meeting some of their sex needs, such as young people achieve through masturbation or through pornographic pictures. Alternatively, some of them could also suggest how "hungry" some students can feel if they don't meet their need for sex. Also, the young person cannot help being oversensitive to sexual matters. The period through which s/he is passing or has just passed is marked by rapid physical and sexual growth. His/her sex organs attain adult proportions and this, together with other sexual development, such as the presence of live "male seeds" in the male urine, provide for new sensations to be experienced. There is the urge to put into practice some of this newly-acquired ability or prowess, especially now that the young person is relatively free from the control of school authority and parents. Again, s/he has to "wait till his/her time comes" before s/he can be admitted into the privileges of adulthood. Hence, perhaps as a substitute, the young person results to less satisfying methods.

These graffitti dealing with sexual matters could be regarded as a manifestation of the frustration experienced by some students as a result of their inability to meet some of their needs such as the need for affiliation and sex. Similarly, some of-the malicious things written about girls represent a type of rationalization. This might be some of the students' ways of maintaining a consistent self image. Similarly, the girls have a

characteristic crude way of expressing this theme. This is because it is possible that the girls are more restricted by the society to discuss sexual matters. They are supposed to be passive, as the boys are deemed the more aggressive ones. It is the more reason that they communicate their sexual desires explicitly using this genre. From their graffiti, it is possible to deduce that they are equally interested, if not more than their boys' counterpart, in sex. Apart from the graffitti that deal with matters relating to the establishment, or to political issues, there are also others which reflect issues and happenings about which the individual writers appear to feel a sense of personal involvement, or issues on which they would want to experiment, or issues to which they seek solutions. Thus, apart from serving as commentaries on happenings in and outside the campus, these graffitti might in fact serve the purpose of seeking some temporary satisfaction or equilibrium. In this way too, the individual might be able to work out answers to his/her problems or inquiry by observing the trend of the reactions of others to what s/he wrote. In thematic content, the girls' is skewed towards explicit sexual connotations and citations of different personalities whether it is their friends, tutors or prominent personalities. Perhaps that is why they are labelled "gossips". Alternatively, the boys' is always about complaining and criticising others.

These are various ways of looking at the graffitti written by some Kenyan undergraduates. It might very well be the case that these graffitti are meant to satisfy specific needs which the subscribers experience. But in general, the contention of this writer is that graffitti basically satisfy the need of creating a diversion, a comic relief to lessen the rigours of academic work. They contain not too serious themes, or serious themes handled in a ridiculously light-hearted way.

Conclusions

This paper has highlighted some of the graffitti that are found in some public places in two of Kenya's higher institutions of learning. However, this paper is not a report of a comprehensive and systematic investigation of this phenomenon. It should be seen more as an attempt at hypothesis forming rather than an attempt to formulate theories to explain this phenomenon. There is therefore an urgent need to examine this aspect of students' campus behaviours in a more systematic way in order to point up causal relationships where they do exist. There does not now appear to be any such study carried out on the Kenyan scene. The only references to this subject which appear in some of the research and popular literature are only of tangential and peripheral relevance, suggesting, for instance, that young people acquire most of their knowledge on sexual matters from their peers or that sex is almost the central concern of the undergraduate outside academics.
 Also needful is a comparative study that would attempt to compare students' graffitti in Kenya, with graffiti in some other parts of the world. The little search in the literature so far made by this writer indicates that graffiti are universal in range, and survive in the college boy/girl the world over. Such a comparative study of this phenomenon would provide invaluable information that could be helpful in enhancing adults' understanding of students' behaviours. It would also be a worthwhile exercise to examine the types of graffitti that are popular among secondary school students, and, if possible, compare these with those that are found among undergraduates. Such a study would no doubt yield interesting findings. Perhaps too, an attempt can be made to relate the graffitti to such other factors as geographical location of the school, the predominant ethnic group or language of the area, as well as the tone of discipline established in each school. It

may very well be the case that these graffitti are more pronounced in institutions where the discipline can be described as being "too harsh" rather than the reverse.

Recommendations
(i) Students should be encouraged to seek other socially unobjectionable ways of expressing themselves other than through the medium of these graffitti. happily, many student bodies sanction the publication of students' magazines (usually meant for internal consumption) where same needs can be met.

(ii) Students should be encouraged to take advantage of guidance services and sessions should be organized at which some of the problems attendant on their stage of development can be discussed. an attempt could also be made, however modest, to introduce sex education in our syllabi, especially at an early stage.

(iii) There should be a closer staff-student relationship. this could lead to mutual understanding, mutual trust and consequently healthier coexistence. similarly, more opportunities should be provided for the organized coming together of boys and girls in a social context through such programmes and activities as drama, parties, "variety nights", club organizations and other similar officially sanctioned activities.

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Frederic Prevost-Lebeuf *Graffiti Theory - Graffiti As Marxism, Munich.*

Comparison of Academic Performance of Secondary School Students from Private & Public Primary Schools in Nakuru District, Kenya

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Abstract

Private Primary schools supplement Kenya Government's efforts of providing education in Kenya. Pupils who study in such schools outperform those from public primary schools at Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination. However it is not clear whether they maintain this good performance in secondary school education. The purpose of this study was to establish and compare the academic performance of students from private and public primary schools, in Forms 1, 2, 3 teacher made tests, Mock and Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examinations A causal comparative research design was used and the population involved 2004 and 2005 Form Four students in Nakuru District. Six schools were randomly selected from three categories of secondary schools; Boys' only, Girls' only and co-educational (Mixed) schools. Each category providing two schools. A sample of 240 students was obtained, 160 for each year group. The instruments used to collect data were the 2004 students' Performance sheet and the 2005 Students' Performance sheet. Data analysed by both descriptive and inferential statistics involving t-test. The test of significance was done at alpha = 0.05. Results show that students from private primary schools had higher mean scores in KCPE than those from public primary schools performance in Form 1 and 2 end of the year examinations was equivalent for students with private and public primary school background. However, in subsequent examinations in Form 3, mock and KCSE, the students from public primary schools had higher mean scores. Therefore, the researchers conclude that, in secondary education, students from public primary schools outperform their counterparts from private primary schools. Several suggestions are made on how to address this situation. The findings of the study may assist the government in monitoring primary and secondary schools to ensure there is meaningful learning. Parents might also find the study useful in assisting them make informed decisions in choosing primary schools for their children.

Introduction

For many years, private schools have complemented the Kenya Government's effort of providing education (Siringi, 2003). The government encourages the private sector to invest in education in order to ease pressure on public schools (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST), 2001). However, in the last ten years, the establishment of private schools has been so rapid that questions have been raised about the standards of education in such schools. There are many reasons behind this proliferation but the major ones are; firstly the introduction of cost sharing policy in 1998 as part of structural adjustment programme, which resulted in poor delivery of educational services because most parents were unable to adequately provide for the necessary physical facilities and instructional materials (MOEST, 2003). Secondly, according to the same source, the suspension of the recruitment and employment of teachers in 1998 compounded the

problem of provision of quality education to all students in Kenya. Private schools thus started with the aim of attracting the economically able parents who were dissatisfied with educational services offered by public primary schools.

Thirdly, the proliferation has also been encouraged by the governments' laxity in following registration procedure, supervision and inspection to monitor the activities of these schools. The Quality Assurance and Standards (QAS) arm of the Ministry of Education is charged with the responsibility of supervision and inspection of schools. However, the effective performance of this arm is hindered by lack of transport and personnel (Siringi, 2003) leading to the said proliferation. The government has strict guidelines on putting up of structures as well as regulations for registering private schools to ensure that education standards are not compromised, and parents are not exploited. Lack of transport and personnel hinders implementation of these guidelines.

On the other hand, the growing demand from the middle and upper classes for quality education has also spurred increased investment in well-equipped schools. Some of the private institutions offer foreign systems of education tailored to serve the needs of the diplomatic community, other foreigners, and Kenyans keen on taking their children for higher education overseas. The programmes include International Baccalaureate (IB) and General Certificate of Education (GCE).

Private schools that do not offer the foreign system of education follow the same curriculum as the public primary schools. Their standard eight candidates sit for the same national examination; the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), as those in public primary schools. The Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) is charged with the responsibility of setting and marking the national examination. One of the main differences between the private and public primary schools is that, while the public school teachers are employed by the government through the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC), those of private schools are employed privately by each school's management. When the results of national examinations are announced most of the well performing primary and secondary schools are usually the privately owned.

Majority of pupils from private primary schools who excel at KCPE examination end up at the tail end in Form Four, while the average pupils from public primary schools [most of them rural], end up topping in the KCSE examinations annually (Siringi, 2004). This is still the case in 2009. Table 1 shows the type of primary school attended by the pupils who acquired the highest-score in KCSE between 1999 and 2008.

Table 1:

Top Students in KCSE Nationwide from 1999 to 2008

Year	National Position	Type of Primary school Attended	Secondary School Attended
1999	1	Public Urban	National
2000	1	Public Urban	National
2001	1	Public Rural	National
2002	1	Public Rural	National
2003	1	Private	National
2004	2	Public Rural	National
2005	1	Private	National
2006	1	Public Urban	National
2007	1	Public Urban	National
2008	1	Public Rural	National

Source: Daily Nation, January 6, 2009 (p 12-13).

Table 1 shows that between 1999 and 2008 top positions were dominated by students who hailed from public primary schools. Results indicate that 9 (82%) students out of 11 had gone through public primary schools. The big question therefore is whether students from private primary schools acquire cognitive structures in primary school, which can be used to subsume relevant and more inclusive systems in secondary schools and other public institutions of higher learning. Establishing the trend and comparing private school students' academic performance with that of public school students will provide an insight into their ability to perform in secondary school. With this in mind it was important to empirically determine the trend of academic performance of former pupils of private and public primary schools currently studying in provincial secondary schools.

Statement of the Problem
For sometime pupils from private primary schools have been outperforming those from public primary schools at the KCPE examination. This has resulted into students from these private schools being admitted into competitive National and Provincial secondary

schools in larger proportions than those from public primary schools. However, it is unclear whether those students from private schools continue with their good performance after joining secondary schools. In addition, the causes of any disparities in performance are not established. This study sought to shed light in this area.

This study was intended to establish and compare the academic performance for year 2004 and 2005 students in the provincial secondary schools in Nakuru District who hailed from both private and public primary schools.

Objective of the Study
The study was guided by the following objective
To compare KCPE, Form1, 2, 3, Mock and KCSE examination mean scores of year 2004 and 2005 Form Four students from private primary schools with those of students from public primary schools.

Hypotheses
   Ho1. There is no significant difference between KCPE mean score of students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.
   Ho2. There is no significant difference between Form 1 examination mean score of students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.
   Ho3. There is no significant difference between Form 2 examination mean score of students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.
   Ho4. There is no significant difference between Form 3 examination mean score of performance between students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.
   Ho5. There is no significant difference between Mock examination mean score of students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.
   Ho6. There is no significant difference between KCSE mean score of students from private primary schools and that of those from public primary schools.

Conceptual Framework
The conceptual frame work is based on systems theory in which an assumption is made that the entering behaviour of students as they start a programme of study may affect their performance in that programme (Ayot & Patel, 1987). The result is differentiated performance at the end of the programme.

The model in Figure 1 shows how variables in the study are interrelated.

Figure 1: Interrelationships of Variables in the study between the type of Primary School attended and Secondary school academic performance

As shown in Figure 1, the independent variable (the type of primary school attended) has a direct influence on the dependent variable (academic performance measured by scores attained in school tests, mock and national examination i.e. KCSE). The independent variable's effect on the dependent variable will further be influenced by intervening

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variables such as the student's social economic status (SES), learners' attitudes towards teachers and the school environment. The students' SES influences decisions on the type of primary school to join, and later influences students secondary school performance. The intervening variables are controlled through sampling since the schools have similar facilities and, being provincial schools, admit students of similar academic ability. Understanding interrelationships of these variables will give educators insight, direction and guidance into designing instructional techniques and motivational strategies that will enhance student performance in examinations.
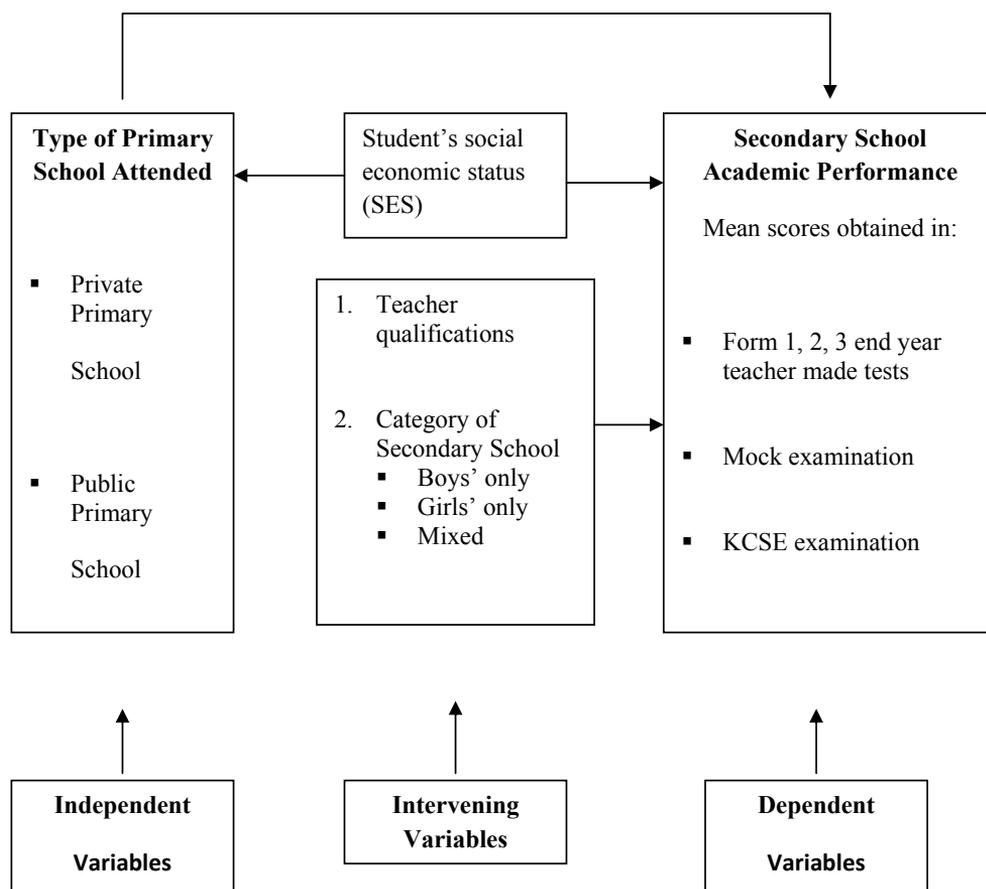
Research Design

Causal-comparative research design was adopted in this study. It looked back 'after the fact' to relate the dependent variable to the independent variable (Coolican, 1994). The researchers studied the dependent variable without manipulating the independent variable. The design was found suitable for the study because, as Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) assert, causal-comparative design allows a comparison of groups where the researchers are not able to manipulate the independent and dependent variables because

their effects have already occurred implying that their task is to establish the relationships between them. This design enabled the researchers to carry out a comparison of students' academic performance between those who went through private and those who went through public primary schools. The design was useful in exploring and explaining the existing status of students' achievement.

Accessible Population
The accessible population for this study was 2,530 Form Four students of 2005 and 2,520 KCSE ex-candidates of 2004 in the 19 provincial schools in Nakuru District. The categories of schools in the District are 3 Boys' schools, 3 Girls' and 13 Co-educational (mixed). Table 2 shows the study population.

Table 2: Number of students in the various categories of schools
The 2004 group had a total students number of 2520 while the 2005 group had 2530 students.

Sampling Procedure and Sample Size
The sampling technique used was equal proportion stratified random sampling which enabled the researchers to ensure a fair and equal proportion or distribution of students from Boys', Girls' and Co-educational (Mixed) schools. Kathuri and Pals (1993) recommend that this method be used when the population to be sampled is heterogeneous in terms of certain required characteristics. The 19 provincial schools in Nakuru District were grouped into three strata: Boys' only, Girls' only and Co-educational schools. The schools in each category formed a sampling frame. Then using equal proportion stratified sampling, two schools from each stratum/category were randomly selected to give rise to a total sample size of six schools.

Determining the Sample Size
Kathuri and Pals (1993), and Borg and Gall (1996) state that a sample should be large enough to represent the targeted population. However, Coolican (1994) observes that the minimum, acceptable sample size depends on the type of research: for causal-comparative research – 15 subjects per group are recommended. Based on this observation, a sample size of 20 students per school (10 students who went through private primary schools and 10 from those who went through public schools) was randomly selected to get a sample size of 240 students (120 from private primary schools and 120 from public primary schools) and this sample size was considered adequate for the study.

The second stage was selection of a stratified proportional random sample of students from the six schools. Form four class registers for 2004 and 2005 in the six schools were used to prepare the sampling frame. Using the class registers for the year 2004, students were first placed into two groups based on the primary schools of origin: those from public versus those from private primary schools. Then from the two groups 10 students were randomly selected. This was done in the six selected schools using the lottery method. Numbers were written on small pieces of paper showing the class register number of the students in each group. The small papers were folded nicely into equal sizes and put into two separate bowls: one bowl for the students from private primary schools and the other for students from public primary schools. Ten papers representing

ten students were randomly picked from each bowl and those numbers that were picked were used in the study.

Likewise using the class registers for the 2005, students were first placed in two groups, those from public primary schools and those from private primary schools. Ten (10) students were randomly selected from each of the two groups such that 20 students in total were chosen from each of the sampled school. A summary of the sample size is shown in Table 3

Table 3: Sample size
Each year had a sample of 120 students making a total of 240.

| School Category | Number of Schools | Number of Students | |
		2004	2005
Boys'	3	251	260
Girls'	3	342	350
Mixed	13	1927	1920
Total	**19**	**2520**	**2530**

Research Instruments
The instruments used to collect data were the document analysis sheets. There were two types of document analysis instruments. The 2005 Form 4 Students' Performance Sheet and the 2004 form 4 Students' Performance Sheet.

The 2005 Form 4 Students' Performance Sheet
This factual sheet was used to collect data from the 2005 Form Four students who were yet to sit for their KCSE examination in 2005. The document was in form of a table which the researchers used to enter information from the school records about the student's details such as the type of primary schools they attended and the mean scores attained in the KCPE national examinations; form 1, 2 and 3 school tests and mean scores of the Mock. This is not the KCSE examination since the study was conducted shortly before they sat for their examinations.

The 2004 Form 4 Students' Performance Sheet
This document was used to collect data from those Form Four students who sat for their KCSE examination in 2004 since it could not have been easy to trace them so as to obtain direct information from them. It was in form of a table which the researcher used to enter information from the school records about the students' details such as the type of primary schools they attended and the mean scores attained in the KCPE national examinations; form 1, 2 and 3 school tests and mean scores of the Mock as well as the KCSE examination.

Data Collection
Data were collected from records of the Form Four student's scores in tests and examinations, primary schools of origin, past national examination records of the 2004 and 2005 form four student's, Form One admission records for the 2004 and 2005. Form Four students and other documents that were deemed relevant to the study. Information in these documents assisted in the discussion of the findings.

Data Analysis
After the data were collected, they were examined and analyzed to facilitate testing of the null hypotheses. Using t-test, the null hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance. The means of the scores at KCPE, Form 1, 2 and 3 end-of-year examinations, Mock and KCSE examinations results of students from private and public schools were calculated and used to test the six hypothesis (Borg & Gall, 1996).

Results
To determine whether the different mean scores were statistically significant, a t-test analysis of mean score of the groups was carried out at the six stages (KCPE) Form 1, 2, 3 end-year exam, Mock and KCSE examination). This was to test hypotheses of the study, which sought to find out whether there was any statistically significant difference in Form 1, 2, 3 end-year exam, Mock and KCSE achievement scores between students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background for the year 2004 and 2005 classes.

Comparison of KCPE Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for the 2004 and 2005 Classes

Tables 4 and 5 show the t-test analysis of KCPE mean scores of 2004 and 2005 classes.

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	61	10.33	2.12	118	3.00	0.024
Public	59	8.99	2.15			

Source: Field data (2006)

Table 4: Independence Samples t-Test of Students' KCPE Mean Scores, 2004 Classes
Source: Field data (2006)

The results in Table 4 show that there were significant differences in KCPE examinations mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Those from private schools performed better in KCPE than those from public primary schools in 2004. This was because t (118) = 3.00, $p < 0.05$, therefore, Ho1 is rejected.

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Table 5: Independent Samples t-Test of their KCPE Mean Scores, 2005 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	61	10.43	2.12	118	3.229	0.018
Public	59	8.23	2.15			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results in Table 5 show that there were significant differences in KCPE examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Students from private primary school performed better in KCPE than those from public primary schools in 2005 class. This was because t (118) = 3.229, p < 0.05, therefore, Ho1 is rejected.

Comparison of Form 1 Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for the 2004 and 2005 Classes

Form I mean scores of students with public primary schools and those with private primary school background were analyzed and then compared to determine whether there was a significant difference between them. Tables 6 and 7 show the t-test results to determine whether the two means are significantly different.

Table 6: Independent Samples t-Test of their Form 1 Mean Scores, 2004 Class
Source: Field data (2006)
The results of the analysis showed that, in 2004 class there were no statistically significant

Table 6: Independent Samples t-Test of their Form 1 Mean Scores, 2004 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	61	9.33	2.12	118	2.029	0.305
Public	59	8.23	2.15			

Source: Field data (2006)

differences in Form 1 examinations mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. This was because t (118) = 2.029, p>0.05, therefore, we accept the hypotheses which stated that there was no statistically significant difference between Form 1 mean scores of students from private primary schools and those from public primary schools.

Table 7: Independent Samples t-Test of their Form 1 Mean Scores, 2005 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	60	10.3	2.41	118	3.177	0.242
Public	60	7.9	2.83			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results of the analysis showed that there were no statistically significant differences in Form 1 examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background in 2005 class. This is because t (118) = 3.117, p>0.05, therefore, we accept the hypothesis which stated that there was no statistically significant difference between Form One mean scores of students from private primary schools and those from public primary schools.

Comparison of Form 2 Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for the 2004 and 2005 Classes

Form 2 mean scores of students with public primary schools and those with private primary school background were analyzed and then compared to determine whether there was statistically significant difference between them. Results from analysis of independent samples t-test computed for Form 2 examination mean scores for students of public primary schools and those of private primary schools are shown on Tables 8 and 9.

Table 8: Independence Samples t-Test of their Form 2 Mean Scores, 2004 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t- value	p- value
Private	61	7.23	2.47	118	1.149	0.253
Public	59	7.75	2.45			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results of the analysis showed that in 2004 class there were no statistically significant differences in Form 2 examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. This is because t (118) = 1.149, p> 0.05. Therefore, the null hypotheses which stated that there was no statistically significant difference between Form 2 mean scores of students from private primary schools and those from public primary schools was accepted.

Table 9: Independent Samples t-test of their Form 2 Mean Scores, 2005 Classes

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	60	7.80	2.2	118	2.43	0.016
Public	60	8.78	2.2			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results of the analysis showed that in 2005 class there were statistically significant differences in Form 2 examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Students

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from public primary schools performed better in Form 2 than those from private primary schools. This is because t (118) = 2.43, p< 0.05 so the null hypotheses which stated that there were no statistically significant difference in Form 2 academic performance between students from private primary schools and those from public primary schools is rejected.

Comparison of Form 3 Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for 2004 and 2005 Classes
Form 3 mean scores of students with public and private primary school background were analysed and then compared to determine whether there was a significant difference between them. Results from analysis of independence sample t-test computed for Form 3 examination mean scores for students of public primary schools and those of private primary schools are shown in Table 10 and 11.

Table 10: Independent Samples t-Test of Students' Form 3 Mean Scores, 2004 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	P-value
Private	61	6.49	2.29	118	2.357	0.020
Public	59	7.56	2.66			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results of the analysis showed that, there was statistically significant difference in Form 3 examinations mean scores of students with public primary school background and those with private primary school background for the2004 class. Students from private primary schools performed poorly in Form 3 than those from public primary schools. t (118) = 2.357, p<0.05. Therefore, Ho4 is rejected.

Table 11: Independent Samples t-test of Students' Form 3 Mean Scores, 2005 Classes

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	60	6.67	2.11	118	2.10	0.048
Public	60	7.47	2.35			

Source: Field data (2006)

The results of the analysis showed that there was significant difference in Form 3 examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background for the 2005 class. Students from public primary schools performed better in Form 3 than those from public primary schools. This is because t (118) = 2.10 p< 0.05 so Ho4 is rejected.

Comparison of Form Four Mock Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for the 2004 and 2005 Classes

Form Four Mock Mean scores of students with public and private primary school background were analysed and then compared to determine whether there was significant difference between them. Results from analysis of independence sample t- test computed for Form Four Mock examination mean scores for students of public primary schools and those of private primary schools are shown in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12: Independent Samples t-Test of Students' Form 4 Mock Mean Scores, 2004 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	61	6.21	1.83	118	2.69	0.008
Public	59	7.18	2.13			

The results of the analysis showed that there was a statistically significant difference between Mock examination mean scores between students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Students from private primary schools performed poorly in Form 4 Mock than those from public primary schools, t (118) = 2.69, p<0.05. Therefore, Ho5 is rejected. Those from public primary school got a higher mean score than those from private primary schools.
The results of the analysis showed that there was statistically significant difference

Table 13: Independent Sample t-Test of Students' Form 4 Mock Mean scores, 2005 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	p-value
Private	60	6.48	2.06	118	2.99	0.003
Public	60	7.67	2.27			

Source: Field data (2006)

in Mock examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Students with public primary school background got higher mean scores than those from private primary schools t(118) = 2.99, p<0.05 so Ho5 is rejected.

Comparison of KCSE Examination Mean Scores between Secondary School Students from Public and Private Primary Schools for the 2004 and 2005 Classes

KCSE mean scores of students with public and private primary school background were analysed and then compared to determine whether there was a significant difference between them. Results from analysis of independent sample t-test computed for KCSE examination mean scores for students of public primary schools and those of private primary schools are shown in table 14 and 15

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Table 14: Independent Samples t-Test of Students' KCSE Mean Scores, 2004 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	P-value
Private	61	7.34	2.11	118	3.456	0.001
Public	59	8.66	2.11			

The results in Table 14 show that there was a statistically significant difference between KCSE examination mean scores between students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. This is because the t (118) = 3.456, p<0.05 therefore, Ho6 is rejected

Table 15: Independent Samples t-Test of Students' KCSE Mean Scores, 2005 Class

Table 15: Independent Samples t-Test of Students' KCSE Mean Scores, 2005 Class

Primary school	N	Mean	SD	Df	t-value	P-value
Private	60	6.68	2.11	118	2.15	0.020
Public	60	7.87	2.35			

The results in Table 15 show that there was statistically significant difference in KCSE examination mean scores between the students with private primary school background and those with public primary school background. Students with public primary school background got higher mean scores in KCSE than those from private primary schools t (118) = 2.15 p<0.05 so Ho6 is rejected.

Discussion of Results

These findings could have been influenced by factors such as:
- Classroom practices that do not prepare the students well for autonomy in learning. Wenglinsky (2002) argued that classroom practices have a marked effect on student's achievement and that they may be as strong as those of student's family background.
- A study by MOEST (2003) found out those practices by private primary school teachers who drill pupils to pass examinations do not prepare them for independence in learning as required in secondary schools. High academic achievement can only be sustained by teachers using pedagogical approaches that enable students to take charge of their own learning.
- High teacher-pupil ratio in secondary school than in private primary schools.
- Time spent on the curriculum
- Low motivation in secondary school than in private primary school.
- Continuous assessment tests (CATS)
- Poor learning environment in secondary schools than in private primary schools among others.

The effect of teacher-student ratio on students' academic performance

A good number of students with private school background agreed that the pupil-teacher ratio in secondary school is higher than in primary school. A number of studies have found an association between class size and pupils' achievement (Iacovou, 2001). Pupils in small classes were found to perform better than those in large classes. The authors however point at the controversy as to what constitutes a small class that would result to significant improvement in pupils' performance. Hanusheck (1998) was of the opinion that, when all other things are equal, smaller classes are preferred to large ones. Smaller classes have a number of merits which include students receiving more individualized instruction which improve their achievement (Harker, 2004) & Hanushek, 1998).

This would then mean that students from private primary school where classes were small performed better in KCPE but on reaching secondary school they performed poorly compared to those from public primary school because of classes being bigger in secondary school. This means that in secondary school, they lacked individualized attention which they were used to in primary school which resulted in their performance going down. As for student from public primary schools who always had a high teacher-pupil ratio than secondary school, it was that found they performed better because of reduced teacher-pupil ratio in secondary school.

The effects of time spent on curriculum activities and students academic performance

On time spent on curriculum activities, majority of the students with private school background disagreed with it being more in secondary school than in primary school. This means that in private schools, time spent on curriculum activities is high. According to Abagi and Odipo (1996), private primary school pupils are in contact with their teachers for more time than those in public primary schools. Studies carried out in different countries have shown that the amount of time available for instruction (curriculum activities) and how effectively this time is used by the students and teachers is consistently related to how much students learn at school and achievement (Heneveld & Craig, 1996).

Brehener (2004) points out that many studies have found a positive correlation between time spent on task and achievement. He defined time spent on task as the time a learner is engaged in a particular learning task. With reduction in time spent on curriculum activity compared to private primary schools; students from these schools have their achievement dropping also. But for students from public primary school, an increase in time spent on curriculum activities in secondary school improves their performance.

The effect of class assignment and homework on Students academic performance

This study found that students from private primary schools felt that the number of class assignments and homework was more in primary school than in secondary school. Assignments and the close evaluation of homework were found to boost students' learning (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). Homework is seen as a tool of instilling value to independent learning that is important in academic achievement. The fact that students from private primary schools performed poorer than those from public primary schools means that they never benefited from independent learning in primary school (wachanga, 2005). What happened then was that they were drilled to pass the KCPE examination. Therefore, the students from private primary school with decreased assignments and

homework in secondary school had their learning reduced hence performed poorly. For those from public primary schools, they had increased assignments and homework in secondary school which boosted their performance.

The effect of friendliness between teachers and students on students' academic Performance

On friendliness of teachers, students with private school background felt that their primary teachers were friendlier than those in secondary school. This is because since private primary schools places a very high premium on the school performance at KCPE examination, they ensure their teachers spend a lot of time with pupils drilling them on syllabus content as well as teaching them how to pass examinations by revising very many examination papers.

Teachers continued employment is also dependent on pupil performance in private primary schools in the subjects they teach. They therefore become closer to their students and use all methods they can to influence them to learn and pass examinations. This close teacher-student relationship is however, not maintained in secondary school. This is because the classes are large and unlike in private primary schools, greater emphasis is placed on students' autonomy in learning. This observation is supported by the MOEST (2003) study which found that students of private primary school found secondary schools lacking in terms of warm human relationship. These students also generally found the secondary school environment inferior to their former private primary school. This perception is likely to affect student's academic performance. This is why students from private schools performed poorly in secondary school.

On the other hand, students from public primary schools felt differently. They felt secondary school teachers and students were friendlier than those in primary school. This boosted their performance in secondary school. Studies have found students satisfaction with the school learning environment to be an important factor in student's achievement. Norang (1981) argued that academic performance is influenced by the manner in which students get along with friends and classmates and also with the character of their relationship with teachers. Norang's argument is supported by Ayot and Patel (1987) who point at the large body of evidence that has found students' perception of their classroom psychosocial characteristics to be strongly related to cognitive and affective outcomes. In their study Mock & Flynn (1977) found positive relationship between students' quality of school life and their academic achievement. Students in their study identified positive inter-personal relationship as a very important characteristic relationship in schools that they (students) preferred.

The fact that students from private primary school found their secondary schools teachers and colleagues less friendly when compared to students from public primary schools suggest that these students may not be as comfortable in secondary school as those from public primary schools. This could be one of the reasons why private primary school student performed poorly than those from public primary school who felt that the teachers and students were friendlier.

The effect of teachers spending more time with the students on academic performance
Students with private school background agreed that teachers spent more time in the school compound than was the case in primary school attended than in secondary school. Since most private schools have boarding facilities, pupils are in contact with the teachers for longer periods than in public primary school, most of which are day schools (Ramani, 2001). With the reduction in time spent by teachers in secondary school, it means that the interaction between teachers and students will be less hence reducing achievement. This makes the private primary school students perform poorly in secondary school. A 2001 workshop on private education heard that many pupils from private schools had difficulties in fitting in public secondary schools where students are expected to learn on their own with minimum support from teachers (Aduda, 2001). On the other hand since most public primary schools are day schools, students from public primary schools append less time with their teachers hence got less attention which led to poor performance.

The effect of continuous assessment tests (CATS) on students' academic performance
The finding in this study shows the number of CATS (tests) in secondary school was less than those in private primary school, just like it was with number of assignments. This agrees with the allegations that in private primary schools, learning has been reduced to drilling for passing examinations without paying due regard to more important values such as independent and creative thinking (Kamau, 2003). Thus, the demand for schools to achieve a higher mean score seems to override the interests of the child. Children are 'spoon –fed' and drilled on how to pass KCPE examination through vigorous practice with many examination papers. The pupils are rarely given a chance to express their own independent views especially if they do not conform to the teachers' ideas (Mwakisha, 2003).

This situation has been made worse in Africa by examinations that emphasize the accumulation of factual knowledge and neglect general reasoning and problem solving activities (Kellenghan, 1992). Thus doing well at KCPE examination may not always be a sign of mastery of curriculum content. In fact, Bigge (1971) argued that capacity to memorize and retain material probably bears no positive relationship to capacity for intelligent behaviour. He adds that some students who memorize standard curriculum material usually make high marks but are at a loss when placed in situations that may require reflections. They, therefore, perform poorly when problem solving teaching is employed. Therefore, when these private primary school students who are used to role learning and drilling go to public secondary schools where learning uses more problem solving approach with no 'spoon –feeding' and drilling they are unable to perform. This is because they were not used to expressing their own independent views. On the other side, pupils from public primary schools were already used to studying on their own without vigorous memorization and drilling hence they out perform their counterparts from private primary schools.

Effect of rewarding on students' academic performance
Rewarding of high performers in examination was more in private primary school than in secondary school. This rewarding is always used as a motivation to even perform better or to sustain good performance. Poor performers have also been found to improve their performance with increased rewarding on every improved performance. Private primary schools motivate their students by giving rewards, taking the students who perform well

for school trips while others even pay fees for the best students. Good meals given in private primary schools also serve as a motivation factor. This makes these students perform well even in KCPE examination.

On reaching secondary schools where the level of motivation is low, these students do not perform as well as when they were in private primary schools. This makes them be outdone by those from public primary schools who may find rewarding more in secondary school than it was in primary schools. This is in line with many studies that have found motivation to have a positive relation with academic performance. Teachers tend to believe that when students are motivated to perform competently on academic tasks, they will learn in accordance with their academic abilities. Another benefit of having highly motivated students in a class is that they make the teacher's job of managing the instructional programme simpler. Academically motivated students tend not to disrupt the instructional environment; they infrequently need to be disciplined; they listen when listening is appropriate because they want to share their thoughts with others. Moreover, when learners are academically motivated, their teachers often become professionally motivated, working hard to provide students with worthwhile educational experiences and filling more satisfaction in doing so (Cheryl, 1992).

Conclusions

The findings of this study are consistent with findings of other studies that have shown that teachers' classroom practices play an important role in students' academic achievement. It was also found that teaching practices in primary schools have some effect on later academic achievement in secondary school. On the basis of these findings, the following conclusions, which were related to the hypotheses of the study and generalized to learners and teachers in provincial secondary schools in Nakuru District are made.

   (I)   Students from private primary schools performed better in KCPE than those f rom public primary schools.
   (II)   Performance at KCSE examination is influence by students' primary school background. Students with a public primary school background perform better than those from private primary schools.
   (III)   Performance at Form 1 and 2 end year examination is almost the same for students with private and public primary school background.
   (IV)   Performance in Form 3 end year examination is influenced by students' primary school background with students with private school background performing poorer than those with public primary school background.
   (V)   Performance in Mock examination in provincial schools is influenced by students' primary school background. Students with private school background perform poorer than those with public primary school background.

Recommendations of the Study

The following are recommendations for all the education stakeholders.

1.Recommendation for Private Primary School Teachers

- Teachers in private primary schools should stop drilling pupils but use teaching methods that promote pupils' independence in learning. They should maintain the good relationship (friendliness) with their pupils as this has helped them boost the performance of their students.

2.Recommendation for Public Primary Schools Teachers
- Teachers in public primary schools should spend more time on curriculum activities and improve their relationship with their students.

3.Recommendations for Secondary School Teachers
- Secondary school teachers should improve on their relationship with the students so that the students can benefit from them fully, even those from private primary schools. Workshops and seminars should be held to equip the teachers with knowledge on how to improve their relationship with the students especially those from private primary schools.

4.Recommendations for Policy Makers
- Policy makers should inspect all schools more regularly to offer professional guidance. They should be introduced to continuously equip teachers with information on emerging issues in education.

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Interpersonal Dynamics Affecting Managerial Communications

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Abstract

This paper presents the effect of interpersonal factors on managerial communications. The paper is based on the research findings of a study on specific interpersonal factors (active listening, courtesy, cultural etiquettes in communication, honesty, empathy, attentiveness, non-verbal communication, interpersonal distance, observance, defensiveness, confidentiality, expressiveness, self-disclosure, humour, flexibility, positive self concept, sociability, expressiveness, openness and critical thinking) for their intrinsic value. The study was based on the Communication theory "social exchange theory." The theory was undoubtedly hoped to benefit the study in terms of perspective and practical approaches. The study utilized both the qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. The research found out that effective and efficient managerial communications depend on the managers' mastery of the prevalent cultural etiquettes in communication and non-verbal communication cues plus other interpersonal dynamics that affect the communication process. The researcher recommended that for effective communication, managers' capacity for assertive communication need be enhanced by empowering them with the knowledge of the prevalent interpersonal factors affecting managerial communications. The paper highlights how the findings from the study will be of use to managers and the corporate management, in problem solving, conflict resolution and decision making, both at the individual and organizational levels.

Key Words: Communication, interpersonal communications, active listening, courtesy, cultural etiquettes in communication, non-verbal communication, confidentiality, self-disclosure, positive self concept, sociability, openness and critical thinking.

Introduction

Interpersonal communication entails communicating one on one with other human beings. In this regard, interpersonal communication involves four basic elements which include: the sender (person who sends information), receiver (person who receives the information sent), message (content of information sent by the sender) and feed back or response from the receiver (Mugui, 2004).

Schein (1990) posits that interpersonal communications do play an especially strong role in organizations as a method of sharing and maintaining organizational culture, including organizing and clarifying group tasks.

In the same vein, communication is often referred to in the context of good leadership (EATCHIP, 1996). Good communication contributes directly to improved interpersonal relationships, higher motivation and thus to the efficiency of the team. Similarly, effective

communication helps to empower workers with the requisite information for effective participation; communication enhances the trust in workers' ability to deal with quality issues in the organization.

Besides, effective communication encourages a cooperative atmosphere that helps solve conflict situations besides helping to reflect on the aspirations and achievements of the organization. In this regard, management involves day-to day involvement and face-to-face communication with the work force. This suggests that allowing ease of communication within the organization is a basic tenet that each manager should uphold.

This way, corporate managements are under obligation to implement honest and open communication systems with employees, to prevent destructive tension from sweeping through the organization. Also, in the context of transformational leadership, managers are under obligation to introduce change and make this changes known by a two way communication process that helps reduce resistance to change. (Cole, 1996). In other words, to maximize productivity, effective communication should fit appropriately into the communication needs of an organization, and allow for desired communication types and modes with a minimum of perceived restrictions. In view of the aforesaid, the ability to communicate is an extremely important part of the manager's role. That is, the ability to communicate effectively has a great impact on the organization's success as communication is linked to the decision making process which distributes to goal achievement (Ingari, 2003). In this respect therefore, a manager needs the ability to make strategic communication choices, write under time constraints, understand the differences in various message channels and how to maximize effectiveness by considering the impact of oral, written, and electronic communication choices. The aforesaid can help to provide decision-making frameworks and tools that they (managers) can use to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of their work place communications. Until recent years however, most studies on communication have been undertaken in western countries. This way, though scholars from diverse scholarly backgrounds in Kenya have researched on issues of communication competence, there is little research data on the influence of interpersonal factors on Managerial Communications.

The effect of interpersonal factors on managerial communications is one area of study that has been given too little attention by the Kenyan scholars. The present study was necessitated by the practical need for managers in Kenya to acquire and develop effective social skills for meaningful and satisfactory personal relationships with workers at their work places (Miyahara, et al. (1996). This paper notes that most of the research data available did not focus on interpersonal factors more so as they relate to managerial communications. Ingari (2003) for instance, has researched on the effects of barriers to effective communication within the motor industry.

Fisher and Waldrip (2002) studied students' perception of teachers' interpersonal behavior, while Casciaro et al. (1998) focused on the accurate perception of the informal patterns of interpersonal relationships in social groups. Also, Liu (2002) examined the verbal and non-verbal factors affecting impression formation in both face-to-face communication and in computer mediate communications, whereas Bunard (1999) studied the acquisition of interpersonal skills.

On her part, Amanaka (2004) has focused on Barriers to effective communication within the Tent manufacturing industry. This paper observed therefore, that Ingari, Fisher and Waldrip, Amanaka did not focus on the influence of interpersonal factors on managerial communications. The current study therefore holds that interpersonal factors could be part of the factors that affect managerial communications either positively or negatively.

Arguably therefore, though communication plays a predominant role in determining levels of organizational effectiveness and productivity, studies in the area of managerial communications have been given too little attention by the Kenyan scholars. This explains the lack of research data on the influence of interpersonal factors on managerial communications. Therefore, the influence of interpersonal factors on managerial communications had not been well known.

With regard to the main aim of this study, the research objectives were:
1. To identify interpersonal factors in communication
2. To identify interpersonal factors that affect managerial communications
3. To establish the effect of interpersonal factors on managerial communications

Theoretical Framework
The study was based on the communication theory (social exchange theory). The social exchange Theory takes the theoretical position which argues that the major force in interpersonal relationships is the satisfaction of both people's self-interest: interpersonal exchanges are analogous to economic exchanges where people are satisfied when they receive a fair return on their expenditures. The theory also addresses itself to issues of affection, instrumentality, expressiveness, self disclosure and protectiveness that are part of interpersonal factors affecting managerial communications analyzed in this study.

Research Methodology
The study adopted the descriptive research design to plan and build the content and form of this study. The descriptive research design was selected for this study because it could enable the researcher to determine and report issues, just as they are (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999); the descriptive research design thus helped the researcher to describe the possible reactions and opinions of employees regarding their managers' communicative mannerisms.

Given that interpersonal communication is context based, qualitative methods of research enabled the researcher to analyse the object of his study within its context of practice. Also, descriptive research uses data derived from case studies which not only allows the researcher to bring out details from the point of view of the participants, but it also tends to be selective focusing only on issues fundamental to the objects of the study. (Mclean, 1995) and Putton, 2002) Similarly, the study made use of the quantitative methods of data analysis to analyze data depending on the findings of the study. A mix of both the qualitative and quantitative methods of research helped in evaluating the data collected thus providing an elaborate and contextualized empirical evidence for the objects of this study.

Target Population

The study targeted employees (non-teaching Staff), in 13 departments at Kenya Methodist University-Meru, who were 137 in number. The employees from Kenya Methodist University-Meru, were selected for this study, considering that they are the receptive audience of managerial communications in different departments of the University

Therefore, the employees were assumed to have the required information for this study. The number of employees per department was displayed in the table below

Table 1: Table on the distribution of employees per department in Kenya Methodist
      University-Meru

No		DEPARTMENT	NO
	1.	Education and counseling	12
	2.	Theology	7
	3.	Service	14
	4.	Security	20
	5.	Library	16
	6.	Academic Registry	8
	7.	Hostels and Catering	18
	8.	Student Affairs	9
	9.	Health and Nursing	12
	10.	Agriculture and Natural Resources	6
	11.	Public Relations	4
	12.	Human Resources	5
	13.	Finance	6
Totals			137

Sample Design

Sample Design Determination

The study used 19% of the target population as his sample size and as recommended by Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), who recommended a sample size of between 10% and 30% of the target population for research in the social sciences. The sample size was thus determined as follows;

(n=26)

Thus, $\frac{26}{137}$ x 100= 19%

Therefore, the researcher used 26 respondents who constituted 19% of the target population. Sampling procedures

The researcher sampled the institution (university), respondents and interpersonal factors for this study in the following order.

Sampling the Institution (University) for Study
Using convenience-sampling procedures (Stewart and Shamdasan, 1990) and (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999), the researcher selected the college for this study. Convenience sampling procedures enabled the researcher to select the institution with cases that were available and convenient with easily and conveniently available subjects for the study. The researcher accessed the field (institution) through the friend of a friend (Milroy, 1960), who guided him to the respondents. This in effect helped him to gain the respondents' informed consent thus avoiding observers' paradox.

Sampling Respondents
The researcher purposefully selected twenty-six respondents (managers and employees) for the study. The 26 respondents were randomly selected from the target population of 137 (non teaching staff). In this regard, each of the employee/ manager was provided with a number. Therefore the researcher used a table of random numbers to select respondents for this study. Employees and Managers were assumed to posses the required information for the study. Sampling Interpersonal Factors

Interpersonal factors for this study were identified and isolated through a critical review of related literature from past research theses and articles on communications, management and interpersonal relationships. In this regard, the researcher purposely selected nineteen interpersonal factors for the study. This number of interpersonal factors was taken to be adequate for the study owing to the awareness that a single text may generate large volumes of data after undergoing critical analysis (Van Dijk, 1997). This way, the number of interpersonal structures selected for this study was expected to generate enough data for analysis.The interpersonal factors investigated include: Active listening, Empathy, Honesty, Openness, Expressiveness, Sociability, Humour, Positive self- concept, .Attentiveness, Cultural etiquettes in communication, Flexibility, Non-verbal communication, Self-disclosure, Courtesy, Interpersonal distance, Observance, Defensiveness and Confidentiality.

Data Collection
Data was collected using questionnaires and informal interviews. Employees' responses from filled in questionnaires (words and statements) revealing their opinions and view of the suggestion that interpersonal factors do influence managerial communications was sought. Questionnaires were used in this research for purposes of objectivity during data analysis and conclusions. Using informal interviews, the researcher gained insight into the managers' and employees' shared knowledge and beliefs by probing and inferring their world view in verbatim. Taking into account the magnitude of data expected for this study, involving all employees in various institutions in Kenya was not possible.

Data Analysis

Data analysis involved analysis of responses from filled in questionnaires and informal interviews. In this regard, the researcher checked the filled in questionnaires for completeness and relevance. In this respect, the raw data was refined and broken down into parts, each of which was organized into coherent categories in relation to the research questions. That is, the managers' and employees' reactions (words and statements) reflecting the interconnectedness between interpersonal factors and managerial communications were identified, categorized (ranked) and converted to percentages to give the overriding opinions. The researcher used quantitative methods of data analysis to tabulate the managers' and employees' responses into percentages to reflect their viewpoints and opinions about the object of study. Tables and a pie chart were used to graphically represent the results.

Results

The study found out that interpersonal skills were particularly important in a professional business environment and every manager is under obligation to master them if he or she is to engender good customer relations. Further, the findings from this study revealed that some managers lack the necessary critical understanding of the deterministic role played by interpersonal factors on managerial communications. In this regard, the study identified the interpersonal skills; active listening, honesty, sociability, positive self-concept, empathy, courtesy, cultural etiquettes in communication, openness, attentiveness, non-verbal communication, interpersonal distance, humour, observance, defensiveness confidentiality, expressiveness, self-disclosure and critical thinking, as being critical in all managerial communications.

Discussions

To determine the effect of interpersonal factors on managerial communications, respondents were asked to respond to open ended and closed ended questions in a questionnaire. The respondents were supposed to respond to the questions along the Likert scale. The question was whether interpersonal factors affect managerial communications. In this regard, the research aimed at ascertaining the University employees' perception and interpretations of the extent to which interpersonal factors influence their managers' way of talking, interpreting and responding to issues in their managerial functions via communication.

The respondents were supposed to respond to five categories of responses namely: strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree, disagree and not sure. There were a total of 754 responses and twenty-six respondents, each of whom made twenty-nine responses. The responses were discussed in the following discussion.

Out of a total of 754 responses, 359 responses showed that some of the respondents strongly agreed that interpersonal factors actually influence managerial communication. These responses constituted 48% of the total responses collected from the field. On the same vein, a total of 289 responses (38%) showed that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the success of managerial communications, is actually dependent on the varied interpersonal factors highlighted in this research. At this point, we can arguably affirm that majority of the university employees did confirm that interpersonal factors indeed affect the mannerisms of managers in the communication process.

This far, 648 responses were in agreement with the view that interpersonal factors affect managerial communications. This number of responses showed that a high percentage (85%), of respondents were in agreement with the view that interpersonal factors do influence managerial communications. This high percentage further reflects the need for managers to learn and master the myriad interpersonal factors that affect their managerial communicative functions.

The aforesaid standpoint confirms the third research objective that sought to establish the effect of interpersonal factors on managerial communications. However so, a number of respondents disagreed with the idea that managers' communicative events are influenced by interpersonal factors. There were 30 responses that strongly disagreed. This constituted 4% of the total responses. Similarly, 41 responses generally disagreed, which constituted 5% of the total responses. In total therefore, a total of 71 responses were in disagreement. This constituted 9% of the total responses. By disagreeing, the respondents had refused to accept the argument that interpersonal factors do affect managerial communications. This means that they do not embrace the argument that interpersonal factors affect managerial communications. This confirms that though some managers' communicative functions are influenced by their interpersonal attributions, not all managers are influenced by the mentioned interpersonal factors. Also, this suggests that not all interpersonal factors could be affecting managerial communications.

In the same vein, a total of 35 responses were not sure of where they belonged. This was 5% of the total responses. This was taken by the researcher to be a signifier of their not being aware of the presence of interpersonal factors that were found in this study to influence managerial communications. These responses revealed the truth that some people seem to lack the necessary critical understanding of the deterministic role played by interpersonal factors on managerial communications.

This further revealed the need to educate employees and their managers on the varied interpersonal factors that come to determine their managerial communications. Consequently, only a systematic analysis of the interpersonal factors could help to show how interpersonal factors affect managerial communications. The above findings were summarized in the table below and graphically presented in a pie chart.

Table 2: Responses to the suggestion that Interpersonal Factors affect Managerial Communications

| Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	359	48%
Agree	289	38%
Strongly disagree	30	4%
Disagree	41	5%
Not sure	35	5%
Totals	754	100%

Source: Field data
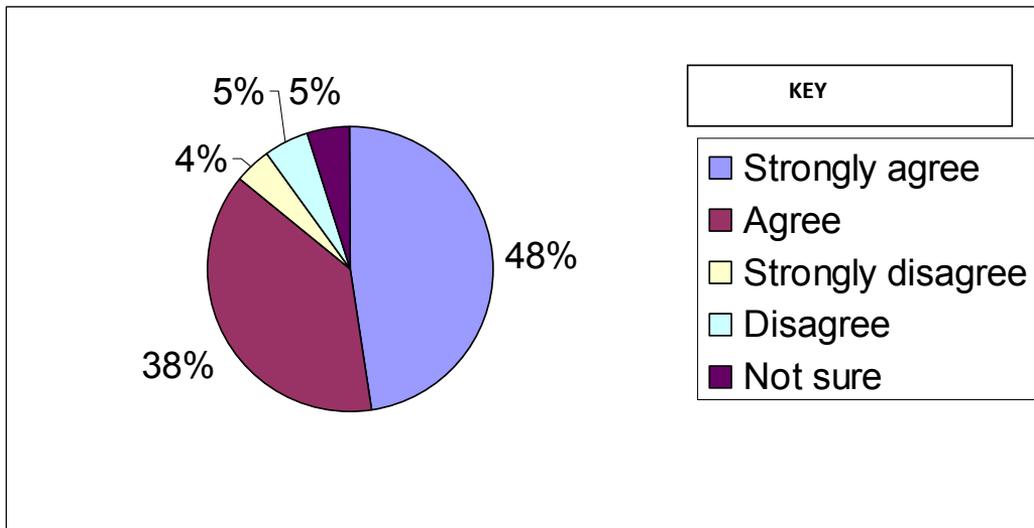
Figure 4: Pie chart showing the Influence of Interpersonal factors on Managerial Communications

Conclusions of the study

From the foregoing discussion, effective and efficient managerial communications depend on the manager's mastery of the prevalent cultural etiquettes in communication and non-verbal communication cues plus other interpersonal dynamics that come to affect the communication process. Arguably therefore, the research established that interpersonal factors actually do influence Managerial Communications.

Recommendations from the findings of the study

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends that:

In order to engender effective communications, the managers' ability to make assertive communications need be enhanced by empowering the managers with the requisite knowledge on the various interpersonal factors that affect managerial communications. The researcher further recommended that it is obligatory for managers to learn the cultural etiquettes in communication and the prevalent non-verbal cues to enable them not only to recognize and interpret, but also gain insights into what people really think and feel in the communication process

The researcher further recommended for a replication of this study in another Institution to help find out if interpersonal factors actually do influence Managerial Communications as found out in this research. This will in effect help ascertain the extent to which the findings of this study are generalizable to other research findings on the same issue. Finally, the researcher recommended that an examination of the personality factors affecting communications be done, with the aim of finding out if there are any major differences in the ways these factors Influence Managerial Communications.

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Relationship Between Sales Growth, Profitability And Firm Value In Firm Value Creation Strategy: A Study of Companies in Young Emerging Market Economies (Emes)

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Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between sales growth, profitability and firm value in firm value creation strategy. Results based on dependent variable ROAOP using a sample of 69 public limited companies from Kenya, Indonesia, South Africa and The Philippines considered as young emerging market economies in this study indicate that although both firm profitability and value generally rise with sales growth, an optimal point exists beyond which further sales growth adversely affects profitability and shareholder value. The results also show that the level of sales growth that maximizes the value of the firm is lower than that maximizing the company's profitability.

Keywords

Young emerging market economies (EMEs), Sales growth, Accounting profitability, Firm Value

Introduction

Despite the widespread interest in emerging stock markets, relatively little is known about the relationship between sales growth, profitability and firm value creation of firms in these markets. Understanding the nature of this relationship will shed light on whether an optimal sales growth rate that maximizes profitability exists, and whether the optimal level of the sales growth rate that maximizes profitability is different from that maximizing the value of the firm. If the level of sales growth is different within the two conditions of profit and value maximization, managers should choose the level of growth that maximizes the value of the firm. Above optimal level of sales growth the company will not generate value but instead destroy it. Despite the apparent popularity of value creation strategy, its empirical validity has not been well demonstrated for companies in young emerging market economies.

This research is concerned with three broad questions that are of considerable theoretical and practical interests. First, is there a relationship between optimal sales growth rate and firm profitability and/or is there an optimal sales growth that maximizes firm profitability. Second, is there an optimal sales growth rate that maximizes the value of the firm and third, whether the optimal sales growth rate that maximizes profitability the same as that maximizes the value of the firm. Thus, the objective of this study is to test whether firms in young emerging economies increase their sales growth to maximize their profitability or the value of the firm.

Theoretical Background and Hypotheses Development
Sales Growth and Profitability
Product or industrial lifecycle concept is used to explain the relationship between sales growth and profitability. Products move through four identifiable phases- introduction, growth, maturity and decline. Selling and Stickney (1998) found out that profitability measured as return on asset (ROA) differed across time and through time as product pass through different stages in their life cycles. Ramezani, et al. (2002) and Ekawati (2005) tested the effect of sales growth on company's profitability. In their studies, the sample of the companies was sorted into four quartiles based on their sales growth and earnings. However, on the fourth quartile, decline on profitability occurred as sales continued to grow. These studies showed that there is an optimal growth that should be reached before diminishing profitability occurred since the enforcement of further growth beyond the optimal level resulted in even more diminishing profitability. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is proposed:

HI: Increase in sales growth has a positive influence on firm performance (profitability) up to a certain level; however, beyond this level sales growth will lead to a decline in firm's profitability.

Sales Growth and Value Creation
Sales growth requires additional investment on operating assets and working capital. To ensure that the growth of sales results in value creation for the company, each additional investment project must have a positive net present value (NPV) of the expected future net cash flows after initial investments. Mc. Connel and Muscarella, (1985) argue that a project having a positive NPV would contribute to the stock price increase. The increase of the stock return above the required rate of return will increase stockholders wealth beyond their expectation, termed as abnormal return. Thus, abnormal return can be used as a measure of company's value creation which is the difference between actual return and the expected return.

H2: Increase in sales growth has a positive influence on firm value creation up to a certain level; however, beyond this level sales growth will lead to a decline in firm value creation.

Accounting Profitability and Value Creation
Literatures in financial management claim that the goal of a company to maximize accounting profitability is not synonymous with that of to maximize the value of the firm. This contention is based on some limitations exposed by measures of accounting profitability such as return on equity (ROE), return on asset (ROA), and return on investment (ROI). The limitations are claimed due to the use of accounting profit which does not reflect cash flows, and ignorance of cost of capital consideration required to create profit. However, based on the previous studies Ekawati (2005), (Dodd and Johns, 1999; Garvey and Millbourn, 2000; Chen and Dodd, 2002), profitability ratios had a positive relationship with stock prices. Should profitability ratios have a positive relationship with stock prices, the level of growth maximizing the profitability should be the same as that of maximizing the value of the firm.

Variaya, et al. (1987) used the term spread to identify the ROE minus cost of equity capital, in which positive spread would contribute to the value creation, while negative spread to value destruction. Variaya, et al. (1987) empirically demonstrated the combination of expected growth and expected positive spread that are associated with higher firm value. Thus, increase in the ROE alone would not guarantee increase in firm value. Alberts (1984a) empirically demonstrated the combination of expected growth and expected positive spread is associated with higher firm value. This finding suggested that value creation resulted from pursuing growth strategies that were not only profitable but also creating a positive spread. It is possible that the sales or earning growth still contributes to the increase in profitability but not to the increase in company's value. This condition occurs because additional growth requires higher costs than the benefits realized from it. Therefore the objective of a firm should never be to simply maximize growth in earnings or cash flows. The objective should be to maximize the market value of the firm, which is equivalent to maximizing wealth. Thus, we have the following hypothesis:

H3: Sales growth level that maximizes the value of the firm is lower than that maximizing the company's profitability.

Other factors affecting firm profitability and value creation
Previous studies show that there are many factors that influence the company's performance, whether the performance is measured by profitability ratios or value driven indicators such as economic value added and market value added. This research includes variables that have been cross-sectionally identified by the previous researchers affecting the companies' performance (Phillips, 1999; Campbell and Shiller, 1998; Shin and Stultz, 2000; Opler, et al. 1999). The variables affecting company's profitability are economic conditions, firm size, market-to-book ratios, price earning ratios, dividend payments, and operational flexibility, and those affecting value creation are economic conditions, firm size, and systematic risk. These variables will be included in the analysis as control variables so that the effects of growth levels on profitability and value creation can be identified without interference by other factors that have been identified by the previous researchers affecting the variables being studied.

Research Method
Data and Sample
The companies to be used in this study are public companies listed in their respective countries' Stock Exchange. The main criteria that will be used for sampling the firms will be as follows: The firm must have been listed for the entire period of study 2001 – 2007; annual reports must be available in the Osiris website. Countries included in the study are Indonesia, the Philippines, South Africa and Kenya. As regards to this study, annual reports must have all the relevant information and must be complete especially during the period of study. Following the standard practice, financial institutions and insurance companies were not included in the sample.

Data Analysis Procedures
For each year data in the sample, the companies were placed into quartiles based on their sales growth. The first quartile contained the companies with the lowest level of sales growth, the second quartile with the higher level and so forth. The sales growth on year t was measured by the average sales growth for the last three years (year t-3 to t). Some

companies could move from one growth quartile to another from year to year. To ensure persistence of the result, persistence sample was formed. Persistence sample contained only companies that belonged to the same growth quartile for within at least three years in a row. This approach was appropriate in this research because the use of growth rates facilitated comparisons of companies and averaging smoothened the influence of transitory jumps in sales or earnings. Following Bacidore, et al. (1997), value creation was measured using the Jensen's alpha derived from capital asset pricing model.

$$(R_{IT} - R_{ft}) = \alpha\, i + \beta\, i\, (R_{mt} - R_{ft}) + e_{it} \qquad (1)$$

Where:

R_{IT} = Stock return of company i at period t,

R_{mt} = Market return at period t

R_{ft} = Risk free rate at period t

α_i = An intercept used as a measure of abnormal return or value creation

One year estimation periods of stock daily return was used to compute the abnormal return in the end of each year. When alpha is positive, the shareholders have received compensation above their risk-adjusted opportunity cost of capital. Conversely, when abnormal returns are negative, they have been inadequately compensated for risk.

Models
To investigate the relationship between level of sales growth and company's profitability, the following multiple regression was employed.

Model 1

(2)

Where:

ROA = a vector profitability measure in which each element represents a company in a particular year (panel data). Two profitability measures will be used namely return on asset (ROANI) and return on asset (ROAOP).

a = the regression intercept. It measures the conditional mean of the ROA for the first quartile in 2004

q = a quartile

b_q = coefficient differentiating the quartiles. It measures difference in ROA across quartiles after other factors are controlled for. The null hypothesis is that companies in the second through the fourth quartile are no different from companies in the first quartile; bq= 0 for q = 2, 3, 4.

D_q = 1 for companies in the qth quartile of sales growth and zero otherwise (q = 2, 3, 4).

c_y = influence of each year on return on asset (ROA).

D_y = a dummy variable for the year, $D_y = 1$ when $y = 2004, 2005, 2006,$ and 2007, and 0 otherwise.

SIZE = firm size as a control variable having impact on return on asset (ROA).

BM = Book-to-market ratio having impact on return on asset (ROA).

DIV = Dividend payment as a control variable having impact on return on asset (ROA).

FXA = Operating flexibility as a control variable on return on asset (ROA).

ε = regression error

To investigate the relationship between level of growth and value creation the following multiple regression model was employed:

Model 2
    (3)

Where:
α = a vector with element representing a company's estimated alpha in a particular year (panel data).

k = estimate of the conditional mean of alpha; it will measure differences in value creation across quartiles, after other factor are controlled for.

η = regression error; it will be assumed to be independent identically distributed (i.i.d).

Hypothesis Testing
Regression coefficients of Dq were used to test H1 and H2. As we move to the higher quartiles the coefficient of Dq should increase then decrease after reaching an optimal level. Hypothesis 3 was tested by observing the differences of the optimal level obtained from model 1 and model 2. To further test hypothesis 3, a statistical analysis was conducted whereby a two-sample independent t-test for both model 1 and 2 was calculated.

Results and Discussion
Sample Selection and Statistics Summary
Initially, we managed to get 1048 companies since both private and public limited companies are listed in the website. Following further screening based on the conditions already discussed, only 262 companies from the four countries qualified as a sample for the study in the first stage. After a series of further descriptive statistics analysis, the extreme (outliers) firms were excluded. Therefore, the final sample consisted of only 69 companies a year for four years (276 observations for four years). In general the sample was representative.

Table 1 below presents a summary of the sample used for this study. From the table, it can be observed that South Africa had the highest number of firms in the final sample, with 29, and only 1 from Kenya.

Table 1: Sample Summary

Country	Number of Companies listed in Osiris	Qualifying Companies	Outliers	Final Sample
Indonesia	317	83	62	21
Philippines	239	60	42	18
South Africa	459	103	74	29
Kenya	33	16	15	1
Total	1048	262	193	69

Table 2 above contains descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

Ratio	N	Mean	Median	Std. deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Sales growth	276	22.248	13.090	43.016	-85.350	314.63
ROAni	276	0.058	0.040	0.059	-0.001	0.45
ROAop	276	0.123	0.117	0.068	-0.020	0.47
Total asset (Ln)	276	19.205	19.660	2.384	8.94	23.43
Total sales (Ln)	276	18.855	19.455	2.377	8.94	23.24
BM	276	0.839	0.580	1.224	0.00	12.17

EPS	276	0.597	0.080	1.353	0.00	11.19
DIV	276	0.140	0.080	0.465	0.00	7.49
FXA	276	1.921	0.585	5.129	0.02	71.11
ROE	276	0.129	0.095	0.140	0.00	1.26
NPM	276	0.183	0.160	0.151	-0.01	1.26
OPM	276	0.296	0.250	0.248	-0.02	2.11
Alpha	276	0.279	0.240	0.175	0.00	0.76
Beta (adj.)	276	1.359	1.050	0.971	0.00	8.54

for the final sample. The average sales growth is 22.248 percent (range from -85.35 to 314.63). The mean of ROAni and ROAop is about 0.058 and 0.123 respectively. Industry average ROA is 9 percent. Based on ROAop perspective, on average companies in this study have a relatively high ROA. On average size_asset (ln) and size_sales (ln) are 19.205 and 18.855 respectively. Average book to market, a ratio used to reflect past growth is 0.839. Mean of earning per share (EPS) and dividend payment (DIV) is 0.597 and 0.140 respectively. On the other hand, the mean of operational flexibility (FXA) is 1.921 times. This is below the industry average of 3.0 times revealing that the companies in this study do not have the right amount of fixed assets in relation to other firms. Thus, the companies do not effectively use their plants and equipment.

The average ROE ultimately the most important or "bottom line" is about 0.129 for our sample of firms. This is below the 15 percent industry average. Stockholders invest to get a return on their money, and this ratio tells how well they are doing in an accounting sense. This somewhat better result is due to companies' greater use of debt, a point that is subject to further empirical analysis. The average for the net profit margin for our sample is 0.183, higher above the 5 percent industry average. The mean for operating profit margin is about 0.296. Lastly, the average for alpha and beta is about 0.279 and 1.359 respectively. These reveal that the shareholders are compensated above their risk-adjusted opportunity cost of capital and that on average the companies' investments have a risk relatively above the market risk.

Descriptive Statistics
Table 3 below presents a comparison of performance measures, financial attributes and asset pricing parameters for companies in the sample classified into four quartiles based on sales growth.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Company Characteristics by Sales Growth   Rates, 2004 - 2007

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Measure	All Companies	Quartiles Annual Sales Growth Rate				Persistent Companies
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
Sorting Variables						
Mean sales growth rate (%)	22.2481	-9.7279	8.4475	19.7505	69.4277	51.0145
	13.0900	-5.6650	7.9950			45.0850
Median sales growth rate (%)	43.01661	14.18378	2.72871	18.7700	46.9000	43.48205
Standard deviation of-				4.31875	55.85544	
Sales growth rate (%)						
Performance Measures	0.1286					0.1808
ROE	0.05890	0.1051	0.1073			0.05165
ROAni	0.12267	0.04724	0.05975	0.1426	0.1591	0.14053
ROAop	0.1830	0.09420	0.11393	0.14339	0.05913	0.2578
NPM	0.2961					0.4328
OPM		0.1544	0.1413	0.14339	0.14319	
		0.2296	0.2240	0.1939	0.2380	
Financial Attributes	19.2049			0.3115	0.4121	19.2968
Size (total sales) (ln)	18.8550					18.5260
Size (total assets, (ln)	1.9210	18.8210	19.3618			6.3788
	0.8390					0.9093

				19.150 7	19.533 1	
Fixed asset/total asset	0.5967	18.613 5	19.019 7			0.7128
Book to market ratio	0.1404			18.916 7	18.930 7	0.1565
Earning per share		2.1611	1.1767			
Dividend payment		1.0671	0.8357	1.1448	2.8916	
		0.5511	0.5305			
Asset Pricing Parameters	0.2797	0.1028	0.1018	0.7062	0.7063	0.2673
	1.3593			0.5775	0.7140	1.1520
Annualized CAPM alpha (%)				0.2305	0.1383	
CAPM beta (adjusted)	276	0.2569	0.2975			40
		1.1681 0	0.7456 8	0.2920	0.2800	
Sample size				1.4284	1.2836	
		80	60			
				61	75	

Each company in the sample could move from one quartile of sales growth to another from year to year. For companies consistent for at least 3 years, a persistent sample was formed. There were 40 companies (160 observations) which met this criterion. The purpose of this data partitioning was to assess the robustness of the results for each quartile. Mean and median of sales growth rate rose across quartiles. The standard deviation sharply rose in the fourth quartile indicating high sales growth rates were accompanied by high volatility.

Performance measurements reported were ROE, ROANI, ROAOP, net profit margin (NPM), and operating profit margin (OPM). It was expected that, the performance measurements using ROE, ROANI, ROAOP, net profit margin (NPM), and operating profit margin (OPM) increased as the level of sales growth moved from the first quartile to the third quartile and then decreased in the fourth quartile. In this study, ROANI, and ROAOP increased as the level of sales growth increased from the first quartile to the third one, and decreased in the fourth quartile. ROE increased throughout from the first quartile to the fourth quartile. Net profit margin (NPM) and operating profit margin (OPM) showed the same pattern as return on equity (ROE). This means that

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they increased throughout from the first to the fourth quartile. Considering the trend reflected by ROE, NPM and OPM were not used in the data analysis. Thus, profitability measures used in the data analysis are ROANI, and ROAOP. As it can be observed, the relationship between profitability and sales growth was highly linear except for ROANI, and ROAOP.

Variables of financial attributes provided a broader explanation. They included, firm size (ln total sales and total assets), operating flexibility, future growth potential presented by book to market ratio, earning per share and dividend payment. As shown in table 3 above, size (total sales (ln)) increased throughout from the first up to the second quartile decreased in the third quartile and then increased in the fourth quartile. On the other hand, the firm size (ln total assets) increased up to the second quartile and sluggishly decreased in the third quartile and then increased in fourth quartile. Operating flexibility as measured by fixed assets divided by total assets was different in all the four quartiles with the highest in the fourth quartile. Book-to-market ratios reached the highest value in the first quartile indicating that the highest growth potential occurred in the first quartile. Earning per share was highest in the fourth quartile and least in the second quartile. For dividend payment, the highest was in the third quartile and the lowest in the second quartile respectively.

Asset pricing parameters presented in table 3 showed measures of value creation attributed to annualized capital asset pricing model (CAPM) alpha. Alpha increased from the first quartile to the second quartile and then decreased in the third and fourth quartiles respectively. It was highest in the second quartile. In other words, we had the optimum annualized CAPM alpha in the second quartile. For systematic risk measured by adjusted CAPM beta was highest in the third quartile and lowest in the second quartile.

Regression Results
Sales growth and Profitability
To further investigate the relationship between level of sales growth and profitability, the formal test of regression model 1 was run. As shown in table 4 below, the regression output led support to the analysis from the descriptive analysis. The regression model was estimated using ordinary least square (OLS). Dependent variables used were ROANI and ROAOP. A number of estimated coefficients were statistically significant. However, classical OLS assumptions discussed later in the chapter could not be ignored. As shown in table 4, intercept coefficient estimates are conditional mean of either ROANI or ROAop for companies in the first growth quartile in year 2004 used as base value. The coefficients in the other quartile dummies represented the difference of average ROA of the corresponding quartile from the base value after all other factors are controlled for.

Table 4: Model 1 Regression of ROA$_{NI}$ and ROA$_{OP}$

Variables	Dependent Variable ROA$_{NI}$				Dependent Variable ROA$_{OP}$			
	Full Sample		Persistent Sample		Full Sample		Persistent Sample	
	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T
Intercept	0.018	1.068	0.072	1.079	0.119	4.086***	0.004	0.042
Q2	0.011	2.084**	0.013	0.445	0.024	2.522**	0.012	0.256
Q3	0.017	3.181***	0.009	0.308	0.039	4.073***	-0.014	-0.290
Q4	0.004	0.721	0.027	1.449	0.024	2.569**	0.037	1.248
2004	-0.001	-0.123	-0.016	-1.038	-0.014	-1.468	-0.04	-1.680
2005	0.004	0.691	0.006	0.353	-0.007	-0.781	0.000	-0.10
2006	-0.001	-0.181	-0.008	-0.514	-0.009	-0.900	-0.020	-0.812
Size_asset (ln)	0.000	0.231	-0.004	-1.125	-0.003		0.001	0.106
ROE	0.368	18.517***	0.277	4.467***	-0.028	-2.090**	0.005	-3.887***
EPS	0.002	0.993	0.002	0.476	0.008	-0.797	-0.378	0.919
NPM	0.029	1.279	0.016	0.230	0.106	3.103***	0.536	4.947***
OPM	-0.081	-7.676***	-0.053	-1.928*	0.101	2.668***	0.087	2.013*
Sample size	276		40		276		40	
Adjusted R^2	0.718		0.576		0.360		0.705	

Given this explanation, the coefficient of growth quartile dummies were interpreted that ROANI increased from the first quartile to second quartile, reached the maximum in the third quartile and decreased in fourth quartile. In fact the coefficient of the fourth quartile was not significant. The coefficients of second, third and fourth quartiles in full sample for ROANI were 0.011, 0.017 and 0.004 respectively. This result supported H1 that profitability (ROANI) increases up to a certain level of sales growth, beyond that level, it decreases. This was further supported by the results from ROAOP for the full sample whose coefficients for second, third and fourth quartiles were, 0.024, 0.039 and 0.024 respectively.

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| | 5.486** |
| | * |

To test the persistence of the result due to the possibility of some companies moving from one quartile to another through the years, the regression model 1 was re-run using the persistent sample. However, the results did not support the hypothesis. Interesting enough, the year coefficients were insignificant, suggesting that companies that were able to maintain their growth positions (persist) were less likely to experience cyclical fluctuations in their profitability than companies that did not. Using ROAOP full sample, company size contributed negatively to profitability. A number of the control variables had estimated coefficients signs as expected. For example earning per share (EPS) had a positive relationship with profitability. Companies having lower EPS tended to have lower profitability. Net profit margin (NPM) showed a positive relationship with firm profitability. However, operating profit (OPM) showed a negative relationship with firm profitability in both full and persistent samples when ROANI was the dependent variable. However, the reverse was true when ROAOP was the dependent variable. This calls for further research in the future to justify this phenomenon.

We assessed the robustness of these results in a number of ways. First by imposing the persistence criterion, we eliminated the potential noise that arises from the movement of companies among the sales growth quartiles. Second we tested for the possibility of a certain class of companies may overly influence our findings. For example, removing the outliers from the sample and rerunning the tests had discernible impact on our results.

Sales growth and Value Creation

Following the Bacidore et al (1997) we posited that shareholders are concerned with abnormal returns measured by alpha. When alpha is positive, shareholders have received compensation above their risk-adjusted opportunity cost of equity. Conversely, when abnormal returns are negative, they have been inadequately compensated for risk. Given this reasoning, we expected alpha to be positively correlated with value creation. To investigate this link, we estimated the regression model proposed by Bacidore et al. but augmented their model to control for growth, company size and risk among other factors as shown in table 5. Table 5 below shows the results of the regression of abnormal returns using ROANI and ROAOP as profitability measures.

For each year, we estimated the alpha using the previous 48-months' excess returns for the company and the market over the three-month T-bill interest rate. Return on asset (ROA) was included to determine how well this performance measure explains abnormal returns. The logarithm of the company's assets served as proxy for size. Following the previous interpretations, the intercept coefficient estimates are conditional mean of abnormal return for companies in the first growth quartile in year 2004, used as base value. The coefficients on the other quartile dummies represent the difference of average abnormal return of the corresponding quartile from the base value after all other factors are controlled for.

Table 5: Regression of Abnormal Return using ROA_{NI} and ROA_{OP} as Profitability Measures

Variables	Dependent Alpha(ROA_{NI} as profitability measure)				Dependent Alpha(ROA_{OP} as profitability measure)			
	Full Sample		Persistent Sample		Full Sample		Persistent Sample	
	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T	Coefficients	T
Intercept	0.141	2.090**	0.238	1.210	0.190	2.776***	0.320	1.568
Q2	0.037	1.670*	-0.013	-0.154	0.047	2.137**	-0.001	-0.014
Q3	0.047	2.087**	-0.052	-0.576	0.062	2.771***	-0.033	-0.350
Q4	0.049	2.257**	0.005	0.083	0.058	2.732***	0.022	0.369
2004	-0.235	-10.608***	-0.225	-4.260***	-0.242	-11.027***	-0.230	-3.905***
2005	-0.206	-9.316***	-0.175	-3.136***	-0.210	-9.632***	-0.170	-2.854***

2006	-0.106	4.762[***]	-0.105	2.287[**]	-0.110	5.027[***]	-0.107	-2.179[**]
Size_assets(ln)	0.016	4.545[***]	0.017	1.738[*]	0.015	4.153[***]	0.012	1.224
EPS	-0.029	-4.621[***]	-0.004	-0.427	-0.026	-4.071[***]	-0.004	-0.402
NPM	-0.378	-4.098[***]	-0.535	0.054	-0.335	-3.649[***]	-0.733	-2.465[**]
OPM	-0.082	-1.739[**]	-0.158	-2.681[**]	-0.035	-0.780	-0.255	-2.784[***]
ROE	0.317	2.587[***]	0.013	-1.862[*]	0.279	3.497[***]	0.492	2.062[**]
Beta	0.007	0.867	-0.025	-0.817	0.009	1.129	-0.022	-0.644
ROA_	-0.065	-0.254	1.175	2.099[**]	-0.413	-2.942[***]	0.405	1.047
Sample size	276		40		276		40	
Adjusted R^2	0.473		0.666		0.489		0.625	

[*] Significant at alpha 10% level

[**] Significant at alpha 5% level

[***] Significant at alpha 1% level

Using the ROAOP as a profitability measure in the full sample, the abnormal return reached the maximum value in the third quartile. The coefficients for the second, third and fourth quartiles were 0.047, 0.062 and 0.058 respectively. The decreasing abnormal

return associated with the fourth quartile of growth was again a significant feature of this study. Companies in the third quartile had the highest conditional abnormal return for ROAOP as profitability measure. In addition, the inverted U-shaped relationship between abnormal return and growth was similar to that of profitability and sales growth. These results supported hypothesis two that value creation increases up to a certain level of sales growth, beyond that level the converse is true. However, persistent sample for ROAOP did not show any significant results.

Firm size (in assets) had a positive and significant relationship with value creation in the full sample in both cases. This was further observed in persistent sample for ROANI. Moreover, the dummy variables for years were highly significant, indicating that excess returns are sensitive to market conditions. In other words, the amount of value creation also varied over times. Thus, economic conditions have effects on value creation. A point worth noting is that out of the four regressions only one that of ROAOP supported the second hypothesis that value creation increases up to a certain level of sales growth, beyond that level the converse is true EPS, NPM and OPM showed a negative relationship with firm value.

Accounting Profitability and Value Creation

Based on the results from both regression models using ROAOP as a profitability measure, it seems that the level of sales growth for maximizing firm profitability and value are the same, in the third quartile (Q3). These results demonstrate that maximizing accounting profitability measures generally rise with sales growth, yet an optimal level of sales growth exists, beyond which further sales growth decreases the firm's profitability. The same phenomenon is observed in the case of value creation.

To further test whether sales growth that maximizes the value of the firm is lower than that of maximizing firm's profitability, a statistical analysis to test if there existed a significant difference between third and fourth quartiles for both model was conducted since the focus of this study was the optimum level and the level at which decline in firm profitability and value creation was observed. For model 1, there was no significant difference between the two quartiles meaning that maximum firm profitability was reached somewhere beyond the fourth quartile. However, for model 2, a significant difference was observed meaning that statistically, maximum firm value was reached in the third quartile of the sales growth. This can be translated to mean that the level of sales growth that maximizes the value of the firm was lower than that of maximizing the firm's profitability hence the study supported the third hypothesis. However, due to space limitation we did not report these results here

Conclusions and Limitations

The results of this study, in general, offered empirical support for the existence of a positive relationship between sales growth and firm profitability up to a certain extent beyond which the converse is true. Thus, using the ROAOP as dependent variable and the full sample this study supported the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis that increase in sales growth has a positive influence on firm value creation up to a certain level beyond which sales growth would lead to a decline on firm value creation, was also supported by our regression results. This means that there exists an optimal sales growth that maximizes the value of the firm. The third hypothesis was also supported

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by this study. This is consistent to previous work by Ekawati (2005) who found that the level of sales growth that maximizes firm value is lower than that of maximizing profitability.

The heterogeneity of the countries leads to the data being so much extreme rendering the sample size small. This may in part be overcome in future research by increasing the sample size. In addition, sales growth quartiles for all countries were considered concurrently. It is possible that level of sales growth of each country was different Our scheme of portioning the data into four quartiles and applying OLS to each represents some challenges since not all the classical assumptions are supported by this study. This is especially heteroskedasticity, autocorrelation and normality tests. Therefore, this adds to the list of the major limitations of this research although not reported here.

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Rethinking the Role of the Multinational Tea Companies Among the Kipsigis of Kenya Since 1903

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Abstract

The Multinational Tea Companies (MTC) among the Kipsigis were and still are an agency through which economic transformation advanced technology is transferred to the underdeveloped countries. In the case of the tea industry in Kenya, MTC investment has resulted in increasing unemployment and regional inequality, has made little and possibly a negative and positive alike contribution to the balance of payments, and has failed to make linkages with the local economy and especially its resources. In particular, the MTC, through its promotion of new 'brand-name products, transfers tastes from advanced to backward capitalism, thus reinforcing the process of inappropriate technology transfer. Nationalization and a controlled industrial strategy are options not open to Kenya given the nature of its existing class structure, reinforced by the MTCs and furthering their interest.

Introduction

The Kipsigis can be identified as one of the nine main branches of the Kalenjin-speaking peoples of Kenya, the others being the Keiyo, Marakwet, Nandi, Ogiek, Pokot (sometimes called the Suk), Sabaot (who live in the Mount Elgon region, overlapping the Kenya/Uganda border), the Terik and the Tugen . Linguistically, they are related to the Barabaig of Tanzania and the Sebei of Uganda. Their present-day homeland is Kenya's western highlands and the Rift Valley. Specifically, the Kipsigis are within the two major counties of Kenya: Kericho and Bomet. These counties lie along the south western edge of Kenya highlands forming a hilly shelf between the Mau escarpment and the lowlands of Nyanza. The altitude varies from 2700 metres in the southern Bomet area to about 1500 metres in the west bordering Kisumu. However, the number of districts in Kipsigis County has increased and each of the constituencies in the region has been declared a district.

Maxon, among other scholars, confirm that at the end of the first millennium B.C. the Kipsigis, who had began to settle at TuluoKipsigis, began to practice agriculture before taking to pastoralism. Their main crop at this time was millet. Consequently, itt should be noted, however, that their pastoralist life began to emerge in the eighteen century and it is at this period that cattle keeping became institutionalized and as social organization began to reflect the predominance of pastoralism in the economic organization of the people. On this, Mwanzi, the Kipsigis scholar wrote:

Sufficient evidence exists among the Kipsigis as among the rest of the Kalenjin people, to show that crop production preceded cattle keeping… J. Lamphear for instance has postulated that by 1500 A.D. the ancestors of present day settled in the Mount Elgon area and that they were essentially non pastoral agriculture who augments their living by hunting.

However, from 1895 henceforth, the British set about the processing of creating 'Kenya' through conquering the various communities that existed as autonomous entities. The area became known as British East Africa protectorate, which initially brought the Kipsigis under Uganda, though a boundary change in 1902 brought the Kipsigis and other western Kenyan communities to British East Africa. The change of boundary was necessitated by the need to have the railway line which had reached Kisumu in 1901 to be under one administration . Kenya's people were therefore made of strangers. After, the conquest Kenya become more harshly politicized economy. This was partly became power had been centralized in the state, which rested on force and the new imperial ideology of progress.

After the conquest and the establishment of a state, the new task for the colonial administration was to make the protectorate economically viable. In 1902, Sir Charles Eliot, the Commissioner embraced the strategy of developing Kenya through agriculture and white settlement. This policy of white settlement meant discouraging the settlement of Indians immigrants in Kenya. Therefore, the colonial government embarked on a campaign to attract Europeans capital to Kenya as a strategy of developing the country. Initially, the British government was wary of the settler's ability to develop the new colony without immense support from the colonial state. It was in the hope of attracting private capital for development and investment in the colony that the British supported Eliot's policy of encouraging small, European settlers' immigration, including settlers from South Africa. For the same reasons large European syndicate were given grants. In addictions the government facilitated the acquisitions of land by Europeans through legislation, such as the 1915 crown lands ordinance.

The Multinational Companies

The coming of multinational tea companies to Kenya was therefore a government strategy to boost economic development of the colony. The introduction of the tea in Kenya is traced to 1903, when a European settler in Limuru imported seed from India and began planting tea. During the First World War, the agriculture department of the colony experimented with the tea growing in the highlands. A number of seedbeds were planted in 1907 while others had been planted earlier in Kericho area. The 1920s marked the beginning of the development of the first major expansion of the Kenya's tea industry.

According to M.D. Mcwilliam both Broke Bond and James Finlay realized the possibilities of Kenya highlands for tea growing and were interested in developing the internal market of the colony. The high cost of importing tea limited its use to a few rich Indians and Europeans. This situation provided a unique opportunity for Brooke Bond which had expanded from international tea trading to production. As early as 1922 it had established a branch office in Mombasa. In 1924, it purchased four hundred and five hectares of land in limuru area and additional 2227 hectares near Kericho. To carry out its activities in Kenya tea it created Kenya Tea Company limited while James Finlay organized the African highlands produce company limited.

The arrival of multinational tea companies to Kericho had a far reaching impact on the economic organization of the Kipsigis. Although multinational corporations operates in more than one country, it normally owns and controls income generating assets, such

as plantations, factories or mines in nations of both developed and developing world. Their impact on the host economy and people has been subject of much debate and considerable disagreement among scholars.

However, the immediate effect of the arrival of multinational tea companies in Kericho was loss of African land for the purpose of creating space for tea growing. The highlands were alienated to Europeans, at nominal prices by the colonial administration. The occupation of African land by the British effectively converted African from independent peasants into peasant's dependant on agricultural labour. Land in pre-colonial Kipsigis society was the major means of production and agriculture which was the main economic activity depended on availability of land.

Another effect of the activities of multinational tea companies in Kericho was that it ultimately led to the introduction of tea growing to Africans in the area. After the First World War, particularly in the 1920s, tea production accelerated significantly, as international firms had entered the colony and developed a plantation industry financed by international capital. The growth of the sector was however, checked to ensure stability in the face of a depressed world economy.

In Kenya, however, the colonial government had other reasons for continuing the expansion of the tea industries. One was the need to maintain economic stability in the production areas caused by the expanded employment of Africans whose foodstuffs were purchased to feed the laborers. The other reason is that it offered European settlers opportunity to earn income after they were displaced by economic crisis in the coffee growing regions of the colony. The needs of the international community therefore superseded the interest of Africans, the settlers and the colonial government itself.

After the Second World War, the Imperial government in London urgently required hard currency dollars to rebuild its tattered economy hence restriction on growing of the tea was lifted in Kenya. Furthermore, Africans were allowed to grow crops that could be sold for hard for currency. It also emerged at the same time that domestic consumption in Kenya was increasingly taking a large share of total tea output. At the same time the tea companies lacked adequate capital to expand production to meet the rising demand for tea in the international market. Consequently it decided that African peasant be allowed to grow tea so as to enable the colony earn hard currency.

Another factor which made colonial government promote the production of tea on African land and labour was the rising consumption of tea locally. It could not make sense therefore to use hard currency to produce for domestic market yet the aim of the colonial government was to export raw materials to the west from Africa. Africans in Kericho therefore found themselves planting tea not for their own economic advancement but to meet the needs of the colonial economy and international market. The growing of tea by farmers was to radically change their economic status form ever as new economic realities dawn on the community.

Due to the fact that the multi nationals tea companies heavily relied on manual labour from Africans to plant, weed and pluck tea many laborers were required to work in the tea plantations. Though not all workers were from Kipsigis community, a good number came from villages to seek wage employment, inevitably laid the burden on rural

production on the shoulders of women. In the absence of improved technology, it meant that women spent more time in production hence the activities of the multinational tea companies lead to the increased exploitation of the Kipsigis women. It should be noted that this growing exploitation of women did not emerge solely from the imposition of the capitalist system but was made possible by the parochial character of the Kipsigis society. This in parts determined that labour migration would be a special male domain. The economic situation, created opportunities for some individuals in the Kipsigis society as it diversified methods of accumulating wealth. For instance, young married, property less men lost their dependence on elders from access to means of production and women. They could create their personal income by selling crops from their own fields, and above all by selling their labour power. An elder with fields too small to support his household would send their elder children away to look for wage employment. Old divisions based on gender and age acquired new forms as the household became articulated with the new capitalist economy, and ones social status began to shift from acquisition of traditional assets to new economic order.

The multinational tea companies were highly capitalized and moved rapidly to develop their market share, for example by 1933 hectares planted with tea had reached five thousand and forty nine hectares from one hundred and fifty five in 1925. By 1929, a total of five tea factories had been built. By 1930, employment on the two principal estates in Kericho had reached nine thousand laborers. In addition to these large numbers of residents and nonresident employees significant quantities of food were consumed. The total amount of food required to feed the workers cost 10,000 pounds at that time. In fact the amount that entered the local economy from the tea companies in the form of wages and food purchases was more than the amount that whole of Nyanza and Kericho paid as hut tax and poll tax.

The purchase of food for the laborers on the tea estates provided a huge market for maize and other food stuffs grown by both Africans and Europeans farmers. It should be noted that the introduction of the European capitalism did not eliminate the African farming in the region. In fact the earlier trends established in the traditional Kenyan agriculture continued and even accelerated during colonial period. Therefore commercialization of the Kipsigis agriculture remained a significant factor in the colonial economy, so much that by the outbreak of the First World War African were still the main producers of exportable agricultural products in Kenya generally.

Since colonial imposition and penetration of foreign capital to Africa was always preceded by conquest, the Kipsigis were adversely affected by British military expedition of 1905. In the conquest their livestock and property was destroyed and their land was alienated. Because it was expensive to import livestock from Europeans settlers in Kenya these military expeditions also served to transfer African livestock to European. This created poverty and misery as the community suffered in two major ways: through the loss of land and livestock. Those whose livestock were not taken had a reduced area for pasture hence stagnation of their economy.

Today the multinational tea companies situated in Kericho employ more than 40,000 workers. The employees are not all from Kericho but came from various parts of the country but quite a number of them come from Kipsigis community. The employees, their families and dependants get a reliable source of income from the companies. Also the

communities surrounding the tea estates derive their benefit from the tea establishment. The population within the tea estates provides a huge market for agricultural produce such as milk, maize, beans and vegetables to the people living around the tea plantations. Within the settlements in the tea estates there are also small scale businessmen who operate shops and other retail business which ensure them of a livelihood.

In order to improve yields in tea production, research is crucial hence multinational tea companies are in the fore front of this research. The focus is on improving yield, quality and drought tolerance. Drought is now a factor in tea production as it has become more frequent hence affecting yield. In Kenya the tea plant is harvested throughout the year resulting in high yields that also has a corresponding high nutrient removal. Therefore research on the appropriate fertilizer in tea farming is necessary.

Innovative, transfer and adoption of modern technology are sole strategies in addressing improved production and income among farmers. However, researchers have continued to produce innovative technologies that have been proven to increase farm productivity, although levels of adoption among small scale tea farmers have largely remained unchanged. Failure to adopt elite technologies among small holders has resulted in persistently low production levels compared to large estate sub sector. For example in small scale farms, the cost of pruning a tea bush by hand ranges from Ksh. 1.50-2.00 while machine pruning costs as low as Ksh. 0.10 per bush.

The multinational tea companies have also provided financial assistance to community projects such as the construction of schools. For example in 2008, Unilever tea Kenya limited embarked on building a science laboratory for Chepkutuny secondary school in Belgut constituency at a cost of one point five million. Under their corporate social responsibility programme, the education for needy children from the community within areas of their operation are sponsored by the company.

These companies are also involved in primary processing of their commodities, which gave rise to building of factories. These factories have pioneered in the use of wood fuel as a source of energy. The use has increased with the rise in world prices of imported petroleum products. Tree species that can be planted within tea bushes. The use of local fuel in tea factories has not only reduced cost of production but has also generated income to the local community who sell their firewood to the factories.

Conclusion
When it comes to multinational corporations, opinions are divided on the issue of socio-economic impact of their activities on a host nations' political economy. One school of thought dominated by modernization theories, generally few MSNCs as the most progressive and efficient allocators of global resources. For spreading technology, supplying capital, management and marketing networks that are essential for economic growth; especially to the less developed countries. The opposite school of thought often associated with dependency theory and neo Marxist scholars; view MNCs negatively, as basically exploitative instruments that increase externally dependency and internal underdevelopment in the third world. To the liberal economies all commercial transactions appear beneficial to all concerned and see no reason why benefits bestowed

upon a country should diminish when these activities are carried out by foreigners. However, activities of foreign businessmen may either companies therefore benefit or impoverish a country depending on the circumstances under which they take place.

Tea growing in Kericho has expanded rapidly from its inception and has become the country's leading export crop earner of about Kshs. 43 billion in 2006. Despite all these success, the central bureau of statistics reported cases of people living below rural poverty line to average at 50.3 percent of these living in the tea growing areas.

Therefore we can state that the role of multinational tea companies in the economic transformation of the Kipsigis has been enormous but whether this change contributes to a better standard of living cannot be ascertained. There are benefits accruing to the community form the tea companies but the community's views on the benefits are divided.

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Power Sharing as a Mechanism of Managing Ethnopolitical Conflicts in Post-Cold War Kenya

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Abstract

In the last fifteen years, power sharing has become an important international principle for managing ethnopolitical conflicts in deeply divided societies. The emphasis on power sharing is based partly on the limitations of the western liberal democracy in societies where ethnic cleavages are still very strong. Since the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War in 1989, the West has spearheaded the need for political and economic reforms in the developing countries, with emphasis on good governance, accountability and transparency. These political reforms have required African countries to adopt a multiparty political system. Yet, the democratization experiment in post-Cold War Africa has encountered many obstacles in creating political stability, and in some instances has intensified ethnopolitical conflicts in a number of African countries, including Kenya. This paper examines the widely stated but seldom empirically tested political elite model of power sharing and its suitability as a more effective political system for managing ethnopolitical conflicts in Post- Cold War Kenya. It demonstrates to what extent power sharing is an appropriate mechanism in addressing ethnopolitical conflicts in the country.

Introduction

This article is largely descriptive and exploratory in nature. It uses written texts to examine to what extent the political elite model of power sharing is suitable as a more effective political system for managing ethnopolitical conflicts in post-Cold War Kenya. Post-independence Kenya was regarded as the epitome of political stability in a conflict prone part of Africa (Anyang'-Nyong'o, 1999; Throup & Hornsby, 1998; Ouso, 2002). However, the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 was followed by violent ethnopolitical conflicts which climaxed with the 2007 post-election violence. The violence was only contained with the intervention of the international community which recommended the formation of power sharing government. Kenya, therefore, provides an important case study to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the grand coalition power-sharing model as a mechanism for the management of ethnopolitical conflicts.

The word "ethnicity" is used in the study to refer to the 42 cultural and language groups in Kenya. The phrase "ethnopolitical conflict" (Gurr, 1993) is applied in the article to refer to any form of intense interethnic or intergroup dispute, which has a political connotation. The term, "power-sharing" is defined as a form of political system that provides opportunity for almost all significant ethnic groups with representation and decision-making abilities through practices and institutions" (Sisk, 1996: 4). "Multipartysm" and "political pluralism" are used interchangeably in the paper to denote a political system that legally allows the existence of more than one political party (Sisk & Reynolds, 1998).

Democracy in Africa since the 1990s has encountered many challenges and obstacles still remain that threaten its consolidation. One of these challenges is the establishment of appropriate electoral models and institutional political reforms. A number of scholars have observed that the western liberal democracy models are to some extent unsuitable for multiethnic African states (Ake, 2000; Zartman, 2000). In the last fifteen years, power sharing has become an important international principle for managing ethnopolitical conflicts in divided societies (Byrne, 2001; Horowitz, 1991; Sisk, 1996). For instance, power-sharing arrangements have been used with some measure of success in South Africa (Harris & Reilly, 1998) and in Southern Sudan.

Kenya just like other African states is a colonial creation. Following her independence in 1963, the Kenyan state has evolved a "minimalist" version of democracy, whereby periodic elections are held but based on minimal democratic institutional structures (Chazan, et al., 1999; Ihonvbere, 1998; Okoth-Ogendo, 1991). Thus, the post-independence Kenyan state has largely been characterized by 'personal rule' (Anyang'-Nyong'o, 1993; Hyden & Bratton, 1997; Jackson & Rosberg, 1982). Under such a personalized rule the leader is synonymous with the State, and therefore rules, regulations, and institutions are often manipulated to serve the whims of the leader.

The multi-party political system, however, seems to have engendered an environment of fear, anxiety, mistrust and animosity between Kenyan ethnic communities, and somehow contributed to an upsurge of ethnopolitical conflicts in the country (Muigai, 1995; Ouso, 2002). Kenya has conducted four general elections since the re-introduction of a multi-party system in 1991.These elections were held in 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007 respectively, though under a hostile and uneven political playing field. For instance, no political institutional arrangements had been incorporated into the constitution to promote interethnic cooperation and power sharing.

This paper, therefore, provides an analysis of the elite power-sharing model and its application for the Kenyan case. The paper hopes to contribute to the ongoing discourse on constitutional reforms in Kenya. The paper is divided into four sub-sections. Section one is the background to the article. It examines the existing literature on ethnopolitical conflicts in the World in general and Africa in particular, with reference to political transitions from authoritarian systems to more democratic systems. Section two provides a brief general discussion of the ethnopolitical conflicts and violence in Kenya since the 1990s. It also discusses the democratization process of the mid-1980s and early 1990s in Kenya. Furthermore, the section reviews the 1992 and 1997 multi-party general elections in Kenya, political interactions across ethnic and party divide, and their impact on democracy and interethnic relations. Section three presents an overview on the consociational power-sharing model and its appropriateness in addressing ethnopolitical conflicts in Kenya. It also provides a compressed discussion of the key arguments on the role of power sharing in the management of ethnopolitical conflict and a re-evaluation of the constraints of democracy in Kenya. Finally, section four is the conclusion.

Background
Kenya is a multi-ethnic and multi-racial state. The British colonialists established the State of Kenya from an amalgam of historically separate ethnic groups. The Kenyan State, therefore, is a colonial creation. During, the colonial period the colonial government had adopted a policy of 'divide and rule,' which seem to have institutionalized ethnic

consciousness among Kenyan communities (Ogot & Ochieng, 1995). For example, the colonial State made very little attempt to create a Kenyan 'nation' from the myriad ethnic communities; instead each ethnic group was encouraged to become inward looking.

Ethnicity has thus continued to be the bane of Kenyan politics (Bayart, 1993; Wrong, 2009). Historically, since independence the struggle for political and economic power in Kenya has largely assumed ethnic dimensions. For example, each ethnic group regards access to State power as an excellent opportunity to 'enjoy' State economic and political resources. This is basically because the State controls almost all aspects of economic and political dispensations. The political elite have played a significant role in raising ethnic feelings. For instance, Kenyans always use the euphemism "it is our turn to eat" (Wrong, 2009). Thus, access to State power for any ethnic group is regarded as a 'golden opportunity' (Osamba, 2001; Ouso, 2002). In other words, ethnic groups who are in control of political leadership at a given time feel that they should be the key benefactors in terms of economic development of their region, government appointments, and so forth.

Ethnic groups, therefore, tend to mobilize together to ensure or safeguard that access (Nnoli, 1989, 1998; Wrong, 2009). This mobilization in turn inevitably exacerbates ethnicity and ethnic consciousness. For instance, Oyugi (1997) has argued that "tribalism" is a vital instrument in economic competition and political control. Further, Oyugi has rightly observed that during the 1992 multi-party general elections in Kenya, the Kalenjin and their kinsmen in the Rift Valley province voted en masse for the status quo, to ward off potential political challengers.

Political and electoral system change may play many different roles in democratization and conflict management (Diamond, 1994; Gurr, 2000; Huntington, 1991; Sisk &Reynolds, 1998). Critics of liberal democracy in divided societies have argued that competitive politics can facilitate interethnic conflicts (Reilly, 2001). For instance, Lijphart (1977) has pointed out that because of African countries' ethnic heterogeneity liberal democracy could be a threat to national stability.

By all accounts, the adoption of political pluralism in Kenya in 1991 contributed to a wide range of social and political changes in the Kenyan body politic. The drive towards western model of democracy in Kenya seems to have engendered group polarization because political parties have crystallized mostly on the basis of ethnic interests rather than in terms of common political principles. In Kenya, just like the case in other African States, there is a tendency to view political and economic goals not in terms of individual welfare and happiness, but in terms of collective ethnic security and welfare (Ogot & Ochieng, 1995; Ouso, 2002; Wrong, 2009). During general elections, each ethnic group tries to rally itself with a presidential candidate or political party that is likely to promote its interests and any member of the group who prefers to support a different candidate is regarded as a traitor by the group (Wambui-Otieno, 1998).

In 1992, the first multi-party general elections after twenty-three years were held in Kenya. Two of the largest ethnic groups in Kenya, the Kikuyu and Luo supported the opposition. The opposition parties however were largely ethnic-based and they were unable to merge or form a coalition to present a united front against President Moi because each ethnic group wanted to win (Hempstone, 1997). Quality leadership and ability were

therefore sacrificed at the altar of ethnic solidarity and bigotry. President Moi was able to win both 1992 and 1997 general elections by mobilizing the smaller ethnic groups into a single block to support him at the expense of the ethnically disunited opposition. Yet collectively the opposition won more votes than president Moi. Out of the more than 5.2 million votes Moi got only 1.9 million votes (Mwakikagile, 2001: 141). Nevertheless, under the Kenyan 'winner-take-all' system, it meant that Moi with about 36 percent of the votes would exclude from the government the 64 percent of the people who voted against him ibid: 141). This fact is a strong argument in favor of coalition government and power sharing. Hence, this study's support for a power-sharing arrangement for Kenya as discussed below.

During both the 1992 and 1997 elections however, violence erupted in the Rift Valley and Coast provinces (Osamba, 2001; Ouso, 2002). According to Kanyinga (1998) and Mwakikagile (2001), the fear of political and economic marginalization has been a major component of the Kenyan politics. It is evident that the democratization process that was hoped would avail opportunities to the citizens to self-realization and self assertion either through political parties or other forms of associations, ironically have fuelled volatile ethnocentric feelings, jealousies and confrontational politics. The Kenyan political elite have used 'politics' to fan the embers of ethnic competition and rivalry. Moreover, economic and political marginalization of some ethnic communities in the country has produced a feeling of alienation that finds expression in ethnic rivalry (Ouso, 2002).

Oyugi, Gitonga, Chege, and Atieno-Odhiambo (1987) have examined in general the conceptual and theoretical dimensions of democracy. They offer a synthesis of meaning of democracy based on a wide variety of theories and practices in Africa. The four scholars further discuss the foundation on which a democratic system can be built. These authors further aver that African rulers since then have used State power and institutions to promote and safeguard their own interests.

In yet another work, Oyugi (1998) has discussed some aspects of inter-ethnic relations in post-independence Kenya. He briefly discusses the role of post-independence Kenyan governments in perpetuating ethnicity, and especially its manipulation by leaders to serve political objectives. Nevertheless, his work has not adequately delved into power sharing as a mechanism for managing the intricacies of ethnopolitical conflicts, which is the focus of this article. Hyden and Bratton (1997) argue that political liberalization is not synonymous to democracy. They have observed that in Kenya, multiparty democracy seems to have intensified conflict rather than creating accountability and stable governance. Further, Hyden and Bratton demonstrate how the political elite have used multipartyism to safeguard their own interests rather than the interests of the common people. The two scholars contend that multiparty system can be divisive and destabilizing.

Apart from being a major feature of contemporary Africa, ethnopolitical conflicts have become an impediment to the full democratization process in the continent. A number of scholars contend that power-sharing electoral models are appropriate systems in managing ethnopolitical conflicts constructively (Cheema, 2005; Glickman, 1995; McRae, 1974; Sisk, 1996). Glickman (1995) and Rothchild (1997, 53) have pointed out that a power-sharing arrangement that fosters the politics of inclusiveness could be an effective conflict regulating mechanism for multiethnic African States. Besides, Rothchild further

argues that through the participation of "ethnic kings," a coalition government can win the support and cooperation from the various ethnic groups represented. A power-sharing arrangement, he points out, could play an important role in "organizing relations between state and society so as to reduce ethnic fears and encourage amicable solutions" (ibid, 58). Similarly, Bienen (1983), Rothchild (1983) and Stone (1983), have posited that the adoption of power-sharing mechanisms can help meet group needs for political representation. For example, Bienen (1983,113) has rightly observed that in Kenya, Senegal, and Ivory Coast, there is strong evidence of some sort of ethnic cleavage and tension since "these are not societies which are homogeneous or cohesive by language, culture or ethnic identification."

Lijphart (1977, 171) has observed that "most African plural societies as well as Papua New Guinea also have multiple power configurations but suffer the disadvantage of fragmentation into a relatively large number of segments." Despite all these, Lijphart strongly believes that "if institutional arrangements aimed at power sharing and consensual decision-making are established, democracy can be applied even in severely divided societies" (cited in Harbenius, 2002, 71).

A number of scholars have argued that internally driven power sharing may be more successful than an externally imposed one as the case of South Africa clearly shows (Diamond & Plattner, 1999). Proponents of power sharing assert that a power-sharing arrangement may be the best way to guarantee democracy in multiethnic states since multiparty may result in excluding other groups or marginalizing them just as the case in the one-party system (Harris & Reilly, 1998; Sisk & Reynolds, 1998). This assumption is based on the fact that power sharing may ensure an inclusive government. In that respect, in power-sharing political systems, all major ethnic groups are included in government and minorities especially are assured influence in policy making on sensitive issues such as language use and education. Rothchild (1997:15) has pointed out that "elite power-sharing arrangement creates the basis for persistent and stable relationships," and can thus be an effective conflict regulating mechanism in transitioning African democracies.

Ethnopolitical Conflicts in Kenya: An Analysis
The post-Cold War transition from authoritarian one-party regime to a more democratic system in Kenya in the 1990s was characterized by incessant political conflict and violence (Muigai, 1995; Oyugi, 1998; Ouso, 2002). In other words, since the restoration of multipartysm in Kenya in 1991, political competition in the country has been characterized by an intense struggle for political power, which has increasingly taken on sharp ethnic dimensions. Ethnopolitical conflicts have contributed to antagonistic interethnic relations that have continued to threaten the political stability and peaceful interethnic coexistence in the country (Ouso, 2002; Wamwere, 2008).

Although proponents of democratic theories have argued that a multiparty political system can lead to political stability, such theories cannot adequately explain the rupture of violent ethnic conflicts and hostile interethnic relations in Africa (Cheema, 2005; Reilly, 2001). For instance, while multiparty democratic systems are supposed to manage ethnic animosities and "tribalism," the introduction of such a system in Africa has somewhat contributed to ethnopolitical conflicts. Since the re introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya, ethnic suspicions and hostility have become more pronounced as ethnic

groups tend to identify with specific political parties (Ogot & Ochieng, 1995; Ouso, 2002; Wamwere, 2008). For example, the results of the 1997 and 2007 Kenya's general elections clearly showed strong ethnic voting patterns.

Kenyan politics is primarily hinged on ethnicity rather than ideology. Ethnic politics has always existed in Kenya, including "ethnicity from below" in Kenyan politics (Wamwere, 2008). That is to say, there is a strong perception among Kenyans that control of State power is synonymous to sociopolitical benefits for the ethnic community in power (Throup & Hornsby, 1998). Kenyans tend to vote along ethnic lines during elections hoping that if one of their members wins the elections then it would be their "turn to eat" (Wamwere, 2008; Wrong, 2009). As such, the election process in Kenya is ethnic-centered rather than issue-centered. Thus, "tribalism" is a lived reality and a practical experience in Kenyan politics (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998).

There is a strong link between political control and economic empowerment (Throup & Hornsby, 1998). Past Kenyan Presidents have boosted and empowered their own ethnic groups, politically and economically (Wamwere, 2008; Wrong, 2009). For example, the undue advantage given to the Kikuyu and Kalenjin during the Kenyatta and Moi regimes, respectively created a feeling among members of other communities that political leadership can lead to prosperity for the ethnic community in power (ibid: Masime & Kibara, 2003). As such, Kenyan ethnic groups, therefore, aspire for this leadership opportunity. Consequently, the struggle for political power often takes strong ethnic dimension.

The Presidential system gives the president unlimited powers, which however, has been prone to abuse and misuse by previous occupants of that position. The current winner-take-all electoral model in Kenya has made political competition between political parties and ethnic groups in Kenya almost a matter of life and death, and such a political system has tended to create political animosity and mistrust among ethnic groups, political actors, and parties, which are excluded from power (Wrong, 2009). To what extent could power sharing political arrangement be used to manage ethnopolitical conflicts in Kenya?

Power sharing in Kenya can be traced to the 2002 general elections. Under the 2002 MoU, the NAK was to have the posts of presidency, vice-presidency, and one deputy prime minister. The other constituent part of NARC, the LDP was promised access to executive power through the position of prime minister, a second vice-president, one deputy prime minister, and a senior coordinating minister (Daily Nation, June 30, 2004). Although these positions, except the presidency and the vice-presidency, were non-existent in the then Kenyan constitution, the positions had been recommended in the then on-going constitution review process. The MoU therefore was based on a gentlemen's agreement with no constitutional or legal backing. Nevertheless, because of the pre-election pact in 2002, Kenyans were able to transcend ethnic loyalties by electing the NARC candidate, Mwai Kibaki, as president with an overwhelming support from all parts of the country. After the 2002 general elections President Kibaki however, dishonored the MoU and sidelined the LDP leaders who had been instrumental in his election victory. For example, in the 222-member parliament (including 12 nominated members) NARC had a total of 124 members out of whom 68 were from LDP. In the Cabinet appointments, LDP got only seven posts out of 21 positions (Daily Nation, Jan. 4, 2003; see also Anderson,

2003). Consequently, the post-elections period witnessed mutual suspicion among the NARC coalition partners, characterized by incessant political wrangling between the two groups over the contentious pre-election MoU.

One important point to note from the above argument is that NARC was a coalition of convenience rather than a coalition of commitment. Available evidence shows that NARC was formed in a hurry without putting in place the necessary power-sharing mechanisms. The NARC leaders seemed to have been united only in their common objective of removing the then ruling KANU party from power (Munene, 2003).

Nevertheless, despite some dissatisfaction with the power-sharing arrangement, many Kenyans are optimistic that multiparty politics can still be nurtured in the country (Daily Nation, May 8, 2009). NARC and the current grand coalition power-sharing arrangement are a form of "transition" government. Thus, a new constitution for Kenya should incorporate the necessary checks and balances in its structures that may help in managing the country better.

In retrospect it should be noted that the NARC factions brought their differences into the constitution-making process, and this had a negative impact on the process (Kibwana, 2003). It seems uncertain whether Kenya will be able to have an acceptable constitution before the next general elections scheduled for 2012. The main fear of the then top NARC government was the fact that the proposed new constitution proposed to reduce the powers of the president through the creation of the office of an executive prime minister (Kibwana, 2003). The president and his close allies were opposed to that recommendation. Although while still in the opposition the current president and most NARC leaders had strongly supported such a power-sharing arrangement between the president and a prime minister during KANU's rule, they have now backtracked and are opposed to the power-sharing arrangement. In contrast, KANU, which formerly opposed the power-sharing government system while in power, supported power sharing wholeheartedly, for political expediency.

In general, proponents of power sharing have contended that decentralization of power can be useful in checking power abuse under a centralized political structure because power devolution would ensure that local people handle their affairs without undue influence from the centre (Selee & Tulchin, 2004). Similarly, Zartman (1995, 273) has argued that "power-sharing arrangements harness all factions with responsibility and foster the notion that electoral losers still have stake in the government." Power sharing can be effective in addressing ethnopolitical conflicts because it can create common or shared benefits, and it ensures the involvement of all communities in government. Thus, communities will be willing to protect the government since all people have a sense of belonging and they feel part and parcel of the government. That is, a feeling of "it's ours." Moreover, power sharing can help allay any fears by a community that it would be disadvantaged or harassed. At the same time, power sharing helps create a lot of goodwill owing to the fact that people trust each other. As such, it can help promote coexistence and cooperation among communities.

Although a coalition government might be a good system for Kenya, such a government can often lead to the creation of several competing centers of power in a country. A major limitation of a coalition government, however, is that it may be formed by parties

or groups of individuals who don't share the same ideology. Such a state of affairs may lead to political instability and conspiracy. A coalition government is only appropriate if it is well structured and is based on principles and not parochial or individual interests. In general, proponents of power sharing have argued that power sharing can provide political framework that may ensure that no group(s) can perpetually dominate others. For example, Glickman (1995, 113) has claimed that in Africa "effective political institutions" could only be achieved through political decentralization.

Although a federal form of government rather than a unitary government may be more appropriate for Kenya, the system would require some modifications to fit the local political environment. Generally, in a federation power is devolved "equally to all regions and each region has an identical relationship to the central government" (Sisk, 1998, 156).

The issue of federalism is an emotionally charged political topic in Kenya. This is ostensibly because of the majimbo crusaders of the 1960s and 1990s who equated majimboism with 'balkanization' and 'ethnic expulsions.' The dominant ethnic groups in Kenya, especially the Kikuyu, are very suspicious of majimboism (Nowrojee & Manby, 1993; Ouso, 2002; Throup & Hornsby, 1998). Nonetheless, many Kenyans favour some form of federalism because it takes cognizance of the ethnic diversity and regional differences (Daily Nation, May 8, 2009: 72). Under a federal system, development will be localized and local communities would be empowered to identify their priorities. The political administrative culture of centralism under which power is concentrated in the executive branch of government has been largely responsible for disempowerment of the citizens in decision-making (Oyugi, 1997). Thus, the provincial administration officers, being appointees of the executive, have tended to be partisan in the Kenyan political environment where the appointing authority has vested interests. These officers are only accountable to the president and the central government and not to the local community they work with. This arrangement is a clear illustration of 'power-over' approach than 'power-with' approach to governance and administration.

On the other hand, opponents of federalism contend that a federal system of government is inappropriate for Kenya at present because it can exacerbate ethnic conflicts. A unitary State but with a coalition government system would be better for Kenya if there is political goodwill and trust among the leaders. The most controversial issue on the power-sharing arrangement for Kenya is the question concerning the structure and role of the executive. That is, whether the country should have a presidential or a parliamentary system of government. This controversy is ostensibly because previously occupation of the executive was synonymous with capture of State power and resources. The NARC coalition was a very noble experiment as to how ethnic identity and collaboration could be used to bring political unity in the country. The current grand coalition government should build on its foundation. Available evidence shows that a power sharing political arrangement is the most appropriate system for Kenya in her transition to full democracy. This paper supports the view that political stability in Kenya could be strengthened through an electoral system incorporating power sharing rather than the mere adoption of western liberal democracy. As Glickman (1995, 26) has also rightly noted, "even electoral democratic institutions can produce exclusionist results", hence the need for a power-sharing arrangement that ensures inclusion of all political groupings.

The Elite Power-sharing Model and Its Application to Kenya

The political structure of post-independence Kenya has been based on a presidential system. As head of State and government, the Kenyan constitution gives the president unlimited powers. Such overwhelming power, however, has been prone to abuse and misuse by previous occupants of that position. Although four multiparty elections have been held in Kenya since 1991, no concomitant electoral changes that could allow power sharing have been put in place. There are a number of obstacles that the current ad hoc power-sharing arrangement in Kenya has encountered since the 2007 general elections. This study is informed by two theoretical perspectives namely: political agency and integrated perspective. The political agency perspective was developed in the 1960s to explain group accommodation in fragmented European States such as Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland (Byrne, 2001; Lijphart, 1977; McRae, 1991, 1974). This theory focuses on strategic interaction among political actors. Lijphart (1977) called his power-sharing model "consociational democracy." He has argued that through appropriate institutional arrangements democracy could be practiced in deeply divided societies. Other proponents of the various variants of political agency perspective such as Bratton and van de Walle (1997), Dahl (1995), Diamond (1994), Przeworski (1991), among others all point out that 'responsible' leadership is key to the success of democracy in divided societies. All these scholars concur that democracy can be homegrown through positive interaction among political leaders

Basically, under the elite power-sharing arrangement, the political elites representing the various groups in the society are involved in decision-making at the executive level, while through devolution of power, groups are given some autonomy for political and cultural matters affecting their groups. Lijphart (1977, 31) believes that "the prospect of participating in the government is a powerful stimulus to moderation and compromise" for political leaders. Lijphart (1984, 3) has pointed out that "majoritarian democracy is especially appropriate for, and works best in homogeneous societies, whereas consensus democracy is more suitable for plural societies."

There are also a number of limitations of consociational democracy (Lijphart, 1977). First, it may constraint opposition since parties may find it difficult to criticize a government of which they are part. Secondly, separation or autonomy may lead to inequality. Thirdly, under this system there is elite predominance at the expense of the masses, even though elite predominance seems to be a normal occurrence in all forms of democratic systems. Fourth, the system may lead to stagnation and instability, which is the opposite of the objective of consociationalism. For example, mutual veto may make decision making a slow process (Lijphart, 1977, 51). Fifth, the system of proportionality may be promoted at the expense of administrative efficiency. And finally, the model may be expensive to implement because it requires multiplication of government and administrative units. Although Lijphart (1977) admits that the "consociational democracy" model is not foolproof, he believes, it is more appropriate in dealing with conflicts in divided societies compared to the majoritarian or authoritarian systems. Critics of the "consociational democracy" model, however, contend that due to its rigidity and inflexibility, power-sharing arrangement tends to make decision-making cumbersome and slow (Byrne, 2001; Horowitz, 2000). Moreover, it may not be always easy to elicit cooperation and consensus in a society, and that the approach may therefore downplay possible impediments to democratization in a given society (Haynes, 2001: 29). In addition, the "consociational democracy" model may strengthen ethnicity at the expense of national

unity. Furthermore, the model ignores intragroup conflict. Power-sharing per se, Byrne (2001, 341) observes, may not settle a conflict or lead to democracy. To address some of the limitations of "consociational" model, Byrne (2001) and Lederach (1997) suggest the need to adopt a political arrangement that incorporates political inclusion at all levels of the society. Furthermore, Byrne emphasizes the importance of using both elite consociational and grassroots participatory approaches to create understanding among various groups in conflict.

Proponents of the integrative approach argue that it is necessary to create political systems that provide incentives for political leaders to be moderate and that enhance minority influence in decision making (Byrne, 2001; Byrne & Keashly, 2000; Harris & Reilly, 1998; Horowitz, 1991). According to this perspective, the key to political stability might be through providing support to political structures that cross-cut ethnic loyalties, thereby, ensuring the participation of all social groups (Horowitz, 1991, 2000). This arrangement can be achieved through actions that uphold interethnic coalition building before elections (Sisk, 1996).

It is important to note that elite power-sharing arrangements depend on "the interactions within an elite circle of interest groups and ethnic-based patrons, as well as powerful members of the government and bureaucracy" Rothchild,(1997, 13). As Sisk (1998:143) rightly points out, "when a sufficiently cohesive core of moderates does exist, power sharing is a viable means of democratic conflict management."

The establishment of appropriate democratic power-sharing arrangements may encourage intergroup accommodation. Kenyan communities are very loyal to their "ethnic kings" whose political moves they faithfully follow. This loyalty has been clearly manifested in all political competitions in post-independence Kenya. The inclusion of "ethnic kings" in a power-sharing arrangement will translate into ethnic support from the concerned ethnic groups. Such political inclusion will provide the ethnic groups with, if nothing else, psychological satisfaction that they are part and parcel of the government.

Conclusion
The current appeal of power sharing for multiethnic States may be based on the fact that power-sharing arrangements encompasses power devolution, democracy, and participation within the State. In spite of its appeal to the international community and the political elites, power sharing has some inherent weaknesses, and therefore, it should be used in concert with other mechanisms that can promote consensus among conflicting groups as discussed above. The ethnopolitical conflicts that have characterized the Kenyan political and social scene between 1991 and 2002 and 2008 were largely a manifestation of the limitations of a multiparty political system in Kenya. To some extent, multi-party politics has contributed to exacerbating ethnic politics in Kenya. Ethnic consciousness has become more explicit since the advent of political pluralism. It is worth noting that class-consciousness has not yet fully emerged in the Kenya society. Consequently, people tend to resort to their ethnic "cleavages" for socio-political succor.

As highlighted in the paper, Kenyan political parties do not have any ideological inclinations, but rather they are mostly based on ethnic considerations. This fact can be attributed to the low level of political consciousness of the majority of the people in terms of their understanding of the principles of western democracy. Thus, political pluralism

in tandem with ethnic mistrust if not well handled, could lead to more ethnopolitical conflicts in Kenya. However, since there is no universally acceptable form of democracy, a homegrown democracy rather than a western model of democracy with its emphasis on a 'winner-take-all' outcome may be more appropriate for the multi-ethnic Kenya.

This article concur with Nnoli (1989) and Bayart's (1993) conclusions that access to State power is an important factor promoting ethnic politics in Africa. It is evident that the control of national resources is a key factor in inter-ethnic competition in Kenya.

Since competition for national resources is a major cause of ethnic conflicts, a key aspect of managing ethnic conflict is therefore to ensure that all groups within the State have equal access to resources and opportunities. This can only be achieved through the creation of appropriate socio-political institutions that would promote equal and just political and economic frameworks. Power sharing seems to be the most appropriate mechanism that could adequately address and guarantee equitable national resource allocation and meaningful political representation in the government. Aspects of the elite power sharing model appropriate for Kenya include grand coalition cabinet, proportionality, and segmented 'autonomy' (devolution). The importance of the elite in the Kenyan political equation is far reaching, and therefore, their influence in the political set-up will continue for some time to come. At the national level, there should be a semi-presidential system in which a prime minister shares some executive power with a president, who has executive power. The prime minister should be appointed by the president with the approval of parliament by simple majority from among members of parliament. The prime minister should be the leader of government business in parliament and responsible for the coordination and implementation of government policies across ministries, departments and other public institutions. In sum, power-sharing would be a better political model for Kenya than the 'winner-take-all' system that has been in use in post-independence Kenya.

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Teaching Tribalism: Planting The Seeds of Stable Nations in Sub-Saharan Africa
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Abstract
There prevails a notion that countries in sub-Saharan Africa have failed to develop as expected at independence as a consequence of negative ethnicity. Scholars, journalists, politicians and other social commentators have seen ethnicity (tribalism) as a 'scourge' or a 'cancer' that ails and cripples Africa; contributing, as the major factor, to the myriad of conflicts and problems in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, among others. It is time that the media and producers of scholarly discourse stopped their simplistic dependence on ethnicity to explain the development or lack of it in Africa. It is time to re-examine the 'magnified and regularly' discussed ramifications of negative ethnicity/ tribalism. This paper is of the view that ethnicity if properly harnessed is good for Africa. All Africans are naturally born into a tribe and hence naturally all are tribal. Ethnicity/tribalism remains an important marker of African identity and plays a significant role in shaping attitudes, values and people's roles. It is in fact a barometer in the study of Africa's socio-economic and political reality. What Africa needs, therefore is to accept tribalism and actually harness it as a uniting factor. Drawing from the discourses of History, Sociology, Political Science and literary criticism (postcolonial discourse), this paper will employ the qualitative method of textual analysis to explore and explain how tribalism can be used as an instrument for fashioning stable nations in sub-Saharan Africa. The paper will explain how Africa can rely on positive tribalism to: assuage fears and suspicions of other ethnic groups, understand and accommodate our cultural differences, enhance respect for other cultures, facilitate equitable distribution of resources and enhance socio-economic development, justice and democracy in the postcolonial sub-Saharan African nations.

Introduction

"Tribalism is a reality. National unity can be a reality; but at present it is not quite a reality. How this reality of tribalism can be adapted to the unreality of national unity to make it a reality is the problem which I will now precede to exegete."

<div align="center">Nnamdi Azikiwe, On Tribalism</div>

Upon political independence from imperialist European colonial domination and oppression, the newly established African governments set themselves the target of enhancing national unity and development of their multiethnic nations. The key tenet of the target, especially for sub-Saharan countries like Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, and Ghana, being to eliminate disease, ignorance and poverty. Most African ethnic communities having been united by their struggle for freedom did not find ethnicity a challenge to nationhood to begin with. However, shortly after independence ethnicity re-emerged as an important aspect of everyday life both in the villages, cities and other urban areas. Ethnicity, which this paper will use interchangeably with tribalism, resurfaced as a consequence of the collapse of the rosy promise of independence; that is, the failure of

the ruling elites to facilitate equitable distribution of resources and the stagnant economic development; and many ethnic communities feeling short-changed for their part in the struggle for independence. With the fading of the nationalism achieved as a result of a common anti-colonialist ideology that sought to unite the multiple tribes of sub-Saharan Africa against the colonisers; and the "economic crises which began towards the mid-1970s," elite rivalries to control power and, hence, redistribution of national resources emerged giving rise "to ethnic mobilization and, more generally, to the manipulation of the cultural identities of groups" (Randariana, 1996:20-21).

With the re-emergence of tribalism, everything that went wrong in Africa was believed to have gone wrong because of tribalism. Scholars, journalists, politicians and other social commentators now saw tribalism as a 'scourge' or a 'cancer' that ailed and crippled Africa; contributing, as the major factor, to the myriad of conflicts and problems in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, among others(GhanaWeb) Tribalism then acquired a negative burden that still bedevils it to date. This paper takes a line of argument that asserts that tribalism is indeed good for Africa in enhancing national stability. Since all Africans are naturally born into a tribe and hence are all naturally tribal, tribalism remains an important marker of African identity; and plays a significant role in shaping attitudes, values and people's roles. It is in fact a barometer in the study of Africa's socio-economic and political reality. What Africa needs, therefore is to accept tribalism and actually harness it as a uniting factor. We will attempt to provide answers to the question: "What positive lessons can African nations learn from tribalism?"This paper assesses and proposes the benefits of tribalism in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Sudan. To contextualize the topic of our discussion we will provide definitions of tribe and tribalism/ethnicity, as understood by various authorities.

Concepts of Ethnic Group/Tribe and Ethnicity/Tribalism

All over Africa Africans generally describe themselves as members of one or some other "tribe" and largely concur that the basic social and cultural units of the continent are "tribes." These tribes are commonly referred to as ethnic groups or communities. This paper will therefore use ethnic group and tribe on the one hand and ethnicity and tribalism on the other hand as synonymous terms.

According to Kwame A. Appiah, a "tribe is thought of as a group of people who are descended from common ancestors and ruled by a hereditary 'chief', who share a single culture (including, in particular, language and religion), and who live in a well-defined geographical region."(1999: 703)

Henslin on the other hand states that "ethnic" is from the Greek "ethos" meaning "people" or "nation." He defines ethnic group as "people who identify with one another on the basis of their ancestry and cultural heritage. Their sense of belonging may centre around unique physical characteristics, foods, dress, names, language, music and religion" (2000: 256)

Various definitions of ethnicity build upon this by adding the idea of a common denominator, so to speak, that underlies this conception. Thomson (2000) defines an ethnic group as:

> A community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kinship ties, traditions , cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language(p. 58)

Fenton (2003) describes an ethnic group as "descent and culture communities with three specific additions: 1. that the group is a kind of sub-set within a nation-state, 2. that the point of reference of difference is typically culture rather than physical appearance, 3. often that the group referred to is 'other' to some majority who are presumed to be 'ethnic'" (p. 23) The third part of this definition in other words implies that ethnic groups distinguish themselves with reference to some other group which is perceived to be different. Smith (1991) suggests that the essential characteristics of ethnic groups, are "a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland,' and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population" (p. 21).

Ethnicity on the other hand, to start with, has been defined as "the employment or mobilization of ethnic identity and difference to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation" (Osaghae 1995:11). This definition brings about two dimensions that are key in the debates on tribalism/ethnicity. The first being that contrary to the common argument that tribalism occurs naturally, it is indeed a product of conscious efforts within or external to the society. In this sense tribalism is seen to be resulting from "nurture", meaning that it is constructed by social or political efforts within the society. The second issue, as Osaghae argues, is that:

> ethnicity is not only manifest in conflictive or competitive relations but also in the contexts of cooperation. A corollary to the second point is that ethnic conflict manifests itself in various forms, including voting, community service and violence. Thus, it need not always have negative consequences. Ethnicity also encompasses the behaviour of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are groups with ascribed membership, usually but not always based on claims or myths of common history, ancestry, language, race, religion, culture and territory (1995: 11).

Osaghae's definition closely resonates with Fenton (2003) argument that ethnicity refers "the social construction of descent and culture, the social mobilization of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them." For Fenton and other constructionists suggest that "people or peoples do not just possess cultures or share ancestry; they elaborate these into the idea of a community founded upon these attributes"   (2003: 3). Barth (1969) agrees with constructionists assertions, and finds fault in equating ethnicity 'with a common culture,' emphasizing that "ethnic groups are only constituted through the construction of social boundaries - as self-ascription and ascription by others" (14-15).

Diamond and Plattner (1994) agree with this concept but take a step further to define ethnicity as:
> …highly inclusive (and relatively large scale)group identity based on some notion of common origin, recruited primarily from kinship, and typically manifesting some measure of cultural distintiveness, so conceived, ethnicity easily embraces groups differentiated by colour, language and religion; it covers 'tribes', 'races', ' nationalities' and 'castes'. In this sense…an ethnic group is much like the 'imagined community' of the nation (p. Xvii)

Peterson et al (1994) link ethnicity with both the modern state and nationalism. Viewing elite competition as causing ethnic conflict, they argue that:

"…ethnicity and nationalism are not 'givens', but are social and political constructions. They are creations of elites, who draw upon, distort and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups they wish to represent in order to protect their well-being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as for themselves…" (p. 19).

Genesis of Ethnicity/Tribalism in Africa

Even though scholars are generally agreed that much of pre-colonial Africa did not consist of 'tribes' "with clear-cut cultural, linguistic and politico-territorial boundaries" (Lentz, 2000: 108); the genesis of ethnicity in Africa can be seen as three pronged, arising out of pre-colonial social dynamics; colonial constructions and postcolonial sources. In this context ethnicity in Africa can be conceived as both a primordialist and constructionist concept. Primordialists see tribalism as something that occurs naturally; that is, human beings have an inherent tendency as it so seems over history in their interaction with their environment they are bound to categorise and name whoever or whatever they encounter. According to Shibutani and Kwan:

"Human beings not only classify objects and events, they categorize people- themselves as well as others. Participation in co-ordinated action requires some knowledge one's associates. While we can take the roles of those we know intimately with relative ease, we must place strangers into categories and work on the assumptions that everyone in a given category is alike ... Human beings are generally classified into social types, and they are approached on the basis of their classification ... Social types, like other popular concepts make it possible for men to organize their world- to anticipate more effectively what the people they encounter are like to do" (1965: 85).

Constructionists on the other hand view ethnicity as a consequent of 'nurture' and hence "common ancestry and myths are socially and culturally constructed, not 'given'" (Lentz, 2000; Fenton, 2003). Fenton, therefore argues that ethnicity is the "the social construction of descent and culture, the social mobilization of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them. People or peoples do not just possess cultures or share ancestry; they elaborate these into the idea of a community founded upon these attributes" (2003: 3). In the context of this, Shillington (1989) suggests that ethnicity in Africa as we know it today was "invented" by "colonial authorities." He asserts Africa ethnic groups as we know them today had in pre-colonial times lived as a people despite some cultural variance that could have existed between them. He further states that in the event that these entities experienced "competition" and "conflicts", it was for political power or economic advantage and not "because they were of different 'tribes'" (p. 356).

When Europeans arrived in Africa they grouped Africans into what Lewis (1980) calls "assemblages of tribes and language groups" (188) by mapping their African territories, drawing boundaries around these groups and identified them as political units. The colonialists drew arbitrary borders with the intention preserving and protecting colonial interests. Bill Berkeley notes that when Europeans discovered that their smaller numbers

would not allow them effectively administer and exploit their African colonies they invented ethnicity. He states:

"Tribalism solved the colonial dilemma of how to dominate and exploit vast numbers of indigenous inhabitants with a limited number of colonial agents, by mobilizing groups on the basis of linguistic and cultural similarities that formerly had been irrelevant."(Berkeley, 2001: 83)

The colonialists "created" and insisted on differences between the African peoples as a basis for dividing and ruling by playing on their perceived differences. In Kenya, for instance, Leys (1975) observes that the British segregated the African "tribes" and restricted them to specific regions and prohibited them from interacting with members of other "tribe" (199) and co-opted local cultural leaders and kinship elders to help them entrench colonialism on Africans. Leys notes that pre-colonial Kenya had no ethnic conflicts, and that Kenya's present ethnicity has its roots in the activities of the British and their African collaborators. For example he points out that the Luo and the Kikuyu encountered each other for the first time with within the realm of their shared experience of colonialism. (Leys; 1975) Leys believes that even though it is clear that the discord between the Kikuyus and Luos originate from the political battle pitying President Jomo Kenyatta against his vice-president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, "the fact that a political struggle could assume ethnic dimensions was reflective of the tribal foundations which colonialism had already established and which the post-colonial state inherited" (1975: 199).

The third wave of ethnicity in Africa arose in line with the political and economic intrigues that unfolded at independence. With the collapse of the rosy dream of ethnic unity that had brought colonialism down, the seeds of division cultivated by the colonialists came alive and were manifest in the competition of the diverse ethnic groups for scarce resources; as the unity. Ethnic groups that "had co-existed in relative peace before and even during colonialism found themselves competing for political power. And because resource allocation and distribution under the colonial administration and the post-independent governments were always lopsided, unequal and discriminatory, political power was viewed by each community as the vehicle to "prosperity" … Thus we found elites with a common language and culture bandying together to form or belong to the same organization or party in order to compete for political power, primarily as a leverage for a share of the scarce resources." (Raila Odinga; 2007) Some groups felt deprived of their shares of state resources by the ethnic group in power. Since the ruling elite were viewed as representing the interests of their ethnic groups and neglecting those of others the new states of Africa were seen to be illegitimate by the whole society to begin with. The state as the main source of wealth, "local elites came to exploit ethnicity as the main engine for political mobilization and therefore for access over resources. Governing elites came to be associated with the ethnic group to which they belonged, and marginalization came to be seen not as the failure to evenly distribute resources, but as the domination of ethnically homogeneous elite over a heterogeneous society" (www.africaeconomicanalysis.org). Fenton (2003) suggests that ethnicity when mobilised becomes a powerful source of action is "because it can be, for the individual and the community, a totalizing identity: if people are concerned about their jobs, their neighbourhood, their education and that of their children, their legal status, their persona security, under the right circumstances ethnic identity may be incorporated in all of these" (p. 114).

Ethnicity in Africa, especially in its negative form, has been seen to be conflictual, however were argue that positive side of ethnicity can be beneficial in ensuring that sub-Saharan African states are stable unified entities. We will therefore proceed to discuss the role ethnicity plays and can play to ensure stable African nations.

Benefits of Tribalism in Africa
A multiplicity of conflicts in Africa, south of the Sahara, have been blamed on tribalism or seen as motivated by ethnic interests. Conflicts in Somalia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Nigeria, and Sudan, as well as various other African countries, have been labelled as a consequence of tribal disagreements between the warring groups. Conflicts in Kenya for example are seen to be a result of the differences between its major tribes, that is between the Kikuyus, Kalenjins and Luos; in Nigeria between the Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba and the Ibo; in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis; and the conflicts in Sudan as between Arabs in the North and black African tribes in the South. The conflict in Somalia has been represented as between different antagonistic clans. Even though we find it imperative to agree that ethnicity, plays a role, albeit a small role in the conflicts of sub-Saharan Africa, we find the common tendency to associate tribe in Africa with conflict misrepresentative and a distortion of the realities on the ground.

In this paper we argue that tribalism other than having an infamous negative side can play a positive role in building stable African nations. We propose that loyalty to the tribe provides African countries with a head start to build patriotism- we can harness the "we" feeling amongst ethnic groups that is normally demonstrated in the defence of the interests of the groups as a vehicle to national patriotism. Away from the hands of the flippant and self-interested political elites tribalism provides avenues for championing unity within the postcolonial African nations. In fact ethnicity and the resultant conflicts have in the past served to build strong democracies for example in the mould of the United Kingdom, in which, the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish engaged each other in epic battles before forming their monarchy.

According to Alemazung (2010) ethnicity is "one of the leading legacies of colonialism" in Africa and that this ethnicity occurred because the colonialists imposed "arbitrary boundaries and cultural differences" on African peoples (p. 65). The colonial masters conditioned Africans in to distinct "tribes" and fashioned "tribalism" and hence strengthening tribal differences and rivalries between these groups and preventing them from forming a united opposition against the colonizers (p.65). With regard to this, we argue that it has taken Africans several decades to tribalize and entrench, especially, negative tribalism; and it will take several decades of concerted efforts to detribalize. Africa is likely to achieve manageable levels of tribalism; however with the prevailing circumstances African states need to accept even though it was first created by the colonialists for selfish imperialist desires, tribalism is a way of life amongst African ethnic communities, it is a reality. The African governments should encourage their citizenry to accept each other's tribal identity focusing on the benefits of tribalism and denounce the brand of tribalism cultivated and mobilised by political for their own personal objectives that bring their entire nations in to unwarranted tribal conflicts. It is in line with this that we proceed to postulate the role positive tribalism can play within the sub-Saharan African nation.

Tribalism plays several significant roles in the socio-economic and political development and well being of African societies. Ethnicity provides us with an avenue for the study of African realities since it is an important tool for shaping attitudes, values and people's roles with the realities of Africa. Hameso Seyoum argues that since ethnicity is an integral component of African societies and African identity, it is time to take it seriously. He sees nothing wrong in displaying love for one's people and notes that in fact "ethnicity should be considered as a basis for economic and political development." Seyoum suggests that positive ethnicity, "facilitates equitable distribution of resources", dispels "fears and suspicions of other ethnic groups", enhances "respect for other cultures", "restrains the monopolistic post colonial state", and all in all can "enhance socio-economic progress, justice and democracy." (Seyoum, 1997). We shall proceed to discuss how ethnicity plays the above mentioned roles.

Mutual mistrust and fear of "other" groups, naturally, are characteristics of plural societies, especially in sub-Saharan African nations. This results from the normally contradicting interests of individual groups and the apprehension by other ethnic groups that the activities of the other groups are geared towards dominating them. Positive ethnicity plays an important role in ensuring that that this fear, mistrust and suspicions are dispelled. The Nigerian scholar Otite argues that this can be achieved by "mobilising groups to ensure cultural diversities, local territorial and social resource control, social justice, equitable distribution of national wealth, and the avoidance of internal ethnic domination, exploitation and marginalisation." In this context, "ethnicity functions as a democratic organ by being associated with the mobilisation, not only to exploit and develop the local human and material resources and become richer, but also participation in national or state decision-making processes." Ethnic mobilization ensures popular participation in regional and national politics, and hence providing and hence providing an avenue for all communities to be heard with regard to participation in national political and developmental processes.

Closely related to the above is the role positive ethnicity plays in ensuring that the postcolonial sub-Saharan African states' excesses are checked. Since most sub-Saharan African states are weak with regard to democracy, political parties' (other than the ruling parties) are muscled out of national political processes by the mostly dictatorial and bigoted leaders of their countries. Mobilizing ethnicity to ensure popular participation in national decision-making processes, equitable distribution of national resources and eliminating ethnic domination, exploitation and marginalisation, then provides an avenue for democratic expression of the oppressed groups in their struggle against undemocratic practices and injustices committed by the state and its agents. In fact, Tanzania's first president, Julius Nyerere argued that in the sub-Saharan nations that are normally marked by ethnic plurality "Each major tribe acts as a form of a political party." According to Nyerere "as long as the alliances of these tribes are loyal to a nation's political future, the result is rigorous democracy." This was, for example, the case of Kenya at the height of the struggle for multiparty democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (Luo), Kenneth Matiba (Kikuyu) Masinde Muliro and Martin Shikuku (Luhya), among other tribal kingpins founded the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). FORD was a political movement that was successfully used to force the government of President Daniel Moi to allow Kenya to return to multiparty democracy. Like all other African dictators, President Moi had excluded all dissidents (who all happened to come from tribes other than his) and members of their tribes from

his government. These tribal leaders, barred from forming political parties by law, mobilised their ethnic groups and formed alliances with other ethnic groups, resulting in the political movement FORD, which was later transformed into a political party after the mobilised ethnicities successfully petitioned the government to allow multipartism. This is something that keen observes can easily note as a significant feature of the evolving democracies in Africa, south of the Sahara. Democracy has been a possibility, mostly, as a result of positive tribalism and hence leading to fairly stable nations.

It is also imperative to note that ethnicity, played an important role in the struggle for independence in Africa. Restricted in regional tribal blocks, barred from meeting with members of other tribes, and banned from forming political parties and hence having no other avenue of political organization, Africans resorted to forming tribal associations within their districts and used them to struggle against colonialism. Indeed the first political parties to be formed at the beginning of the struggle for independence were merely tribal associations, which eventually transformed into national parties by conglomerating with other like minded entities in the struggle for liberation from colonialism. During the struggle against the British in Kenya for example, Okumu (1975), notes that ethnic associations (District Associations) "provided a tremendous source of strength ... when Africans could not organise politically" (187). Okumu argues that although these associations were initially for welfare projects "their role as mechanisms of political socialization and as a training ground for political leaders constituted a vital contribution to African nationalism ... as well as provided the constituency bases of politics in the first African elections"(187-188). To a large extent the nationalist projects in Africa in their struggle for political freedom relied on ethnic mobilisation for success; positive ethnicity gave the nationalists the people's power and backed them with other resources that eventually made their quest possible.

The role of tribalism in equitable distribution of resources within the post colonial nations of Africa cannot be ignored; ethnicity should be employed as a tool for mobilizing and empowering ethnic groups to "make their own contributions, and exert their own claims on the scarce assets and resources of the state." Ethnic groups can participate in the development of state resources and assets by being allowed the control of resources within their region. Ethnic mobilization is necessary as an advocacy tool to lobby for equitable distribution of resources and in sense to ensure that other ethnic entities especially the larger ethnic groups do not allocate themselves the lion's share of state resources.

In view of the above, tribalism indeed plays and can play a significant role in developing sub- Saharan nations, beginning from the village, town, and regional to national level. Writing in Aspects of Kenya's Development, H. Nyamu, argues that "self-help projects are best accomplished through small sub-ethnic groups ... which are easier to manage and whip into action" (1980: 117). When ethnic groups form self-help associations they can achieve tremendous social, educational and economic development and to a large extent support the government's effort to develop state resources. For example in Kenya, as a result of the scarcity of resources, through the mobilisation of ethnicity and local resources in the 1970s and 1980s, community schools or what were popularly known as "Harambee schools" were built to enhance the dissemination of education initially at village levels and eventually serving whole communities that were basically members of the same ethnic group. With the success of such projects, other ethnic groups were motivated and driven to "learn and emulate and even match or if possible excel" (Nyamu,

1980: 118) the ethnic groups that had succeeded in developing their community in one way or another. By mobilizing ethnicity to utilize and develop the resources that are in short supply, healthy interethnic competition is encouraged and equitable access, control and benefits of the national resources are assured for all ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Ethnicity has become an important analytical category of understanding African social organization patterns. Scholars of ethnicity believe argue that ethnicity has the capability to provide a "reliable" structure for organizing society as well as a medium for negotiating social change in a variety of contexts. Ever since European imperialism and colonialism, violently invaded Africa, "tribes", which many scholars argue did not exist in Africa, were invented (Lentz, 1995) complete with distinct boundaries. All African peoples whose social groupings had been based on "mobility, overlapping networks, multiple group membership and the flexible, context-dependent drawing of boundaries" were arbitrarily divided and confined within physical and psychological boundaries that socialised the in to distinct tribal and ethnic entities (Lentz, 1995). Accordingly Archie Mafeje points out that European colonialism reconstructed the African reality-

> "It regarded African societies as particularly tribal. This approach produced certain blinkers or ideological predispositions which made it difficult for those associated with the system to view these societies in any other light." (1971: 254)

In the context of the aftermath of colonialism, Africans have no business denying that they are a bunch of tribes entrenched in ethnicity. Africans will only be at peace with the recognition and acceptance that tribes and tribalism (ethnicity) are in Africa to stay, for better or for worse. Africans can no longer continue to deny the existence of their tribes; they can no longer speak of tribalism in hushed tones. Africa nations should no longer wallow in the idea that a homogenized cultural populace can exist in their national boundaries, and focus on making good use of the positives of ethnicity that abound in their numbers.

Ethnicity has done much good to Africa than the bad over time. In this paper we have argued that ethnicity is so important to Africa that it in fact provided the bedrock on which Africa won independence from the shackles of colonialism. The gains of ethnicity were reversed when the African populace left this important tool in the hands of the conniving political class- "'political entrepreneurs' who because of corruption, mismanagement, and greed for power have manipulated ethnicity and use it to achieve their personal agenda" (GhanaWeb). It is these reckless political types that have given African ethnicity a bad name, and in a sense connecting it to the numerous conflicts, that indeed have nothing to do with ethnicity apart from the fact that corrupt political leaders whip up ethnic sentiments to cover their failings and to transact their self-interested political courses. Deng (2000) suggests that:

> "Ethnic identities in themselves are not conflictual, just as individuals are not inherently in conflict merely because of their different identities and characteristics. Rather, it is unmanaged or mismanaged competition for power, wealth, or status broadly defined that provides the basis for conflict" (p. 367).

It is the negative political ethnicity fanned by the political elites that has been blamed on the conflicts that have abounded in postcolonial, sub-Saharan African nations like Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, among others is the leading cause of instability in African nations. The ideals that positive ethnicity portents for Africa as explained in the previous section are numerous and provide an anchor on which the stability of African nations can be built.

Positive ethnicity can be achieved by "respecting and promoting all cultures and languages," "recognising and formalising ethnicity"; "accepting the legitimacy of ethnic claims" and by "decentralising state institutions" (Seyoum, 1997). If we provide structures that promote all cultures within sub-Saharan African states and provide legal structures that validate and celebrate ethnicity, there will be no room for any one given ethnic group to feel excluded or marginalized. Political and governance measures that allow for the participation of all ethnic groups in national processes and equitable distribution of state resources can help to ensure that no group feels dominated by another or others and hence marginalised. If anyone ethnic entity feels excluded and discriminated against in the distribution of state resources, it can nurture feelings of hatred and revenge towards the groups perceived to benefit politically, socially and economically from state resources as a result of their association ruler and hence resulting in conflict (Harris and Reilly 1998: 9).

When an ethnic group, for instance, claims that it is being discriminated against in the sharing of national resources like government positions or other lucrative opportunities; or that its leaders are being targeted wrongly by government agencies; there is need that their claims be heard and necessary measures taken to shed light on the accurate circumstances on the ground. If their claims are legitimate the wrongs must be seen to be redressed to allay their fears that the state and other ethnic groups perceived to be affiliated to the ruler could be excluding them from national decisions and processes. If their fears are not assuaged they may foment resentment of the government and other ethnic entities and hence result in tensions that render most sub-Saharan African nations unstable.

In line with the above positive ethnicity requires that state power and institutions be decentred to empower ethnic groups within their regions and allow them to be in control regional and social resources. This aspect requires to be enshrined in the constitution to ensure that the state protects the rights of ethnic groups that risk to be marginalised by the central government. In most cases, in sub-Saharan African states like Kenya and Nigeria, as a result of negative political socialization with regards to the activities of the ruling political elites subsequent to independence, there is the believe that whenever an individual is elected to the presidency it is the turn of that individual's ethnic group and other groups that are loyal to the individual "to eat." This notion mostly cultivated by the political elite results in tensions that if left unchecked pose a threat to the unity of the state. In Nigeria, for example, perceived marginalization and "disparities in access to resources and political power" resulted in the Igbo-led Biafran secessionist movement of 1967-70 (GhanaWeb). The communities that are being manipulated to believe that it is their turn to eat develop inimical attitudes to other ethnic groups that they perceive as threatening their opportunity to "eat". On the other hand communities whom one of their own is not in power feel excluded by the "eaters" or "owners" of state instruments of power; and hence resort to negative ethnicity to seek an opportunity for 'one of their own' to jostle for power to gain access to the "national cake."

If the powers and institutions of the state are decentralised, communities are likely to feel in control of their own local resources and feel that they "own" a part of their government by contributing to and participating in the process of developing and sharing of state resources. Since the African reality is that nationality is less characterized by "strong political centralization" and more by "multiple divisions along ethnic lines" (Amin 1997: 15), and therefore there is the need to allow all the groups some sense of autonomy to control and take charge of issues that the central government does not necessarily need to be overtly involved in. In a sense, the African reality, as a result of ethnic plurality, is that the ethnic entities that control political power determine the distribution of state resources and unilaterally make decisions that have far reaching implications for other ethnic groups. Kenyan Premier Raila Odinga, in a speech published online by the African Press, argues that to remedy this situation African governance structures require to be decentralized:

"African States need to form governments and institutions that have their power base in the tribal institutions because this is where the real power emanates from. i.e. Most Africans respect and have primary allegiance to the tribal structure. The central government is viewed as an outside force that is often hostile and not relevant. I submit that the national government would have more legitimacy if all tribes were represented. All issues in government would be examined using dual standards; a tribal and a national standard. Balance both interests. In most parliaments an upper house should be formed consisting of statesmen who command the most respect and support from each tribe. All tribes would be designated two members very much like the US Senate. This group will balance the State interests versus the tribal interests. An equal representation will ensure that the rights and interests of minority tribes are not trampled upon by majority tribes."

Decentralization will serve to legitimize ethnicity as an integral aspect of African identity and hence enhance respect of other people's cultures. Ethnicity as an aspect of African identity and solidarity should no longer be considered only as a source of conflict. Positive ethnicity should be cultivated amongst ethnic groups as it can provide a platform on which social justice, economic and political development as well as vibrant democracy can be nurtured; and hence fostering national stability.

Nyamu (1980) argues that interethnic conflicts are healthy if the groups involved are "prepared to think, listen and discuss" (p. 119). Conflicts generated out of ethnicity are only a manifestation of the contradicting needs and interests of the concerned groups; African states and their citizens have the duty to treat these disagreements as natural an engage in rational discussions and dialogue to resolve these conflicts without resorting to violence. The strength and stability of sub-Saharan African states largely depend on how these states appreciate, accept and accommodate the persistence of their different ethnicities as well as and manage the conflicts generated from the interactions of the diverse cultural groups. African states should not assume that they can deal with ethnicity by inventing homogenized cultures for their citizenry or by repressing it. The national leadership should ensure leaders of ethnic groups and their associations exercise moderation, and respect for as well as safeguard other groups' interests within their regional bases. Ethnic leaders should restrain from resorting to ethnic terms like "advancing the interest of our own people" or "protecting ourselves from another ethnic group" to ennoble legitimize their own selfish egocentricities.

Loyalty to ethnic affiliations with its numerous benefits such as being a tool for initiating economic and political development; facilitating equitable distribution of resources; dispelling fears and suspicions of other ethnic groups; enhancing respect for other cultures; restraining the excesses of the monopolistic post colonial state and hence enhancing socio-economic progress, justice and democracy; affords Africa a head start to build patriotism and hence stable nations. Rwanda for example, has emerged a stronger nation after its ethnic conflicts that culminated in the 1994 genocide. Kenya on the other hand emerged out of the ethnic conflict that resulted from the disputed 2007 General Elections to enact a new constitution that promises to ensure her stability in the long term. If African states can effectively harness the power inherent in positive ethnicity and allow for the rule of law, it is possible that these states can emerge as strong and stable entities rivalling the stable and developed multiethnic states and kingdoms of the west like Switzerland and the USA.

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An Evaluation of Water Hyacinth Control Methods: A Case Study of Lake Naivasha, Kenya

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Abstract

The water hyacinth was first reported on Lake Naivasha in 1988. Given its high proliferation rate it has spread to cover about 30% of Lake Naivasha. It has caused a lot of negative impacts that include: increased evapo-transpiration, physical obstruction of water transport means, loss in quality of fish and other products leading to reduced incomes; increased operational costs attached to fishing activities resulting from loss of nets and boat engine breakdowns; reduced fish reproduction; and being a breeding ground for many disease-causing organisms. These effects have in turn affected the environment and the socio-economic status of the communities around the lake. Two control methods, namely, biological and manual have been tried in Lake Naivasha. There is therefore an urgent need to have comprehensive economic data on costs and effectiveness of these methods. Given the limited resources at our disposal it is unjustifiable to continue undertaking control of the water hyacinth in Lake Naivasha without evaluating the most cost-effective strategy. It is against this premise that this study sought to conduct environmental economic analyses and made comparisons among the two control methods being used in Lake Naivasha. The study made simulations of the potential combination of these water hyacinth control methods and undertook sensitivity analysis meant to develop an analytical procedure that is hoped to guide policy makers on deciding the best control strategy in future. The mechanical/manual method was found to be strongly supported because it has a superior C: E ratio and it reduces the drudgery associated with manual labour. A combination of the two methods (manual and mechanical) could of course be more reliable as the risks and uncertainties that may arise are reduced. Biological method is not the most cost-effective option, but it is the cheapest in terms of cost per hectare per hour. The study concluded that the task of eradicating the waterweed is an enormous one. It calls for a more responsible approach by the government and the affected communities. The government should look for financiers who can give long-term loans to undertake the exercise since the required investment is huge. The most certain strategy is to undertake a full-blown use of the mechanical and manual methods to fight the weed, protect the environment and create jobs for the local communities. Lastly, public awareness in all aspects of the weed is of paramount importance. According to the survey, the view people have for the government has been undermined because many people do not know that the government is fighting very hard to eradicate the weed.

Key words: Lake Naivasha, Biological control, Manual control, Water hyacinth.

Introduction

Water bodies continue to endure water hyacinth (Eichhornia crassipes) invasions globally. The intricate and unique structure of Eichhornia crassipes makes it one of the most resilient aquatic plants enabling it to infiltrate major water systems throughout the world (Cohen, 1995).Resilient water hyacinth like many invasive non-native species

continues to invade waterways and ecosystems throughout Kenya. Numerous methods of controlling the invasive plant have been developed throughout the world such as biological, mechanical, physical, and chemical treatments (Wade, 1990).

The first case of water hyacinth in Kenya was reported in Lake Naivasha in 1988 (Njuguna, 1991). By early 1989, the plant had progressively spread in the lake and in 1992 it became the dominant weed species (Harper et al. 1992). So far, the weed has adversely affected lake transport and the fishing industry. Water hyacinth has the ability to root in damp mud and so in Lake Naivasha, as in other locations it has colonized the littoral zone which is overwhelmingly dominated by the plants (Adams et al. 2000). The dominance has a physical stability, for, as water level changes, rooted plants can float and vice versa. It is thus possible that the classic zonation of vascular plants from land to the open water, described for Naivasha by Gaudet (1977), has been altered. Gaudet classified 108 plant species in a primary successional sequence from the lake edge to dry land after a period of naturally low water levels that occurred between 1971 and 1973. The zones were: the seedling zone dominated by Nymphae nouchali (Adams et al. 2000) seedlings that did not survive further drying; the sedge zone dominated by Cyperus papyrus (Adams et al. 2000) the composite zone dominated by Conyza, Gnaphalium and Sphaeranthus.

Different methods of water hyacinth removal research continue throughout various parts of the world. African governments spend millions of dollars testing various physical (shredding or removal by hand), chemical (herbicidal spray that could potentially affect the surrounding environment), and biological (introducing biological control agents such as weevils or moths for natural removal) means of control (CAB International, 2000). None have been satisfactorily successful because of hyacinth's extraordinary persistence and survival mechanisms.

Eichhornia crassipes grows at considerable speeds. It floats on the water's surface and grows outwards, extending its stolons to produce a new plant. Flowering is the sexual method of reproduction. The hyacinth is capable of self-fertilizing which makes it even more difficult to control. The seeds produced are viable for 20 years (Julien, 2001). The water hyacinth eventually covers the surface of the water body therefore decreasing the amount of light penetration. This, in turn, will decrease algal growth which ultimately decreases the amount of dissolved oxygen available in the water for aquatic fish and other organisms to use (Toft, 2003). The harsh conditions create an anoxic environment making it extremely difficult for organisms to survive.

The water hyacinth has inflicted enormous negative effects not only on the country's environment but also on the health status and well-being of many people who seek livelihoods from the infested waters and the country's economy in general. Therefore, eradication of the water hyacinth is highly advocated the world over. However, its fast growth rate, the eutrophic status of lakes in Kenya that facilitate its growth, and seeds that remain viable for over 30 years are manifestations of the difficulty associated with its complete eradication.

Experiences of other countries indicate that all the control methods tried are very costly and not as effective as they seem to be. For instance, in Sudan manual control takes 500 men to clear a hectare a day. Only 20 square metres can be cleared a day (equivalent

to 350 kg on a wet basis) to maintain access to a fish landing site. Further, labour costs are quite high. As for biological control, the water hyacinth has no effective predators in Kenya or Africa, because it is not indigenous to Africa and as such has no natural biological enemies. The weevils Neochetina bruchi and Neochetina eichhornia have been identified as absolutely specific to the hyacinth and they have been tried in Lake Victoria and on Lake Naivasha. Research on these weevils is being carried out at Kenya's National Agricultural Research Organization (KARI). There is lack of satisfactory empirical research results to guide policy makers on an economical control method. It is against this background that this paper analyses the costs and lmitations of individual control methods in Lake Naivasha with the aim of identifying the least cost and most effective method before real investment in what could turn out to be an inefficient control measure.

Review of Literature
Water hyacinth grows best in neutral conditions especially where wateris is high in macronutrients, warm temperatures (28° to 30°C), and high light intensities. It can however, tolerate pH levels between 4.0 and 10.0 (Haller and Sutton, 1973; Muramoto et al. 1991). The plants survive frost if the rhizomes don't freeze, even though emergent portions may succumb (Webber, 1897). Prolonged cold kills the plants (Penfound and Earle, 1948), but re-infestation from seed follows during later warmer periods. Ueki (1978) matched the northern limit of water hyacinth to the 1o C average January isotherm in Japan. Growth is inhibited at water temperatures above 33°C (Knipling et al. 1970). Plants stranded on moist sediments can survive several months (Parija, 1934).

Biological Control of Water Hyacinth
In recent years institutions around the world have focused attention on the use of biological agents to control water hyacinth (Appendix 6). Many researchers (Wright and Skilling, 1987; Harley, 1988; Jayant, 1988; Thompson and Habeck, 1989; Harley, 1994; Chikwenhere and Forno, 1994; Mpofu, 1995; Mpofu, 1997) have conducted studies with eating biological agents. These studies, conducted in countries such as South Africa, Kenya, Sudan, India, USA, Australia and Zimbabwe, have demonstrated that these host specific biological agents may offer effective strategies to contain water hyacinth. Focus has generally been directed at two weed eating beetles that belong to the genus called Neochetina. According to Harley (1994) two weevils Neochetina eichhorniae and N. bruchii are safe and have been used successfully to control water hyacinth in Australia and other countries. Jayant (1988) demonstrated reductions of 90% in weed infestation within three years of introducing the weevil N. eichhorniae in Banglore India. Ochiel et al. (1999) demonstrates reductions of 80% in water hyacinth infestation within four years of introducing N. eichhorniae in Lake Victoria. The use of other biological agents such as moths has also been investigated (Chikwembe, 1994). Biological methods to combat water hyacinth infestations has been a subject of much interest and research in Kenya. Several researchers (Ochiel et al. 1999; Julien et al. 1999) have investigated the use of these weevils to control the water hyacinth.

A major concern of propagating and using exotic biological agents is the possible negative ecological effects. The concern mainly relates to the possible impact on non-target species and the subsequent spread of these agents as pests themselves, especially after current infestations of water hyacinth are exhausted. Julien (1999) has, however, shown that the exotic weevil species N. Eichhornia and N. bruchii are host specific for water

hyacinth. Similarly, the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) in 1997 conducted experiments with other biological control agents, the moth Niphogrpata albiguttalis, the mite Orthogalumna terebrantis and the hemipteran bug Eccritotarsus catarinensis, to augment biological control efforts by Neochetina weevils, and demonstrated that they were safe for use in Kenya (Ochiel et al. 1999).

Research on the use of weevils to combat water hyacinth has continued to be spearheaded by KARI. For instance as early as 1993, KARI imported water hyacinth weevils, Neochetina bruchi and N. eichhorniae, from the Plant Health Management Division of the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture in Benin. These weevils, considered the most important biological control agents against the water hyacinth, have had notable success outside East Africa (Harley 1990; Julien and Griffiths 1998; Julien et al. 1999). However, host-specificity tests were ordered in Kenya and Uganda, before releases in Lake Naivasha and Lake Victoria were allowed Neochetina weevils were released in Lake Kyoga, Uganda in 1993 (Ogwang and Molo, 1997, 1999) and in Lake Victoria in 1996 (Mailu, 2001). However, the first weevil releases in Kenya were in Lake Naivasha, which had water hyacinth since the mid 1980s (Njuguna, 1991). Neochetina weevils were released in the Kenyan part of Lake Victoria in 1997 (Ochiel et al. 1999; Mailu et al. 1999), while in Tanzania, Mallya (1999) reported the releases of Neochetina weevils in the Pangani and Sigi rivers in 1995, and in Lake Victoria in 1996.

KARI conducted field trials on the use of the two weevils to control water hyacinth on Lake Victoria and Lake Naivasha between 1998 and 1999. These weevils were introduced to selected sites and their establishment and effectiveness to control water hyacinth monitored. Results from that study demonstrated that Neochetina spp. can be effective agents to control water hyacinth in Kenya. Other biological agents such as the months Sameodes albuguttatus and Cercospora rodmanii are also being investigated as control agents for water hyacinth.

Center et al. (1990) observed that biological agents are not always successful nor do they give consistent results because of variations in plant quality. The same observations were supported by a study by Center and Dray (1992). Other factors such as nutrient levels, proximate composition of the plant tissues and the physiology of the control agents also affect results (Hag and Habeck, 1991).

In view of this, it is increasingly being recognized that multi-disciplinary approaches offer the best long-term management of water hyacinth. This calls for integrated approach where a combination of biological and chemical agents is used. Mpofu (1995) demonstrated that weevils can be used in association with saprophytic and parasitic fungi and bacteria which infest damaged plant tissue. The impact of microorganism on water hyacinth has been shown to increase when plants are attacked by weeds (Charudattan et al. 1978). The work by Mpofu (1995; 1997) examined water hyacinth growth subjected to weevils (N. Eichhornia and N. bruchii) in association with two potential bio-herbicides, Fusarium solani and F. pallidoroseum. The results demonstrated 50% and 30% decreases in areas covered by water hyacinth relative to untreated controls, for combinations of weevils with Fusarium solani and F. pallidoroseum, respectively. Plants subjected to these treatments were shown to be thinner and had extensive damage to the petioles. Plants subjected to independent treatments of weevils, Fusarium solani or F. pallidoroseum showed 9.8%, 6.0% and 3.8% reductions in water hyacinth reductions

relative to untreated controls. Mpofu (1995) also observed declines in water hyacinth populations within 5 months compared to 3-6 years suggested by Harley (1990). The effectiveness of these methods to combat water hyacinth is due to injuries inflicted on plants by the insects which predispose the plants to infection by the microorganisms (Carter, 1997). The pathogens gain entry into the plant tissues along side weevil larvae as they burrow through the plants.

Cost-effectiveness Analysis (CEA)

Cost-effectiveness analysis (CEA) is a technique to assist in decision-making. It involves assessing the gains (effectiveness) and resource input requirements (costs) of alternative ways of achieving a given objective (Creese and Parker, 1991). Broadly, cost-effectiveness analysis is any analytic tool designed to assist a decision-maker in identifying a preferred choice among possible alternatives (Dixon et al. 1994; Mishan, 1988; Quade, 1967; Winpenny, 1993). It had its origin in the economic evaluation of complex defence and space systems (Kazanowski, 1974). Much of the philosophy and methodology of the cost-effectiveness approach are derived from cost-benefit analysis (Fabrycky and Tuesen, 1974; Mishan, 1988). Whenever cost-benefit analysis becomes impossible, since the benefits cannot be valued, it is useful to compare the costs of providing the beneficial outcome in different ways. The basic concepts inherent in cost-effectiveness analysis are now being applied to a broad range of problems in defence, public health and the environment (Dixon et al. 1994; Lanyard and Glaister, 1994).

Specifically, cost-effectiveness analysis involves comparison of alternative courses of action in terms of their costs and their effectiveness in attaining a specific objective. Usually it consists of an attempt to minimize cost subject to some goal; or conversely, to maximize some physical measures of output subject to a budget constraint (Dixon et al. 1994; Mishan, 1988; Quade, 1967). In applying CEA, three requirements must be satisfied. Firstly, the systems being evaluated must have common goals. Secondly, alternate means for meeting the goals must exist. Finally, the capability of bounding the problem must exist (Fabrycky and Tuesen, 1974). There are certain steps that constitute a standardized approach to cost-effectiveness evaluations. These steps are useful since they define a systematic methodology for the evaluation of complex systems in economic terms. They are:

(a) Definition of the objective(s). Since the method is undertaken primarily to choose a course of action, it is important to know the objective(s) the decision-maker is trying to attain (Dixon et a.l 1994; Kazanowski, 1974; Layard and Glaister, 1994).

(b) Alternative concepts and strategies must be developed (Dennis and Williams, 1993; Kazanowski, 1974; Mishan, 1988). The alternatives are the means to attain the objective(s). If alternatives do not exist, CEA cannot be used as a basis for selection (Fabrycky and Tuesen, 1974; Winpenny, 1993).

(c) Establishment of evaluation criteria for both the cost and the effectiveness aspects of the strategies/methods under study. This refers to a rule or standard to rank the alternatives in order of desirability and choose the most promising. It provides means for weighing cost against effectiveness (Dennis and Williams, 1993; Layard and Glaister, 1994; Mishan, 1988; Quade, 1967).

(d) Selection of the approach. Two approaches are available: fixed-cost and fixed-effectiveness. In the former, selection for the best method depends on the effectiveness obtained at a given cost; while in the latter, it depends on the cost incurred to obtain

a given level of effectiveness (Kazanowski, 1974).

(e) Candidate strategies are analysed based on their merits. This may be accomplished by ranking the systems in order of their capability to satisfy the most important criterion. Often this procedure may eliminate the least promising candidates (Dixon et al. 1994). The remaining ones can then be subjected to a detailed CEA.

According to Walters (1962), economic theory defines costs as payments made to induce factors of production to continue in their employment. Derbetin (1980) and Koutsoyiannis (1979) categorize costs as fixed and variable. In support, Hornby, Cownie, and Gimson (1987) state that though in the long run all costs are variable, in the short run some are fixed and others variable.

Study Area

Lake Naivasha is located at 0°42' - 0°50'S /36°16' - 36°26 'E (Figure 1) and has an area of 15,600ha (including islands), at an altitude of 1884m a.s.l. It is believed that some 6000-13,000 years ago, Lake Naivasha was part of a much larger lake that encompassed the present lakes Elementaita and Nakuru, and discarded down the Rift Valley southwards. The lake is a fresh water lake with a catchment of 2,378 km2. Other temporally watercourses descent from the forested slopes of Oldoinyo opuru ridge, and extends eastward from Mau escarpment, across the valley north of the lake. The principle water supply to the lake is from Aberdare Mountains. Two rivers drain these areas and enter the lake. The Malewa river has a catchment of 1,730km2 and provides 90% of the inflow. Ground water seepage, particularly along the north and northeast shores is reputedly responsible for up to 16% of the total influx. There is probably a sub-terranean drainage system, but this has yet to be verified.

Lake Naivasha was designated as a RAMSAR site in 1995 and is managed by the local property owners under the Lake Naivasha Riparian Association formed in 1934. The lake provides diverse habitats for a variety of mammals, birds and fish (tilapia, black bass, and cray fish). Fishery is conducted for both domestic and commercial purposes. Commercial fishery makes an annual production of 75 tonnes valued at Kshs 2.5 million.

The lake provides approximately 50xlO.6m3 of water for irrigation which supports one of the most expansive horticultural industry in this part of the world and which employs more than 250.000 people. The horticulture exports are the second largest foreign exchange earner for the country after tourism. Tourism is also a major sector in the lake and its catchment basin.

The lake's environment is fragile but dynamic and supports tourism and geothermal power generation from deep-rooted stream jets among other economic activities. Lake Naivasha's biodiversity is critically threatened by human induced factors, including: habitat destruction, pollution (from pesticides, herbicides and fertilisers), sewage effluent, livestock feeding lots, acaricide, and water abstraction. A population of over 250,000 people lives around the lake. The high population has encroached upon wetlands and converted them into agricultural lands, residential areas, and tourist hotels. The continued harvesting of papyrus along edges has in particular destroyed the natural state of the lake. Current research findings show that the lake cannot sustain further development activities on the scale seen over the last fifteen years.

Study Area
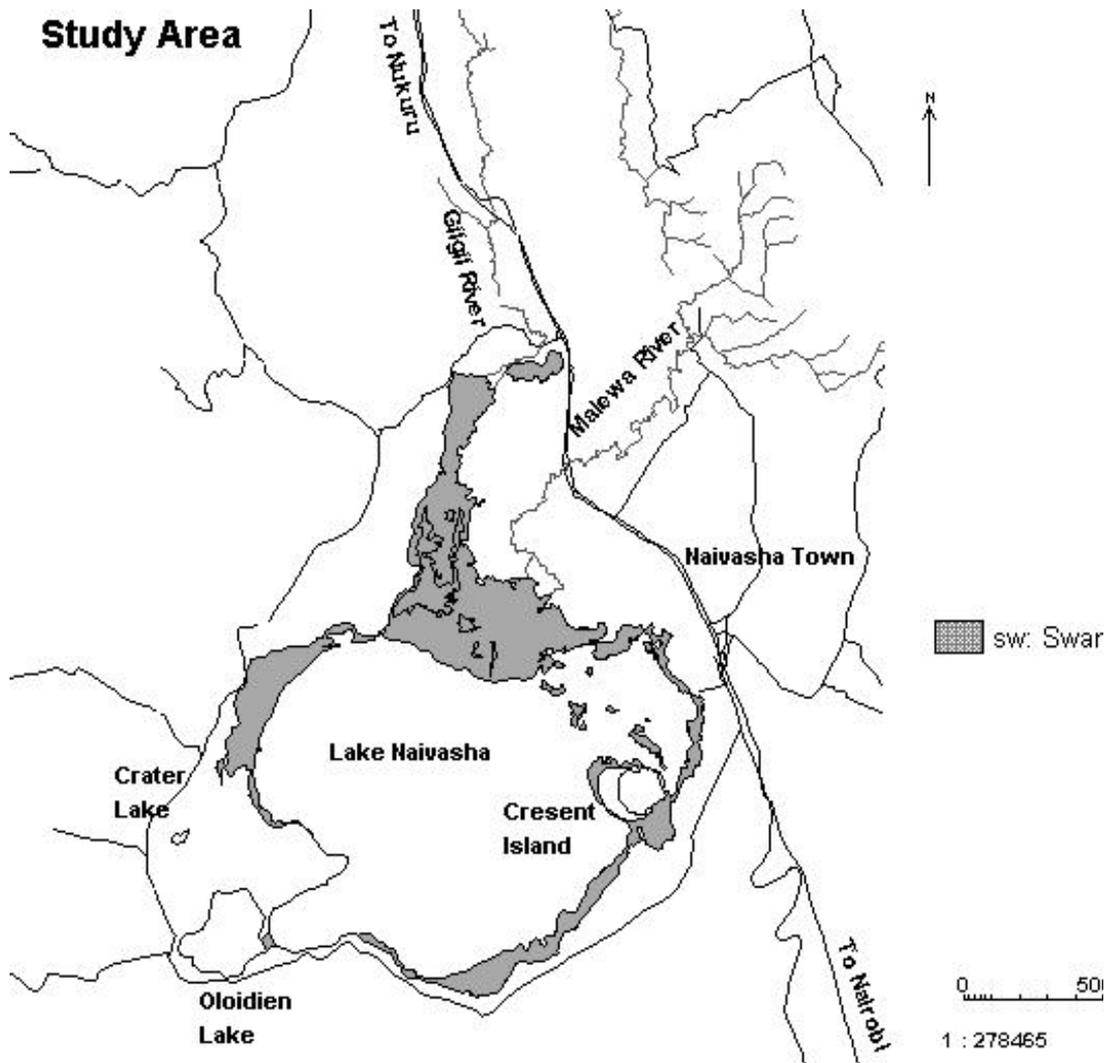
question of when the weed became problematic, residents at lake Naivasha talked of 1998. This was when the weed hindered mobility and landing of the boats, and led to temporary abandonment of landing sites such as Elsamere.

The detrimental effects of the weed as narrated by the group are numerous, with many social and economic implications. They include difficulty in navigation, which is a result of the mesh formed by the roots. This has grave implications such as failure to transport. The participants rejected the use of chemicals for many reasons. Firstly, they are not environmentally friendly and likely to destroy aquatic life. Secondly, effects on people's health are unknown but could be long term. Thirdly, they will not destroy the weed. Fourthly, the chemicals could even be expired and/or contaminated. Fifthly, Kenyan fish will lose market at both domestic and international levels once the lake is sprayed, and this will negatively affect the economy. Finally, the research results on chemical control are not yet convincing, as far as effectiveness and environmental friendliness are concerned.

The participants unanimously pointed out that chemical control should be a last resort after all the environmentally friendly means have completely failed. As for biological means, participants were of the opinion that the weevils may resort to other crops after destroying the weed. On that note, the participants advocated only manual and mechanical control since they are environmentally the safest. Some pointed out that of the two, mechanical means is more effective if the machines are of the right specifications, since they can work continuously without breaking down.

On the question of costs, most participants still wanted chemical and biological methods to be left out. However, some pointed out that chemical control sounds to be the cheapest. All participants expressed dissatisfaction on the way government has handled the weed problem. They asserted that some officials are simply interested in financial benefits from the weed rather than working towards its eradication. They further said whatever little the government is doing is a result of pressure. The income it realised from the lake should be ploughed back into the lake to ensure sustainable future income.

Key Informants
Five key informants were identified and interviewed. Their views are discussed in the next sections.

Biological Control
Through the recommendation of the National Task Force on Water Hyacinth (NTFH), 600 adult weevils from each of the two weevils (N. bruchi and N. eichhornia) were imported in July 1993 from IITA. The weevils have since been mass reared and released in over 20 sites on Lake Naivasha. They were taken in batches of about 1,000 - 1,500 monthly to the various landing sites.

The weevil adults are nocturnal and feed on the upper surface of the leaf lamina and upper one third of the petioles, which causes desiccation of the leaves. Oviposition is in petioles and legules. Larvae tunnel towards the base of the petioles and into the crown. Pupation occurs under water in a cocoon. The generation time for N. bruchi is 96 days while that for N. eichhornia is 120 days. Heavy attack causes the plants to float lower in water and can lead to water logging, rotting and plant deaths. The plant populations are slow to develop, while destruction of the weed takes 3-5 years.

(i) Costs
The picture on costs would be more complete if all the costs incurred on research and development of the essential inputs were considered; however, it is difficult to obtain data on research and development of machines and so on. Therefore, only procurement and operating costs, which include both capital and recurrent costs, are considered (Table 2). Capital costs are apportioned since they last for more than one year. The procedure of annualisation, i.e., the costs of capital items in terms equivalent to recurrent costs, is therefore required. Annualisation requires information on the current price of the item and its useful life. For biological control, only a vehicle is taken as a capital cost. Its daily depreciation is taken as the daily cost attached to the method:

- Price of a vehicle (4WD) in 1994 = US $20,000
- Useful life (years) = 8

- Annualisation coefficient = 0.15478
    - Annual costs = US $20,000 X 0.1547 =US $3,094
    - One day's cost = US $3,094 / 365 = US $8.5

(ii) Effectiveness

3,750 weevils take 3 - 5 years to achieve recognisable coverage per hectare. This period needs to be converted to hours in order to match it with those of other methods whose effectiveness are in hours.

(a) Conversion to days: 3 years x 365 days = 1,095 days
(b) Conversion to hours: 1,095 days x 8 hours = 8,760 hours

The biological control day is equivalent to 8 hours since the adult weevils are nocturnal and therefore active at night.

Total cost per hectare per hour = US $911.4/8,760 = 0.104
(c) Effectiveness indicator (Area (m2)/time (hours))
= 10,000 m2/8,760 hours
= 1.142 m2/hour

Table 2: Costs for effecting biological control based on 1994

Category	Item	Units	Amount (US $)
Personnel	In charge's allowance	per month	200.0
	Junior staff allowance	per month	200.0
	Driver's allowance	per month	150.0
	Labourer	per month	100.0
Vehicle	A Day's depreciation		8.5
	Fuel	litres	170.0
Sub-total			828.5
Miscellaneous others	(10% of 828.5)		82.9
Total			911.4

NB: Total costs per hectare = US $911.4

(iii) Cost- effectiveness ratio

Costs in dollars divided by effectiveness in hours = US $0.104/1.142 = 0.091

4.4.2 Manual Control

This involves manual removal of whole plants from the water and throwing them on the banks, wheelbarrows and / or tipper lorries that ferry them to destinations where they dry up. It has been tried on many landing sites. Given the health problems related to this exercise, the workers need to be well protected and well paid (Table 3).

(i) Costs
The concept of annualisation is considered here. For those capital items with useful life of less than 2 years, a straight-line method of depreciation, which assumes uniform depreciation throughout the life of the item, is subjected on the cost item.

Capital costs include:

Manure forks (500 each at a price of US $10)

-Price of the forks = US $5.000

Useful life = 2 years

Annualisation coefficient = 0.5378

Annual cost = US $5,000 x 0.5378 =US $2,689

One day's cost = US $2,689 / 365 = US $7.4

Long sleeve gloves (500 pairs each at a price of US $15)

Price of the gloves = US $7,500

Useful life = 1 year

Annualisation coefficient (not applicable)

Annual cost = US $7,500

One day's cost = US $7,500 / 365 = US $20.5

Long boots (500 pairs each at a price of US $15)

Price of the gloves = US $7,500

Useful life = 1 year

Annualisation coefficient (not applicable)

Annual cost = US $7,500

One day's cost = US $7,500 / 365 = US $20.5.

Wheel barrows (20 each at a price of US $50)

Price of the forks = US $1,000

Useful life = 2 years

Annualisation coefficient = 0.5378

Annual cost = US $1,000 x 0.5378 =US $537.8

One day's cost = US $537.8 / 365 = US $1.5

Rakes (500 each at a price of US $6)

Price of the rakes = US $3,000

Useful life = 1 year

Annualisation coefficient (not applicable)

Annual cost = US $3,000
One day's cost = US $3,000 / 365 = US $8.2

Table 3: Summary of costs for manual control per hectare
NB: In manual control method a working day is equivalent to 10 hours.

Category	Item	Units	Amount (US $)
Fixed costs			
Implements	Manure forks	500 x10	7.4
	Long gloves	500x15	20.5
	Long boots	500 x15	20.5
	Wheel barrows	20 x 50	1.5
	Rakes	500 x 6	8.2
Sub-total			58.1
Recurrent costs			
Remuneration	Allowance	500 x 2	1,000.0
Miscellaneous (10% of 1, 058.1)			105.8
Total			1,164.0

Total cost per day = US $1164.0
Total cost per hectare per hour = 1,164.0/10 hours = US $116.4

(ii) Effectiveness
It takes about 10 hours for 500 men to clear one hectare. The effectiveness indicator therefore is:

Effectiveness indicator (Area (m2)/time (hours))
$$= 10,000 \text{ m2}/10 \text{ hours} = 1,000 \text{m2/hour}$$

(iii) Cost-effectiveness ratio
Costs in dollars divided by effectiveness
$$= US \$116.4/1,000 = 0.116$$

Respondents' Perceptions of the Role of the Government in Controlling the Weed
The participants suggested the following on what the government should have done: the masses should have been sensitised more about the weed, the funds received from lake should have been ploughed back and local participation should have been emphasised. Many unemployed people could have been utilised and paid say Kshs.15-40 per kg. Operational funds should have been handled by representatives from the fishermen and other affected people instead of by absentee officials who may misuse the money. Government officials should have visited the landing sites more frequently to know more about the problems. Lastly, most participants thought that if the government released enough funds and the unemployed people were hired, the weed could be removed manually.

Results of Fisherman Interviews
Fifteen fishermen were interviewed and all were male despite efforts made to interview female respondents were fruitless. The responses on how the weed has affected fishing and other activities were much in line with earlier findings. These include: failure of boats to sail through waters covered by the weed given the thick mats created by the meshed roots, which lock up the boats and fishermen sometimes for days. This leads to economic losses due to increase in catch delivery time. These delays have at times resulted in deterioration of the quality thus a reduction in the prices, and at most complete spoilage of the fish rendering it unsafe for human consumption. Fishermen have had to carry ice to maintain the quality. Higher costs to operators have also resulted from use of more fuel. Maintenance costs of engines have also increased due to knocks from the weed sucked into the engines.

Opinions on Government Policy
The majority of the respondents (80%) thought that the government has not done its best to eradicate the weed. They asserted some officials gain from the problem and thus did not act fast and vigorously enough.

Hypothesis testing
Hypothesis: The mechanical control method is the most expensive.
Mechanical control method is the cheapest with US $163.5 per hectare per hour. Biological control method, which is the second cheapest, is 5.6 times more expensive than mechanical. Manual method is 7.1 times more expensive, respectively, than mechanical.

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Policy Implications, Conclusions and Recommendations
Policy Implications

Agricultural sector policy objectives target at self-sufficiency in food production and export diversification, industrial development enhanced by agricultural growth, and enhancement of rural development aimed at equal share of the national income between rural and urban sectors. However, government policies have not been implemented consistently with stated policy objectives. For instance, fish is a major food to many people but the weed has undermined the self-sufficiency target in terms of nutrition and food availability.

Export diversification is currently an important issue. Revenue from the fisheries sub-sector has increased from a low figure in the 1980s to over US $70,000, implying that the dependency on coffee income had been reduced. There is greater demand for fish because of population growth, rapid urbanization and improved infrastructure. Its contribution to the GDP is significant and it generates substantial incomes for many Kenyans engaged in fish harvesting, processing and marketing. However, recent developments indicate that if the weed problem is not addressed, whatever little had been achieved will be lost. Firstly, fish exports to Spain were recently banned due to high bacterial content. Fish exports to the European market will dwindle and even the domestic demand will fall. This will result in the closing down of the fish processing industries. It can be argued that the government is not fully committed to exploring all the possibilities regarding the weed control methods. It is imperative that more research on the problem be supported. Scientists working on these control methods must be facilitated to undertake the research.

Many Kenyans feel that the weed problem would not have reached such a level had the government acted more pragmatically. Since its appearance, the government, through MAAIF, has done a lot to control its spread. The following are notable: surveillance to establish distribution and abundance of the weed on our waters; sensitisation of the public on dangers of the weed; community mobilization for manual removal, though with limited facilitation; seminars and workshops to assist in drawing up control programmes; enlistment of financial and material support for the control programmes; limited provision of tools and equipments for manual removal; breeding of biological control agents through facilitation of NAARI. The problem remains effective communication to the people on what has been achieved so far.

Conclusions and Recommendations
Although there is scientific data demonstrating that herbicide (chemical) application has been found to be the most cost-effective method for controlling water hyacinth, there are growing fears and mistrust on its use due to environmental implications. It is true that the use of chemicals has negative effects on the environment and may cause some bio-diversity loss. Still, after convincing and well-disseminated research results, chemicals may be sparingly used in specific sites that are completely inaccessible to other methods.

The manual control method is strongly recommended because it creates employment for the local communities and ensures local participation. Fishermen and local communities

residing near affected lakeshores should be mobilised and facilitated to undertake weed control. This is likely to bring the situation under control since such groups are the immediate beneficiaries. The government should spearhead the process of soliciting funds, which should be handled by officials duly appointed by the groups concerned.

Biological method is not the most cost-effective option, but it is the cheapest in terms of cost per hectare per hour. This method could be employed on a limited scale as more research is being carried out to investigate its potential in other pest, disease and weed control regimes for the future.

The task of eradicating the waterweed is an enormous one. It calls for a more responsible approach by the government and the affected communities. The government should look for financiers who can give long-term loans to undertake the exercise since the required investment is huge. In the analysis, only a hectare was considered for simplicity. If the total area of the weed on both lakes is considered (about 90,000 ha) about US $32 million is required to implement the recommended scenario. Mechanical control with the least C:E ratio (0.016) requires about US $14,4 million to eliminate the weed. Manual, biological and chemical control methods require about US $105, 187 and 269 million, respectively.

These figures would tremendously reduce if implementation were done over a longer period. If a period of one month (300 working hours) were considered, the recommended scenario would require about US $106,000. Manual, biological and chemical controls used alone would require US $350,000, 623,000 and 890,000, respectively. Such amounts of money may seem to be high but considering the anticipated revenue from the sale of fish, they are not so high. If the government cannot raise the money immediately, the short-term solution would be to borrow. The incomes resulting from the weed-free lakes will be sufficient to pay back any loan with interest within a short period.

The most certain strategy is to undertake a full-blown use of the mechanical and manual methods to fight the weed, protect the environment and create jobs for the local communities. Researches on chemical and biological use need to continue to get convincing results.

Lastly, public awareness in all aspects of the weed is of paramount importance. According to the survey, the view people have for the government has been undermined because many people do not know that the government is fighting very hard to eradicate the weed.

Implications for Further Research
Research on utilisation of the weed should be urgently undertaken by multidisciplinary teams. It has been reported that it can be useful in biogas digesters, as animal feed, in paper industries and as mulch. Such positive attributes of the weed could lead to income generation. The concept of re-growth is of paramount importance as it suggests repeated use of the chemicals. It is imperative that we determine the number of times that the re-growth has to be re-sprayed to ensure complete weed destruction vis-à-vis the availability of resources and the protection of the environment.

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Prelude to Human-Wildlife Conflicts in Meru District, Kenya

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Abstract

People in Meru District of Kenya lived in harmony with wild animals before the introduction of wildlife conservation policies in the early 1900s. Besides the many totems inherent in the community, people had ways of ensuring that the utilisation of wildlife resources was done sustainably. Following the introduction of various wildlife conservation policies in the district starting from the early twentieth century however, cases of human-wildlife conflicts (HWC) started to be reported. This paper was therefore guided by the need to trace the roots of HWC in the district. This was achieved by examining the cultural, economic and political practices among the Meru people in relation to wildlife and how such co-existence was interrupted by the introduction wildlife conservation policies in the district. To achieve this objective, the political ecology perspective was used. Political ecology theory discusses how political, economic and social factors influence environmental factors. The research used both secondary and primary sources. The former included published works that were obtained from various resource centers, while the latter were obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and field interviews. A purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the informants. Interview schedules targeting local residents, provincial administration and wildlife conservation agents were used during field interviews. In the analysis, the data were tested against the objective of the study. The study findings may be useful to both the residents wildlife conservation agents in understanding the factors that have contributed to the increase of HWC in the district thereby leading to the application of better ways of dealing with them.

Introduction

The history of HWC in Meru District has been quite dynamic. This has been the case owing to the district's varied ecological zones. The district extends from Thuchi River in the south to the Meru National Park in the north. Topologically, the district slopes down from both the Mount Kenya and the Nyambene Hills up to its lowest points in Tharaka extending up to Igamba Ng'ombe further south. During the colonial times, Meru was made a district which covered vast lands including Isiolo, Tharaka, and Chuka extending up to Laikipia. In the 1990s, Meru District was subdivided into Meru Central, Meru South, Meru North and Tharaka Districts. In the 2000s the districts was further subdivided to create other small district. Very few cases of HWC were experienced in the district prior to the coming of the colonialists in the early twentieth century and the subsequent establishment of wildlife conservancies in the region. People had ways of ensuring peaceful co-existence with wild animals which were in plenty during the time. Hunting and planning killing of nuisance wild animals for instance were some of the ways of ensuring a balance was maintained in the eco-system. At the same time, people practised controlled utilisation of wildlife resources which hardly led to any negative implication to the environment.

Figure 1: a map of Kenya showing the Larger Meru Districts
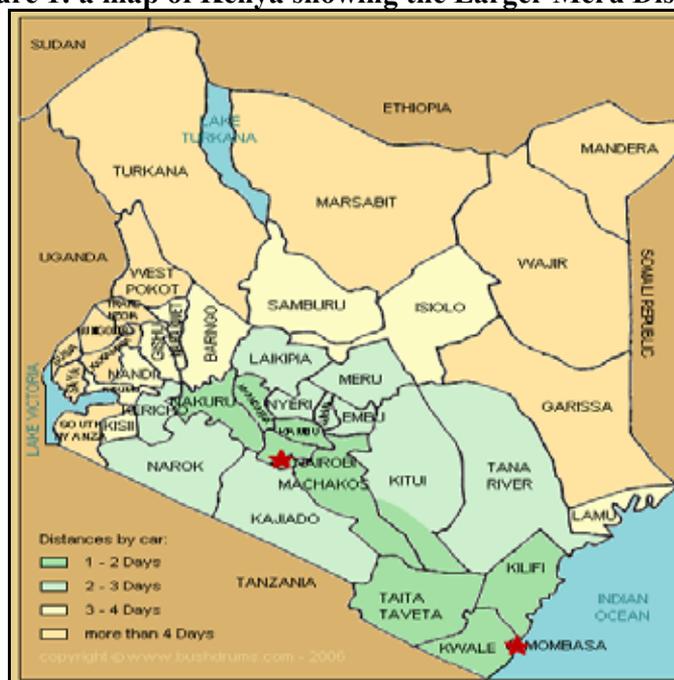
Source: www.bushdrums.com, 2006

People versus Wildlife Prior to the Introduction of Wildlife Conservation Policies in Meru District

Before the emergence of wildlife conservation policies in the district, very few cases of human-wildlife conflicts (HWC) were reported despite the presence of large numbers of wild animals. The most prevalent animals in the district were elephants, buffaloes, pigs and monkeys. This is because, the residents had a variety of ways of ensuring ecological balance was maintained and sustained. One of the explanations for the peaceful co-existence between people and wild animals was that there was plenty of food for both human beings and wild animals. In addition, the killing of destructive animals by the residents as well as the Athi contributed in maintaining a manageable animal population. The *Athi* were quite helpful in establishing a balance in the eco-system. The *Athi* were of two types. The first group was that of the professional hunters. The second group was composed of people who engaged in honey hunting as well as yam cultivation in the forest. Both groups were believed to possess magical powers that were used to be-witch anybody who violated the community's norms such as stealing. The first group which was composed of professional hunters used bows and arrows to kill their prey. Trained dogs were also used in hunting. Among their favourite prey were gazelles and other small mammals. At times however, buffaloes and elephants were killed whenever the population of gazelles and other small mammals went too low. The *Athi* used pits and wire traps to catch buffaloes and elephants. In so doing the hunters ensured that the animal population did not exceed the carrying capacity of the region.

Besides hunting which was important in reducing the population of wild animals, people organized themselves to kill a particular species of animal that they felt was a threat

to both human beings and their livestock. Each of the methods they used though had its shortcoming. People hunted on ungulate in most times due to their abundance in the district. That was important in reducing the number of ungulates that would have otherwise destroyed their food crops. Nonetheless, the killing of ungulates led to a sudden reduction in their number in the food chain thereby making animals that depended on them like the hyenas and other carnivores to resort to killing livestock for food. In an attempt to deal with such threats therefore, the residents organised themselves into groups where they killed as many wild animals of a particular species as possible. Monkeys were the most affected.

Such activities however, could not completely eradicate HWC in the district. Elephants which provided the greatest threat to farming in areas adjacent to the Mount Kenya Forest were often the hardest to deal with because the weapons used by the residents such as spears and arrows could not penetrate their tough skins. The only way the residents were able to chase away elephants was by drumming, shouting, or throwing lighted objects at them. As time passed on however, elephants got used to the methods and it became hard for the residents to deal with them.

Many of the contemporary socio-economic issues of wildlife conservation in Kenya can be traced back to the arrival of the Europeans in the rural African landscape in the early nineteenth century and the incorporation of Kenya into the global market economy. Conservation of wildlife in Kenya has been based on alienation of resource user-rights from the rural communities and transferring them to the state, conservation organisations and tourism groups. Local subsistence hunting has often been dismissed as poaching. The prohibition of utilisation of wildlife products was one of the key reasons for the emergence of HWC in Meru District as in many other parts of the country. Pre-colonial indigenous communities had developed various methods for wildlife resource use based on their cultural understanding and perception of their territorial and social landscape. Such methods included pastoralism, shifting cultivation, and hunting and gathering of wild fauna and flora. Until the early 1900s, people hunted freely in both the Mount Kenya Forest and other forests in the district. The reason for hunting was to acquire either meat or other items that were needed for cultural practices. For instance, they would use the skins of slaughtered animals as clothing, which was indeed their traditional attire. The forests were also a source of firewood. Women went into the forest in groups to collect firewood from dead woods. Livestock grazing in the forests was also a common practice among the residents. It was the young boys who took livestock into the forest early in the morning for grazing.

Most rural Kenyan communities had governing regulations on how wildlife resources were utilised. For instance, in most Kenyan communities such as the Meru, it was a taboo to hunt or kill certain wild animals. The killing of such animals which were held with great respect and veneration was perceived as a bad omen believed to bring natural disasters such as droughts, famines and diseases to the community. Animals which were totems among the Meru community included elephant *(Loxodonta africa),* cheetah *(Acinonyx jubatus)*, lions *(Panthera leo)* and leopards *(Panthera pardus)*. Stories of wild animals featured prominently in children's literature to the extent that the youth accepted them as part of their rural environment.

The relationship between the residents' and wild animals in the areas surrounding the Mount Kenya Forest was never interrupted especially in the early part of colonial rule in Kenya. That was because; the part of Mount Kenya Forest in which people lived had not been taken by the Game Department for the establishment of a wildlife conservancy. People remained in the forest where they lived until in the 1920s when they were forced to retreat to the much lower areas of the Mount Kenya ranges of the district by the neighbouring communities in one of the inter-community battles. From that time onwards, their land was incorporated into the Mount Kenya Forest Reserve which was under the Local Native Council. This prevented the original occupants from any form of utilisation of the forest resources. It marked the beginning of a period of prolonged conflicts between the residents and the conservationists over the ownership of that strip of land that was incorporated into the forest reserve.

People in the areas between Chuka and Chogoria lived deep inside the Mount Kenya Forest in what were their ancestral lands. There is still visible evidence in the forest that clearly shows how people utilised the forest resources. At Kiria which is about twenty kilometers deep into the forest for instance, remnants of old pots, building post and baskets locally referred to as *miruru* can still be found there. People living in the forest areas engaged in crop cultivation. This is clearly evidenced by the presence of miruru remnants in the area. Even though no scientific dating has been done on those remnants, elders from the region were able to confirm their usage period by relating them with their earlier experiences in the area. Their main purpose was for harvesting and storage of harvested grains. At times they could be used for quickening the ripening bananas. The cold climate made the ripening of bananas under natural conditions too slow. For bananas to ripen quickly therefore, they had to be put into a *mururu* which was stuffed with leaves from a specific indigenous tree locally called Mukworwe. The leaves of the tree provided warmth that enabled the bananas to ripen quickly.

Millet and sorghum were the favourite food crops among the residents. They usually produced good harvests due to favorable climatic conditions and good soils. The dark fertile soils in the forest also provided good harvest of yams thereby ensuring enough food even in times of droughts since they are drought resistant. This made the inhabitants to withstand drought conditions for longer periods in comparison to the neighbouring communities. Hence, this could explain why people from the region were frequently raided on by the neighbouring Imenti, Embu and Kikuyu people as they searched for food.

Meat from wild animals was the main source of protein for the residents. Hunting was commonly done by men. Livestock keeping in the region was done on a very small scale. An extended family kept livestock which was just enough to provide milk especially for the women and children. That was because meat acquired by hunting was never taken home. It was considered as a curse locally referred to as mugiro to take wild meat at home. Whenever there was a kill, men would roast and eat the meat in the forest. They would then carry the leftovers into their special huts which were called *Gaaru* whenever they were unable to finish their kill in the forest. From there they would eat the rest providing some to young boys.

Figure 2: a traditional hut referred to as gaaru

Wild animals also provided people with hides and skins that they used for various cultural activities. For instance, the residents used hides as a form of clothing. Women wore skins from animals like leopards to decorate themselves during various traditional festivals such as dances and other occasions such as marriage ceremonies. The porcupine tail was used in making whisks that were used to symbolise power among the elders.Like other traditional African communities, the Meru people highly depended on traditional medicine to cure their illnesses. Such medicines were derived from particular trees that were mostly found in the Mount Kenya Forest. One good example was the neem tree locally referred to as mwarubaini. Every part of the tree was important in making a particular medicine. Despite the bitterness, the tree was known to cure virtually all human diseases experienced at the time.

Figure 3: neem tree (mwarubaini)

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Many rivers that traversed the whole of Meru District originated from Mount Kenya. One of the most important rivers was the Ruguti River. The river passes near Kiria where the residents had their settlements. Its fish were exploited by people living within and without the forest. There also existed two small wells at Kiria that contained saline water, one for animals and the other for human beings. People would take their livestock to drink saline water from the well at particular times of the day when wild animals were not present since the well was used by both wild and domestic animals. The well for human beings was a little different. A person utilising the well at a particular time had to clean it before collecting saline water. That was by scooping out the old saline water from it so as allow fresh one to ooze out. While waiting for the well to fill with fresh saline water, one would place a small bow over it to notify other users that it was booked. It was considered a curse for another person to fetch saline water from a booked well. Other than replenishing the body with various mineral elements in both the human beings and animals, the residents used the saline water to season their food in place of salt.

People also utilised forests through honey harvesting. Other than for its medicinal value, people would use honey in trade as well as making beer that was used in various traditional ceremonies. The people who were responsible for honey collection were called Athi ma Miatu. They collected honey from either stone caves or from traditional beehives. A traditional beehive was mostly made from a log of an indigenous tree called Muringa. To make a beehive, they would scoop out the wood substance from a log of Muringa tree that measured between one and one and half metres long. The beehives were then placed at strategic places in the forest for the bees to get in. Certain types of herb that provided a particular scent as well as roasted goat fat were smeared in the beehives to attract bees. The Mount Kenya Forest was appropriate because it harboured plenty of flowery trees that provided enough nectar for making honey.

Traditionally, people from Meru District utilised wildlife resources in a more sustainable way which was directed towards satisfying their physiological needs and other cultural necessities. However, as various wildlife conservation practices continued to take root in the district, the residents started to lose the freedom they usually enjoyed in the use of wildlife resources. Besides the restrictions the residents faced in utilisation of wildlife resources, the conflicts that arose as a result of the establishment of wildlife conservancies in the district led to immense socio-economic losses to the inhabitants of the district. The losses incurred varied from place to place owing to different patterns of the conflicts experienced in various parts of the district due to varied climatic conditions. While the southern and central areas of the district were relatively wet, the Tharaka areas were fairly dry. The most prevalent and problematic wild animals in the district were porcupines, pigs, monkeys and a variety of other vermin. Crocodiles were also common in some rivers like Thagana.

While pigs were a threat to tuber crops such as sweet potatoes and yams, monkeys destroyed virtually everything due to their ability to climb. Maize and banana cultivation was almost impossible in the presence of ravaging monkeys. Monkeys were also a threat to both the livestock and human beings especially during the times of droughts. The most vulnerable livestock were goats and sheep. An increase in human population from the 1920s made the residents to clear up many bushes to create space for crop cultivation.

Due to lack of appropriate farming implements, many people used fire to burn down the shrubs. This method was more common in Tharaka areas. The burning of bushes in turn led to the displacement of many wild animals from their habitants. As they searched for new habitants and feeding places, they ended up causing huge damages to crops wherever they passed. The animals living in the burnt hills were the most affected because they had to migrate completely into new localities. This led to increased competition for food resources with the animals they found in the new localities. For example, monkeys that are known for their closeness in association were the most disastrous. A group of monkeys inhabiting a particular locality resisted any intrusion into the locality by a visiting group of monkeys. This made the displaced monkeys to seek refuge into people's farms where they caused extensive damage to crops.

As time passed, monkeys became more cunning. In order to get pumpkins which were their favourite, they would steal a sleeping baby placed under a tree by the mother as she worked on the farm. After climbing a tall tree with the baby, they would start yapping aloud to alert the mother of the incidence. To get back the baby, the mother would place a ripe pumpkin under the tree and step aside for the monkey to come down with the baby with whom they exchanged with the pumpkin. Whether that was a myth or a reality remains a mystery. However, one certain thing was that monkeys from Tharaka and Igamba Ng'ombe were so arrogant. It is therefore not surprising that even at the present, the Meru people symbolize the arrogance of monkeys through a popular local expression which goes as follows: "Urimung'entu ta maguna ma Ruguti." At other times, monkeys inflicted serious injuries on women and children by biting or beating them.

Up to the early part of the twentieth century, many people in the areas surrounding the Meru National Park were livestock keepers. Their livestock grazed in the same areas as wild animals. There was a remarkable co-existence between human beings and wild animals. After the establishment of a conservation area in the region by the colonial government, the situation changed as the residents were not allowed to graze their animals in the protected areas. The residents were instead given a strip of land near the park for grazing their livestock. Nevertheless, the problem with such an arrangement was that the government did not fully control the movement and utilisation of the area by wild animals.

As time progressed, the population of both wild animals and livestock increased leading to congestion in the area. As a result, communicable diseases and parasites became easily transmitted among the animals. The livestock were the most affected as they were less adapted to many of the diseases. For instance, tsetse flies transmitted by buffaloes often proved fatal to livestock in the region as they had a weaker body resistance in comparison to buffaloes. Most of the infected livestock died thereby causing immense losses to the residents who mostly depended on them for their livelihood.

Before the establishment of conservancies in the district, the residents used wildlife resources such as trophies for trading purposes. However, after the establishment of wildlife conservancies, the government strongly prohibited all forms of wildlife utilisation by the residents. The residents were seriously affected as they could no longer use wildlife resources as trading items like they used to.

The ban made some residents to shift to crop cultivation though on a limited scale. An impediment to their effort was however threats from wild animals. The presence

of nutritious food at their vicinity highly attracted them. They always chose to feed on cultivated crops rather than their usual foliage in the bush which was often dry fibres. For instance, buffaloes were well known to have a strong liking for a local variety of peas referred to as *Njahi*. In the process, many farmers experienced huge losses owing to crop destruction by buffaloes.

In areas like Kangeta and Ngaya, the residents largely depended on *miraa* farming as their main economic activity. Nevertheless, *miraa* too were not spared from destruction by wild animals. Elephants and monkeys were the most destructive. Monkeys caused a lot of damage on *miraa* twigs as they climbed up and down the *miraa* trees while playing. Elephants on the other hand caused damage to *miraa* trees whenever they passed through a miraa farm by breaking them.

In many parts of the district especially those bordering wildlife conservancies, small children could not go to school unescorted by adults due to threats from monkeys. However, the problem was that the adults were always busy guarding their farms from the destructive monkeys. That therefore meant that children from such areas rarely went to school. Moreover, due to an increase in HWC in the district, many farmers harvested food hardly enough to support their families. This often made many children drop out of school.

Lack of education for many children highly contributed to increased cases of child labour in the district especially from the mid twentieth century. Due to lack of enough food, many children who did not go to school often went into the miraa industry with hope of acquiring money to buy food. Despite the fact that many of them ended up being exploited by their employers, majority of them chose to remain as workers rather than going back to school. Such decisions were motivated by the fact that they were able to afford at least a meal every day as opposed to the period before their employment. This in turn led to the emergence of uneducated generation thereby affecting the overall development of the district. It is therefore not surprising that the district's rate of development is ranked way below its potential.

Although crop destruction by locusts was of great concern in many parts of the district, it was in the areas around Tharaka that were most affected. For instance, in September and October 1919, flying swarms of locusts passed in a south-easterly direction up to Tharaka areas where they caused considerable damage to crops and bushes. The entire fields of sorghum were destroyed. This in combination with the effects of the 1919 drought, popularly known as Yiura ria Kithioro, led to increased suffering among the residents. In the same year, hordes of locusts from a southerly direction found their way up to the region where they destroyed all grass and crops wherever they passed. In all the occasions, the affected residents had no option but to turn to the protected areas to graze their livestock and to hunt for wild meat. The residents used poisoned arrows to hunt in their region as well as the surrounding areas such as Tigania and Kinna. Such anti-conservation practices resulted into bitter conflicts between the residents and the conservationists.

Many people in the areas surrounding the Meru National Park lived by hunting wild animals for meat. Other than hunting for food, they killed any wild animal that they felt was a threat to their lives as well as that of their livestock. The colonialists keen to

protect all the fauna and flora of the region prohibited any killing of wild animals. Sport hunting around Meru Conservation Area was however a common activity as early as the late twentieth century. Majority of the hunters were the Europeans as they could easily afford the fee levied on hunting licenses. Such licenses not only provided income to the government but also effectively locked out the local residents from any utilisation of wildlife resources. The government ensured that no wildlife resource was in the hands of the residents. That included even the ivories that were used by the residents as an item of trade both internally and with the neighbouring communities.

Despite being provided with hunting licenses, many hunters never adhered to the laid down regulations. Many ended up killing more animals than they were licensed for. In September 1912 for instance, a peculiarly flagrant case of breach of the game regulations occurred. J.J. Finnie had only one license but ended up shooting more than six elephants including a cow without reporting the matter. Sport hunting was largely blamed for the increased cases of carnivore conflicts in the district that were a threat to human beings and their livestock. Due to a reduction in the number of ungulates as a result of killings through sport hunting, the carnivores had to look for alternative sources of food. In so doing, many resorted to preying on the residents' livestock as well as human beings.

In the1910s, tsetse flies invaded Mbeyu leaving the area only to be inhabited by wild animals especially the buffaloes. The inhabitants of the place were forced to move elsewhere as many of their livestock had began to die of Nagana. Many people from the area suffered from sleeping sickness as a result of tsetse flies bite. After the migration of the residents from the area, many elephants, rhinos and buffaloes moved into the area. From then on up to the 1940s, buffaloes and elephants made farming around Giaki and Mbeyu areas a near impossibility.

In the turn of the nineteenth century, the British settlers started moving into the district, just like in other highland regions of the country. At first, little of significance was done in relation to wildlife conservation in the district. The situation did not change much until around 1919 when most parts of the country were faced with a severe drought. In areas around Chuka, the drought was referred to as yiura ria kithioro. In addition to adverse climatic conditions experienced at the time, food shortages were occasioned by the decrease in food production during the First World War period. During the war, very little farming was done as many of the community's youthful and more productive people had been recruited to fight alongside government armies. Moreover, the little food that had been saved got depleted in the period as mothers tried to sustain their families.

The effects of the drought culminated to the people of Chuka losing part of their land that was later incorporated into the Mount Kenya Forest Reserve. That marked the beginning of tensions between the conservationist and the local people. Customarily, there were many wars in the whole of the Meru District. However, it was the 1919 battle occasioned by the drought discussed above that made people from Chuka and Chogoria to lose their forest territories. The Kikuyu, Embu and Imenti people had previously attempted to dislodge Chuka people from their territory unsuccessfully. Despite their small population, the Chuka people were the most feared due to their superior defensive structural organization. All the young men locally referred to as nthaka of a given clan lived in one enclosed common place referred to as gaaru. Incase of an invasion on any of the clans, the attacked group would raise an alarm to alert the neighbouring clan.

Upon receiving the signal, the neighbouring clan would do the same until all clans in the region were notified. All the young men from the furthest clan would then link up with the clan that notified them. The process would continue until everybody was gathered at the point where the first alarm was raised. Using the many forests that were in their region as combat zones, the Chuka people easily defeated their enemies.

In 1919 however, due to the prevailing draughts, the invasion locally referred to as maitha by the Kikuyu, Embu and Imenti people was so ferocious. The areas of Embu, Kikuyu and Imenti were so ravaged by droughts. Their only perceived haven was the Chuka region which was in most times green due to its mountainous climatic conditions. In 1920, chief Kabandango, one of their most influential chiefs of the time, on seeing danger advised his people to retreat to the much lower areas of the region. People heeded to the advice and retreated for more than twenty miles out of the Mount Kenya Forest.

Conclusion

As shown in the above discussion, very few cases of HWC were reported in Meru District prior to the coming of the colonialists and the subsequent establishment of wildlife conservation policies. In the contrary, people ensured there was an ecological balance through controlled utilisation of wildlife resources. Hence, it evendent that HWC that followed starting from the 1920s were as a result of the introduction of wildlife conservation policies which lacked any consideration of the residents feeling among other socio-cultural structures. It is with this background that this study advises for a consideration of various socio-cultural aspects among the residents in the future wildlife conservation endavours within the district. This will reduce cases of HWC in the district through introduction of more friendly wildlife conservation policies.

End Notes

[1] Kathuraku Murucha, Chuka, 2008.

[1] *Athi,* which is synonymous to hunters.

[1] Eustace Njeru Kamiriri, Chuka, 2008.

[1] Ibid.

[1] Jeniffer Cianjoka, Chuka, 2008.

[1] J. S. Akama, "Evolution of wildlife Conservation Policies in Kenya," *The Journal of Third World Studies, Fall 1998,* from the net.

[1] The place which is called Kiria came from the features of the place. The terms itself means a pool of water. Thus, the place was named Kiria because it consisted of a pool of alkaline water in which animals drank from, and another for human beings. People tended to prefer settling near it because of its importance.

[1] Miruru were traditional baskets that were generally used for storing harvested food. It is made from strands acquired from special creeping vegetation referred to as *muugu* (singular) or *miugu* (plural). I was basically acquired from the Mount Kenya Forest.

[1] Mugiro is the traditional Chuka name for the curse that occurred as a result of the act of taking wild meat at home. Wildlife resources were considered to be 'holy' and therefore making women who were considered to be of low cadre in the community, unqualified to touch it.

[1] Athi ma Miatu is synonymous with, the hunters of beehive.

[1] Jeniffer Cianjoka Njeru, Chuka.

[1] Thagana is the local name for River Tana which passes through the region.

[1] Eustace Njeru, Chuka, 2008.

[1] Jeniffer C. Kathuraku, Chuka, 2008.

[1] The English translation of the expression is, "You are as arrogant as the monkeys of Ruguti." Ruguti is the name of one of the rivers in the region that has its origins in Mount Kenya.

[1] John, Muthaura, Nchiru, 2008.

[1] Edward Mwiti, Murera, 2008.

[1] DC/MRU/1/1, Meru District, Annual Reports, 1919, p3.
 Yiura ria Kithioro can be translated as the Hunger of corners. Its description is provided on the Southern Region's notes.

[1] DC/MRU/1/1, Meru District, Annual Reports, 1912, p2.

[1] *Yiura*-Draught, ria-of, kithioro- corner. It was referred to as the drought of corners because people would move in circles over long distances without getting any help as the draught was prevalent in almost every community.

[1] Nthaka is a local name used to refer to young men who have been initiated through circumcision. Usually the Meru people initiated their children during their mid-teenage period. Thus, they were able to teach them all sorts of skills including fighting techniques.

[1] *Gaaru* to Meru is like the manyatta for the Maasai. It was a place where men stayed in their leisure time either to play games or discuss serious issues affecting their community. Women were never allowed to go in.

[1] Maitha is local name of an invasion that is launched to another group unexpectedly.

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