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Interrogating Trans-Indian Ocean Culinary Diffusion in Africa and Implications for Cultural history of food: The Case of *Chapati* and *Pilau* in Kenya

By Maurice N. Amutabi

Abstract

This article has evolved out of a research project that examined the role of food in re-interpreting Kenya's history. The article is therefore an attempt at re-examining the writing of Kenya's history that has neglected certain themes such as food in the past. The external origins of some food crops through contact have not been thoroughly interrogated. The article falls in the realm of cultural history, which is still juvenile in the academy in Kenya, still trying to establish a niche for itself and seeking a suitable grounding in the discipline of history. The theoretical framework, parameters and discourses in this genre are still contested spaces and sites, highly suspected by established sub-fields such as political, economic and social histories which perhaps fear being swallowed by this emergent sub-discipline that has been seen to embrace Annalestic, Foucauldian and Gramscian approaches that are basically perceived as deconstructionist, if not revisionist and which very few historians in Kenya seem to understand anyway. The significance of this theme on cookery in Kenya's culinary history is the fact that a well-seasoned pattern of evolutionary introduction of external foods had become established as part of consumption systems before the occupation of the interior of Kenya by Europeans. This of course defies the past pre-colonial history enterprises of first generation historians in Kenya whose lifelong preoccupation has been with indigenous African traditional systems, mainly chiefdoms, kingdoms, migrations and civil wars, ethnic conquests and counter conquests. I therefore fault such mainstream approaches to writing of history, and see them problematic in understanding cultural processes that have shaped Kenya's history. Such narrow interpretations render cultural forces in history impotent. One sees all of these dynamics at work especially now in the fratricidal wars going on among historians in Kenya and across the world over the question of the canon versus multiculturalism and the traditional disciplines against alternative forms of knowledge such as cultural studies and postmodern theory and discourses. One consequence of this self-isolation from critical scholarship among boundary-prone historians has been the fact that concepts such as "culture," and "identity,"--concepts integral to defining societal dynamics such as multiculturalism and cultural borrowings and appropriation--are under-theorized and undigested within the Kenya's cohort of historians.

Key words: Indian Ocean, Culinary Diffusion, East Africa *Chapati* and *Pilau*

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Interrogating Trans-Indian Ocean Culinary Diffusion in Africa and Implications for Cultural history of food: The Case of *Chapati* and *Pilau* in Kenya

By Maurice N. Amutabi

Introduction

This article is about the cultural history of *Chapati* and *pilau* in Kenya from the earliest times to the present. In this essay, I pursue as a first objective the task of placing these two cuisines within the broad movement and circulation of ideas and cultural diffusion and hybridity as defined in cultural history. Second, I foreground the implications of these cuisines in the understanding of the dynamism and varied cultural elements in Kenya's cultural milieu. Finally, I examine the implications of *chapati* and *pilau* in the understanding of the role of cookery or cuisine, diet and food in illuminating our study of Kenya's cultural past. The essay retrospectively addresses how these two cuisines arrived in Kenya and their incorporation into the local culinary culture.

Many dissertations have been churned out on these themes. Thus, the current study has been vilified and is seen to be very flawed in the eyes of many so-called mainstream historians and has thus faced many obstacles, many of which have to do with censorship within the discipline. Like Ruth Benedict (1934), Michel Foucault (1978), Edward Said (1978) and Marshall Sahlins (1985) have demonstrated, the earliest interpretations of ideas are not necessarily the most valid or correct. There is always an opportunity for a second opinion, a re-interpretation, whether we like it or not, cultural historian or from the theoretical umbrella of whatever genre. As Foucault noted, "...we must conceive discourses as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable. To be more precise, we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. It is this distribution that we must reconstruct, with the things said and those concealed, the enunciations required and those forbidden, that it comprises; with the variants and the different effects - according to who is speaking, his position of power, the institutional context in which he happens to be situated - that it implies; and with shifts and reutilization of identical formulas for contrary objectives that it also includes" (Foucault, 1978:100). I agree with Foucault on the need of revisiting and recontextualizing phenomena, including historical ones. It is against this miasmatic and contested academic space on Kenya's scholarly terrain that this study is grounded. My contention being that cultural artifacts like food are just as important in historical inquiry as political, social and economic movements, as they all have a role to inform us about Kenya's past. The continued introduction and modification of new culinary modes into existing systems stemming from those introductions consequently became an integral part of Kenya's traditional diets.

Movement of Ideas and Practices: Food around the Indian Ocean

Food-crops of Asian origins such as bananas, Asian rice, some varieties of sugar cane, oranges and lime, entered Kenya more than five centuries ago. Even crops from the Americas such as pumpkins, watermelons, pawpaws and pineapples had all entered the traditional Kenyan system before 1492 and got modified and adapted to the traditional food-crop economy. It is my contention that these vastly transformed circumstances consequent upon the movement and collision of cuisines and people in history impose new imperatives on our understanding of Kenya's culinary past and present, and the various phases of its existence. The article

problematizes Kenya's culinary historicity and deploys it in the examination of Kenya's social cultural diffusion and linkage to the Indian Ocean Worlds of the Middle East and Asia. It is pertinent and instructive to note at this point that majority of the ingredients in pilau, especially spices, have Oriental origins. *Pilau* is prepared from rice and includes an array of spices like *mdalasini*, *dania*, *iliki*, *pilipili kali*, *pilipili hoho*, *tangawisi* and *karafu* (clove garlic), which originated in the Orient but some variety are now grown in Kenya.

The ingredients of *pilau* lead us to the better examination and understanding of the history of contact between Kenya and the outside world. Many of the ingredients were imports, which for a long time were mainly from the Far East. These ingredients probably arrived with Arab and Persian influences, almost a thousand years ago (Azevedo and Porter, 1991; Coupland, 1938 and Kakole, 1984). The Arabic words present in the culinary details of *pilau* and which have been accepted and absorbed into Kiswahili language vocabulary attest to this historicity. There is a lot of borrowing of Kiswahili words from Arabic, which is quite visible in the naming of the elements in pilau. *Chapati* and *pilau* are not indigenous to Kenya. Chapati is made from wheat flour and has Indian origins in *roti* and *chapti*, which are non-yeast flat breads still made in India and Pakistan today.

According to Simeon Kenyanchui, wheat was first introduced to Kenya in the early part of the twentieth century by the British white adventurer and settler Lord Delamere on his Equator Farm near Njoro, located between Mau escarpment on the west and the Aberdare Ranges on the east. It was here that the 'Equator' To understand a *pilau* ingredient such as clove garlic is to understand the clove plantation history at Zanzibar and Pemba under Omani sultans and their successors, and their historic connection with Kenya's ten-mile coastal strip that was ruled by the Sultan of Zanzibar for three centuries. When the Sultan of Oman moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar, the Arab influence was made even more visible as the Sultans and their attendant Arab and Islamic influences dominated life in coastal towns such as Kismayu, Sofala, Malindi, Kilifi, Mombasa, Pate, Gedi, Lamu, Kilwa, Pemba, Tanga, Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam. The pilau ingredients also give us an opportunity to peep into the Maldives and other Spice Islands that supplied these ingredients and their connection with Kenya. It is my argument in this article that the *chapati* and *pilau* cuisines have experienced different levels of influences from without and within, over the years through diffusion and appropriation. In Kenya, there is both non-yeast and yeast *chapati* at different levels of appropriation. Rice, the main ingredient of *pilau* and *biriani*, is also grown in Kenya today.

Chapati and pilau are both celebrated meals in Kenya's ethnic diet today especially during important occasions like national holidays, weddings, and Islamic holidays like *Idd* and Christian holidays like Christmas, and for daily consumption and enjoyment. This merging of cultural diet and ideology, of chapati with its Indian origin and Christmas with its Judeo-Christian origin for instance makes this article address both diasporic elements and aspects of cultural diffusion. It interrogates both indigenous Kenyan ethnic groups and diaspora ethnicities like Indians and Arabs in Kenya and how they have influenced and in turn have been influenced by the Indian Ocean World. Thus cultural diffusion as one of the channels through which social change lends itself to societies is very active in Kenya and constitutes the theoretical framework and orientation of this article. *Chapati* and *pilau* are the windows through which I interrogate these cultural interactions.

In what follows, I problematize the way in which *chapati* and *pilau* have defined aspects of cultural identity, hybridity, generation difference, and cultural community in these times of rapid globalizing change through emergent foods like fries and burgers in Kenya. I will deploy

the external origins of *chapati* and *pilau* from the Orient to demonstrate cultural diffusion and appropriation in Kenya's history. Much of the writing of the history of Kenya has ignored cultural history, especially food or culinary, cookery and dietary influences in the nation in the past. I therefore fault such mainstream approaches to writing of history, and see them problematic in understanding cultural processes that have shaped Kenya's history. Such narrow interpretations render cultural forces in history impotent. One sees all of these dynamics at work especially now in the fratricidal wars going on among historians in Kenya and across the world over the question of the canon versus multiculturalism and the traditional disciplines versus alternative forms of knowledge such as cultural studies and postcolonial theory and discourses. One consequence of this self-isolation from critical scholarship among boundary-prone historians has been the fact that concepts such as "culture," and "identity,"--concepts integral to defining societal dynamics such as multiculturalism and cultural borrowings and appropriation--are under-theorized and undigested within the Kenya's cohort of historians.

Thus, *chapati* and *pilau* as cultural factors are erroneously regarded as minor issues compared to say political and economic ones in Kenya. Thus proponents of the political and economic issues have sought to emphasize a technicist discourse--a discourse of experts, professional competence, and boundary maintenance that has separated, for example, multiculturalism and hybridity from more critical discourses such as Annales cultural analyses, cultural pragmatism, Frankfurt school critical theory on culture, cultural studies, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. It is not my intention to privilege any one aspect of history at the expense of others in this discourse but rather to embrace open possibilities of knowledge production and ethical affiliation that are foregrounded in postcolonial theory, postcolonial interpretations, discourses, foods, diets and popular culture that does not ignore those which are external, like *chapati* and *pilau*. I believe that addressing these critical issues of cultural identity and hybridity as represented by *chapati* and *pilau* and the organization of cultural system and symbolism around them is pivotal in a time in which there are deepening patterns of globalization, generation gaps that are leading to cultural balkanization, a product of the uncertainty precipitated by the proliferation of different tastes, as a consequence of globalization.

Locating self in the history of chapati and pilau in Kenya: analysis

Eyebrows were raised when I announced to Kenyan historians that I was researching on the history of *chapati* and *pilau*, popular foods, diets and cuisines in Kenya, covering the pre-colonial period to the present. To many of them, this was a commonsensical, perhaps even pedestrian undertaking, "...for everybody loves and eats *chapati* and *pilau* anyway, what is so special about them in history?" one asked me. But little elaboration of my mission and preliminary findings immediately filled many with awe and great admiration of the richness of the subject and a realization of the lacuna in the area, and of how historians had taken such a rich area of study for granted. After a few questions and little discussion about the history of meaning of *chapati* and *pilau*, and their ingredients like garlic, *mdalasini*, *iliki* (garlic), *karafu* (cloves), *pilipili kali* (hot pepper), *pilipili hoho* (mild pepper), *dania*, among others, and their rich history, my critics started to listen. They were made aware of the fact that my study was not only avant-garde but was perhaps the greatest research question in the recent past in Kenya's cultural historiography.

Did you know that the critical part of the French Revolution, the March of King Louis XVI from Versailles to the capital Paris with his family, escorted by a mob was due to food? I

asked one critic who was lost for words. I therefore presented examples of many studies from elsewhere in the history of food. An examination of Susan Terrio's article on "Crafting the culture and history of French chocolate" and which revealed the primacy of food in French history was an eye-opener and refreshing to many. The article reveals how invasive a peripheral item such as chocolate can have great influence on a societal romantic and other emotional dynamics. Her article is a clear demonstration of the importance of what to many might be a secondary aspect of cookery. But such reservations would be put aside when one realizes that bread was an important agenda in the French Revolution of 1789 as Marie Antoinette the Queen later realized. When mobs rioted for lack of bread in France, she is reported to have shouted back at them to eat cakes instead! Of course poor Queen Maria Antoinette did not know that all the French people such as the urban poor and Sans Culottes were not as privileged to have access to cakes and bread like she did. Thus, cookery and culinary issues have been at the center of historical events and have thus engaged scholars for quite some time. It is perhaps the commissioned Cambridge volumes on food that have illustrated this interest more clearly.

From the year 2000, the Cambridge University Press has launched a successful two-volume edition entitled *Cambridge World History of Food* with many contributors (Albala, 2000, on southern Europe; Barlosius, 2000, on France; Murton, 2000, on Australia and New Zealand; Nestle, 2000, on the Mediterranean; Otterloo, 2000; among others. Africa, as usual has been given peripheral treatment in this volume. Thus, this article addresses an area that has suffered total neglect in much of the researches in Kenya. There were few studies carried out on food in the 1970s (Barthes, 1975; Douglas, 1972; Fidanza, 1979; Henish, 1976). The 1980s saw increased interest in this area, perhaps due to world food shortages that were experienced in that decade especially the famines in Africa and Asia and the increased role of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in global food security systems (Bynum, 1987; Fenton and Kisban, 1986; Garnsey, 1988; Kisban, 1986; Mannell, 1985 and 1986; Netting, 1986; Oddy, 1989 and Revel (1987). After the cold war in the 1990s and the intensification of globalization, the research in this area has picked great momentum evidenced by the avalanche and proliferation of literature (Atkins, 1997; Connell, 1995; Dembinska, 1999; Evans, 1999; Glants and Toomre, 1997; Grivetti, 1995a, 1995b; Hoare and Cosgrove, 1998; Kelleher, 1997; Kuvandziev (1999); Mckie, et al, 1998; Nilsen, et a, 19999; Scholliers (2001); and such major projects like the Cambridge one already alluded to. What has occasioned this concerted interest in culinary matters? Why is there more interest in culinary details of the past? Is it because of the danger posed by genetically produced and industrially processed foods? Is there a fear of the imminent disappearance of traditional diets under the increasing threat of globalization? Or is it because of the increasing world population and the threat to food sources? There can never be full and satisfactory answers to these questions and this article will certainly not pretend to attempt to answer them.

The interest in the history of food goes back to early periods in the 1950s. However, the interest was not as focussed as the 1970s and later periods reveal. In the United Kingdom Anne Wilson (1973) has given a very vigorous and systematic account of food and drink of Britain from the Stone Age to recent times. Laura Mason and Catherine Brown (1999) in their book *Traditional Foods of Britain* have also provided an impressive investigation of British regional traditional food. Barbara Wheaton (1983) has discussed the place of the French kitchen and table from 1300 to 1789 in addressing issues of food and diet in France from the 14th to the 19th century. Waterlow (1989) has provided a detailed study of diet of the classical period of Greece and Rome. Smith and Christian (1984) have examined the place of bread and salt as a social and economic history of food and drink in Russia. It is Sutton (2001) who gives a very interesting

interpretation on food in his seminal work entitled "Remembrance of repasts: anthropology of food and memory". In this work, Sutton shows the connection between peoples past and food, arguing that the history of a whole society and nostalgia can be conjured up through food. In other words, like oral sources and archaeology, food can be a store of peoples past and identity. It is in the volume edited by Scholliers (2001) where contributors have persuasively connected identity through food in a retrospection of cooking, eating and drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages. Thus, writers on diet, food, drink and cuisine and their practitioners have addressed several critical developments in dietary prescriptions that have defined relations and societal order in the past. Some of these foods are now transforming social and cultural life outside and inside homes and the public sphere around the globe. These developments have enormous implications for our understanding of diet and food, and their meaning in the history of Kenya.

Kenya is a multicultural society, consisting of three races and forty-three ethnic groups each with their own peculiar food habits, traits and patterns but chapati and pilau are one common denominator. Although certain food types like *chapati* and *pilau* are widely considered today as national foods or cuisines in Kenya, we must point out that types of food change according to societal needs and tastes, and the meanings embodied in them are never static, like ugali. Eastern Africa's Ugali (similar to Southern Africa's Mealie-meal, Nsima, and Sadza or sembe in Tanzania) is usually made from corn (maize), which was brought from the Americas to Africa by Europeans; previously ugali was made from finger millet and sorghum. These starchy Fufu-like "foundations" are the Eastern African versions of Western African staples like Fufu (which is generally made from flour of yams, plantains, or cassava tubers) and Banku, Kenkey, or Tô. They are all starchy carbohydrate accompaniments for African soups, stews, or other dishes with sauce or gravy. They are generally prepared or made by boiling water and vigorously stirring starchy ingredient (flour) into a thick, smooth mush or dough.

Many Kenyans and in fact Africans for that matter feel they haven't had a meal unless they have eaten Fufu or Ugali with a sauce or stew. Thus, *ugali* is today the staple food in Kenya but has been appropriated differently by different ethnic groups. It is eaten with fish among the Luo, with *irio* or *muthokoi* among the Kikuyu, with *ingokho* or *murenda* among the Abaluyia, with milk or *mursik* among the Kalenjin, and so forth among Kenya's ethnic groups. Whereas ugali is indigenous to Kenya, corn or maize flour from which it is predominantly made today is a recent introduction in Kenya. Traditionally ugali was made from flour produced from finger millet and sorghum. Thus there is appropriation of the source of flour (corn) and style of making it (stiffness and softness). Therefore, there is no doubt that ugali, chapati and pilau are national cuisines in Kenya, but what is in doubt is if they will remain so. That, however, is not the concern of this essay.

Some scholars generally believed that *pilau* and *chapati* culinary details have been circulated for many centuries by various agencies in Kenya. Whereas Mombasa and the coast of Kenya naturally received these foods much earlier, the rest of the interior received them in stages that are not easy to decipher. What can be said with some certainty is that the pilau culinary probably arrived in Kenya earlier than that of chapati due to the heavy presence of Arabs and Persians at the coast of Kenya. The pilau connection with early trade spices from the orient before 1492 is indicative of a lengthy contact period. The culinary information was probably spread to the interior through Arab and Swahili trade caravans who established contact with elites from the interior from as early as the Fifteenth Century. The pilau ingredients must have inevitably formed part of the trade items. The chapati spread in the interior of Kenya on the other

must have occurred after 1901 when thousands of Indians who came to Kenya in 1895 as indentured servants/coolies to build the Kenya-Uganda Railway between 1895-1901.

On completion of the railway many of them were encouraged to remain behind by the colonial state keen to stimulate commerce and monetization of exchange relations in rural areas (Maxon, 1992:69-70). The British colonial government employed some of them as junior civil servants in urban areas. Others opened up small business as dukawalas. They interacted with Africans during the railway construction. They also stocked culinary ingredients for chapati, their main staple food, in their stores. As initial custodians of the chapati culinary presence in Kenya, their strategic placement as middlemen in retail distribution must have played to their advantage in marketing their specialty to Kenyans in all parts of the country. From 1901 onwards, Asian traders became a major vehicle for the marketing of peasant production and distribution of manufactured produce. In fact by 1929, over eighty percent of small shops (both retail and wholesale) in urban centers in Kenya were manned by people of Indian descent (Maxon, 1992:70).

The Indians also employed some Africans in their enterprises. Circulation between the countryside and new settlements inevitably increased, with concomitant rise of new demands on urban diets for African urban workers in mushrooming missionary camps, administrative centers, and commercial posts settled in the interior of Kenya. This process of proletarianization of the Africans was encouraged by the new colonial government as an answer to the need for labor (porters, woodcutters, coppers, etc for steam engines and warming European homes). Pilau and chapati ingredients and later sugar became the main stocks of the Indian traders and remain so to this day. It is also probable that the arrival of Indian Muslims also spread the *pilau* culinary influence to the interior (Argyle, 1986).

Foods always indicate moments of prevalence of a particular type of foodstuff and its steady supply in a society. Rice for pilau and wheat for chapati have had their supply in Kenya stabilized since the colonial period as their cultivation was localized. In the recent past, the production of Irish potatoes has been stepped up in Kenya especially in the 1980s and 1990s. A recent survey carried out among Nairobi youths, young middle-class workers and executives revealed that French-fries (chips) and Coca-Cola were their favorite picks in the fast food restaurants that are mushrooming in Nairobi at a very alarming rate, especially after economic liberalization of the 1990s. It is one comment by a respondent in the interviews I conducted in Nairobi that struck me most. S/he said, "What I eat and what I am are inseparable". This great admission and apparent linkage between food and identity, which I had never personally considered seriously, struck me. There was of course a corresponding relationship between class and food and clientele in Kenya very visible in the type of earning brackets that patronized certain eating places and the types of foods that they ate. The young and generally successful tended to patronize fast food restaurants that sold western-style chips (fries) and burgers whereas the elder and successful patronized the old-fashioned restaurants that sold traditional foods like pilau and chapati. To these individuals therefore, food is an extension of their identity and this is not new in history.

Some older informants told me that twenty years ago, ugali and nyama choma and githeri/nyoyo were the popular picks of similar age and class brackets in Nairobi respectively. On the other hand however, even as *chapati* and *pilau* are not indigenous cuisines, they have been adapted and appropriated and thus remain the favorite festival dishes in many homes in Kenya, both rich and poor. They have remained so as far many Kenyans can remember. Whereas French fries (chips) and Coca-Cola are recent occurrence on the Kenyan public and private menu

and their history is fairly well defined by globalization in McDonald's and Coca-Cola cultures of the United States, those of other diets in the country are not easily understood and have remained miasmatic in the minds of Kenyans and in the bibliography of cultural history. Not a single study has been carried out on the history of food in Kenya.

There is that whole broad set of historical processes that brought about the culture of food in Kenya, from the pre-colonial through colonial to the post colonial period which must all be accounted for, and chapati and pilau will allow us to do just that. Pilau has many Oriental connections inherent in its cuisine and ingredients. The Asian Rice (*Oryza sativa*), which is today popular in pilau making in Kenya, is truly an ancient food crop, known to have been cultivated and consumed over 7,000 years ago (Talbot, 1992). Both Malayo-Polynesian colonizers from the Pacific Ocean islands, and Arab-Persian colonizers and traders from the Middle East brought Asian Rice to Africa's eastern coast in ancient times. This is how the rice and pilau probably arrived in Kenya. It is widely known that there are species of rice native to Africa that were cultivated in ancient times in the Western and Central interior parts of the continent around water masses (rivers and lakes) before the arrival of Asian Rice. This indigenous variety, African Rice (*Oryza glaberrima*), sometimes called African Red Rice, has been mostly abandoned by farmers and consumers in favor of the Asian varieties, much of it imported. Today it is grown on small scale by African farmers in Mwea Tabere near Embu and Sagana along River Tana; Kano Plains near Kisumu, River Yala swamp near Siaya, Bura Irrigation Scheme near Hola along the River Tana, and in many other parts of the country.

Chapati has not only oriental connections in terms of cuisine, but has a strong connection to the colonial project especially in the consumption of wheat that was for along time a settler specialty in the Kenya Colony, and as already stated the main commodity of trade for the Indian dukawalas. These processes have combined leading to what we obtain today from different parts of the country as representations of chapati and pilau. In these historical processes are the histories of food crops and where they were first cultivated in Kenya, which is very well documented in some works of history (Talbot, 1992; Kenyanchui, 1992; Were, 1967, Ogot, 1967). Pilau and chapati might have arrived in Kenya around the same time. It is probable that they both appeared around Fifteenth Century when rice and wheat begin to show up as items of trade in early coastal trade records (Kenyanchui, 1992).

Pilau is a favored dish in the Arab and generally Islamic world, and chapati is a very favorite dish among Indians from both Pakistan and India. Thus, given the historical contacts between Kenya coast on the one hand with the Arab and Asian worlds on the other from as early as the 11th century AD, pilau and chapati were probably among the earliest cultural diffusions. More serious presence of pilau probably occurred during the occupation and rule but the Shiraz dynasty at the coastal strip of Kenya after the defeat of the Portuguese. One informant was adamant that chapati spread into the interior of Kenya through the Indian coolies brought in thousands by the British colonial administration between 1895 and 1901 to build the Kenya-Uganda railway. Many remained on completion of the railway and opened up retail outlets along small centers on the railway. There have also been processes of adaptation of recipes; cuisine and other food and dietary prescriptions that have been engineered by both domestic and external factors but which are not properly accounted for historically in Kenya and which constitute the gist of this article. The history of chapati and pilau remains unaccounted for despite their rich past. Like Angela Heuzenroeder (1999) in *Barossa Food*, where her aim "is to help save some excellent dishes that would otherwise have disappeared", my task is to interrogate when and how *chapati* and *pilau* came about in Kenya before they perhaps go the historical drain.

The process that has come to be known as "globalization" through Coca-Cola-ization, McDonald's-ization and other globalized tastes that are getting idealized across the globe give us more meaning and purpose in interrogating cuisines. They make chapati and pilau not only just types of food or cuisines but critical cultural markers in Kenya's socio-cultural and economic scene. Lack of flour for chapati and lack of rice on Kenya's market has capacity to cause serious trickle-effects on the Kenya's political and economic space. They thus cease to be ordinary foods when they are looked at in those perspectives. Cuisines have the power and potential to affect other aspects of culture in a society, as McDonalds and Burger-king and other fast food chains have done. Thus, we can argue that the intensification and rapidity of movement of diets, foods and cuisines, and migration of people and economic and cultural ideas across national boundaries has to be sure, impacted on Kenya for many years now. Driven by the engines of modern capitalist markets, reorganization and the expanded interests, needs, tastes and desires of ordinary people everywhere, globalization is now sweeping all corners of contemporary Kenya as it does the rest of the world. These processes are rapidly shrinking spatial relations and food tastes between hitherto far-flung parts of the country and, as a consequence, deepening the interconnection of the local in the global and the global in the local as Anthony Giddens maintains (1994). In her analysis in *Borassa Food*, Heuzenroeder's passion is partly triggered by her realization that many of the customary foods and traditions of her own Barossa (a region in Australia occupied by mainly German immigrants pursuing German cuisines) childhood were vanishing, fading away, overwhelmed by freezers, by convenience foods, by food globalization (Angela Heuzenroeder does not use this word, but it's what she means by "world food"). And yet just like in Kenya, where I am concerned with chapati and pilau, Heuzenroeder avers that these were foods full of flavor, rich in symbolism and tradition, undeserving of such fate.

We must also recognize that electronic mediation and computerization have set off new, powerful energies that have precipitated an explosion in the proliferation of new images, tastes, menus, identities and subjectivities now facilitated by the Internet, television, film, radio, newspapers, popular music and aesthetic culture generally. Kenya's food culture is therefore getting strongly ingrained in this emerging pattern as older food traits and habits get peripheralized in the globalization of cuisines. The technologization of food production through genetics and commercialization of food through mass advertising are increasingly defining the politics, economics, sociology and culture of food. The best cooks are no longer defined by traditional yardsticks but by commercialism and commercialization. The dieticians and medical experts are redefining food especially with the emergence of ideal weights and body sizes. Thus, the good foods and cooks are no longer coming from the traditional homes but from the commercialized food industry. The cooks are no longer only women but men as well.

Food is redefining societal roles in ways never imagined before. In fact we might further argue that the fragility or the firmness of many of these emergent craft foods could be the basis of understanding the life pattern of the Kenyan societies in which they are found. In the distant past, the coast of Kenya was the first contact area with outside world. It is here that *pilau* and *chapati* that have strong oriental connections have firmly established their hold more than other parts of the country. Today, the contact zones have shifted from the seaports of Mombasa and Malindi to living rooms through television, learning institutions, fashion, recipes and cooking magazines and cinema halls, thus explaining how Coca-Cola and McDonalds have a field day in Kenya. The postmodern family kitchen has become the conduit of change, the point where cuisines meet, are transformed, hybridized, creolized and in fact globalized. Thus, global

cuisines are eclectic creatures that have no known parameters. Their area of operation is the globe and the only barriers they know is the imagination of private and public chefs.

These developments have both stimulated and bolstered the intensification of the work of the imagination of the broad masses of the people as survival and so-called hanging-in-there has led to innovation on food production and improvisation of recipes and diets. New foods that few years ago would never be envisioned or would usually be seen as taboo are becoming acceptable, threatening traditional foods like *chapati* and *pilau*. Cultural food patterns are being increasingly broken as ethnic groups jostle in the market for the best bargains rather than traditional or best foods. The expansion of representational technologies and capacities has meant that people now put together their sense of past, present and the future, their very destinies and sense of self, in collusion with new mediascapes and realities defined by availability of food. Cultural diffusion has removed the cultural boundaries of ethnic foods. These new mentalities, self imaging and creativity are propelled by an ever-expanding sense of possibility as well as interest, affordability and constraint as Kenyans cultivate new interests, tastes, needs, desires and fears gestated and amplified in the cultural landscape and aesthetic culture of the new media, scarcity and commercialism of food production, supply and preparation.

New critical discourses and technologies on food have been generated, largely outside the field of traditional cookery and food preparation and care, to address the challenges of this new historical period. We are living in the age of the centrifugal proliferation of interpretation and genres about everything, including food, cuisines and diets. As a consequence, new critical discourses abound as people increasingly question old diets and reinvent food patterns and customs. In the dietary realm and food patterns, these discourses include definition of food for the poor and the rich, for managing disease, body shapes and even sex and leisure. The bourgeoisie and the rest of the upper and middle class can afford three high quality square meals a day (1-1-1) whereas the poor (peasants and the proletariat) move towards either two meals a day (1-0-1) or one meal (0-0-1) a day. Thus, food is defined by the politics of class and affordability in Kenya. There are still *githeri* and *nyoyo* eaters in Nairobi but these are those on the periphery of city life such as bricklayers, manual laborers and factory hands, cleaners, porters, cobblers, etc. *Chapati* and *pilau* unlike chips have defied factory or mass production and this is what makes them more interesting. They remain labor-intensive specialties, but their popularity in Kenya is undergoing the greatest test from chips (fries) and burgers and other culinary transformations and influences. The technologies of the nineteenth and twentieth century's such things as freezers, packaged and canned foods and improved transport facilities, have played a part in the dilution to both national and regional cuisines and chapati and pilau in Kenya may not be spared.

One of the advantages of chapati and pilau is their entrenchment in the linguistic history of Kenya, as they constitute important cultural bedrock. The Kiswahilization of pilau ingredients like clove garlic to *iliki*, onions to *vitunguu*, is not only interesting but also enriching in many ways.

Conclusion

This article has confirmed the centrality of food in the understanding of the connection between Kenya and the Indian Ocean Worlds (IOW). It has shown that one can use food, diet and culinary details in studying a society's past and in interrogating its relationship with other cultures. It has also established that pilau and chapati can be used as windows through which historians can meaningfully glimpse into Kenya's social change and dynamics and unearth useful

historical strands and influences. It has demonstrated that the Indian and Arab influences as seen through chapati and pilau can be clearly delineated and desegregated and fully accounted for in Kenya's cultural milieu. The article has also established that Kenya's cultural traits and patterns are a microcosm of many factors, some of which predate the colonial project and also extend beyond the traditional local boundaries within the Kenyan space. It has also made it clear that there is no historical genre or paradigm that has a monopoly in informing us about Kenya's past, be it economic, political or social or environmental or cultural history. They all have complimentary roles in assessing the past.

Thinking in postcolonial terms about culinary difference and multiplicity in food patterns in Kenya implies reflecting about context. It means bringing back into historical discourses all those tensions and contradictions that we tend to suppress as we process experience and influence into our histories. It means abandoning the auratic, superior pandering and assumptions of status of concepts such as invincibility of political and economic determinism in historical processes. It calls for embracing alternative paradigms of inquiry such as culture and identity for recognition of the vital porosity that has existed and influenced each other among human groups in the world as pilau and chapati have demonstrated in this article. It means debunking the intellectual autonomy of any historical genre in the desire for holistic understanding of any historical phenomena. This begs for incorporation of open mindedness and inquiry that comes from letting traditions debate with each other under the rubric that we learn more about ourselves by learning about others, as we have done of the Hindu (Indian) goddess *kali* and its incorporation in Kiswahili vocabulary through culinary appropriation. It means ultimately thinking across disciplinary boundaries and the insulation of knowledge--linking the past and the present.

The *chapati* and *pilau* connectivity to the IOW challenges us to rethink the role and meaning of past tools of analyses and intellectual work in a time when long held stabilities of politics, economics, nation, place, group affiliation and identity are under siege. Fries and burgers may be replacing chapati and pilau, as popular consumables in the culinary public space in Kenya but this does not deny them their historicity in Kenya's cultural evolution. This rethinking of intellectual work must ground its associated practices of interpretation and action in all areas, including food and other forces that influence history. This involves, in part, an acute attention to the techniques and aesthetics of everyday living and the ethics and care of the self-practiced by the masses themselves as they negotiate their integration into modern tastes, institutions and the modern world.

In this sense this article has anticipated many of the dilemmas that would face the modern Kenyan intellectual in using alternative methodologies to examine Kenya's past. In this new millennium, old lines of solidarity and inquiry fragment and ever new dynamic, hybrid and combustible identities proliferate in the public spheres of the Kenya and the modern world where for instance ugali, chapati, or pilau just as fries and burgers, get universalized as not just Kenyan culinary but perhaps East African, African or global. So that in the near future, to study the consumption patterns of say fries or burgers would be the same as perhaps interrogating the eating habits of teenagers universally. In such a time of particularly combustible global and local environments, there is a need for a more multivalent and contextual approach to intellectual work in the area of such mundane realms as diet settings and influences.

There is a need to call on the plurality of traditions and cultural and political resistances launched and circulating within the intersections of the culinary peripheries and metropolis of world history and geography, to appreciate the Indian and Arab elements in chapati and pilau.

There is a need to think within the particular and to think beyond, not necessarily in terms of binary oppositions but in terms of learning and unlearning past conceptions to widen our horizons and embrace new methodologies. We must reconnect the broken lines of association and affiliation between the local, the national and the global. The reality of intellectual and cultural work as this article has shown by use of *chapati* and *pilau* in their demonstration of the relationship between Kenya and the Indian Ocean World, is a global reality of multiplier effects, continuities and discontinuities, articulations and rearticulations, without disciplinary pandering and raising of eye-brows.

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When Kenyan Implementers Met China Road and Bridge Corporation

By Oscar Meywa Otele

Abstract

The dominant view in “China-Africa relations” literature argues that Chinese companies overlook local materials and labour in preference for those sourced from China. However, this paper finds mixed outcomes in the case of China’s engagement in Kenya’s transport infrastructure. Although there were mutual agreements between CRBC and Kenyan implementing authorities regarding the inclusion of materials, equipment and, labour, during the construction of the Nairobi Southern Bypass project CRBC imported some of the materials and equipment from China, however, in the Phase One of the Standard Gauge Railway there was considerable evidence to demonstrate concerted effort by Kenyan implementers to ensure that local materials and equipment were utilized. As for labour, it was established that CRBC and Kenyan implementers ensured that locals were involved in the construction of bypass and railway projects.

Keywords: CRBC, Equipment, Labour, Local Materials

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When Kenyan Implementers Met China Road and Bridge Corporation

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Introduction

The dominant view in “China-Africa” literature argues that Chinese companies overlook local materials, equipment and labour in preference for those sourced from China. This paper presents empirical evidence that challenges this view. It begins by contextualizing the operations of China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) in Kenya, a key Chinese institution involved in the implementation of the selected infrastructure projects. It then goes ahead to present an overview of the two selected implementing authorities, namely Kenya National Highway Authority (KeNHA) and Kenya Railway Corporation (KRC) and their involvement in ensuring the inclusion of local materials, equipment and labour during the construction of the Nairobi Southern Bypass and Standard Gauge Railway respectively. In the fourth and fifth sections the paper discusses the proportion of local materials vis-à-vis those sourced from China, and the proportion of local workers vis-à-vis Chinese workers respectively.

China Road and Bridge Corporation in the Kenyan Context

CRBC was incorporated in Kenya in December, 1984. It is a wholly-owned subsidiary of China Communications Construction Company (CCCC) a world leading road, bridge and railway design and construction enterprise (Daily Nation, 2017:12). Following the reorganization of ministries and department in early 2000s, the management of CRBC falls under the State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Communication (SASAC) (Yi-Chong, 2014), a move seen by many observers as an attempt by the Communist Party of China (CPC) to continue extending its tentacles in economic activities (Chan & Rosenbloom, 2009; McNally, 2008).

During the formative years of the NARC government, the role of CRBC in the development of Kenya’s transport infrastructure became visible through its participation in infrastructure contracting funded by traditional development partners and the Kenyan government. The initial participation of CRBC in the in the rehabilitation of a section of Nairobi-Mombasa road (the Mtito Andei-Bachuma Gate) saw the company become even more visible in the international infrastructure contracting as typified in the construction of Northern Eastern and Eastern Bypasses (in Nairobi County); Nairobi Southern Bypass (in Nairobi County) and Oginga Odinga Road (Section 58, in Nakuru County) through credit facilities from China’s Exim Bank. Most recently the company has completed Phase One (Mombasa and Nairobi) of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), one of its largest infrastructure contracts since inception in Kenya.

Also the operation of CRBC in Kenya has to be understood within the competitive international contracting space occupied by other Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs), Chinese private companies, other foreign companies and local companies. Other significant Chinese companies in Kenya include China Wu Yi; Sinohydro Corporation; Shengli Engineering Limited; China Overseas Engineering Group Limited and Jiangxi Zhongmei Engineering Limited. But CRBC is not the only Chinese company engaged in infrastructure contracting funded by other external creditors and Kenyan government. Other Chinese companies have also engaged on infrastructure projects funded by other creditors. For example, Sinohydro Corporation Ltd was engaged on a portion of Nairobi-Thika Road financed by African Development Bank (AfDB) and the Government of Kenya at a cost of US\$. 107.50 million (Mulinge, 2012).

The proliferation of Chinese companies has been resented by local and other international companies complaining that their presence is likely to shut them out of business. Often the resentment has centred on low bidding prices from Chinese companies, which according to some companies makes it difficult for them to compete fairly. But, the truth of the matter is that Chinese companies are not floating low bid prices to outdo their competitors, rather they utilize “relatively low supply-chain and labour costs” (Yi-Chong, 2014:835) which allow them to offer competitive bid so as to remain relevant in the international contracting industry.

Furthermore, the presence and activities of CRBC in Kenya has brought many small Chinese companies operating as sub-contractors which according to two trade unionists are the genesis of the tension between Chinese managers and Kenyan workers since they obfuscate the reporting structures making it difficult for CRBC to be held liable in case of any problem (J. Macharia and W. Kibiri, Interview, 5 July 2015). Although CRBC may wish to sub-contract ultimately reducing operating costs and maximizing profit, Liou (2009) and Corkin (2010, 2011) observe that where the business aspirations and practices of large SOEs vary with sub-contractors it is the question of inclusion of local content (materials, equipment and labour) that is put to test during the implementation of Chinese funded projects in Africa. Thus it is the “interface” (Haglund, 2008) between Kenyan implementing authorities and the CRBC that to a large extent determines the degree of the inclusion of the local content.

Kenyan Implementing Authorities

In the road sub-sector, the framework agreement for construction of The Nairobi Southern Bypass Project was signed between CRBC and Kenya National Highway Authority (KeNHA), while that of constructing the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) was signed between CRBC and Kenya Railway Coalition (KRC).

KeNHA as a state corporation was established in 2008 following the enactment of the Kenya Road Act of 2007. It is headed by the Director-General assisted by a Board of Directors. As a state corporation it is mandated to manage, develop, rehabilitate and maintain international trunk roads connecting key “international routes, international crossing boundaries or terminating at international ports (Class A road), national trunk roads linking internationally important centres (Class B roads), and primarily roads linking provincially important centres to each other or two higher-class roads (Class C roads)”(KeNHA, 2016). The establishment of KeNHA was borne out of the desire to enhance efficiency in the road sub-sector, thus in conjunction with the World Bank, the government decentralized its roles in construction and maintenance of roads from the mother ministry (currently, Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure).

In the railway sub-sector, Kenya Railway Corporation (KRC) is the main institution mandated to manage railway in Kenya. As a state corporation it was established following the enactment of Kenya Railways Act of 1978 and later amended in 2005. It is headed by the Director-General assisted by a Board of Directors. In attempt to enhance the efficiency of railway system, in 2006, under concession agreement, the Rift Valleys Consortium took over the control of Kenya Railways. In a bid to revamp its dwindling fortunes the corporation unveiled its Strategic Plan 2007-2012 outlining its vision, mission and objectives. In the plan, the corporation envisions to provide Kenyans affordable and efficient mode of transport facilitating movement of people and cargo in a safe, cost effective and predictable manner (Kenya Railway Corporation, 2007).

Inclusion of Local Materials and Equipment

It was established that although financial agreements for the construction of The Nairobi Southern Bypass did not have explicit provision for the inclusion of local materials and equipment, it was mutually agreed that CRBC will ensure utilization of local materials and equipment (Anonymous Respondent, Interview, 6 August, 2015) while in the Standard Gauge Railway Project it was mutually agreed that 40 per cent of materials and equipment required on the project will be sourced locally (Anonymous Respondents, Interview, 15,22 July 2015; Daily Nation, 2017:12). With reference to SGR, it is hereby emphasized that by China's Exim Bank accepting to relax its default position on Preferential Buyer's Credit that requires that no less than 50 per cent of materials and equipment be sourced from China, demonstrates the agency of Kenya in safeguarding her interests in the negotiations.

Based on a key informant working on the bypass project, it was reported that CRBC imported almost 85 per cent of equipment and materials from China (Anonymous Respondent, Interview, 5 August 2015). These materials included bitumen, steel roller, bulldozers, excavators, pavers, pneumatics rollers, tippers, water tankers, graders, scrappers, concrete vibrators, compressing drill and poclains. Others included tractor broom, flat roller, vibrating roller, foot/pedestrian rollers, stabilizer, disc tractors, concrete mixer, low loader, bitumen distributor and crusher (Anonymous Respondent, Interview, 5 August 2015). The practice of importation from China is further corroborated by assertion made by former Head of Civil service and Secretary to the Cabinet.

We get the infrastructure; they get the market for their equipment and also various materials for the project. Sometimes they even bring cements for road construction...it is those Chinese industries that supply those materials and equipment (F. Muthaura, Interview, 4 July, 2015)

The literature acknowledges this importation referring to China's SOEs' preference for low supply chain costs as operating strategy. Chinese SOEs would prefer to import from China because they argue that it is cheaper to buy equipment and materials from China than in the host country and that they also have social capital back in China which makes it easier to obtain the required materials at prices they prefer to pay. The widely cited example is the case of a 50kg of Angolan-made cement costing US\$10, while the Chinese one costs US\$4 and yet it will be delivered on time (Zhao & Shen, 2008:230).

Despite CRBC's preference for importation of materials and equipment during the construction of the bypass project, this study established that Kenya had sufficient capacity to manufacture a majority of machinery and equipment required in the construction of the project. Until the closure of Kenya Petroleum Refinery Limited (KPRL) in 2013, bitumen was available locally. Indeed, 2014 Kenya's Economic Survey acknowledges that in 2013 "the value of crude petroleum dropped by 39.7 per cent as a result of the closure of KPRL. This was compensated by increased importation of petroleum products that rose from (Approximately US\$2.639 million) in 2012 to (Approximately US\$2.807 million) in 2013" (Republic of Kenya, 2014:119). Since the bypass began in 2012, there was no data to demonstrate that CRBC utilized bitumen from KPRL before its closure. But, on the basis that KPRL collapsed way before the completion of the project, we could argue that CRBC was justified to import it from elsewhere. Ndume Limited in Nakuru County and Autospring Manufacturers in Athi River (Machakos County) manufacture discs which attached to tractors. Tractor locomotives are manufactured outside Kenya and

imported with minimal taxes (import and Value Added Tax [VAT] exempt). In most cases the tractor locomotives are imported together with the discs (E. Alenga, Email Communication, 6-10 January, 2017). Although the provision of the inclusion of local materials and equipment was mutually agreed in the bypass project, Kenyan implementers were not able to control CRBC from importing what was available locally. This finding is surprising especially given the longevity of CRBC establishment in Kenya. Some observers of China-Africa relations have insulated some Chinese contractors from the criticism of importing materials and equipment from China arguing that where they have operated for a long time, they generally tend to spur local manufacturing initiatives by ensuring that local capacity is upgraded to the required standards (Brautigam, 2009; Davies, Edinger, Tay, Naidu, 2008)

With regards to the inclusion of local materials and equipment in the construction of the First Phase of the SGR project, local manufacturers expected to supply sand, aggregate, ballast, cement, cinder, gasoline, explosives, detonators, fuses, diesel and lubricants, rubber and ancillary material. Other materials in the list included offering provisions for Chinese workers such as safety and firefighting equipment. Local manufacturers also expected to supply haulage machines and equipment for leasing and construction of temporary structure (Daily Nation, 2015). Given that CRBC had discretion to decide whether these materials met required specification, this generated a lot of resistance from local suppliers. To ease the tension in June 2014 the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure and Kenya Railway Corporation in conjunction with the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) organized a conference on SGR. The conference aimed at informing the private sector on existing opportunities and how best they could be tapped during the construction of SGR. It also discussed the opportunities for Kenyans to supply goods and services to the contractor (Uchukuzi, 2014:8).

According to one participant, the conference was successful in terms of insisting that some of the products available locally should not be imported (E. Alenga, Email Communication, 13 July 2015). Although CRBC was not legally obliged to enforce 40 per cent inclusion of local material, nevertheless, after the initial pressure from the Kenya Association of Manufacturer (KAM), all cements, railway cars and crushed stones used for the construction in the First Phase was sourced locally, but railway engines, steel rails, and construction machines were imported from China. The Kenyan cement industry has immensely benefitted from the transfer of manufacturing standard especially for cement where CRBC played central role in upgrading local cement from grade 52 to 52.5 (Wissenbach & Wang, 2016:2).. This upgrading of the local capacity as predicted by McCormick (2008:85) is likely to promote local manufacturing sector and consequently industrial growth.

Asked about how many indigenous companies had won supply contracts with the Chinese company working on the SGR project, Irungu Nyakera Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure responded:

CRBC [has] attached great importance to the implementation of local content and actively involved in the participation of local suppliers and sub-contractors. Under the Kenya Railway Corporation, they have taken concrete actions to engage local partners to the maximum to participate in the construction of the Mombasa-Nairobi SGR project so as to stimulate the development of associated industries in Kenya. All the materials, equipment, machinery and services available in the Kenya market [are]...procured locally. So far CRBC [has] already signed cooperation agreements with 950 local materials and equipment suppliers and

service providers, and developed a cooperative relationship with 249 local sub-contractors (Daily Nation, 2017:12).

By ensuring that more than 50 per cent of materials is sourced locally underscores the agency of Kenyan implementers in ensuring that local manufacturing industry benefits from Chinese funded projects. This finding mirrors Corkin's (2013) study in Angola where it was established that political elites managed to negotiate at least 30 per cent inclusion of local materials and equipment given Angola's infant manufacturing sector attributable to long years of civil war.

Kenyan Workers vis-à-vis Chinese Workers

Similarly, the study established that it was mutually agreed that where local skills were available CRBC would not source labour from China. Personal interviews conducted with Kenyan and Chinese employees during a site visit on The Nairobi Southern Bypass project established the distribution of Chinese vis-à-vis Kenyan workers as follows: At the top level management, Chinese workers included project managers, material engineers, civil engineers, site agents (supervisors) and road designers, while the only Kenyan worker at this level was the resident engineer (who acts as supervisory consultancy). At the middle level management, Chinese workers included foreman, officer in charge of security, checker in every section and a chef, while Kenyan workers at this level included lab technicians, surveyors, office administrator, information communication technology (ICT) officers and secretaries. Whereas there were no unskilled Chinese workers, a majority of workers at this level were Kenyans working as daily laborers, machine operators, drivers, drillers, masons, steel fixers and carpenters

However, the data obtained from the minutes of the site meeting between KeNHA and CRBC in June 2015 appear to suggest a considerable number of Kenyans at the supervisory and managerial levels (Site Minutes, 2015). As shown in the **Table 1**, senior Kenyan personnel working on the bypass project went beyond resident engineer. Other Kenyans at this level included project engineer, survey manager, project technical team leader, structural engineer and environmental consultant.

Table 1: List of Participants in Site Meeting between CRBC and KeNHA

Designation	Nationality	Organization
In attendance		
Resident Engineer	Kenyan	CRBC
Project Engineer	Kenyan	KeNHA
Chief Engineer, Ministry	Kenyan	Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure
Manager (Survey)	Kenyan	CRBC
Area Resident Engineer	Kenyan	CRBC
Project Manager	Chinese	CRBC
Deputy Project Manager	Chinese	CRBC
Chief Engineer	Chinese	CRBC
E.H.S Office	Kenyan	CRBC
Area Engineer	Kenya	CRBC
Area Engineer	Kenyan	CRBC
Absent with Apologies		
Project Technical Team Leader	Kenyan	CRBC
Structural Engineer	Kenyan	CRBC
Representative from Kenya Rural Road Authority	Kenyan	CRBC
KPC Supervisor	Kenyan	KPC

Source: Extracts from the Minutes between CRBC & KeNHA

Relative to the length of the project (30 km), this number of Kenyan workers at the supervisory and managerial is remarkable and contrasts Kamoche and Siebers's (2014:14-15) study which found fewer Kenyans in these positions. However, based on the anecdotal evidence their role in decision-making is quite limited (Anonymous Respondent, Interview, 26 June 2015).

The growing number of Kenyans in supervisory roles demonstrates the willingness of CRBC to use local knowledge to penetrate local terrain and remain relevant in the competitive construction industry, even though, the number is negligible comparable to the output of qualified civil engineers in Kenya from local universities (Republic of Kenya, 2012-2015). The few number of Kenyan technicians and engineers in the bypass project according to Mr. Shu Yi Li, Human Resource Manager at CRBC is attributable to their unwillingness to pick up job offers because they normally have high salary expectation. And, those that accept to work on the bypass project they use that opportunity as a springboard to obtaining training qualifications for other jobs or even open their companies in future. Asked about initiatives the Kenya government was doing to ensure that more local engineers learn from Chinese ones during the construction of road projects, a senior labour officer informed the study that Chinese construction SOEs are in business and they operate just like other multinational corporations from the west. Whether they prefer to use local engineers or not, is a question of specific skills available and ready to satisfy quick delivery of the project (in short, it is about supply-demand logic).

During the site visit along the bypass project at Thogoto construction site the researcher observed that a majority of casual workers were Kenyans. Through actual physical count it was established that the ratio of Kenyan workers to Chinese workers was 27:1 as illustrated in **Table 2**. Assuming that this ratio was constant in all six stations along The Nairobi Southern Bypass project, it translates to approximately 97 per cent of Kenyan workers on the project.

Table 2: Kenyan Workers versus Chinese Workers at a Construction Site

Position	Nationality	Number
Checker	Chinese	2
Skilled Laborers	Kenyan	4
Driller	Kenyan	3
Laborers	Kenyan	8
Mason	Kenyan	8
Carpenter	Kenyan	14
Steel Fixer	Kenyan	11
Headmen	Kenyan	2

Source: Author (2017)

Whereas the high number of unskilled Kenyan workers is indicative of the agency of Kenyan implementers in ensuring participation of locals in Chinese funded projects, a similar study in Kenya appears to suggest that the agency is reinforced by the company's cost saving strategy. (Kamoche & Siebers, 2014:14).

In addition to the high costs, restrictions placed by the Department of Immigration could also account for the low number of unskilled Chinese workers in the infrastructure projects as illustrated in the **Table 3** when the number of working visa approved for Chinese nationalities is compared to those declined.

Table 3: Number of Working Visa Applications vis-à-vis Disapproval

Application Made			Applications Approved		% of Applications Declined	
Year	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese	Total	Chinese
2009	16,413	1,075	13,216	890	19	17
2010	16,715	1,489	14,554	1170	13	21
2011	20,143	1,928	17,069	1677	15	13
2012	20,077	2,041	16,351	1780	19	13
2013	19,748	2,076	16,268	1789	18	14

Source: Department of Immigration, cited in Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE), 2015:25

From 2011 (year when the credit facility for the bypass project was approved) to 2013 (when the construction was underway) the number of working visa applications made by Chinese increased by 7.6 per cent compared to 79.3 per cent increase from 2009 to 2011 before the inception of the project. The disapproval rate ranged between 13 to 14 per 100 applications in 2011 and 2013 compared to 17 to 13 per 100 applications in 2009 and 2011. Although the working visa applications could have been made in other sectors, nevertheless, the reduction is indicative of the declining number of Chinese workers on the bypass project. This reduction could also be interpreted in light of the desire by the Chinese government to see the utilization of local labour in Chinese funded project as earlier promised by Chinese President Hu Jintao during the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Corporation (FOCAC) in July, 2012 (Yi-Chong, 2014:837).

Furthermore, the high number of unskilled workers could be interpreted as an attempt by CRBC to comply with regulations in Kenya. According to Kenya Public Procurement and Disposal Act of 2005 and National Construction Authority Act of 2011 foreign companies must

engage at least 30 per cent of the contract to the local contractors (F. Gichina, Interview, 1 July 2015). Thus, by engaging local contractors CRBC reduces the pressure and scrutiny of participation of local workers. This finding on high number of locals is consistent with a study conducted in Ghana in which high level of localization among Chinese SOEs was attained through gradual recruitment and training of local construction workers, compliance with regulatory frameworks and familiarity with local business environment among other strategies (Kernen & Lam, 2014:1059-1666).

In the SGR project it was established that the number of Kenyan working on the project increased gradually. As at June 2015, CRBC had recruited 10,889 Kenyan workers as masons, mechanics, carpenters, heavy construction equipment operators. It was also reported that more than 1,300 Kenyans participate in the project from the level of foreman and above (middle-level). This represents 90 per cent of local workforce on the project (Daily Nation, 2015). The number of Kenyan workers has since grown to about 25,000 Kenyans, while that of Chinese varied from 2,000-3,000 depending on the skills needed in different sites (Wissenbach & Wang, 2016:2). This proportion is corroborated by a key informant who noted that most workers were Kenyans and they included machine operators, truck drivers and surveyors. Most Chinese workers on the site were engineers and had little knowledge of English and Kiswahili resulting to communication barriers at work (G. Wanjiku, Interview, 24 May 2017). Asked what the government was doing to ensure more Kenyan engineers participate on the SGR project, shockingly, a government official quipped:

Which engineers are available in Kenya to build the railway line...since colonialists constructed Kenya-Uganda Railway tell me which line has been constructed so far...you wait Chinese to complete the project and hand over it to the government (Anonymous Respondent, 29 June 2015).

Another senior government official in the Ministry of Labour responded:

As it stands now some of the sophisticated technological skills Chinese needs on the railway project are not in the local market, thus forcing them to look back in China.

The above testimony from government officers underscores dearth of local skilled required in the construction of the SGR. The foregoing findings on high number of unskilled Kenyan workers on bypass and railway projects are consistent with a research reported conducted by the Centre for Chinese Studies of the Stellenbosch University (2006) and studies by Brautigam and Tang (2011) and Davies et al's (2008), further dispelling the popular myth that Chinese contractors in Africa over utilize Chinese workers. The findings also echo Kamoche and Siebers' (2014) study which found out that in Kenya some Chinese contractors only sourced certain labour skills from China where none was unavailable. While a study conducted by the Sino-Africa Centre of Excellence (SACE) in 2014 established that generally Chinese companies prefer hiring 78 per cent of Kenyans on full time basis and 95 per cent of Kenyans on part-time basis. In fact 63 per cent of the sampled organizations reported having an internal policy of replacing Chinese employee with Kenyans because it is cheaper.

In spite of high number of unskilled Kenyan workers, the myth about many Chinese workers in Kenya's construction industry appears to be reinforced by human resources management practices that overtime has seen a high turnover of Kenyans. According to

Kamoche and Siebers (2014:14) Chinese firms rely on “low-cost employment strategies”, which emphasize informal values such as hard work, honesty and punctuality (Graham & Lam, 2003). Without proper recruitment channels and pre-requisite qualifications, the recruited employees turn out to be ineffective as they lack required skills and may hold on to the job just to protect the name of the recommender, but not loyal to the employer. This is why Chinese managers in construction works regard unskilled Kenyan workers as lacking the “informal” virtue.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the “interface” between Kenyan implementers and CRBC with reference to the inclusion of the local content. It began by providing the context in which CRBC operates before outlining establishment and purposes of Kenyan implementing authorities. The paper then proceeded to outline perimeters used to measure the local content in Kenya. Consecutively, the paper went on to discuss the extent of the inclusion of local materials and equipment, and that of local labour.

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Consumer acculturation: the case of immigrant inter-racial couples' household Decision-making in Kenya

By Wakiuru Wamwara

Abstract

This article examines household decision-making among immigrant inter-racial couples in Kenya. The correlation between a country's level of development and prevalence of husband/wife dominance in household decision-making is investigated through in-depth interviews with immigrants in inter-racial marriages. While researchers have demonstrated the movement of decisions towards less husband-dominance as nations develop, we find that when immigrants from more developed countries immigrate to less developed countries; their decision-making patterns revert to husband-dominance. With one exception, couples displayed husband-dominance with regards to food consumption and transportation. Couples initially displayed role reversal with husband-dominance in the area of grocery shopping but with time, reverted to wife-dominance. We attribute the return to husband-dominance to: a) the integration of dominant culture's values and decision-making patterns and b) the existence of cheap labor which mitigates these decisions and facilitates the dominance of one decision-making pattern over another. Implications for marketers and future research are advanced.

Key words: Consumer Acculturation, Immigrants, Inter-racial Couples, Kenya

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By Wakiuru Wamwara

Introduction

Many important life decisions are made by households rather than by individuals and an understanding of household decision-making is important for marketers. Individual needs, contextual influences, family structure as well as traditional roles influence how households make decisions. Factors such as immigration further complicate household decision-making as couples navigate a new consumption environment. Immigration often results in identity reconstruction and a redefinition of the family. Inter-racial couples face different realities than same race couples and immigration may bring certain realities to the forefront. This research examines household decision-making among inter-racial couples where one or both of the partners is an immigrant. Studies on household decision-making have primarily focused on couples who are making decisions in their own cultural context (Qualls, 1987; Imperia, O'Guinn & MacAdams, 1985). Green et al.'s (1983) study compared couples' decision-making in several countries and found that decision-making for certain product categories were universally female or male dominant.

A comparative study by Ganesh (1997) found that the decision-making of Tamil Indians in the United States fell consistently between that of US respondents and Indian Tamil households in India, for most of the decision-making stages and for most of the products. Nonetheless, despite these early studies, research on spousal decision-making has primarily been conducted in western countries. One of the few exceptions, Webster (2000) conducted research in India and found that Indian women despite living in a patriarchal society were influential in some aspects of household decision-making. Therefore, Webster (2000) suggested that western theories were inadequate in explaining marital decision-making because household decision-making is a culturally situated phenomenon. Additionally, not only have researchers primarily examined deciders in one cultural context, but they have also looked at deciders who are of one race. Increasingly around the world there is diversity in the range of inter-racial couple-hood and consequently this narrow focus on couples who are of the same-race may not truly represent the reality of many households around the world. New research on 'binational households' (Cross & Gilly, 2014) investigates how "cultural competence" impacts the allocation of decision roles among bi-national couples. They found that couples leverage their cultural competency in household decision-making.

Further Cross and Gilly (2014) called for studies that examine a broad range of socioeconomic groups across different national settings in order to provide a better understanding of the relative influence of country of origin, country of encounter (i.e. where partners met) and country of residence on consumption decisions, dyadic interactions and power dynamic with diverse partnerships. The research presented here responds to this call since it examines inter-racial couples acculturating in Kenya. A brief review of extant studies on spousal decision-making, immigrant acculturation and an introduction of the Kenyan cultural context follow.

Spousal Decision-making

Gendered patterns of behavior are extremely important in household decision-making. Qualls (1987) noted the impact of sex role orientation in household decision-making, while Webster

(1994) highlighted the general consensus by researchers of the traditional role specialization in decision-making. For example, males were found to be dominant in decisions such as automobile purchase (Green et. al, 1983), insurance (Davis & Rigaux, 1974), while female dominant decisions included appliances (Green et al., 1983), groceries (Davis & Rigaux, 1974) and washing machines (Woodside & Motes, 1979). The female dominant decisions have been associated with the women's role as homemakers. Therefore, it is apparent that gender plays an important role in decision-making among couples and in certain cases follows traditional gender roles. Undoubtedly gender roles are not static and (Belch & Willis, 2002) found that gender differences have evolved over time with marital roles becoming more egalitarian. Furthermore, greater egalitarianism in decision-making in the home coincides with women joining the workforce (Lackman & Lanasa, 1993).

Cross-cultural studies have found that as nations become more developed, household decision-making generally becomes less husband-dominant (Green et. al., 1983). Therefore, in the case of grocery shopping (a predominantly female preserve), a country's increased development should result in increased husband involvement in grocery shopping. Yet, a study of Singaporean husbands, Piron (2002) found that husbands had lower levels of involvement with grocery shopping and that the wives were the principal deciders. This was attributed to Asian males and families being more traditional and less open to modern behaviors than their western counterparts. Therefore, in patriarchal cultures such as Kenya, husband dominance in household decisions might be more pervasive since cultural norms accord husbands this privilege while denying the wives this power regardless of their contribution to marital assets. In her 2007 study Wamwara-Mbugua found that household decision-making among Kenyan immigrants could not be understood without taking into consideration the role of the extended family.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic background has been found to have an effect on marital roles in decision-making. Imperia, O'Guinn and MacAdams (1985) found that Mexican-American families were more husband-dominant than their Anglo counterparts when making decisions about major durables. In general, Webster (1994) found that there was a positive relationship between identification with Hispanic culture and husband dominance in decision-making. Maldonado and Tansuhaj (1999) demonstrated that the immigrant's ethnic identity and role destabilization influenced their self-concept and ultimately their symbolic consumption. Couples in inter-racial marriages often have to navigate not only their own ethnicity but also that of their spouse and ultimately their bi-racial children. Qian and Lichter (2007) noted that marriages between people of different racial/ethnic back-grounds mean that barriers to social interaction and intimacy have broken down and that marital partners—by definition—accept each other as social equals. Cross and Gilly (2014) noted that spouses have resources beyond economic capital and their task specialization role. These non-economic resources have been termed “cultural competency” and have been shown to be equally important in spousal leverage in household decision-making. Therefore, Cross and Gilly (2014) challenge the role of conjugal power that stems from economic power as the only resource available to spouses in their household decision-making. This study adds to this work on household decision-making by examining inter-racial couples and their decision-making in a non-western cultural context; particularly when one of the spouses or both are members of a minority group.

Acculturation

“Immigrants go through *cultural identity* change where “*cultural identity represents* changes in cultural practices, values and identifications.” (Schwartz et. Al., 2010). In her 1994 work, Lisa Penaloza (1994) coined the term “consumer acculturation” which she defined as “the general process of movement and adaptation to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country.” As the immigrants adapt and adjust they experience some acculturative stress (Berry & Annis, 1974). In addition, to acculturation pressures, inter-racial couples often have to deal with non-acceptance by their family and friends and society at large. As noted by Schwartz et al. (2010) “experiences of discrimination introduce the migrant to her or his role as a minority group member and to the reality that her or his ethnic group is regarded as unwanted, inferior or unfairly stereotyped in the receiving society.” To understand household decision-making among immigrants in Kenya, we specifically examine the following: a) food consumption; b) grocery shopping and c) transportation.

Food

Food is central to our identity and cultural heritage. Consequently, food consumption and acquisition is an excellent area in which to investigate immigrant household decision-making among inter-racial couples in Kenya. Cross and Gilly (2014) demonstrated how immigrants negotiate the food space; “immigrant may prepare their own food and even if the spouse finds it disgusting they still appreciate that the other person will eat their preferred foods.” Obviously an understanding of food consumption cannot be complete without considering food acquisition. In Kenya, grocery shopping happens in regular supermarkets, kiosks, street vendors as well as open air markets.

Method

This research was conducted in Nairobi, Kenya. Kenya is an interesting context in which to examine spousal decision-making because Kenya is a patriarchal society and this culture of patriarchy results in gender inequality that is evident in many spheres of women’s public and private lives. While the government has enacted laws to combat gender inequality, there remain persistent social barriers that impede the recognition of women as equals within the society. The passage of a new constitution in 2010, resulted in women gaining more rights and other legal protections. Kenyan women especially those who live in the rural areas produce over 90% of all output, yet men control this output since traditionally men own the land and women provide the labor. Lee and Petersen (1983) found that wives’ power in marriage is greater when they contribute substantially to subsistence production--even in patriarchal societies. In Kenya, it is not the case that rural women yield a lot of power even though they contribute to the subsistence acquisition of marital assets. Other studies have found that a wife’s resources, or the absence of them, do not justify more or less of her influence (Gauthier, Forsyth & Bankston, 1993).

The data for this study is drawn from a larger study of thirty-three immigrants. Research informants were recruited using the snowball method by contacting language centers and employees of the international companies and nongovernmental organizations. The informants are from Europe, North and South America, Africa, Asia, Australia and the Middle East. Before research commenced, research permits and Institutional Review Board authorizations were obtained. All interviews were audio taped and conducted in English, in Nairobi, Kenya. Informants signed an informed consent form and were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. The interview protocol called for an exploration of critical incidents as well as an exploration of

the lived experience of the informants. Research informants were offered a small token of appreciation for participation in the research. The data was analyzed by means of coding patterns consistent with (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Triangulation across informants was guaranteed by interviewing wherever possible informants from the same country.

Twelve individual interviews were conducted with immigrants who were in an inter-racial marriage. Five out of the twelve informants were married to Kenyan men while two informants were married to Kenyan women. One European informant was married to a non-Kenyan-African woman and both were interviewed. The remaining two couples were in same-race-different-country marriages. The immigrants' length in time in Kenya ranged from 2 months to 45 years. The informants' length of marriage ranged from 1 year to 40 years. Only 4 of the couples met in Kenya while the rest of the couples either met or married in a third country or in the original country of one of the dyads in the couple. *Table 1* presents additional information on the informants. In presenting our findings we break from tradition and rather than give the informants pseudonyms, we present the country of origin of the informant first followed by the gender and the country of origin of their spouse. This is done in order to highlight the diversity of these couples.

Findings

Our findings highlight husband dominance with regards to food consumed in the home and transportation choice. In an interesting case of role-reversal, grocery shopping was shown to be husband dominant initially, for couples where the husband had deeper market place knowledge, but reverted to wife dominance over time. This reversion is consistent with traditional gender roles in Kenya where women do most of the grocery shopping.

Food consumption

An interview with a Swiss man married to a Kenya woman showed that the husband and their children primarily ate food that was associated with his Swiss food culture.

Swiss husband-(Kenyan wife): Okay, for my main weekly diet, there is not much Kenyan food but now my wife she cooks, she eats mainly Kenyan food, then the kids they eat mainly more of European food.

Surprising all of the men in this study were very inflexible in their food choices and were unwilling to adopt the food culture of their spouse as demonstrated by the statements of the African partner below. When asked what type of food was consumed in the home, she clearly stated that they mainly ate Belgian food or ate out. It interesting to note that since neither partner was in their country of origin that they prioritized the Belgian food over the African food (wife was non-Kenyan).

Non-Kenyan African wife-(Belgian husband)

Informant: We are eating more Belgian food no African food, because he doesn't like African food.

The extended family also influenced the food consumption in the home. For example the Russian woman's comments show how she outsourced the cooking of both Kenyan and Russian food.

Russian wife-(Kenyan husband): I used to cook but I can't say successfully. I'm not experienced because when growing up, my mum grandma did it all the time. Later I had to cook and I had to fit the budget. Now we train the help and she is good. My mum and dad used to stay here for half the year during winter. So my girl has learned a bit of Russian cooking. An interview with an Australian woman who was a second wife, (she was in a polygamous marriage) revealed that she had learned how to cook Kenyan food in order to accommodate her husband and the children of the first wife.

Australian wife-(Kenyan husband): Because of the children (husband's) "I learned to cook Ugali and Spinach" Yeah even Chapati, I don't like cooking it but I like eating it.' Husband dominance in the decision-making was also evident in food preparation. This represented a role reversal because in Kenya, cooking is normally the woman's responsibility.

Danish husband-(Kenyan wife): But cooking is definitely something I insist on because it's one of the times of the day you can be a little more creative. By cooking I also get a lot of things leveled and once the food is done, I am happy. So it's a very important time in my life. There was only one instance where the food consumed in the home was aligned with the woman's culture and this is with the Chinese informant.

Chinese wife-(Kenyan husband)

Interviewer: Are you mainly cooking Chinese or Kenyan food?

Informant: Chinese food, I cook Chinese food

Interviewer: So, you haven't learned how to make Kenyan food?"

Informant: If I want to eat my girl cooks

Interviewer: Does your husband cook?

Informant: No, he doesn't like cooking

Interviewer: So is your son eating Kenyan food?

Informant: Yes, the girl cooks for him Kenyan food

Grocery Shopping

A display of cultural competence is seen below. A Kenyan man accompanies his Australian wife to buy fruits and vegetables because he obviously has more cultural knowledge and expertise. In Kenya, husbands are normally not involved in the buying of fruits and vegetables in local markets. Therefore, the observed husband grocery shopping behavior clearly demonstrates adaptation as well as role reversal in order to mitigate price hikes.

Australian wife-(Kenyan husband): Local markets were very interesting, (*husband's name*) got really cross. We went to buy fruits and they were charging us ridiculous prices and (*husband's name*) said in Swahili, "Why are you charging us so much?" "Because you're with a Mzungu." "You got no shame, you're going to charge me more simply because she is standing beside me." Later, (*husband's name*) would go in first organize a price then I'd come in. and they'd go like, "Oh we didn't know she was hiding in the car."

In Kenya, being a member of some minority groups, especially being a Mzungu (Mzungu refers to a White person) might confer "White privilege" since in Kenya, a Mzungu is characterized as one who has a lot of resources. Therefore, rather than face discrimination of the kind described by Schwartz et al. (2010), the immigrants find that they are elevated in their

social standing primarily because of their race. Because of Kenya's colonial history, Mzungus in Kenya have had a higher standard of living than the average local person. Consequently, since the Kenyan husband knows that there will be price hikes because of the presence of his Australian wife, then the couple has developed coping mechanisms that shield them from the expected price hikes. These include but are not limited to actions such as the Australian wife being left in the car while the husband navigates the market. With the passage of time, the immigrants develop other coping mechanisms. One Russian woman noted that her Kenyan husband initially helped with grocery shopping thereby displaying cultural competence.

Interviewer: Does your husband go grocery shopping?

Russian wife-(Kenyan husband): He used to go to the market, it was his responsibility, but now we have changed.

Transportation: - Matatus (Minivans)

In Kenya, public transportation choices primarily consist of buses, taxis and matatus (minivans). An article in the Daily Nation Newspapers, noted that the World Health Organization ranked Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda among the worst 10 performers in terms of fatalities in Africa and among the worst 20 worldwide (Redfern 2015). Therefore, it was interesting to see how the transportation decisions were made in the home. Once again our informants' decision-making is husband dominant. The reasons for the husband dominance were varied. For example a Russian woman married to a Kenyan man identified her children as Kenyan and therefore was comfortable with her children riding matatus.

Interviewer: Do your kids ride in matatus?

Russian wife-(Kenyan husband): Yes they do. They prefer taxis but unfortunately the money for taxis is not available all the time. They are okay in a matatu or a bus, whichever comes first. I don't want them to stand out as wazungus (whites). They are Kenyans. So they should be like everyone else.

Obviously the comments of the Russian woman indicate her desire for her children to integrate completely into Kenyan culture. Here the immigrant is attempting to completely integrate by accepting the transportation that most Kenyans use in order to root her children in their Kenyan-ness. We can compare this desire for increased integration with the comments of a Swiss man, who was married to a Kenyan woman, yet was unsure whether his kids had ever been in a matatu.

Swiss husband-(Kenyan wife): I don't think so, when (*wife's name*) oldest sister came the, I think she took the girl I am not sure, on the bus, but on a big bus not on a matatu. No, I do not want my kids to go in a matatu, not even home, I am very fussy, who they go in a car.

Transportation – Personal Car

All of the informants owned at least one personal car. The buying of an automobile is not an everyday occurrence therefore it was important to investigate spousal decision-making outside of everyday decisions. Given that all of the informants owned a car, we examined car buying and

usage. One of the informants noted that her husband bought their first car even before they had furniture.

Russian Woman-(Kenyan husband): It was our first big purchase. We didn't have furniture, we were sitting on chairs, but my husband decided to go for a car. Most of the time it was idle because there was no money for petrol.

An analysis of her comments demonstrate the husband dominance in this decision, since she noted that they had no furniture yet the husband decided buy a car. This couple is not unique since many individuals in less developed countries use their car around payday when they can afford to buy petrol or gas.

Discussion

This research sought to investigate inter-racial immigrant spousal decision-making in a non-western cultural context. We sought to investigate whether the level of development of a country influenced spousal decision-making. It has been suggested that as a country develops that decisions become more egalitarian. Researchers have found that the level of development is correlated with increased wife-dominance in decision-making. Surprising, this research finds that when individuals from highly developed countries immigrate to a less developed country, that their decision-making patterns revert to husband dominance consistent with the prevailing customs in the country of immigration. Given their prior exposure to egalitarian decision-making, in many of their countries of origin, it is surprising that the level of development and the prevailing local customs impact egalitarianism in spousal decision-making. It is interesting to note that in an area where we would clearly expect "wife dominance," such as food consumption in the home, that in the case of inter-racial couples in Kenya, that with one exception, they all reverted to husband dominant decision-making. It is not surprising that these couples have prioritized the food culture of the husband because women in Kenya are often preoccupied with the food needs of their family. Indeed, the cooking of food for the family is often the responsibility of the women in the home. A possible explanation for the "husband dominance" in food consumption can be attributed to the availability of cheap labor.

In Kenya, most middle-class families have "live-in house-help. Consequently, in spousal dyads where the husband was Kenyan, then the "cook/maid" would prepare the local foods. In instances where the husband was non-Kenyan, then the couples hired and trained a maid to cook the non-Kenyan foods. Nonetheless, the preferred non-Kenyan food was aligned with the husband's culture. Furthermore, husband dominance was also evident in the area of transportation where "car ownership and public transportation were also aligned with the wishes of the husband or the culture of the husband in the dyad. This research also highlights role reversal with respect to grocery shopping. For inter-racial couples where the husband was Kenyan, grocery shopping was initially husband dominant but reverted to the traditional role of female dominance with the passage of time. Once again, reverting to wife-dominance with respect to grocery shopping is consistent with cultural norms in Kenya and with traditional gender norms. Of interest is that initially, most husbands had overcome traditional gender roles and had been responsible for the majority of grocery shopping. Over time however, as their wives became more competent in this area, grocery shopping reverted to wife dominance consistent with prevailing cultural norms.

Conclusion and implications

In conclusion, this research finds that the development of a nation can indeed influence gendered patterns of decision-making. While researchers have demonstrated the movement of decisions towards less husband dominance as nations develop, we demonstrate that when immigrants from more developed countries immigrate to less developed countries, their decision-making patterns may return to more husband dominant decision-making. We attribute the return to husband dominance to the following: a) the integration of dominant culture's values and decision-making patterns and b) the existence of cheap labor in these countries which mitigates these decisions and may facilitate the dominance of one decision-making pattern over another. This research moves beyond Cross and Gilly's (2014) work, because we not only examine the bi-national households per Cross and Gilly's definition, but we also incorporate inter-racial households in which case both partners may be immigrants. Given the lack of cultural competency by either party, we investigate which culture becomes more dominant and whether the existence of a third culture mitigates the decision-making patterns found in the inter-racial households.

Additionally, we examine the role of a patriarchal society where male-dominance is heavily valued and whether this in of itself influences the observed behaviors in the households. Ultimately, in this cultural context, findings suggest that the food consumed in the home, choice of transportation were husband dominant while grocery shopping was wife dominant over time. Moreover, informants underscored the benefits of leveraging spousal cultural competency. Given current demographic trends and worldwide migration, it is evident that the number of inter-racial couples will continue to grow and marketers should seek to understand how these new households make decisions and how context influences these decisions. Undoubtedly, studies done in highly developed countries will provide additional insights on inter-racial couples' household decision-making. Studies done on the African continent and other less developed countries will add to the discourse on household decision-making. Hence, this research highlights the need to engage in research outside of western cultural contexts particularly with non-western deciders. This research is offered as a beginning step towards these efforts. Needless, to say this research is not without limitations – for example, a larger sample size would provide better insights and interviews with both persons in the dyads would no doubt provide a much richer understanding.

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TABLE 1: INFORMANTS DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Name	Informant's Gender	Spouse's Gender	Informant's Country of origin	Spouse's Country of origin	Length of time in Kenya (in years)	Length of marriage In years	Age (in Years)	Country of encounter
African (disguised)	Female	Male	Africa (Disguised)	Belgian	8	9	35	South Africa
Australian Woman	Female	Male	Australia	Kenyan	2	1	47	Kenya
Philipino American	Female	Male	United States	White American	1 month	7	30	United States
White American	Female	Male	United States	British	5	27	56	Uganda
Chinese Woman	Female	Male	China	Kenyan	2	5	32	China
Dutch woman 1	Female	Male	Netherlands	Kenyan	22	25	50	United Kingdom
Dutch woman 2	Female	Male	Netherlands	Kenyan	38	40	62	Canada
Pakistani	Male	Female	Pakistan	European (disguised)	45	38	63	Kenya
Russian	Female	Male	Russia	Kenyan	25	27	45 - 55	Russia
Swiss	Male	Female	Switzerland	Kenyan	13	13	40	Kenya
Denmark	Male	Female	Denmark	Kenyan	2.5	1	45	Kenya
Belgian	male	Female	Belgium	African	9	9	57	South Africa

International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Politics of Imperialism

By Eze Chris Akani

Abstract

ICC was established pursuant to the Rome statute of 2002, to try offenders who have committed genocide, war crimes and crime against humanity. Its emergence was to checkmate the horrendous imposition of terror, fear and pain on people by terrorists and warlord through their heinous activities. The success of the Nuremberg trial of 1946 which tried the perpetrators of the Second world war (Sww) blossomed the interest to establish a court that would bring those who commit genocide to justice. Regrettably, its activities have severely come under intense criticisms from Africans. They argue strongly that it has become another tool in the hands of Western powers to prosecute leaders whose pronouncement, and actions are anti-imperialist. More important is the fact that Western personnel and their leaders are shielded from the jurisdiction of ICC. This has deepened the impression that ICC was created to achieve an imperial agenda. This work seeks to examine the correctness of this assertion. We relied on two sources for data collection: Primary and Secondary sources. The primary sources include personal interviews and discussions, while the secondary sources include desk research, newspapers, and magazines. It was discovered that majority of those prosecuted are from Africa and many Western powers do not subscribe to ICC statute. We therefore recommend that to free ICC from racial and ideological bias, its jurisdiction should cover all the countries that subscribe to the UN charter. This will enhance its credibility and global acceptability.

Keywords: Nuremberg Trial, Genocide, Imperial Agenda, Rome Statute, War Crimes.

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International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Politics of Imperialism

By Eze Chris Akani

Introduction

The globe is inhabited by people of diverse social background, creed and political leanings. The emergence of States with their primary objective of advancing their national interest has undeniably heightened conflicts and tensions in the global community. It is not amazing that votaries of State sovereignty and advocates of hot pursuit of national interest hide behind the wall of State absolutism to deny the people of their human freedoms. The aftermath is that perpetrators of human insecurity and those who willfully subject people to existential drudges (Obiozor and Ajala, 2011:87) go scot-free, thus reinforcing the fact that justice is in the interest of the stronger.

This was the scenario that precipitated the First World War (FWW) from July 28, 1914 to November 4, 1918 with more than 38 million people dead. The League of Nations (LN) formed in 1919 was a global attempt to promote international cooperation, peace and security. It also envisioned the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) through article 14. Unfortunately, LN could not mediate the unfolding contradictions which eventually degenerated to the Second World War (SWW). The mindless and recklessness of the war, almost brought humanity on a threshold of destruction. Consequently, the United Nations Organization (UNO) was formed, primarily to save humanity from the scourge of war and ensure global unity. The Preamble of the Charter in no uncertain terms stated that:

To save succeeding generation from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in the human person, in the equal rights to men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish condition under which justice and respect for the obligation arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom (Ziring, Riggs and Plano, 2005:535).

Article 92 of the UNO established the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and between 1945 to 1946, all those suspected to be accessories to grave international crimes which resulted to the SWW were tried through the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in what is often referred to as the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. They were meant to end impunity and facilitate the development of international criminal law. This would enhance international justice, peace and order. While the IMT had a narrow focus and jurisdiction, the ICJ's jurisdiction was limited to States. This lacuna created a leeway for mass crime to be committed by people without being accountable for their actions. It was against this backdrop that ICC emerged to curb the display of aggressive exercises of individuals. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the operations of ICC and the attendant politics of imperialism.

Conceptual Clarification

In this section, we shall be involved with a brief clarification of some of the major concepts that will feature in this study. This is important for an objective comprehension and appreciation. These concepts are Politics and Imperialism. Human beings are daily involved in a political

struggle for social survival, have dominion over others and engage in the consumption of scarce resources. This never-ending struggle of humans prompted Aristotle to aver that man is a political animal (Anifowose and Enemu, 1999:1). The process in which people emerge to make decisions, policies, execute them and make sure that they are obeyed, constitute the essence of Politics. It is the struggle for power, a power to make policies and allocate values in a seemingly authoritative manner. It is a process that ultimately maximizes and defines social capabilities and aid society to attain the highest form of social cohesion and efficacy. It is an inevitable phenomenon in the transformation and development of a society. The utility inherent in the art of Politics made Nnoli (2003) to define it as the art of the possible, the governing of men, who gets what, when and how, and the emergence, consolidation and use of State power. Therefore, it is

a set of social relationship with a central body of varying legitimacy, whose function is to make and implement overriding decisions for the whole population in the interest of the latter (Nnoli, 2003:5).

While Politics is the exercise and control of power, but all power is not Politics. Political power is directly associated with the State and its power. In other words, Politics is about the processes associated with the use, control and consolidation of State power. Max Weber noted that it is concerned with the operation of the State and its institutions. It means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power among individuals and groups within a State (Anifowose and Enemu, 1999:2). With political power, you can impose your will on others, and influence their actions and activities. It is the process of affecting the policies of others with the help (actual or threatened) severe deprivations for non-conformity with the policies indeed (Anifowose and Enemu, 1999:109). From the above definitions, we can deduce the following variables: Authority, Influence, Decision making, Conflict and Ideology. The above variables loom large in the control and exercise of State power. They can be said to be the building blocks of political practice. Dukor (2003:28) pointed out that:

The struggle for power (that is politics) is itself basically ideologically inspired and determined. In other words, politics as the struggle for power is not carried out within an ideological vacuum.

Indeed, Politics is not value free, but practiced and carried out within an ideological context. It is therefore, not strange that some States strive assiduously to impose their ideological value on others. In this process, ideology becomes the determining factor in the assessment and evaluation of the historical mission of a State.

Imperialism has become a popular concept within the global political economy. For those who suffer from it, it represents annihilation while the perpetrators see it as part of social evolution. But it cannot be confined to an acceptable definition. This is largely hinged on ideological nuances, and a conscious attempt to dilute its effect by those who benefit from it. Hence, imperialism connotes different meaning and ideas to different people. Etymologically, the word is derived from the Latin word imperium. This suggests a supreme power and display of overruling power by a country beyond its territorial jurisdiction as in the Roman Empire. In the modern era, it has come to represent a system of global arrangement where there is a center and a periphery, with the former dominating the latter. From the sixteenth century to the twentieth century's Europe was saturated with industrial products and a mass of unemployed people

dispossessed from their means of production. It became necessary to launch beyond the economic reach of the country, and conquer other territories. William Gladstone called this process of external aggression inspired by domestic motives imperialism (Falla, 1982:4).

It lost the connotation of a system based on the pre-eminence of an imperial ruler and came to be generally understood as signifying the expansion of a nation state beyond its own borders for the purpose of acquiring overseas dependencies and if possible uniting them in a world-wide empire (Falla, 1982:4).

Scholars like Shumpeter (1965) and Hobson (2011) pontificate that imperialism was not an outcome of industrial process, but an aberration of capitalist ethic. It was an atavistic phenomenon,

Created by wars that required it, the machine now created the wars. A will for broad conquest without tangible limits for the capture of position that were manifestly untenable, this was typical of imperialism (Shumpeter, 1965:25).

As far as scholars in the Schumpeter School are concerned, capitalism is not associated with imperialism because capitalism is a benign, progressive venture is greatly associated with the emergence of specialized and mechanized world, the growth of individualism and industrialization (Ake, 1981:22). Furthermore,

Capitalism 'was by nature anti-imperialist', and 'hence we cannot readily derive from it such imperialist tendencies as actually exist, but must evidently see them only as alien elements, carried into the world of capitalism from outside, supported by non-capitalist factors in modern life (Fallah, 1982:23).

Hobson (2011) averred that imperialism is a precipitate of the need to spread civilization especially to 'lower races'. This is because,

The expansion of our empire under the new imperialism has been compassed by setting the 'lower races' at one another's throats, fostering tribal animosities, and utilizing for our supposed benefit the savage propensities of the peoples to whom we have a mission to carry Christianity and civilization (Hobson, 2011:146).

For these scholars, imperialism has an inherent benefit, can be seen as an aberration of capitalist mode of production, and not in any way necessitated by the need for increased food production, expansion of trade or engaged in finding land upon which our surplus population may subsist and multiply (Hobson, 2011:175). On the other hand, Marxist scholars such as Ake (1981), Nkrumah (2004), Dobb (1947), and Wallenstein (1960) are diametrically opposed to the views of Shumpeter (1965) and Hobson (2011). They stated that imperialism is the expression and reflection of capitalism at its peak. The capitalist logic presupposes that with its gradual expansion, there will be the inevitability of creating monopolies and overstepping its territorial boundary for unlimited surplus appropriation. As Lenin (1975:12) asserted, the enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of contraction of production in ever larger enterprises are one of the more characteristic features of capitalism. As capitalism expands and consolidates its structures, it forces all nations, on pain of extinction to accept the capitalist

mode of production . The innate drive for worldwide domination and supremacy is the hallmark of capitalist production. Hence, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism (Lenin, 1975). As Wallestein (1960:273) puts it,

The antinomy between worldwide economy and the multiple politics accounts for the continuing pressure towards state ‘formation’ and centralization, the creation of a worldwide state system, and the particular form of imperialism which thrives better on informal empire’ than on direct political colonization.

The essential ingredient of imperialism is to dominate. It is a social relationship which considers and protects a nexus of inequality, exploiter – exploited, centre and periphery with the stronger having an unprecedented and inequitable socio-economic and even political advantage. Imperialism is just capitalism at its monopoly stage, triumph of finance and export of capital. Lenin (1975) succinctly highlighted five main features of imperialism. These are:

- (1) Concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life.
- (2) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this finance, capital of a financial oligarchy.
- (3) The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance.
- (4) The function of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves.
- (5) The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed (Falla, 1982:42).

The whole essence of the imperial conferences and the British East Africa Company and other European powers was to enhance their participation in the division of African territories. We can quickly notice that finance capital provided the economic tonic for the rosy dawn of imperialism, especially in the late nineteenth century. Nkrumah (2004:83) noted that finance capital does not want liberty, it wants domination. It is against this backdrop that Ake (1981:20) defined imperialism as the economic control and exploitation of foreign lands arising from the necessity for counteracting the impediments of the accumulation of capital engendered by internal contradictions of the dominant capitalist economy. By the twenty-first century, Africa is still under imperial bondage, perpetuated through neo-colonialism. It is a known fact that colonialism devastated, disarticulated and disjointed African pre-capitalist social formation to suit western imperial agenda. Nkrumah (1974:27) surmised this humiliating experience in this manner; the philosophy of European capitalism in the colony is that colonial subjects should labour under any foreign government with uncomplaining satisfaction. By the 1960s when political independence was granted, most African States could not extricate themselves from the bond of inequality which surrounded them. This bond is nourished and incubated by neo-colonialism. It is dangerous and anti-development. It is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress (Nkrumah, 1974:16). A country under imperial domination is controlled through a myriad of sources such as ‘aids’, bilateral treaties, trade and clandestine control and manipulation of the policies and benefits of this dominated country. The attendant benefit of imperial domination made Cecil Rhodes to declare that “ I would annex the planets if

I could (Hoogvelt, 1997:20). Therefore, to what extent can we say that ICC is a political tool to advance the interest of imperialist powers.

A Brief History of ICC

This question can objectively be answered by looking at the emergence of ICC. The emergence of ICC cannot be said to be a recent phenomenon. It is part of the fallout of SWW which claimed more than 72 million people, and series of efforts to avoid a repeat occurrence. The victorious powers did not hesitate to set up the IMT to try those suspected of masterminding the war. This became the Nuremberg trials from November 20, 1945 to August 31, 1946 under the Presidency of Lord Justice Geoffrey Lawrence. The success of the trials necessitated the need to ensure an international legal order that would deter individuals from turning the world into a killing field.

The Nuremberg trials established that all of humanity would be governed by an international legal shield and that even a Head of State would be held criminally responsible and punished for aggression and Crimes Against Humanity – even by a sovereign against his own citizens – gradually emerged from the Nuremberg principles affirmed by the United Nations (Robert H. Jackson Foundation, 1946).

By the time IMT concluded its work in 1946, there was literally a void in the development of an international criminal law that would permanently continue from where IMT stopped. This missing link understandably heightened the desire for an international court that would serve this purpose. It was against this backdrop that the UNO General Assembly (GA) passed the Resolution 260 of December 9, 1949 on the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The Resolution noted that:

Recognizing that at all periods of history, genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international cooperation is required.

Article 1 of the Convention defines genocide as a crime under international law. Article vi stated that persons charged with genocide shall be tried by a competent tribunal of a State in the territory in which that act was committed or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction. It was on the basis of this historic resolution that the GA invited the International Law Commission (ILC) in 1950 to examine the desirability and possibility of having an international judicial organ that would try persons charged with genocide. Between 1951 to 1953, a draft statute was ready. Unfortunately, the distractions and political intrigues of the cold war inhibited the process. In 1989, ILC was asked by the GA to resume work. This directive was in response to a request by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago concerning the destructive effect of drug trafficking in that country. It was within this period that two major events took place:

- (1) The ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia in 1993.
- (2) The horrific genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

These events outraged the global conscience and laid bare the imperative of an international criminal system. As an interim measure, the International Criminal Tribunal in Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established through the Security Council (SC) Resolution 829 and that of the

International criminal Tribunal in Rwanda through SC Resolution 935. The ICTY indicted more than 57 people including President Slobodan Milosevic .SC later established other Tribunals such as the Special Tribunal on Lebanon in 2007, and the Special court for Sierra Leone through Resolution 1315 of 2000. It was this court that sentenced Charles Taylor, former President of Liberia to 50 years imprisonment for committing war crimes.

In 1995, the UN GA established an Ad Hoc committee to look into the draft statute, and between 1996 to 1998, the preparatory committee of the GA consummated what seem to be the fine tuning process of the statute. At the 51 second session of the GA, the UN Diplomatic conference on Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of ICC was convened in Rome, Italy from June 15 to July 17, 1998. It was at this conference, attended by 120 countries that the ICC statute was adopted, and it became effective on July 1, 2002 when more than 60 members ratified it. According to Kofi Anan, former Secretary General (SG) of the UN:

The prospect of an international criminal court lies on the promise of universal justice. That is the simple and saving hope of this vision. We are close to its realization. We will do our part to see it through till the end. We ask you... to do yours in our struggle to ensure that no ruler, no state, no junta and no army any where can abuse human rights with impunity. Only then will the innocents of distant wars and conflicts know that they too, may sleep under the cover of justice that they too have rights, and those who violate those rights will be punished (ICC, 2017).

Today, ICC has 34 African members that ratified it, 18 from Asia Pacific, 18 from East Europe, 27 from Latin America and Caribbean States and 25 from West Europe. Seven countries such as India, USA, Israel, Sudan, Pakistan, China and Japan voted against the court, but Sudan signed it in September 8, 2000, but did not ratify it. The implication is that those countries that did not sign or ratify the statute of the court are outside its jurisdiction. The legal foundation of the court is the Rome Statute with 128 articles. It is located in the Hague . Its avowed mission is to complement national criminal jurisdiction and guarantee a clement environment for the respect of human rights, and the enforcement of international justice. Article 5 guarantees the jurisdiction of the court to entertain cases relating to:

- (a) The crime of genocide,
- (b) War crimes
- (c) Crime against humanity
- (d) Crime of aggression.

The last crime is yet to be operational because the GA is yet to properly define its focus. The court can initiate prosecution on three conditions according to article 13 as:

- (i) When a matter is referred to the Office of the Prosecutor by a State party.
- (ii) When a matter is referred to the Office of the Prosecutor by the SC pursuant to article 39 of the UN Charter.
- (iii)The Prosecutor can also initiate prosecution proceedings against a suspects based on information on crimes within the jurisdiction of the court as in article 15 of the Rome Statute.

The court is divided into four main sections – the Presidency, Registry, Judiciary Division (Pre-Trial, Trial and Appeal), and office of the Prosecutor.

Since inception, the court has had three Presidents, with Silvia Fernandez de Gurmendi as the current President elected on March 11, 2015. Out of the 18 Judges with an ad litem, Africa has 4

including the incumbent first Vice President Joyce Alnoch from Kenya. Asian states has 3, European states 3, Western European and other states 5, and Latin America and the Caribbean states 4. Pre-Trial Division is made up of the first Vice President and 6 other judges, the Trial Division is constituted by the second Vice President and 5 other Judges and the Appeal Division is made up of the President and 4 Judges. The Judges are elected pursuant to article 36(8) of the Rome statute.

ICC and Imperialism

As we noted earlier, ICC is a court of last resort instituted to try those who have committed grave offences capable of endangering international order and peace. Unfortunately, many Africans including the African Union (AU) are dissatisfied with the mode of operation of the court. They vehemently believe that the court is an instrument of imperialist domination, an orchestrated stratagem to make the continent conform to the Western dictated capitalist – propelled global order. That it is a neo-colonial tool fashioned by the West and put in place only for African countries (Coalition of Pan Africanists, 2016). Africa's objection against the court can be summarized thus:

1. That ICC lacks the judicial competence to adhere strictly to the rules of justice and fair-hearing. This has made it susceptible to manipulation by imperialist powers.
2. That almost 60% of the court's budget is borne by the European Union (EU) and Japan. Therefore, a case of he who plays the piper must pick the tune can easily manifest.
3. That there is a disproportionate focus on Africa by the court. The court has indicted almost 39 people, issued 31 arrest warrants and summoned 8 others. Some of those convicted, arrest warrants issued or standing trial are former or serving African Head of States (H.O.S). They include Charles Taylor of Liberia, Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast, Omar Al Bashir of Sudan and Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya and of his Deputy William Ruto.
4. That the court's investigative net does not cover grave offences committed by imperialist powers like the United States of America and its Western allies.

Rather than undertaking investigation into the violence committed by both camps, ICC dug itself into a deeper quandary by ignoring the opposition party's involvement. Vilified through the impression it carved out for itself in Africa, the court has since come to be seen as judicial institution lacking impartiality and outwardly manifesting its political bias through its exclusive African caseload. (ICC Forum.com University of Chicago School of Law .Accessed on March 16, 2017).

To what extent can we say that ICC is a travesty, full of double standard with a neo-colonial agenda? These questions can only be objectively answered by examining them carefully. It must be noted that the rigorous processes that preceded the emergence of the court was to insulate it from exogenous manipulation. The 18 Judges of the court were elected by the UN GA based on their proven record of integrity. The Rome Statute has eloquent provisions for the protection of the rights of Defendants and observance of rule of justice. Article 36(3a) states that:

Judges shall be chosen from among persons of high moral character, impartiality and integrity who possess the qualification in their respective state for appointment to the highest office.

In the same vein, article 40(2) stated that:

Judges shall not engage in any activity which is likely to interfere with their judicial functions, or to affect the confidence in their independence.

If there is any reasonable ground to suspect or doubt the impartiality of a Judge, such a Judge would be removed in accordance with article 46(a).

We have noted that Africa has an appreciable clout in the court. In fact, AU was instrumental in the nomination and election of Fatou Bensouda as the Prosecutor. She took over from Luis Moreno Ocampo of Argentina. According to Bensouda, I was nominated and supported by AU as the sole African candidate for the position of ICC Prosecutor.

I was unanimously elected by the 121 states parties on 12 December, 2011. I am deeply indebted to the AU and African leaders including President Kibaki for their confidence in me. Their support is yet another example of Africa's commitment to international justice and their desire to end impunity. For the next nine years, I have the privilege, honour and the responsibility to serve as prosecutor of the ICC. Having been nominated and supported for this position by the AU, I consider myself to be a mere extension of the African fabric for ending impunity. In carrying out the mandate given to me by the 121 states parties, I am guided by the law and the cardinal principle of independence, impartiality and fairness (ICC, 2017b).

Considering the structure of the court, to charge it of double-standard and manifesting first world terrorism amount to an exercise in speculation and a mere perception lacking evidential value. If there is reasonable ground to doubt or suspect the integrity or impartiality of a Judge, African states should not hesitate to invoke article 46 of the Rome Statute. The second charge borders on the financial control of the court by the funders. While it may not be farfetched that the court gets most of its funds from the West, it is not clear whether this suggests a condition of subservience that would warrant the court to sheepishly bend justice to conform to the bidding of external influence. However, if such control existed, it is yet to be proven beyond reasonable doubt. Until such an allegation is factually proven, it remains conjectural.

The third allegation gives the impression that ICC is only targeting Africans. It is not indubitable that most of the cases were referred to the court by African governments in line with article 14. For instance, in 2003, the government of Uganda referred the situation concerning the Lords Resistant Army (LRA) to the ICC. LRA was accused of operating a pattern of brutalization of civilians including other grave crimes. This has led to the death of more than 65,000 people. In April 19, 2004, the government of Congo Democratic Republic (DRC) referred the situation of crime by the Union of Congolese Patriots(UPC), and in January,

2005, the government of Central African Republic (CAR) referred the situation of crime within the jurisdiction of the court committed anywhere in CAR territory to the ICC Prosecutor. After the general election of 2010, the government of Ivory Coast referred a case to the court. The Kenyan case which involved the President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy, William Ruto, was as a result of the 2007 general election which led to the death of more than 1,500 people and valuable properties destroyed. Pursuant to article 15, and based on the list of suspects submitted to ICC by Kofi Anan, former Secretary-General of the UN and the Chief Mediator of AU Mediatory Committee on the Kenyan election, the Prosecutor initiated investigation.

Although, Sudan did not ratify the Rome Statute, the situation in that country was referred to ICC pursuant to article 13(c) through SC 1593 in 2005 and that of Libya through Resolution 1970. A critical scrutiny of these cases would arrive at the inevitable conclusion that weak institutions and poor governance have exposed Africans to global ridicule and condemnation. For instance, the Waki Commission looked into the crisis that emanated after the Kenyan General election. It suggested that an independent Tribunal should try those suspected of orchestrating the violence. Although the government accepted this recommendation in 2008, it reneged in its implementation. Rather, it opted for a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission. This prompted Kofi Anan to submit a list of individuals suspected of masterminding the violence to ICC.

At the last count, about 4 African H.O.S. and many other Africans have been subjected to ICC prosecution. These include Omar Al Bashir, President of Sudan. He was issued a warrant of arrest on March 4, 2009, Muarmmar Gaddafi of Libya on June 27, 2011 and Charles Taylor jailed for 50 years by the SCSL. It was the trial of these H.O.S. that alarmed the AU. According to the Chairperson, Haile Mariam, President of Ethiopia,

To safeguard the constitutional order, stability and integrity of member states, we have resorted that no serving AU H.O.S. or government or anybody acting or entitled to act in such capacity, shall be required to appear before any international court (AU Papers, 2013).

In its Kampala Resolution 245 (xiii), AU noted, with deep regret the SC's failure to heed or act upon the request by the AU to the UNSC to defer the proceedings initiated against President Bashir of Sudan in accordance with article 16 of the Rome Statute (The New Jurist, July 7, 2014).

It was on the basis of the Kampala Resolution that many African countries including Kenya, South Africa and Burundi decided to discontinue their support for ICC. Indeed, it is not out of place for African states to raise alarm on anything that portend to compromise their sovereignty considering their depressing tale of colonial humiliation, but objectivity and context must be the guiding principles before hasty conclusion becomes imperative. To do otherwise is to shield impunity and consign its victims to perpetual suffering. Since the 1990s when Osama Bin Laden took refuge in Sudan, and supported by Hassan Turabi, the country has become the beehive for the advancement and expansion of Islamist terrorist activities in the Horn of Africa and beyond. Financially propped by Iran, almost all the unprecedented bloodshed in that part of Africa can be traced to the Iran-Sudan – Bin Laden nexus. Bodansky (2001:35) noted that

Bashir's Khartoum and the International Muslim Brotherhood(IMB) reached an agreement in which Sudan would become a springboard to Arab and African countries in return for substantial financial assistance. Toward this end an IMB leadership board of nineteen members was established in Khartoum under Turabi at the London meeting.

The wanton killing of more than 300,000 people of Darfur and the use of Arab Janjaweed militia to maim and displace civilians from their communities are part of a series of premeditated Islamic insurgency against innocent civilians. Regrettably, AU was overtly handicapped to halt this inexplicable impunity. The mayhem in Darfur which attracted global attention led to the setting up of the International Commission of Inquiry (ICI) in Darfur under SC Resolution 1564, of September 8, 2004. But the government of Sudan failed to meet its own obligation as stated in the Resolution. All these including the killing of 12 AU peace keepers and 8 injured in an attack led to the issuance of warrant of arrest on May 2007 on Ahmed Mohammed Harum and Ali Muhammed Ab-Al Rahman.

Subsequently, on March 4, 2009, a warrant of arrest was issued on President Bashir. It was alleged that there were reasonable grounds to believe that he was criminally responsible for five counts of crimes against humanity and two counts of war crimes (Arieff, Margeson and Weed, 2011).

Taylor's activities in Liberia through his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) almost imposed a carnival of blood in that country including the recruitment of child soldiers. Between 1990 and 1994, Taylor's income was estimated to be at least \$75 million a year (Williams, 2011:47). The bulk of this money came from the sale of illicit diamonds and other minerals. Based on the above, it would have been technically impossible for ICC to release a case to States with proven weak institutions and disrespect of human freedoms on the basis of principle of complementarity. Unfortunately, it seems that AU's reliance on article 98 for its condemnation of ICC appears to be shaky. Article 98 states that

the court may not proceed with a request for a surrender or assistance which could require the requested state to act inconsistently with its obligations under International Law with respect to the state or diplomatic immunity of a person or property of a third state, unless the court can first obtain the cooperation of that third state for the waiver of immunity.

A careful reading of article 27 makes the case of immunity for H.O.S and Government a non-issue. In no ambiguous term, it stated that

the statute shall apply all powers without any distinction based on official capacity. In particular, official capacity as H.O.S or Government, a member of a Government or Parliament, an elected representative or a government official shall in no case exempt a person from criminal responsibility under this statute, nor shall it in and of itself constitute a ground for reduction of sentence.

A combined reading of articles 98 and 27 vividly show that ICC has the legal jurisdiction to try H.O.S or Government officials who are criminally liable for offences under the Rome Statute.

The last charge is that ICC's search light does not focus on atrocities committed by US soldiers and their allies. This cannot be disputed.

As we noted, US and other countries out-rightly voted against ICC in July 1998, making it almost free from the judicial radar of the court. Its objections are predicted on the following:

- i. The court's jurisdiction (in certain circumstances) over citizens including military personnel of countries that are not parties to the treaty.
- ii. That lack of adequate checks and balances in the powers of the ICC judges and prosecution.
- iii. The perceived dilution of the role of the UNSC in maintaining peace and security.
- iv. The ICC's potentially chilling effect on America's willingness to project power in defense of its interests (Arieff, et al, 2011:3).

Apart from the above, the US government took two measures to prohibit its soldiers from being prosecuted anywhere. This was through the American Servicemen's Protection Act (ASPA) of 2002. However, section 2015 of ASPA also known as the Dodd Amendment, provided an exemption. It stated that

....nothing in this title shall prohibit the United States from rendering assistance to international efforts to bring to justice Saddam Hussein, Solobadan Milosevic and Osama bin Laden, other members of Al Qaeda of Islamic Jihad, and other foreign nationals of genocide, war crimes or crime against humanity.

The second measure was the Bilateral Agreements (BIA) called Article 98. The agreement enjoins state parties to exempt US citizens from possible surrender to ICC for prosecution. By 2007, more than 150 states had signed the BIA. According to Ziring, Riggs and Plano, (2005:406)

....the US decision in May 2002 to withdraw its signature from the treaty establishing the ICC, fearing that its soldiers and citizens stationed in countries around the world could be charged with war crimes as a consequence of their duties. Washington not only insisted on remaining aloof the court, it also declared its intention to punish countries that attempted to try its nationals.

From the above, it is clear that chances are slim for US soldiers to face ICC prosecution. SC may not have the muscle to refer a matter concerning US soldiers to ICC because of American Veto. It appears that US had seen ICC as a judicial behemoth that would puncture its imperial ambition to act unchallenged at all times. This is the essence of the New World Order where American interest will be supreme. Barrack Obama's presidential acceptance speech reiterated the primacy of America's interest in a multipolar world. It is against this quest for global domination that its military spending is almost 40% of global military spending. However, despite the US non-ratification of ICC, it has cooperated with the court. In August 2009, Hilary Clinton former Secretary of State noted that it was a great regret that the US was not a party to the ICC. But whether we work toward joining or not we will end hostility toward ICC and look for opportunity to encourage effective action in ways that would promote US interest by bringing war criminals to justice (Arieff, et al, 2011:4). If the court can be criticized for not prying into the destructive activities of US soldiers, then the 42 African States who signed the BIA should be sanctioned by AU for aiding and incubating impunity and military recklessness in the world.

It is against this backdrop that many civil society groups and statesmen have unreservedly condemned the call for African States to withdraw their support from ICC. According to the Open Society Initiative (2002:2)

Political interference in the judiciary has also been a major case of concern in many parts of Africa. until these issues are addressed and until such time as African natural institutions of accountability and adjudication are strong enough for us to be able to say that these countries are willing and able to prosecute and hold perpetrators of crime against humanity accountable, right thinking Africans will continue to see an important role for ICC.

Kofi Anan, former UN SG completely endorsed the ICC because of its sanitizing mission in the continent. For him therefore,

one has to find a way of holding people accountable but not letting justice be an impediment to peace. Too often the emphasis has been on protecting the leaders. But who speaks for the little guy (Financial Times, June 16, 2016).

Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa also expressed his unalloyed support for ICC. He noted that

African leaders behind the move to extract the continent from the jurisdiction of the court are effectively seeking a license to kill, maim and oppress their people without consequences, and that they are saying that African leaders should not allow the interest of the people to get in the way of their personal ambition. Being held to account with their ability to act with impunity to achieve their objectives, and those who get in their way – their victims should remain faceless and voiceless (Oba and Ekpe, 2011:2031).

It is not unexpected that ICC has been a subject of condemnation in the present epoch where many interests jostle for recognition. Perhaps this was why the former President Judge sang Hyun Song stated that ICC is a judicial institution operating in a political world.

Conclusion and Recommendations

ICC was formed after a rigorous international process. It emerged to fill the gap left by the IMT and make people accountable for their criminal actions. Although the GA elects the Judges, the court is regulated by the Rome Statute. In fact, Africa seems to occupy more prominence than other regions. The structure of the court is such that it is operated by the principle of fair hearing, rule of law and correct standard of proof. With the commencement of the court in 2003, most of the cases were from Africa. More worrisome is the trial of African H.O.S and Government which angered AU. It also asked its members to pull out of the court in its Kampala Resolution. However, the allegation of bias against ICC must meet the strictest standard of proof. This missing fact has reduced AU's charges against ICC to mere populist outburst only intended to attract global attention. More so, it appears AU and other anti-ICC enthusiast did not advert their mind to articles 27 and 127. Among other things Article 127(2) states that

its withdrawal shall not affect any cooperation with court in connection with criminal investigation and proceedings in relation to which the withdrawing state had a duty to cooperate and which were commenced prior to the date on which

the withdrawal became effective, nor shall it prejudice in any way the continued contribution of any matter which was already under consideration by the court prior to the date on which the withdrawal become effective.

A good reading of article 127 makes it explicit that ICC could not have relinquished its jurisdiction on a case before it. Even if it did, it is doubtful if ICC would automatically discontinue prosecution of those who committed the supreme international crime. The Kenya's Waki commission, Uganda's Amnesty Act of 2000 and the 2015 Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Southern Sudan and the Peace Process in Darfur raises doubt about the preparedness of African States to bring criminals to justice. All these point to the inescapable fact that African states have lost the primary responsibility of building strong institutions that would guarantee peace and order in the continent. The activities of Yahya, Jammeh of Gambia, and Pierre Nkurunzizia of Burundi who have ruled beyond their constitutional term of office and others have heightened political insurgence and contracted the political space for a few. The aftermath is that more than 5 million Africans are displaced, more than 40,000 killed, hundreds of thousands of African children transformed into killers and rapists, and thousands of Africans raped. Should ICC ignore these victims? (Obo and Ekpe, 2014:2031). Although, Nigeria and Ghana are prominent members of AU, they rejected the call to withdraw from ICC. While Nigeria reaffirmed its firm commitment to the Rome Statute, and readiness for continental cooperation with ICC to put an end to impunity, John Drimana Mahama, former President of Ghana, stated that "I think that ICC has done an amazing job in bringing some people who have committed genocide and mass murder to justice". The indispensable role of ICC in Africa prompted Baiyera (2015:1) to declare that

I am surprised to hear critics ask whether the pursuit of justice might obstruct the search for peace. Justice is not an impediment to peace but a partner. In adopting the Rome Statute, the International Community courageously tipped the balance away from impunity in favour of justice. I was proud that so many African countries, there judicial systems are weak and division run deep, provided such strong support for the court. I am therefore concerned by recent efforts to portray the court as targeting Africa. I know that is not the case. It is the culture of impunity and individuals who are on trial at the ICC not Africa.

Indeed, it is impunity that is on trial. If AU wants to end a 'disproportionate focus' on Africa, it should work assiduously to end that horrendous politics of exclusivity, neo-patrimonial tendencies in the continent. Otherwise, its collision with ICC will be a red-herring. African countries should have known the implication of signing en mass the Rome Statute. To criticize it now just because those who rejected it ab initio are untouched amount to a diplomatic somersault.

In conclusion therefore, ICC cannot be reasonably charged of imperial domination by Western Powers, instead it should be encouraged and supported to end the destruction of man by man.

Recommendations

Based on the above, we recommend the following,

- i. African States should support and own ICC because more than anything else , its existence is a deterrence to would-be violators of International Criminal Law.

- ii. There should be a periodic review of the court's activities to take care of new developments. The 2014 Hague Conference readily comes to mind and should be a continuous one.
- iii. Any short coming discovered in the performance of the court should be objectively and procedurally raised to nip such occurrence in the bud.
- iv. African leaders should thoroughly examine the Rome Statute because it is not a respecter of persons/institutions.
- v. They must begin to respect and uphold the tenets of democracy, and stop provoking extremist ideology that is capable of spreading hatred, death and violence among the people.
- vi. Time has come for the Rome Statute to cover all member countries of the UN. This will restrict the temptation for terrorist extremism and unwarranted imperial domination.

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School Factors Influencing the Implementation of Life Skills Education in Public Primary Schools in Athi-River District, Kenya

By Linda Kawira Mutegi

Abstract

Life Skills Education (LSE) aims at providing a foundation that empowers young people to overcome various obstacles by recognizing and managing risky situations through developing and sustaining positive behavior. However, implementing LSE in schools to date has proved to be problematic especially in circumstances where approaches to teaching are very formal. This study sought to determine the school factors influencing the implementation of LSE in public primary schools in Athi- River District. The study aimed at investigating school related factors influencing the implementation of LSE. Descriptive survey design was adopted in this study. The study population comprised of 359 teachers and 11,531 pupils from which a sample of 93 teachers and 336 pupils was drawn. Data were collected by use of questionnaires. Findings revealed that inadequate time allocated to LSE affected its implementation; resources for teaching LSE were inadequate which negatively impacted upon its implementation; teaching methodologies influenced the implementation of LSE; learners had a positive attitude towards LSE. The study recommends that; head teachers should take a leading role in ensuring that time allocated to LSE in their schools is in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD); the government through the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) should have in-service courses for teachers since training is an important component of curriculum implementation.

Key words: Life skills, Life skills education, Curriculum implementation, psychosocial skills, assertiveness, critical and creative thinking only.

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School Factors Influencing the Implementation of Life Skills Education in Public Primary Schools in Athi-River District, Kenya

By Linda Kawira Mutegi

Introduction

At the World Conference on Education for All (EFA), Jomtien, 1990, the international society raised concerns about the relevance of education and particularly for the need to focus on appropriate life skills for all learners from all parts of the world. UNESCO, (2004) notes that the international society underscored the importance of teaching skills that are relevant to life. Ten years after the Jomtien Conference, the Dakar Framework for Action, adopted at the World Education Forum, gave new impetus to the promotion of quality education, recognizing that Education for All (EFA) can only be achieved if the education provided is improved in ways that ensure that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met. This is understood as ensuring equitable access to appropriate and high quality learning and life skills based education applied to various learning areas of domains. According to Republic of Kenya (2008), the main goals of life skills education is to enhance young people's ability to take responsibility for making choices, resisting negative pressure and avoiding risky behavior

Life skills have been defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as “abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life.” The Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) in conjunction with United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) on a National Forum on life skills report June 2004, defined life skills from a Kenyan perspective, as the quality in depth knowledge and psychosocial skills (application of the knowledge in real life issues) that are acquired by young people for their daily survival so that they can grow up healthy, happy and safe within a morally and socially acceptable context and based on positive personal values, including spirituality. UNICEF, (2004) asserts that life skills are much broader than HIV and AIDS education and refer to the psychosocial skills required in all aspects of young people's lives. Action Aid International 2004 cites that, in the early 1990s, when it became apparent that many young people and adults were not going to change their sexual behavior merely because they were told that they should, the international development community – particularly (UNICEF) – rallied around the idea of teaching life skills as part of HIV and AIDS education. Not only would these life skills allow young people to act upon their knowledge, it was also an apparently innocuous intervention which did not explicitly discuss sex and sexuality directly, thereby reducing potential conflict from the sexually conservative factions which are prominent in many high prevalence countries.

Problem Statement

According to Kenya Institute of Education (2006), life skills education aims at providing a foundation that empowers young people to overcome various obstacles by recognizing and managing risky situations through developing and sustaining positive behavior. However life

skills education seems not to have instilled the practical knowledge to students on prevention, or adequate conditioning to avoid infection or HIV transmission among the youths (Tyndale, et al 2009). According to the District Education Office in Athi River district there are a number of cases of school drop outs due to teenage pregnancies and drug abuse in the schools. However, such cases are dealt with at home or school level. Parents and head teachers of the affected children are not willing to openly report the matter to the relevant authorities. This then clearly shows that life skills education has not yet achieved its intended goal in the district.

Over the last decade there has been increased support for the teaching of life skills to young people, partly due to the perceived limitations of information – based on HIV and AIDS education. However, implementing life skills education in schools to date has proved to be problematic especially in circumstances where approaches to teaching are very formal. (Action aid International, 2004). Maogoto (2011), revealed that, “Although life skills curriculum had been factored in most schools’ time tables pupils have been taught between 2 and 4 lessons by the seventh week after opening school” (p. 64). Nyaberi (2010) further noted that, “Teachers are ill-prepared to teach, and had a negative attitude towards life skills education, and there are inadequate materials in LSE” (p. 70). There is need therefore to look at school factors influencing the implementation of life skills education in Athi River district to establish the current situation in the implementation of life skills education in the district.

Literature Review

Gachuhi (1999) observes that life skills programmes are aimed at fostering positive behavior across a range of psycho-social skills, changing unacceptable behavior learned early, which may translate into inappropriate and risky behavior at a later stage of life. Life skills programmes are one way of helping children and youth and their teachers to respond to situations requiring decisions which may affect their lives. Such skills are best learned through experiential activities which are learner centred and designed to help young people gain information, examine attitudes and practice skills. Therefore life skills education programmes promote positive health choices, taking informed decisions, practicing healthy behaviors and recognizing and avoiding risky situations and behaviors.

The Ministry of Education (2008) classifies life skills into three broad categories. The first category comprises of skills of knowing and living with oneself-self; awareness, self-esteem, coping with emotions and stress. These skills are closely linked to each other and aim at enhancing self-understanding, growth, coping with challenges of life and developing potential. The second category is that of knowing and living with others; also referred to as interpersonal relationship skills. They include: friendship formation and maintenance, assertiveness, empathy, effective communication, negotiation skills and non-violent conflict resolution. These skills are important in our lives because they help us establish and maintain good relationship in society. Skills of making effective decision, is the third category; which need to be learned and practiced. They include: creative thinking, critical thinking and problem solving.

Rationale for Life Skills Curriculum

The youth need life skills to enable them make wise decisions for example; keeping off drugs and abstaining from pre-marital sex. They need to be equipped with the necessary skills in life to make them responsible citizens even with the withdrawal of corporal punishment. Life skills were therefore perceived as a stop gap measure to irresponsible behavior and at the same time a vessel of transmitting the required skills in life to make the youth more responsible and productive members of the society, hence they need to incorporate it into the curriculum. Kenya Institute Education (2008), notes that the following living values can enhance development of life skills; tolerance, co-operation, happiness, simplicity, love, honesty, respect, responsibility, peace, freedom, unity, humility and integrity.

The rationale for life skills education curriculum according to the Ministry of Education (2008) is that, where it is well developed and practiced, it enhances the wellbeing of a society and promotes positive outlook and healthy behavior. In particular, it enables the individual to: translate knowledge, attitude, skills and values into action; behave responsibly and this leads to healthy living; develop positive attitude towards themselves and others; develop full potential; promote risk free behavior; communicate effectively; develop negotiation skills; and improve self-perception by building self-confidence, building self-esteem, and building self-worth.

Moreover, the Ministry of Education (2008) observes that life skills education has long term benefits to the society. These include educational, social, health, culture and economic benefits. Educational benefits, consequently, strengthen teacher-student relationship; leads to desirable behavior change; improves discipline in schools; reduces learner problems such as truancy, absenteeism, drug and substance abuse, and teenage pregnancies; and helps learners to improve their performance. Social benefits, as a result, improves the socialization process among learners such as relating to others in a friendly way; enables learners to choose good and reliable friends; helps learners to use their leisure time properly; assists learners to recognize and avoid risky situations; bring about meaningful interaction among learners, teachers, and the school community; and helps in character building.

Health benefits, lead to prevention and control of diseases such as STI's, HIV and AIDS; contributes to a person's general wellbeing (physical, mental emotional and social); leads to less strain on health facilities; helps people to be responsible for their own and other people's health. Cultural benefits enable people to adopt and maintain meaningful cultural practices and avoiding practices that may put self and others at risk; promotes harmonious interaction between people of different cultures; helps in the clarification of values in the society.

Implementation of Life Skills

Pratt (1980) asserts that for any curriculum to be implemented successfully the objectives should be understood. Mahlangu (2001) raises a concern about introducing a curriculum to teachers and leaving them to implement without further guidance. Teachers should understand the objectives and content of a curriculum document or syllabus well in order to implement it effectively.

Teachers who are supposedly implementing a new curriculum sometimes cannot even identify its main features. The greatest difficulty is likely to be encountered when teachers are required to change their educational approaches to teach this new curriculum. He argues that such decisions are likely to have profound effects on the success of implementation.

Teachers' understanding and attitudes towards implementation of any subject is crucial, more so, because teachers are the ones who present the curriculum materials to the pupils. Whitaker (1979) asserts that teachers' view their role in curriculum implementation as an autonomous one. They select and decide what to teach from the prescribed syllabus or curriculum. This implies that the teacher has indeed to understand the objectives of a particular subject or discipline in order to interpret and approach it appropriately. Kenya Institute of Education (2006) notes that effective implementation of life skills education to a large extent depends on how well the teachers are trained, availability of adequate teaching / learning resources, equipment and physical facilities, appropriate teaching methods, positive teacher-pupil attitude, proper supervision and provision of adequate teaching time.

Research Methodology

Research Design and Target Population

The study adopted the descriptive survey design to find out school factors influencing the implementation of life skills education. Gay (2006) notes that descriptive survey design determines and reports the way things are; it involves collecting numerical data to test hypothesis or answer questions about the current status of the subject of study. Kombo and Tromp (2006) argue that descriptive survey design can be used when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues. This study focused on finding out school factors such as availability of learning / teaching resources appropriateness of the teaching methodology, adequacy of time allocated to LSE, students attitude towards LSE, and teacher factors like their perception and opinion on in-service training of LSE, in the implementation of LSE thus the design is suitable for this study.

The study targeted all the 27 public primary schools in Athi River district. The district is divided into two divisions; each under an Area Education Officer (AEO). These are Lukenya division comprising of 15 schools and Athi River division comprising of 12 schools making a total of 27 public primary schools with 359 teachers and 11,531 pupils. Based on this guideline, the researcher got a sample of 25 schools, 93 teachers and 336 pupils. From these 93 teachers, 46 teachers were from Lukenya division and the other 47 teachers were from Athi River division. One hundred and sixty eight (168) students were taken from Lukenya division and the remaining 168 students were from Athi River division. The sample therefore comprised of 93 teachers and 336 pupils.

Stratified random sampling technique was used to obtain 13 schools from Athi River division and 12 schools from Lukenya division. This minimized biasness on part of the researcher and also catered for equal representation of all the schools since they are sparsely distributed. Purposive sampling technique was employed to obtain classes 7 and 8 from each

school. The lower classes were left out in the sampling because they might have difficulties understanding the questionnaire. Random sampling technique was employed to choose 14 respondents from class 7 and 8.

In order to address the research objectives and research questions, data was collected by use of questionnaires for both the LSE teachers and the students. According to Cohen and Manion (1980), a questionnaire is appropriate in carrying out an educational inquiry as it gives respondents ideal time to give well thought out answers. Before the actual data analysis, the gathered data were edited and then coded. The instruments were also checked for completeness. Editing of the instruments was done to scrutinize and check for errors and omissions. Data analysis was performed using both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Quantitative analysis was done where the raw scores were keyed into a computer and percentages computed.

Descriptive statistics was used to analyze qualitative data for example the use of mean, standard deviation variance, percentages and frequencies. Qualitative analysis was done by analyzing the respondent's responses. This was done by establishing their trends and patterns thus organizing them into themes and categories and used graphics and direct quotations to present the findings. Data was processed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and interpreted according to the objectives of the study.

Research Findings and Discussion

Data analysis on the gender of teachers indicated that majority of the teachers were females (67.1%). This implies that most female teachers were involved in teaching life skills. The teachers' gender can strongly influence the implementation of life skills education in schools. Data showed that majority of the teachers were aged between 31 and 40 years (62.2%) while a relatively few (22%) were aged above 41 years. This shows that most of the teachers were at a productive stage in their lives i.e. between 30 and 40 years. Data on the highest qualification of the teachers showed that most of them were either holders of diploma (25.6%) or P1 certificate (37.8%) respectively. A number of the teachers however had higher qualifications as Bachelor's degree and Master's degree. This demonstrates that these teachers may have been more exposed in training in life skills which could enable them implement the life skills curriculum in the schools.

Adequacy of time allocation on LSE implementation

Most of the teachers stated that LSE was allocated 1 lesson per week on the time table. Others indicated that there were 2 lessons allocated for LSE in the time table. The analyses revealed that there was no standard allocation of LSE lessons in the timetable in the schools sampled. This further shows that LSE has not been given the required attention on the school time table. The teachers were further asked whether the time allocated for LSE in the time table was adequate to have the syllabus completed and (82.9%) reported it was not. The data analyses revealed that time allocated was not adequate to complete the syllabus hence this could affect curriculum implementation of LSE.

Teachers' perceptions on their preparedness on implementing of life skills education

Data indicated that the teachers had positive perceptions towards their preparedness in the implementation of LSE. For example majority of them (74.7%) disagreed that LSE does not change the students' behavior. Majority of the teachers (89.1%) indicated that teaching of LSE was fulfilling. Asked whether teaching of LSE is unnecessary work load for teachers, majority (85.6%) disagreed with the statement. 85.4% agreed that teaching LSE gave them a good deal of satisfaction when they feel that the students develop adaptive and positive behavior. 65.8% of teachers further disagreed with the statement that they would rather teach examinable subjects during time for LSE.

The teachers agreed that they felt at ease when teaching Life Skills Education as indicated by (75.6%). 74.4% further indicated that teachers were of the opinion that LSE curriculum was hurriedly enforced. They further agreed that in-servicing of teachers should have been given priority as was recorded by (87.8%). Teachers were also of the opinion that the methodologies recommended were learner / teacher friendly as was reported by (90.2%) who agreed to the statement. The analyses indicated that teachers were of the opinion that if trained further on LSE they would be more effective. Findings indicated that the teachers had positive perceptions towards the implementation of LSE.

Availability and adequacy of learning and teaching resources on the implementation of life skills education

Teaching and learning resources are the materials used by the student, or by the teacher, jointly or severally, to facilitate learning (Moya, 1988 & Wilkins, 1975). Teachers' responses as to the effect of availability of resources indicated that teachers used some of the resources and not others. For example, (45.1%) of teachers used KIE syllabus / publications always, while (37.8%) used them sometimes. Majority of the teachers (59.8%) used resource persons only sometimes while majority (72%) used charts and posters only sometimes. Newspapers/magazines were always used by (26.8%) of the teachers while (65.9%) used them only sometimes. More than half of the teachers (56.1%) indicated that they always used textbooks while (29.3%) never used them. While (37.8%) teachers sometimes used non-governmental organization's publication, slightly above half (52.4%) never used them. Majority of the teachers (81.7%) reported that they never used video tapes similarly, (74.4%) never used radios.

Influence of teaching methodologies on the implementation of life skills education

On influence of teaching methodologies, (17.1 %) of the teachers said that they taught it as a lone subject, (59.8%) taught it as integrated curriculum while (23.2%) taught it as infused subject. This data shows that LSE was taught as a lone subject by very few teachers. The analyses further indicates that implementation of LSE may be negatively affected by the non-teaching of it as a standalone subject. Asked whether the teaching of life skills education

curriculum required a different approach from that applied in the teaching of other subjects, the majority (61%) indicated that it is required. Asked to explain their responses, they indicated that there is need for a resource person, that the approach required in imparting LSE is that teachers need to be friendly to the pupils.

Data on teachers' responses on appropriateness of different teaching methodologies indicated that story telling was preferred by almost all the respondents rating it as most appropriate or just appropriate, discussion was also preferred by all the teachers. This is in line with the Kenya Institute of Education (2008), who suggest that teachers should use participatory teaching and learning methods in which learners identify their own problems, discuss solutions, plan and carry out effective action programs. Case study was not preferred by a few teachers. Lecture method was not a preferred teaching methodology as most teachers rated it as inappropriate. Demonstration, question and answer methods were preferred by (79%) and (93.9%) respectively. The findings indicated that the lecture method was the only not preferred teaching method.

Influence of learners' attitudes to life skills education on the implementation of life skills education

Data on the attitude of the learners towards LSE indicated that they had a positive attitude. For example majority of the pupils (89.1%) strongly agreed that they enjoyed learning LSE. They denied that they would rather learn examinable subjects instead of Life skills education as it was indicated by (20.6%) who agreed and (21.3%) who strongly disagreed. Data also revealed that more than half (54.7%) agreed that time allocated to Life Skills Education in the time table was adequate. 43.1% of learners did not agree that teaching / learning resources in Life skills education were adequate.

Majority (86.85%) strongly agreed that the methods used by their teacher during Life Skills Education were interesting. A majority (91.9%) strongly agreed that Life skills education helps them develop good behavior. Majority of the pupils agreed that life skills education helps them cope with everyday challenges at home and in school. This finding is similar with the findings established in a study carried out by Maogoto (2011) which revealed that the learners had a positive attitude towards LSE and part it helps them develop good behavior, and cope with everyday challenges at home and in school.

Challenges facing teachers in the implementation of LSE

The study also sought to establish the challenges that were faced by LSE teachers in the implementation of LSE in their schools. They responded as shown in the table below;

Challenges faced by teachers in implementing LSE

Challenges	F	%
Lack of teaching resources	40	48.8
Lack of a well laid out syllabus	18	22.0
Inadequate time allocation	13	15.9
Insufficient understanding of the subject	11	13.3
Total	82	100.0

Remedies for challenges faced by teachers during the implementation of LSE

Respondents were also asked to provide suggestion for remedying the situation. The suggestions provided included; teachers to be in-serviced, the government should avail the learning and teaching materials, more emphasis should be put on LSE induction courses for teachers, more time to be allocated for the lesson, use of English language properly classrooms to be upgraded and introduction of multi teaching. The researcher was also interested in establishing whether the teacher had attended any life skills in-service course. Data showed that majority (67.1%) had not attended any course. This implies that lack of in-service course could affect the implementation of the programme since training is important for any curriculum implementation. Inne (2007) observes that the head teachers in Japan are negative about the practice of HIV and AIDS life skills education. Teachers are not trained for LSE and do not have enough knowledge and confidence to teach children. On HIV and AIDS prevention methods, head teachers try to avoid talking to parents and children about HIV and AIDS education. This shows that teachers do not have skills themselves to teach life skills curriculum.

School factors influencing the implementation of LSE

In conclusion, the study established the following school factors as influencing the implementation of LSE; adequacy of time allocated to LSE, teachers' perceptions on their preparedness in implementing LSE, the availability and adequacy of the teaching / learning resources in implementing LSE, the appropriateness of the teaching methodologies in implementing LSE and finally the learners' attitude towards the implementation of LSE.

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Summary

The purpose of the study was to investigate the school factors influencing the implementation of life skills curriculum in public primary schools in Athi River district, Kenya. Five research objectives were set to guide the study. The study adopted the descriptive research design to find out school factors influencing the implementation of life skills education. The sample comprised of 93 teachers and 336 pupils. Data were collected by use of questionnaires for both the LSE teachers and the students.

Findings revealed that time allocated to LSE influenced the implementation of life skills education. They indicated that time allocated for teaching LSE was inadequate which led to inadequate content coverage hence negatively impacting the implementation of the LSE curriculum. Findings on the effects of teachers' perceptions on their preparedness towards the implementation of life skills education revealed that, teachers' perceptions towards the LSE curriculum implementation was a positive one. Majority of the respondents agreed that in-service training of teachers in LSE should have been given priority, life skills education enhances the pupils' positive behavior and that teaching of life skills is fulfilling. In addition to that, they agreed that the methodologies recommended are learner friendly, which is in agreement with the findings on LSE content in the Kenya Institute of Education (2008).

Findings on the effect of availability and adequacy of learning and teaching resources on the implementation of life skills education showed that teachers used KIE syllabus / publications. A majority of the teachers used resource persons only sometimes while others used charts and posters. Newspapers/magazines were always used by a few of the teachers while others used them only sometimes. More than half of the teachers indicated that they always used textbooks while the rest never used them. Findings also revealed that resources for teaching LSE were not adequate which affected the implementation of LSE.

The research findings also showed that teaching methodologies influenced the implementation of life skills education. Story telling was preferred by almost all of the respondents who rated it as most appropriate or just appropriate, discussion was also preferred by almost all the teachers. Teachers also indicated that there was no need for teacher in-service training in LSE as the subject was non-examinable. Data further indicated that slightly above half of the respondents derived their lesson objectives from the syllabus, a few derived them from LSE teachers guide while others constructed their own lesson objectives. Data implies that even though slightly more than half derived their lesson objectives from the syllabus, a significant number did not derive them from appropriate sources which affected LSE implementation. Findings on the influence of learners' attitudes to life skills education on the implementation of life skills education revealed that learners had a positive attitude. Most of the learners agreed that Life skills education helped them develop good behavior, and that life skills education helped them cope with everyday challenges at home and in school.

Conclusion

Based on the findings, the study concluded that time allocated to LSE affected the implementation of life skills education. Teachers' perceptions on their preparedness affected implementing of life skills education. Availability and adequacy of learning and teaching resources affected the implementation of life skills education. In addition, the study further concluded that teaching methodologies influenced the implementation of life skills education. The study finally concluded that learners' attitudes towards life skills education affected the implementation of life skills education.

Recommendations

In line with the findings and conclusions of the study, the researcher made the following recommendations to help in the implementation of LSE in public primary schools; Head teachers should take a leading role in ensuring that time allocated to LSE in their schools is in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Kenya Institute of Education. The Ministry of Education (MoE) and Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) on the other hand, should consider more teachers for life skills education in-service training to enhance and sharpen teachers' pedagogical skills in order to help in the implementation of life skills education. In addition, there's need for the District Education Officers to increase teachers' awareness on LSE at district and zonal levels. It is also important that the MoE in conjunction with the KIE should ensure adequate supply of teaching / learning resources of LSE in schools. Head teachers should also ensure that enough learning resources are made available to the teachers. The MoE should consider making LSE an examinable subject so that it is accorded seriousness and commitment like other examinable subjects. The study was conducted in public primary schools in Athi River district, Kenya. It is recommended that further research should be undertaken in other districts in the Republic of Kenya to establish the implementation of LSE. Findings from the studies should inform the policy makers in education when formulating policies.

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Armed Women, Religion and Quest for Unknown: Interrogating Females in Terrorism and implications for security in Kenya

By Linnet Hamasi

Abstract

Globalization has been blamed for the emergence and rapid radicalization that is taking toll in all parts of the world. The influence of globalization on women and girls who are against the Western hegemony cannot be downplayed with most of them feeling dominated and their rights denied. This radicalization however is an emerging trend that has not attracted a lot of research with many of them being used as suicide bombers and wives to the militants. This study attempts to find out the characteristics, the localization and the motives of this type radicalization into terrorism. Factors such as minority rights, fair distribution of resources and exclusion are interrogated. With a particular focus to Kenya the study seeks to examine the spaces that are responsible for radicalization. Many women and girls are being radicalized in traditional spaces such as the mosques, schools, universities and other social places. However, research has shown that there emerging new spaces in which they are being radicalized. In order to understand this new pattern of radicalization, the study utilizes a theory of change which examines gender bipolarity, stereotyping in women communication and behaviour change as precepts used by terrorist groups to radicalize them. The study employs mixed methods approach with the use of documentary review, In-depth Interviews and FGDs as instruments of data collection. Preliminary findings show that terrorists are using various strategies to radicalize women and girls by giving them some incentives. There are also special areas that are associated with radicalization of women of girls, both traditional and non-traditional. Women are being radicalized due to various motives, including the misinterpretation of feminism and human right based approach. There is need for the government to restructure its security architecture in order to address this new trend through early warning systems and inclusion of local stakeholders, women and girls included.

Key words: Armed Women, Radicalization, terrorism, globalization, Suicide Bombers, Hegemony

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Armed Women, Religion and Quest for Unknown: Interrogating Females in Terrorism and implications for security in Kenya

By Linnet Hamasi

Introduction

Globalization has been blamed for many problems in the world. With globalization radicalization of individuals into violent extremism has become an issue of concern. In most cases, radicalization has been in the domain of men as they have enjoyed the use of spaces that facilitate the same. However with globalization, women have developed networks across the globe and spaces have become a continuum. Women and girls have therefore become exposed to feminism, global Islam among others just like men allowing them to make choices among them joining radical cells.

With The September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre (WTC) by Al-Qaeda terrorist network was the awakening call to the world on the terrorism menace. Terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and Al Shabaab have ever since complicated the security architecture. Radical groups have become very powerful as they keep changing the way they operate (Gray and Stockham, 2008). They have used methods such as recruiting children, women and girls to carry out suicide bomb attacks, which is an emerging trend that needs to be countered early enough (Ismayilov, 2010). Although the causes of terrorism and the reasons for radicalization have been widely researched (Borum, 2011) there are few studies that focus on the gender dimension of the same (Agara, 2015; Carter, 2013). Women and girls are being radicalized in traditional spaces (such as mosques, madrassas, universities and schools) and non-traditional spaces such market places, women groups, (Ranstorp, 2010). This trend of feminizing terrorism may be too dangerous since women are the entry point to families. By radicalizing them, it will disintegrate these important institutions and lead to the collapse of whole communities.

The 9/11 attack made terrorism to be recognized as a global phenomenon that possesses threat to the security of all nation states. With the aid of globalization, international terrorist networks have become powerful and most governments are not adequately prepared to encounter the challenges (William, 2008; Bereketeab, 2013). Globalization has acted as a force multiplier of international terrorism (Indian Political Science Association, 2003) which has been made possible through multiplication of non state actors in international politics.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram uses women and girls as suicide bombers as the easiest mechanism to do violence to citizens. Initially the women and girls were abducted and forced into these groups as sex slaves and wives. But there is a wave that is causing women and girls to voluntarily strive to join the radical cells or lure others to do so (Azigbo, 2008). What seems to come forth is feminization of terrorism which may be more complicated to handle in future if it is not countered as early as now. This is because, women and girls as marginal as they may seem impact a lot on society. They are sisters, aunties, wives and mothers to the terrorist and this gives them a high standing in terms of influencing radicalization or de-radicalization processes (Carter, 2013).

The first female terrorist to engage the Kenyan security was Samantha Lewthwaite also known as the 'white widow' during the West Gate attack. She was linked with Al- Shabaab group that claimed responsibility for attacking the West Gate Mall in Kenya. From then Kenya has had experience with attempts by women and girls to join Al Shabaab of ISI. In 2015, a 19 year old woman was arrested in Kenya while heading to Syria to join ISIS. In another episode, three

women all aged 19 and students in Khartoum, were arrested seized at El Waki town along the Kenya–Somali border (Khalif, 2016). These examples and others are hands-on experiences of radicalization of women and girls brought by radical insurgent groups in the course of globalization. This brings to our attention the need to have a more focused research that will responds to such questions as: who are these women? Why did they join these groups? What are their roles? Are they radicalised differently from their male counterparts? What are the strategies used to radicalize these women and what are the structures and policies that have been put in place to prevent radicalization of women and girls in Kenya?

Justification of the study

Many scholars tend to show that women are being used in suicide attacks without unveiling the reasons why this radicalization is taking a gender dimension. Others argue that there are more male terrorists than women, that the poor are easily radicalized than the rich, and that the youths are more targeted than children. However, studies such as Berrebi (2003) reveal that many attacks which have happened across the world have had a female figure that has been downplayed. Eso (2011) indicates that most insurgent groups are considering using women as terrorists given that they have access to many people and spaces. This study will generate new knowledge on this gendered approach to radicalization with a view of dealing with terrorism. The study will be out to give more revelations on the potential of women and girls to be radicalized that need to be understood by policy makers for the necessary actions.

Methodology

Introduction

The main concern of this study was to understand and stem the radicalization of women and girls and its negative effects on the society. The problem was to find mechanisms and strategies on how to curtail this new trend of radicalization that leads to terrorism in Kenya, Africa and other parts of the world. Thus, the study needed strong theoretical framework to explain the patterns of this new phenomenon. Then, methods of data collection and analysis would follow.

Theoretical Framework

This study attempts to find out the push and pull factors that lead to the radicalization of women and girls into terrorism. Whilst researchers evoke many reasons to explain this new phenomenon, this study's discourse conceptualises three major theories, namely theories on the way community members view gender disparity, women rhetoric, and behaviour change.

First the polarity between male and female genders is well illustrated by Gurian and Annis (2008). They show that women have enormous skill in talking and building relationship to persuade their clients, while men in general tend to communicate in order to convey information, without necessarily building relationships. Men tend to end sentences more abruptly and also to avoid upward inflection, while women tend to include more pleasant endings and use upward inflection, turning statements into questions, such as: 'It's a nice day, isn't it?'. Since women are generally open to strangers, they are more likely to be used as entry point into families and communities by radical and terrorist groups more than men (Hodgson and McCurdy, 2001). This can explain the reason why radicalization has moved from traditional to non-traditional spaces such market places, rivers and wells, firewood spaces, women groups and even families. These are spaces that have been seen as private and domestic, and therefore belonging to women (Moore, 1985). These non-traditional spaces have been responsible for radicalization of women

and girls in recent years. McQuiston and Morris (2009) reinforce this point by noting that women listen attentively to their clients at these spaces without interruption, while men tend to interrupt, use more direct language, in their public spaces. Men may become frustrated when female colleagues ‘meander’ during a discussion. That is why they do not allow women in their public spaces. This means that radical movements are more likely to use women to induct their female counterpart into radicalization in private spaces than use men in their public spaces.

The second theory on women and girls’ radicalization is the narrative theory as espoused from Mullen and Johnson (1990). This theory explains that stories of radical women rely on stereotypes to persuade their fellow women. The media and communities have created narratives that victimise Emecheta’s womanhood deviation from the accepted norms (Haraway, 1990; Hodgson and McCudy, 2001; Biel and Thogersen, 2007). How the other members of the community view radicalized women and girls is clearly engraved in this victimhood framework, which presents them not as heroes but as deviants. The media and society created this framework in order to maintain loyalty to such narratives as “women shall be submissive to men”; “women need not to look like men”; “women shall feel like women”; “it takes to be a woman to understand what a woman means”. These narratives have made the security architecture dormant when it comes to radicalization of women and girls. Are women taking advantage of these stereotypes to get radicalized? Or they are reacting against the silences that these stereotypes have created around them? Is radicalization a means for women to be noticed? Or it is an extension of patriarchy? Or it is simply a misinterpretation of feminism and/or influence of human right based approach? The answers to these questions provide the motives of radicalization of women and girls (Ogot, 1968; Nzomo, 1995).

The third theory on women and girls’ radicalization argues that understanding women behaviour change involves a clear understanding of women’s language. Burke (1966) says that the rhetor uses terministic screens to convey a certain agenda or idea that would appeal to a specific audience. Therefore, radical and terrorist movements use language and images that direct the attention of women and girls into feminist and romantic channels rather than chauvinistic screens. Consequently, the radical or terrorist uses a terminology that leads women and girls to a reflection on a specific figurative location (e.g. paradise) rather than to an unwanted place (deflection) such as their boring homes. Barker and Start (1992) strengthens this view by giving attention to the art of persuasion. The radical or terrorist tends to persuade women and girls using stylistic identifications or acts of persuasion that cause the target audience to identify with radicalization or terrorism. The radical or terrorist establishes rapport with women and girls through identification of interests. In the same vain, the terrorist feminizes and romanticises radicalization in order to attract women and girls. Therefore, persuasion of women and girls into radicalization simply means identification and communication of the radical interest to women and girls.

Data Collection

Introduction

This study is highly qualitative but the research quite often employed mixed methods approach due to the sensitivity of the matter, to collect and analyse both qualitative and quantitative for effective evaluation of the performance of de-radicalization programmes. Nonetheless, the qualitative dimension allowed in-depth information on the issue of radicalization of women and girls in the various spaces such as the churches, mosques, schools, colleges, markets and many

others. Data were collected from official documents and scientific literature review, in-depth interviews, and Focused Group Discussions.

Documentary Review

The project intended to investigate radicalization and recruitment of women and girls into terrorist groups. A review of the official documentation and scientific literature on the national security of Kenya, including radicalization and terrorism, was done to assist in understanding the dynamics and challenges of the governance, policy and management of de-radicalization programmes. The following reports are reviewed for sourcing relevant information for the study:

- a) Human Security Index report (2015-2017)
- b) Global Peace Index report (2015 – 2017)
- c) The Good Country Index report (2015 – 2017)
- d) The Interpol “‘Best practices’ in combating terrorism” report
- e) The Kenya human right commission report (2015 – 2017)
- f) The Ministry of internal security report (2015 – 2017);
- g) Interim Report of the Taskforce on devolved government (2010)
- h) The Waki commission report on inquiry of post-election violence (2007)
- i) The (Kriegler) Independent Review Commission (2007)

This desk review provided some guidelines for policy-makers and other decision-makers on the national security sector.

In-depth Interviews

Additional data was sought through in-depth interviews with government officers involved in security matters, both women and men. These are mainly agents from the ministry of internal security, defence, foreign affairs, education and justice; the Kenyan National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS), the National Police Commission’s Anti-Terrorism Unit, Criminal Investigations Department (CID), Dog Unit Commandant (DUC), and other security institutions such as the global police organisation - Interpol (Kenya office), the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the National Defence College (NDC), International Peace Support Training Center (IPSTC), and the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), to name but a few institutions. Other institutions like the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM), the UN Women, UNFPA, UNICEF and university institutes dealing with peace, security and gender studies are to provide support information for a rapid assessment of all the above security agencies.

Focused Group Discussions

Several stakeholder meetings were organized with key stakeholders such as NGOs, women groups, the “Nyumba Kumi”(Ten houses) community security initiatives, county peace committees and the council of elders to discuss about on-going security issues and those related to the reforms of de-radicalization programmes. These interactions enabled a prioritization of what local stakeholders expect from the operationalization of the devolved governance of the security services at county and local level. This provided key information that would help updating the governance system, policies and strategies existing in the national security sector in line with the de-radicalization and countering terrorism in Kenya.

Data Analysis

3.4.1 Introduction

This study analysed baseline data on insecurity due to radicalization and terrorism in Kenya using a Capacity Gap Analysis (CGA), and Performance Auditing and Evaluation (PAE) along with an analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) of both the organizational and functional structures of the national security system in Kenya. This enabled integrated approach for restructuring the governance, policy and management of de-radicalization programme.

Capacity Gap Analysis and Performance Auditing

First, a Capacity Gap Analysis (CGA) of the functioning of the current national security system is proposed vis-à-vis the ongoing trends of radicalization and terrorism. Then, selected national security institutions were benchmarked according to the standards of quality assurance set by the global organization of police (Interpol) and a Performance Auditing and Evaluation (PAE) approach utilized by the World Bank's International Evaluation Group (IEG) for business sustainability analysis. The following strategic factors were considered for benchmarking security institutions in Kenya:

- Their response to the new characteristics and trends of radicalization
- Their readiness to update information and data concerning the localization of pre-radicalization and actual radicalization taking place;
- Their capability to sense in advance the motives of radicalization and communicate it to local stakeholders.

Further selection and clustering of the security institutions was done on the basis of their capability to continue implementing and improving their de-radicalization programmes across the country and enable an increased trust of security personnel among the communities. This assessment would form a basis for the strategic analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT).

A holistic analysis of gaps found in the organizational structures of the national security system realistically revealed areas that called for improvement. This was supplemented by a consolidated SWOT analysis, which finally suggest strategies that the government could take in order to strengthen the governance, policy and management of its de-radicalization programmes using its own assets (strengths) and opportunities from the global organization of police (Interpol) as well as funding from the international community, while avoiding high impact of the threats of radical and terrorist groups that could weaken the national security apparatus

Integrated Approach for Restructuring De-Radicalization System

The governance, policy and management of de-radicalization in Kenya are fragmented in various programmes, which are held by several institutions in charge of the national security. These bodies rarely involve local communities in matters pertaining to national security, as it is the case with the "Nyumba Kumi" system and the devolved governance enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Besides, these programmes are not gender sensitive to enable the full participation of women and girls in security matters.

This study used an integrated approach to operationalize and steer up adequate policy and management of de-radicalization programmes. The approach dealt with a complete legal and institutional auditing along with a performance evaluation of human and financial resources of major actors involved in the national security sector to derive adequate options and recommendations for a restructuring of the governance, policy and management of de-radicalization in Kenya

Preliminary Results and Discussion

Introduction

The study sought to respond to the following questions;

1. What are the characteristics of radicalization of women and girls into terrorism in Kenya?
2. In what ways have different spaces played a role in radicalizing women and girls into terrorism in Kenya?
3. What are the motives that cause women and girls to be radicalized into terrorism in Kenya?
4. To what extent have the structures, policies and institutions put in place helped in de-radicalizing women and girls in Kenya?

Characteristics of Radicalization of Women and Girls into Terrorism

The study found out that there is evidence that radicalization occurs in traditional areas dominated by Muslim people. Many radical cells have emerged in the world due to religious radicalization they include Al Shabaab in East Africa and Boko Haram in West Africa as well as Al Qaeda and ISIS cells. radical groups that have emerged in West and North Africa.. The terrorist groups have created fear and anxiety in African cities and rural areas because they are striking with increasing frequency. There is new evidence to suggest that radicalization is also occurring in non-traditional areas dominated by non-Muslim people. There is however limited research explaining the processes of radicalization of non-traditional groups such as women and girls.

The study also revealed that radicalization into violent extremism cut across women and girls, poor or rich, educated or not educated, rural and urban among other categories. This is different from the past characteristics in which radical elements were often recruited from men, uneducated, unemployed youths and security personnel. Poverty has always been blamed for easy recruitment by researchers such as (Sirku, 2016) but this does not seem to be the case anymore, especially if we look at the Garissa University attack in Kenya in 2015. These characteristics require in-depth research to be able to advise on the restructuring of the security architecture.

Localization of radicalization of Women and Girls

The documentary review revealed that the world has come under terrorism threat and development plans are being put on hold in order to deal with this menace. There seems to be an increasing trend of radicalization of female members of the community, both women and girls. Terrorist activities are taking place both in traditional and non-traditional spaces of radicalization. Traditional spaces include mosques, churches, schools, universities and other formal gatherings in which radicalization has been taking place. Non-traditional spaces include market places, social media and the internet, sms and other. Security organs lack information on early warning and are unable to deal with new groups of radicalization which are spreading so fast and causing tensions and anxiety in Africa and the rest of the world.

The study further revealed that there seems to be some forms of collusion between women and girls and people involved in terrorism in ways that are new and terrifying. Most of the time the security personnel have engaged into fighting terror attacks by women without putting in place mechanisms to halt this trend. As a result, most countries are spending million dollars on fighting terrorism without much success.

Motives of radicalization of Women and Girls [CROSS-CUTTING ISSUE]

What are the signs and indicators of radicalization? Why are educated people and professionals getting radicalized? Why are women increasingly being recruited by terrorist groups? What are the triggers? Are there patterns in the behaviour of individuals that can be used to create a profile and characteristics of a potential recruit? This study provided some generic answers to these questions. The study showed that the degraded state of public infrastructure in northern Kenya for example has created conducive environment for the propagation of terrorist activities and other radical behaviours. The articulation of the Quram on Salafism by the been- to Sheikhs has exposed women and girls to radicalization. The presence of Mosques in rural areas, schools and universities has rendered Islam religion and unfortunately extremist Islam as the most available religion on earth thus getting many recruit among them women and girls .Radical and terrorist groups provide incentives to marginalized girls and women to entice them to radicalization, including education and health care in patriarchal communities and in the most marginalized areas. Women and girls who have been victim of exclusion, stigmatization and violence are specially targeted for positions in radical cells. Some of them join because of honor- which means they prefer being in a radical cell where they are “respected” than being in a community where they are looked down upon because of rape for example. Some of them accept to carry out suicide bombing because they are more “honourable” dead than alive.

Restructuring the De-Radicalization Programmes in Kenya

The study indicated that the governance, policy and management of de-radicalization in Kenya is fragmented in various programmes held by several institutions in charge of the national security. These include the President of the Republic, the National Assembly, the judiciary, the Ministry of Interior Security, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of education, the Ministry of justice and constitution, and other support institutions such as the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), National Defence College (NDC), International Peace Support Training Center (IPSTC), and the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), to name but a few institutions.

The President of the Republic is the head of state and head of government of Kenya. He is the supreme judge, legislator and commander-in-chief of the Kenya Defence Forces. However, these attributions are independently handled by the three arms of the national government, namely the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

The legislature, especially the National Assembly, has three special committees dealing with security matters, one on Administration and National Security and another one on Defence and Foreign Relations. The Administration and National Security Committee checks the works of national security institutions, the police services, home affairs, Public Administration, Public Service, Prisons, Immigration and the management of natural disasters, as well as community service orders. The Defence and Foreign Relations Committee deals with matters pertaining to defence, intelligence, foreign relations diplomatic and consular services, international boundaries, international relations, agreements, treaties and conventions. Finally, the Justice and

Legal Affairs Committee keeps in check constitutional affairs, the administration of law and justice, including the Judiciary, public prosecutions, elections, ethics, integrity and anti-corruption and human rights.

The Judiciary encompasses a system of superior and subordinate courts in which magistrates and judges interpret and apply the laws and the Constitution of Kenya. Superior courts include the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, High Court, Industrial Court, Environment and Land Court. There are also subordinate courts consisting of Magistrate Court, Courts Martial and Kadhi Court. The study noted that few cases of radicalization and terrorist activities were held by civilian courts above, and Courts Martial, a military court, except the Kadhi's Court. Yet, the Kadhi's court was created under Article 169 (1,b) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 to hear civil matters relating to Islamic law, which cannot by any means be criminal in nature. This means that parties involved are Muslims and agree to submit the matter to this Islamic court. In case of a criminal offence, such as terrorism, by a member of the Kenya Defense Forces, Courts Martial has the ability to hear such a matter and make a decision.

The executive wing of the government relies on the Ministry of Internal Security and Coordination of National Government through its security, intelligence and police services. Key institutions include the Kenyan National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) and the National Police Commission (NPC). The latter relies especially on the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit, and the Dog Unit Commandant (DUC), the Criminal Investigations Department (CID), the General Services Unit (GSU) and other special branch. Kenya also hosts an office of the global police organisation, Interpol, which is based in Lyon, France.

If the crisis is beyond control and may threaten the national integrity, the Ministry of Defence may intervene with its armed forces, as it was the case with Westgate Mall in 2013. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of education, the Ministry of justice and constitution, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), National Defence College (NDC), International Peace Support Training Center (IPSTC), and the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), to name but a few institutions, provide support information for rapid and effective intervention by all the above security agencies.

Though being designated as a responsibility of the national government and its county counterparts, the Constitution of Kenya 2010 enshrines a devolved system of government in which security agencies and other support bodies share responsibilities for the national security governance, policy and management. This necessitates an operationalization of these provisions in harmony with the existing organizational structures, strategies and best practices on the ground. To operationalize de-radicalization governance in Kenya and steer up adequate policy and management of its programmes, the government needs an integrated approach. The following sub-sections focus on assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the existing structures in order to suggest reforms that would lead, either to the overhaul of the whole system or to its modification.

SWOT Analysis of De-Radicalization Programmes

An institutional analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) was conducted to establish the capacity security institutions to detect early pre-radicalization conditions. It enabled to derive strategic factors that would be needed to reform the Kenyan programmes of de-radicalization. Table 1 provides a few strategic actions for de-radicalization programme in Kenya. It shows that the security architecture in Kenya needs to be enhanced with

support from the global police organisation, Interpol head office in Lyon, France, to be able to counter radicalization and terrorism at the national, county and local levels. The government needs to build early warning systems that would enable security agents to recognize early signs of radicalization. Funds also need to be raised from donors and other development partners to support de-radicalization programmes based on international agreements, corporate social responsibility and community services. This will assure immediate intervention from communities at grassroots in case of emergency of terrorist activities.

Table 1: A consolidated SWOT matrix for de-radicalization programmes in Kenya

<i>Strategic Factor</i>	<i>Strengths¹</i>	<i>Weaknesses¹</i>	<i>Opportunities¹</i>	<i>Threats¹</i>	<i>Strategic Actions</i>
characteristics of radicalization	S ₁ , S ₂ , S ₃ , S ₄ , S ₅ , S ₆ , S ₇ , S ₈ , S ₉ , S ₁₁ , S ₁₂ , S ₁₃	W ₁ , W ₂ , W ₃ , W ₄ , W ₅ , W ₆ , W ₇	O ₁ , O ₂ , O ₃ , O ₄ , O ₆ , O ₇ , O ₈ , O ₉ , O ₁₀ , O ₁₁	T ₁ , T ₂ , T ₃ , T ₄ , T ₅ , T ₆ , T ₇ , T ₈ , T ₉ , T ₁₀	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upgrade the existing security information systems to improve data collection; • Train security agents on new and effective techniques for countering radicalization • Create incentives for girls and women to reduce their vulnerability to radicalization; • Minimize exclusion, marginalization, stigmatization and violence against of girls and women
Localization of radicalization	S ₁ , S ₂ , S ₃ , S ₄ , S ₅ , S ₆ , S ₇ , S ₈ , S ₉ , S ₁₁ , S ₁₂ , S ₁₃	W ₁ , W ₂ , W ₃ , W ₄ , W ₅ , W ₆ , W ₇	O ₁ , O ₂ , O ₃ , O ₄ , O ₆ , O ₇ , O ₈ , O ₉ , O ₁₀ , O ₁₁	T ₁ , T ₂ , T ₃ , T ₄ , T ₅ , T ₆ , T ₇ , T ₈ , T ₉ , T ₁₀	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document both traditional and non-traditional spaces of radicalization of women and girls • Unravel existing structures that are conducive to radicalization of women and youths; • Examine profiles of families and communities of radicalized women and girls. • Improve physical infrastructure and socio-economic welfare of vulnerable social groups; • Customize and subsidize education and health care in the most marginalized areas
Motives of radicalization	S ₁ , S ₃ , S ₅ , S ₇ , S ₉ , S ₁₁ , S ₁₃ , S ₁₅ , S ₁₆ , S ₁₇ , S ₁₉	W ₁ , W ₃ , W ₅ , W ₅ , W ₇ , W ₉ , W ₁₁	O ₁ , O ₃ , O ₅ , O ₇ , O ₉ , O ₁₁ , O ₁₃ , O ₁₅ , O ₁₇ , O ₁₉	T ₁ , T ₃ , T ₅ , T ₇ , T ₉ , T ₁₁ , T ₁₃ , T ₁₅ , T ₁₇ , T ₁₉	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set an emergency oversight committee to invigilate and create awareness on radicalization • Ensure timely response to basic social and economic demands of marginalized communities; • Enforce the use of new ICTs (e.g. mobile phone calls, sms, email, internet, social media, etc.) to get timely emergency information and disseminate it • Explore new funding opportunities to diversify revenue portfolio of marginalized communities and groups

Restructuring the Governance, Policy and Management of De-Radicalization Programmes

An integrated approach for restructuring security institutions involved de-radicalization programmes in Kenya will mainly comprise four (4) steps defining: (a) an operational scope; (b) the level of modifications or overhaul of the current structures; (c) Requirements and approach for restructuring; and (d) a cost effectiveness evaluation of the approach.

Operational Scope

The restructuring of de-radicalization system is focusing on programmes held by the Kenyan National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS), the National Police Commission's Anti-Terrorism Unit, Criminal Investigations Department (CID), Dog Unit Commandant (DUC), and other security institutions such as the global police organisation - Interpol (Kenya office), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the National Defence College (NDC), International Peace Support Training Center (IPSTC), and the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), to name but a few institutions. This will help defining the problems (or issues) and challenges (weaknesses and threats) as well as possibilities (strengths and opportunities) for addressing security issues at the local, county and national level.

Modification/ Overhaul of the Current Programmes

This step aims to derive the level of modification or overhaul of the current programmes designed to counter radicalization and implement de-radicalization policies and structures. There will be a need for understanding security institutions and their modus operandi as derived from the SWOT analysis of the current programmes. This will enable determining elements and processes of the management systems that may be left operating versus those needing successors, to save time and money.

Requirements and Approach to Restructuring

These are requirements that are defined depending on the objectives of the restructuring vis-à-vis the various alternatives to be considered as satisfactory. The approach to be used comprises an explanation as to why the preferred solution is selected as well as various options to be evaluated to determine the viability and adequacy of the existing water management structures to implement the proposed approach.

Cost Effectiveness Evaluation

It is an examination of the cost effectiveness of the approach selected along with recommended solutions and other alternatives. These are estimated in order to offer an economic comparison based on the opportunity cost of each option. The least the opportunity cost, the best the suggested option.

Discussion

This study has brought about several patterns characterizing radicalization with regards to the changing localization and motives of radical behaviours. First, the research findings show that radicalization behaviours are in religious settings. If detected early enough, they may enable governments and communities to offer intervention, and therefore lead to reduced vulnerability of women and girls and as a corollary, to counter terrorist activities. Early detection will lead to reduction in deaths and loss of property resulting from terrorism attacks.

The research has unravelled why and how radical and terror groups are moving toward new grounds and using new strategies such as the ones targeting women and girls for recruitment, to give them incentives to support their cause. Such knowledge will help the government design adapted mechanisms and strategies that are needed to stop terrorist propaganda to get to the reach of vulnerable community members.

The research has shown that security personnel need to have sufficient knowledge on the way to deal with this category of community members in order to build trust in women and girls and get them de-radicalized from or out of terrorist organizations. These findings will allow anti-terror bodies and other security organs to devise proper programmes for dealing with new types of radicalization, which are spreading so fast and causing tensions and anxiety across Kenya, Africa and the rest of the world.

The research has provided useful information for the anti-terror programmes to deal with global cells of terror groups at the national, county and local levels, which have become sophisticated and widespread. The research will make it possible for regions, countries, counties and cities to escape from the current state of siege in which they have turned into. This will enable the police to get back to their usual roles and reduce military operations in homelands through cooperation with local communities to reduce the new threats of terrorism.

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Phenotypic and Genotypic Characterization Of Diarrhoeagenic *Escherichia coli* Isolated from Children in Mukuru Informal Settlement, Nairobi County, Kenya

By Kinankau V. K, Maingi J, Kimang'a N

Abstract

Urbanization has been increasing very fast in Kenya but very disproportionate to urban economic growth. This has led to mushrooming of informal settlements which accommodate a lot of people. They are characterized by poor sanitation among other high risk socio-economic parameters which lead to favorable environmental condition for emergence of new enteropathogenic organisms especially in children. Diarrhoeal diseases in Kenya are among the five main causes of mortality in children younger than five years. Diarrhoea is rampant in informal settlements. Bacterial diarrhoea has been reported to account for up to 30 % of all cases of infantile diarrhoea. Additionally, antibiotic susceptibility profiles vary from time to time. Monitoring and characterizing *E. coli* strains, relating to clinical symptoms is crucial for epidemiological control, in order to understand genetic rearrangement of virulence factors and track emergence of new pathogenic strains. The objective of this study was to characterize at molecular level the different strains of *E. coli* isolated from diarrhoea children under the age of 5 years in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Mukuru Kwa Reuben slums in Nairobi, Kenya. A total of 162 *E. coli* isolates were used in this study. Biochemical tests were used to confirm identity of the revived samples. The study also evaluated the resistance of the identified strains to different antibiotics using Kirby Bauer technique. Multiplex PCR was used to identify DEC pathotypes through detection of various virulence genes. The study found out that the isolates registered high resistance against SXT (62.18 %) followed by tetracycline (47.44 %), ampicilin (46.15 %), AMC (18.6 %), Streptomycin (14.7 %), nalidixic acid (13.5 %) and ciprofloxacin (10.35 %). Isolates were highly susceptible to ceftazidime (96.2 %), Cefepime (96.8 %), gentamicin (93.6 %) and Chloramphenicol (92.9 %). Multi drug resistance was also evident in that 43.59 % of isolates were resistant to at least three antibiotics. EPEC was the most predominant DEC pathotype (3.57 %) followed by ETEC and EHEC (2.38 %) which were followed by EAEC and EIEC (1.15 %). The most common virulence gene was *eaeA*. Heat labile (*lt*) gene was the dominant gene responsible for ETEC pathotype while heat stable (*st*) gene was not isolated at all. *Escherichia coli* isolates showed high rates of resistance to Sulphamethaxazole/Trimethoprim, ampicilin and tetracycline. Ceftazidime, Cefepime and gentamicin are considered appropriate for empirical treatment of *E. coli* in the study area.

Key words: Antimicrobial resistance, Diarrhoeagenic *E.coli* pathotypes, Virulence genes

Kinankau V. K, Maingi J, Kimang'a N (2017). Phenotypic and Genotypic Characterization Of Diarrhoeagenic *Escherichia coli* Isolated from Children in Mukuru Informal Settlement, Nairobi County, Kenya. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*. Volume 1, Number 1, 2017, 82-89.

Phenotypic and Genotypic Characterization Of Diarrhoeagenic *Escherichia coli* Isolated from Children in Mukuru Informal Settlement, Nairobi County, Kenya.

By Kinankau V. K, Maingi J, Kimang'a N

Introduction

Globally, diarrhoea is the second leading cause of morbidity and mortality among children under five years in the developing world (UNICEF, 2014; UNICEF, 2012; WHO 2012; Lopez *et al.*, 2006). Diarrhoea is said to kill more children than a combination of malaria, AIDS and measles. On average children under the age of 3 years in developing countries experience about three episodes of diarrhoea every year (WHO, 2013). African region shows the smallest reductions in mortality rates and the most marked slowing down trend. Lack of water, hygiene and sanitation are still a big problem in these countries with most children born in homes with no access to sanitation (UNDP, 2006; UNICEF, 2006). Over the last several decades, much has been learnt about human health in Urban and Peri-Urban environments, with an appreciation of the fact that urbanization tends, in poorer groups at least; to lead to lower health and the realization that improving the health of these populations requires multi-sectorial inputs (Harpham, 2009)

Diarrhoeagenic *E. coli* (DEC) disease is prevalent in infants and children and causes diarrhoea outbreaks in many countries (Makobe *et al.*, 2012). Monitoring and characterizing *E. coli* strains, relating to clinical symptoms is crucial for epidemiological control, in order to understand genetic rearrangement of virulence factors and track emergence of new pathogenic strains. In Kenya, antimicrobial resistance surveillance has been conducted only at institutional levels, with limited sharing of information and analysis of data.

Materials and Methods

Study design

This was a cross-sectional retrospective study that was laboratory based. *Escherichia coli* isolates were obtained from children treated for diarrhoea at the Maternal and Child Health (MCH) clinics in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Mukuru Kwa Reuben informal settlements, Nairobi.

Strains used in the study

The *E. coli* isolates were donated by KEMRI CMR project entitled “Association of *E. coli* and other microbial causes among children in two informal settlements in Nairobi.” One hundred and sixty two (162) *E. coli* isolates were randomly selected. Using a sterile loop a small portion of the isolates was picked from the vials and inoculated on Brain Heart Infusion Broth. The broth tubes were incubated at 37°C for 24 hours in tube racks. Growth of the bacteria was used to establish the viability of the stocked isolates. The Brain Heart Infusion Broth culture was sub-cultured onto Lactose MacConkey and the plate was incubated at 37°C for 24 hours.

Antimicrobial Susceptibility

Antimicrobial resistance was tested using 11 antimicrobial agents (Ciprofloxacin 5 µg, Nalidixic acid 30 µg, Tetracycline 30 µg, Streptomycin 10 µg, Chloramphenicol 30 µg, Gentamicin 10 µg, Ceftazidime 30 µg, Amoxicillin clavulonic acid 20/10 µg, sulfamethoxazole trimethoprim 1.25/23.75 µg and Ampicillin 10 µg, on each positive culture as per Clinical Laboratory Standards Institute, (CLSI, 2008). *Escherichia coli* ATCC 25922 were used as quality control strains. The Kirby Bauer disk diffusion susceptibility method was used. Bacterial inoculum of approximately 2×10^8 CFU/MI was applied to the surface of a large (150 mm diameter) Mueller-

Hinton agar plate. The commercially-prepared, fixed concentration, paper antibiotic disks were placed on the inoculated agar surface. Plates were then incubated for 16–24 hours at 35 °C prior to determination of results. The zones of growth inhibition around each of the antibiotic disks were measured to the nearest millimeter using a ruler.

DNA extraction

DNA template for PCR was obtained by culturing isolated single colony and a sweep of five colonies in Brain Heart Infusion Broth was incubated overnight at 37 °C with shaking. One millilitre of the cell suspension was dispensed into eppendorf tube and centrifuged at 14,000 rpm for 10 minutes and the supernatant discarded. The cell deposit was re-suspended in 100 µl of sterile double distilled water and then boiled in a water bath for 15 min and spun again for 5 min. The supernatant was removed to a fresh, sterile tube as the test DNA template and stored at -20 °C for later use in PCR experiments.

Multiplex PCR

Multiplex PCR for categorization of diarrhogenic *E. coli* (DEC) into EAEC, ETEC, EPEC, STEC and EIEC was carried out using primers (0.2 µmol, HPSF purification) for identification of the genes (Table 3.1) The specificity of each primer set was confirmed by monoplex PCR and then multiplex PCR was carried out using reference strains (Pass *et al.*, 2000; Toma, 2003). Briefly, the optimized PCR protocol was carried out with a 50 µl mixture containing 10X PCR buffer, 50 mM MgCl₂, 2.5 mM dNTP 1.0 U of *Taq* DNA polymerase, 10 pmol concentrations of each primer set and 5 µl for DNA template. The PCR amplifications were carried out in a PTC-200 thermal cycler (MJ Research Inc, Watertown, Massachusetts, USA) using a program of initial denaturation at 95 °C for 5 min, followed by 30 cycles of denaturation at 95 °C for 1 min, annealing at 60 °C for 1 min, and extension at 72 °C for 1 min; and final extension at 72 °C for 10 minutes.

Electrophoresis analysis

The amplified PCR products were then separated by electrophoresis on a 2.0 % agarose gel (AmpliSize; Bio-Rad Laboratories) stained with ethidium bromide in TBE buffer at 100V for ninety minutes. The DNA gel was then visualized by UV transilluminator (Hedge *et al.*, 2012, Vidal, R., 2004) and photographed under ultraviolet light using an instant Polaroid camera. Molecular size marker (100-bp DA ladder; Promega, Madison, Wisconsin, USA) was included in each agarose gel run.

Table 1: Primer sequences used for the detection of DEC

Target gene	Name and sequence (5' to 3')	Amplicon size (bp)	Concentration of primers (μM)
<i>stx1</i>	Stx1F: AGTTAATGTGGTGGCGAA Stx1R: GACTCTTCCATCTGCCGG	817	25
<i>stx2</i>	Stx2F: TTCGGTATCCTATTCCCG Stx2R: TCTCTGGTCATTGTATTA	474	25
<i>EaeA</i>	eaeF: AAACAGGTGAAACTGTTGCC eaeR: CTCTGCAGATTAACCTCTGC	454	25
<i>InvE</i>	invF: ATATCTCTATTTCCAATCGCGT invR: GATGGCGAGAAATTATATCCCG	382	25
<i>AggR</i>	aggF: GTATACACAAAAGAAGGAAGC aggR: ACAGAATCGTCAGCATCAGC	254	25
<i>ST gene</i>	stF: TTTATTTCTGTATTGTCTTT stR: ATTACAACACAGTTCACAG	171	50
<i>STp gene</i>	stpF: TCTGTATTATCTTTCCCCTC stpR: ATAACATCCAGCACAGGC	186	50
<i>STh gene</i>	sthF: CCCTCAGGATGCTAAACCAG sthR: TTAATAGCACCCGGTACAAGC	166	25
<i>LT gene</i>	ltF: AGCAGGTTTCCCACCGGATCACCA ltR: GTGCTCAGATTCTGGGTCTC	130	25
<i>AstA</i>	astF: GCCATCAACACAGTATATCC astR: GAGTGACGGCTTTGTAGTCC	106	25

Results

Escherichia coli isolates showed a percentage resistance of less than 50 % to ten antibiotics tested. Percentage resistance ranged from 1.28 % to 62.18 %. Generally, resistance was lower in *E. coli* against reserve antibiotics compared to first panel antibiotics. Isolates exhibited lowest resistance against ceftazidime (1.28 %) followed by cefepime (2.56 %). Nalidixic acid (13.46 %) was the most ineffective reserve antibiotic. The highest prevalence of antimicrobial resistance was to SXT followed by Tetracycline and Ampicillin (62.18 %, 47.44 % and 46.15 % respectively). Among the first panel antibiotics isolates showed least resistance Gentamicin (5.13 %). Multi drug resistance levels were also observed among the tested isolates. Results showed that 68 isolates (43.59 %) were resistant to at least three antibiotics while only 3 (1.92 %) and (1.28 %) isolates were resistant to 8 and 9 antibiotics respectively (Table 2).

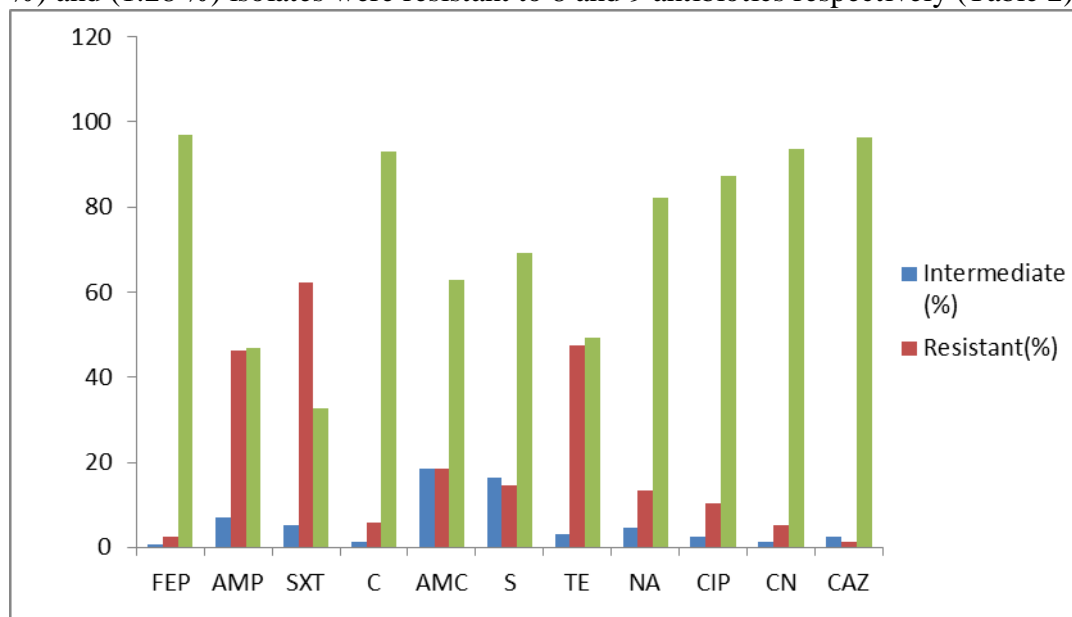


Figure 1: Overall susceptibility profile of *E. coli* isolates against the tested antibiotic

Table 2: Distribution of multiple drug resistant *E. coli* isolates

No. of antibiotics resistant to	No. of isolates	%
3	68	43.59
4	38	24.36
5	24	15.38
6	11	7.051
7	5	3.21
8	3	1.92
9	2	1.28

Nine out of eighty four isolates (10.7 %) that were tested for pathogenicity were positive for various virulence genes. These were shiga toxin (*stx 1* and *stx 2*), attaching and effacing gene (*eaeA*), enteroaggregative gene (*agg*), enteroinvasive gene (*inv*) and heat stable genes (*st*). EPEC was the most predominant DEC pathotype (3.57 %) followed by ETEC and EHEC (2.38 %) which were followed by EAEC and EIEC (1.15 %). The most common virulence gene was *eaeA* (Table 4.6). Heat labile (*lt*) gene was the dominant gene responsible for ETEC pathotype while heat stable (*st*) gene was not isolated at all.



Lane 1 and 8-1000 bp ladder; Lane 2-stx1; Lane 4-invE; Lane 5-eaeA and It; Lane 6-eaeA; Lane 7-negative control.

Discussion

There were no statistical differences on susceptibility profiles from samples obtained within the same geographical regions (MM and MR), among children of different ages and gender. The results of the study were comparable to that of Sang *et al.*, 2011 which reported no significant differences among samples collected in four Kenyan provinces, although this study was done on samples from different geographical locations. Resistance against different antibiotics increases up to three years followed by a decline between four and five years. At age 2 and 3 the children are learning to move around and they crawl and touch everywhere to try and support themselves. This exposes them to bacteria on the surface from running water, sewage and poorly disposed waste among others. Isolates from females show higher resistance for eight of the eleven antibiotics tested.

The prevalence of the pathogenic *E. coli* in this study was found to be 10.7 % which was slightly lower than the findings of Sang. (2012) who reported the prevalence of pathogenic *E. coli* in four regions of Kenya to be 11.2 %. The findings of the study indicate that females account for the biggest percentage (77.7 %) of individuals attacked by virulent diarrhoeagenic *E. coli* compared to males (22.2 %). However, the findings are in agreement with many studies (Nweze, 2010; Rappelli *et al.*, 2006 and Oundo *et al.*, 2007). The study findings also indicated that individuals from MR were more susceptible to virulent diarrhoeagenic *E. coli* compared to those individuals from MM. Additionally, most of the DEC strains were seen to be multidrug resistant. Multidrug resistant DEC strains have been reported in previous studies (Alizadeh *et al.*, 2007; Yang *et al.*, 2009; Kalantar *et al.*, 2011). Another study by EI Metwally *et al.* (2007), reported that 56 % of DEC isolates were multidrug resistant (simultaneous resistance against SXT, ampicillin and tetracycline). Most studies indicate that multidrug resistant *E. coli* are widespread among the DEC strains and occurrence of resistant DEC could be because of environmental conditions, including transmission of resistant isolates from adults to children, or from animals to humans (Jafari *et al.*, 2009). Among the pathogenic *E. coli* isolates studied EPEC was the predominant DEC pathotype followed by ETEC and EHEC and finally EIEC and EAEC. However, majority of the studies have found ETEC to be the most predominant DEC pathotype, in other developing countries such as Bangladesh, Mozambique, Mexico, Egypt, Tanzania followed by EPEC, EAEC, EHEC and EIEC (Paniagua *et al.*, 2007; Shaheen *et al.*, 2004; Rapelli *et al.*, 2006; Qadri *et al.*, 2005).

Conclusion

Antibiotic resistance was registered to be highest against Sxt, tetracycline, ampicillin, AMC, Streptomycin, nalidixic acid and ciprofloxacin; therefore these antibiotics are not appropriate for treating *Escherichia coli* infections and effective drugs should be recommended.

EPEC DEC pathotype is the major contributor of diarrhoea to children followed closely by EHEC and ETEC which have the same prevalent rates. Although EAEC and EIEC have low prevalence rates their isolation suggests that they may be important emerging agents of pediatric diarrhoea. Virulence genes found in DNA extracted from samples within the same geographic region, in this case Mukuru slums are not significantly different.

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Teacher relations - Teaching aids and school efficiency in Uganda: Case of Kabale Municipality

By Gilbert Kansiime Arinaitwe, Medard Rugyendo and Diane Karukwitsya Kyobutungi

Abstract

The study was done on Teacher relations - Teaching Aids and school efficiency in Uganda: Case of Kabale Municipality. The emphasize was put on Teacher Relations – teaching aids and linkage to School efficiency and performance in primary and secondary schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College). Objectives of the study include: 1) To evaluate the teacher relations and expectations with other stakeholders in the Primary and secondary Educational Institutions in Kabale Municipality; and 2) Examine the factors promote the use of Teaching aids/ tools in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality; 3) To suggest recommendations to improve teacher relations and the use of Teaching aids/ tools in improving performance in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality. The research methodology that was used included; the total study population was 70 respondents and these included teachers (20), school administrators (8), students/ pupils (20), parents (20), and 2 officials from Inspectorate of Education and sports – Kabale Municipality. The respondents were selected randomly and purposively. Data was collected using questionnaires (administered to teachers, school administrators and pupils) while the parents and officials from Inspectorate of Education and sports – Kabale Municipality were interviewed. Data was analysed and a report compiled. The identified Teacher Relations linkage with school efficiency and performance framework in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality include; Teacher - teacher relations, Teacher student/ Pupil relations, Teacher – School administrator relations, Teacher – School Foundation body relations, Teacher - Community relations, Teacher - Parents relations, Teacher and teachers’ associations (trade unions) and Teacher and Government relations.

Key terms: Teacher relations, teaching aids, Uganda, Kabale Municipality

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Teacher relations - Teaching aids and school efficiency in Uganda: Case of Kabale Municipality

By Gilbert Kansiime Arinaitwe, Medard Rugyendo and Diane Karukwitsya Kyobutungi

Introduction

Teachers are the cornerstone of education success in both primary and secondary schools. When they are trained and competent, pupils can expect high quality teaching. In rural areas, hard to reach areas, and areas affected by war, it is difficult to attract and retain qualified teachers. The pay is low and the 'incentives' paid by international agencies are not coordinated with government salary scales. Reallocation of budgets by funders—both international agencies and national governments—to place priority on the training and remuneration of teachers would greatly contribute to educational quality most especially primary education with emphasis on UPE programme (MoES, 2002).

The success of Educational Institutions entirely depends on different stakeholders' relations. The most notable relations include teachers linking together students, other teachers, school administrators, parents, and community members to foster the learning success and healthy development of their students. The nature of these interactions among different stakeholders varies depending on the teachers' intent and the needs of their students. Students, particularly those at risk of school failure, can benefit from certain "protective supports provided by teachers" (Wang et al, 1994). They have been able ensure progress of academic performance of students, retention of students/ pupils, active involvement of games and sports, discipline management with limited school strikes and self-development among others.

Education took root in Uganda basically as a result of the efforts of various organisations and individuals to introduce and promote formal and informal education amongst the people of Uganda. We should therefore commend all of them for their contributions in promoting UPE programme for the badly needed economic progress and development in this country (Malinga, 2000). It is widely stated and recognized that the expansion of access and effective success to primary education has come at a significant cost to the quality of education. Some stakeholders suggest that progress made in enrollments may have hampered progress in other areas of EFA goals—namely quality (MoESd, 2003). The teacher shortages, repetition and dropout rates, and declining scores on school exams and primary school leaving exams all suggest that the quality of basic education is declining. Therefore need to emphasize on improving the teacher relations with other stakeholders and avail the teaching aids to support the teachers' efforts to the cause of improving performance, efficiency and effectiveness.

The Netherlands, European Union and Ireland Aid have supported TDMS expansion to cover the whole country. UNICEF, together with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Netherlands, has continued its Complementary Opportunities to Primary Education (COPE) program that supports education activities for out-of-school girls through non-formal approaches. The German Technical Assistance Agency is implementing a program of basic education for the urban poor that targets out-of-school children, while the Danish are supporting special education for disabled children and those with learning disabilities. The Government of Japan is involved in classroom construction in Uganda (USAID, 2002).

The education sector in Uganda has focused on expanding primary education services, per se and not achieving poverty reduction outcomes. The Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) focused on investments and output targets relating to investments – however the biggest expenditures have been recurrent on teachers' salaries with an additional 30,000

recruited, and on school running costs. This has helped the teachers' morale to carry on their required responsibilities to teach the pupils and make them pass (Williamson, 2003).

The government of Uganda stated its commitment to providing instructional materials in the White Paper (1992) because a scarcity of instructional materials and sporadic supply was identified as a major constraint to learning in primary schools. Reliable data on textbook ratios prior to 1995 is not available. One study in 1995, which sampled 24 schools may serve to give an indication of the number of textbooks found in schools in that year. 55 pupils shared one mathematics textbooks, 40 shared one science text, 49 shared an English text, and 44 shared a social studies text. Since then a unit within the MoES, the Instructional Materials Unit (IMU), has purchased and delivered 4,320,290 textbooks and teachers guides to over 8,500 state-aided schools. In addition 800,000 supplementary readers have also been distributed. As a result, currently the pupil-textbook ratio stands at 1:6. In four years there has been a seven-fold improvement in the pupil-textbook ratio (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1999). Although the role of Government is very important, their interventions on adopting a more strategic approach to programme work emphasizing their involvement with grassroots groups and ability to understand, document and present community level interests to education planners and decision makers at all levels to have a holistic educations.

Researchers have investigated specific teacher behaviors that provide salient clues to students about teachers' expectations. Students can identify proximal teacher behaviors (verbal and nonverbal) that provide them with information about teachers' expectations for achievement. These include nodding, smiling, and praising high-expectation students' more than low achievers. But there are teacher behaviors that may have greater effects on student learning. These include teacher efficacy, pedagogical beliefs, and opportunity to learn (Rubie-Davies, 2008). Currently in Uganda the success of most secondary and primary schools has depended on how well coordinated relations between the teachers and the other stakeholders in both Primary and secondary schools. This improves the efficiency in learning and teaching. The Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) 1998-2003 commits government to allocate at least one quarter of public expenditure to the education sector for this period. Most of this money has gone towards supporting Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Kasente, 2003). This type of funding helps in improving the teacher relations and teaching aids in both primary and secondary schools.

The researchers found a positive relationship between participative decision-making and classroom instruction, noting an increase in innovations adopted by schools. This was mainly done through professional development activities, teacher exchange of ideas and knowledge, and improved understanding of learning and classroom instruction (Lieberman, et al (1991). This improves the teachers' commitment to teaching and using the right aids and having a close relationship with stakeholders is equally important to success of education performance.

Uganda has focused much of its efforts of different stakeholders especially the donor community, Government of Uganda, Teachers, parents and NGOs to improve quality of basic education by working to improve mainly in four areas: to improve pupil: teacher ratio and pupil: textbook ratio; to improve the curriculum and distribution of curriculum; to sustain and improve teacher training and support; and to improve systems to monitor and measure the quality of education. The Government of Uganda sought to expand and improve basic education services by localizing the management and implementation of basic education. The 1997 Local Government Act, which decentralized the provision and supervision of social services, transferred the responsibility for implementation of UPE to districts and communities. This means, for example, district officials are responsible for teacher recruitment, deployment, and supervision. Districts are also responsible for the disbursement and management of the limited funds received to implement UPE, namely the UPE capitation

grant and School Facilities Grants. These conditional grants make up the bulk of district budgets for education. Yet, in most cases, districts lack the capacity, training, and financial resources to manage these funds and fulfill the larger mandate they have been given (Murphy, 2003).

Wang, et al (1994) noted that psychologists have recently addressed the psychosocial dimensions of teachers' relationships with students. Research on resilience indicates that caring teachers who express concern for students and act as confidants, role models, and mentors can contribute to children's capacity to overcome personal vulnerabilities and improve on the students' potential. Weinstein (2002) showed that students can clearly articulate teacher behaviors that inform them of their classroom status. Students can identify specific teacher and instructional practices that reveal information about their teacher's expectations. They report that teachers praise and reward high achievers and criticize and punish low achievers. They talk about teachers more frequently calling on high achievers than low achievers. Students also describe teachers making comments like, "You are so smart!" when high-expectation students are successful and teachers merely praising effort when low-expectation students accomplish something. "The most important factor affecting student learning is the teacher and the teaching tools used by the teacher" (Sanders, Wright and Horn 1997). More so, "The effect of increases in teacher quality increases the impact of any other educational investment, such as reductions in class size" (Goldhaber, 2009).

To develop and sustain high quality teaching, a school system must be willing to change the way teachers have traditionally been supervised and evaluated and the teaching tools they have been using. Therefore experience is very important on the use of teaching tools/ aids in teaching. When teachers have been trained on the use of the teaching aids then they will comfortably use them in the teaching of the students and pupils in both secondary and primary schools respectively.

Educational factors have great influence to student/ pupil attendance and participation in schools. Difficulties of accessibility lack of resources and low teacher quality, limited teacher relations with other stakeholders and morale are widespread (Kasente, 2003). Such attendance is affected by the teachers' relations with the pupils and the availability of teaching aids in primary schools. The schools' performance will be affected by availability of teaching aids and teachers' relations with other stakeholders.

Malinga (2000) noted that much has been done in Uganda to provide education that meets quality standards (MQS), which are indicative of provision of good quality education in the primary schools. The provision of construction materials has facilitated the rehabilitation and expansion of existing classrooms where the pupils learn, new classrooms have been constructed and construction of latrines for boys and girls separately has been done. Provision of instructional materials has been met and pupils and teachers are using these materials. This will go a long way in raising the quality of primary education being provided.

Objectives of the study include:

- 1) To evaluate the teacher relations and expectations with other stakeholders in the Primary and secondary Educational Institutions in Kabale Municipality; and
- 2) Examine the factors promote the use of Teaching aids/ tools in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality.
- 3) To suggest recommendations to improve teacher relations and the use of Teaching aids/ tools in improving performance in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality.

Methodology

Research design

This study used explanatory research design where both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to gather data on the study variables. The focus was on teacher relations – teaching aids and linkage to School efficiency and performance in primary and secondary schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College).

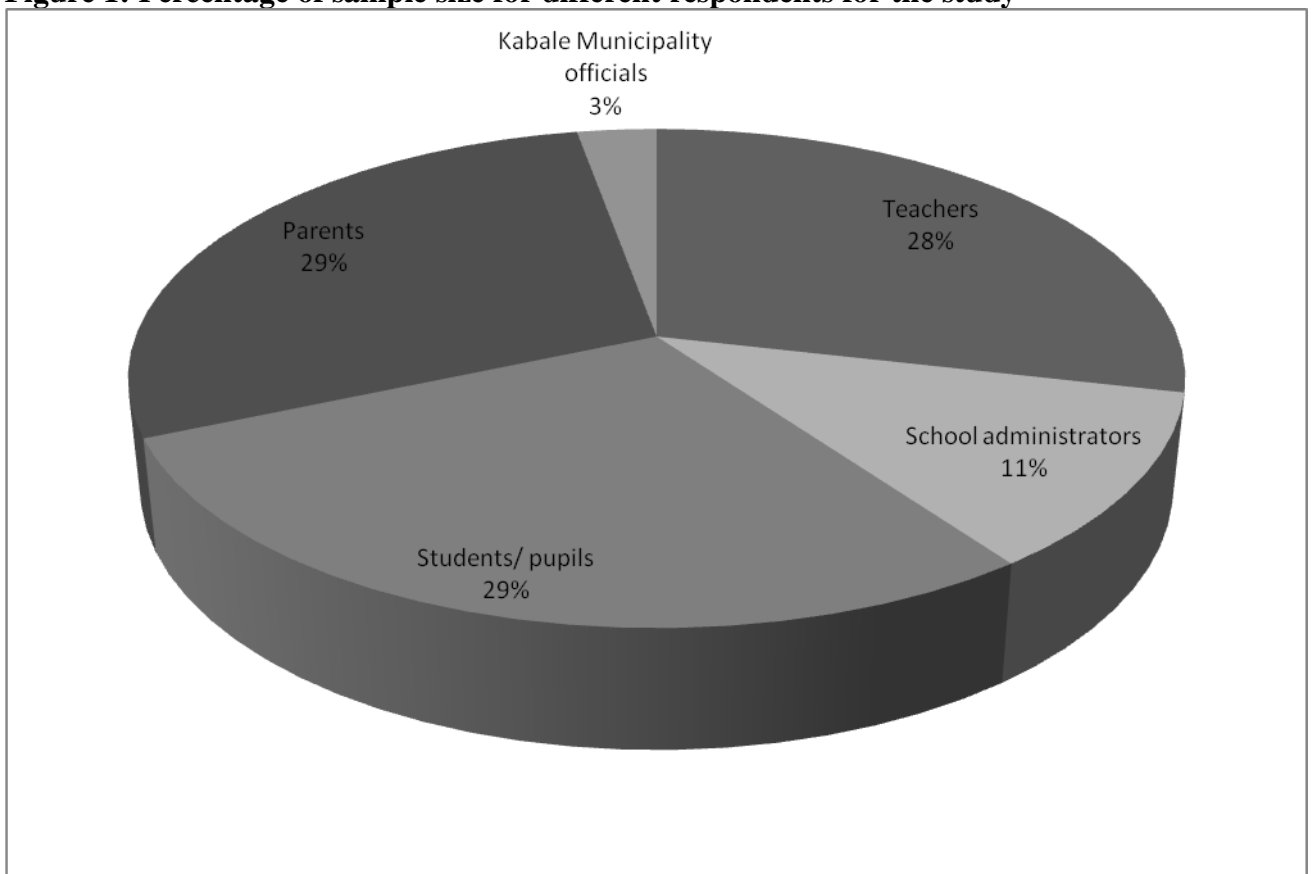
Sampling techniques

The respondents were selected randomly and purposively. Simple random sampling and Purposive sampling techniques were used in selection of the respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select the officials from Inspectorate of Education and sports – Kabale Municipality and the school administrators from Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College because of the positions held. In each school 5 teachers and 5 pupils were randomly selected. 5 parents per school were also randomly selected and interviewed

Study population and sample size

The research methodology that was used included; the total study population was 70 respondents and these included teachers (20), school administrators (8), students/ pupils (20), parents (20), and 2 officials from Inspectorate of Education and sports – Kabale Municipality.

Figure 1: Percentage of sample size for different respondents for the study



Source: Developers by Authors

Data collection methods

The Primary data was collected using questionnaires and interviews. Both structured (close ended) and semi- structured (open ended) questions were designed and used to get more detailed information in its raw form. Data was collected using questionnaires (administered to teachers, school administrators and pupils) while the parents and officials from Inspectorate of Education and sports – Kabale Municipality were interviewed. Secondary data analysis was used in gathering the literature review and the study background. Observations were done to record the status of the teaching aids in the studied primary and secondary schools. The Secondary data was gotten from different sources like libraries, Education offices, and Internet journals. This data helped the researchers to have a wide analysis of the past trends of various authors in the relation to the study variables.

Data Analysis and handling

Data was analysed and a report compiled. The Qualitative data mostly interviews with key informants and probes from other data sources were analyzed thematically. The Themes on the teacher relations and teaching aids were obtained and integrated with the school efficiency in selected schools in Kabale Municipality. The Data from questionnaires was analysed and this ensured consistency, accuracy and completion.

Presentation of the Study findings

The study was undertaken in Kabale Municipality with a sample of 2 Primary schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School) and 2 secondary schools (Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College). The schools' stakeholder is an individual or group with an interest in the success of an organization or Institution in fulfilling its mission—delivering intended results and maintaining the viability of its products, services and outcomes over time. Internal stakeholders are those who work within the school system on a daily basis and who largely control what goes on there. They include school staff, district staff, and, to some extent, school boards. External stakeholders are those outside the day-to-day work of the schools who have a strong interest in school outcomes but who do not directly determine what goes into producing those outcomes and the teacher's expectations.

Objective 1: To evaluate the teacher relations and expectations with other stakeholders in the Primary and secondary Educational Institutions in Kabale Municipality.

Below are the following teacher relations and expectations with other stakeholders in the Educational Institutions. The major focus was on primary and secondary schools. They include the following;

Teacher - teacher relations

The study findings indicated that 14% of the respondents indicated that Teacher - teacher relations are the foundations of any growing academic Institution to success. This was evident in all the 4 schools of Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College Teachers. The teachers have expected good working relations from their fellow staff especially in running academic programs, engaging students in seminars and sports, planning and involving students in field work activities. Teacher beliefs about learning and teaching also play a role in teacher expectations and the unintended curriculum. Often, teachers' beliefs are implicit but can affect teacher planning and therefore student learning in general. The teachers in these schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College Teachers) had staff associations and this strengthened their performance at work.

Teacher student/ Pupil relations

The study findings indicated that 21% of the respondents indicated that teacher – pupil/ student relations are critical for increased performance in both primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality. It has been noted that all teachers in the studied schools of Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School), Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College have expectations from their students to work hard and perform better. Teacher expectations are notions teachers hold about students' long- and short-term performance beliefs teachers hold about what students are capable of achieving on a daily, termly, yearly and long-term basis. The study findings indicated that the students are important because teachers base planning and instruction on expectations for student achievement, behavior, and success. Hence teacher expectations can have both direct and indirect effects on student performance. Various types of teacher expectation effects have been identified, but the most commonly acknowledged are self-fulfilling prophecy and sustaining expectation effects. Students have become academic friends of teachers and this has helped them to be free and hence good performance.

The relationship between teacher and student in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College Teachers has helped in developing knowledge jointly. Teachers and students were believed to constitute a community of learners which engages in social discourse and produces common understandings in class and outside class. Teachers in both primary and secondary schools were seen as facilitators who guide and enrich children's learning activities, with students serving as co-contributors to the learning process. Teachers with high expectations for all students have differing beliefs about grouping, materials and learning activities, evaluation and monitoring systems, student autonomy, and types of relationships they foster with students. The teachers manly expected the students to perform better in academics, environmental conservation, leadership roles, sports and games, and quizzes

The study findings undertaken in Kabale Municipality indicated that teacher in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College, Teachers expected that the students/ learner's behavior/ discipline and academic progress are well achieved and social and psychological needs of students are satisfied. Therefore this teacher ensured that the major outcome of this relations leads to well performing students who have identified potential in themselves. When there is a good relationship between the teacher and students, the students will open up to their strengths and weaknesses, while teacher will be there to help. In doing so the teacher will help them improve the student's strengths (discipline, active participation in academic and non-academic program, leadership skills, career development skills, and role models) and handle their weaknesses (indiscipline, poor attitude towards learning, dodging classes, harassing fellow students, and involvement in strikes).

Teacher – School administrator relations

Effective communication must be developed between the teachers and school administrators. The teachers in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College, Teachers have expected motivation from school administrators to ensure that they plan and implement the school activities. 17% of the respondents specified that the teacher – school administration relations must have a strong bond of ensuring that there is win - win situation in planning, implementation, evaluation and assessment in primary and secondary schools in the study area. The teachers have expected among others good learning and teaching environment, well stocked library with latest reference books, top-up allowances, well stocked laboratories, MDD involvement, Sports

active participation, entertainment for students and teachers, support to field work/ study trips for students, break tea, lunch, evening tea and sometimes supper for teachers in boarding schools and those who are on duty, duty and responsibility allowances, teacher school administration meetings and outing for teachers where need be. If the above is met then the teachers would be motivated to delivery well. Some of these issues have not been handled well by the administration and this creates a rift with the teachers. It was noted that all the studied schools of Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College Teachers had School Administration supporting the teaching. Although there was need to increase the motivation of wages/ salaries to help in addressing the increasing standards of living in Kabale Town and Uganda in general.

Teacher – School Foundation body relations

The study findings observed that 7% of the respondents noted that teachers have worked in harmony with school Foundation bodies like Church of Uganda, Government foundation and the Private school foundation. They are these foundation bodies that have helped in the selection of school management committees and Board of Governors. The teacher expects effective school management by these foundation bodies and teachers more so expect that their welfare programs will be improved through these foundation bodies. The founding body of Kigezi High School Primary was Anglican Church of Uganda, the founding body of Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Primary School are Government and while Kabale Trinity College has been own established by the Private founding members/ individuals.

Teacher - Community relations

Teachers in studied schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College) expected a lot from community out reaches and community partnerships as strategies to improve on students learning and teaching. 9% of the responses indicate that these teacher-community partnerships have developed lasting connections with these educational Institutions in Kabale Municipality, Uganda and beyond. To create rich, nurturing educational environments in the classroom, schools have used opportunities to maximize the use of resources available in their communities. Teachers have incorporated parents' skills and knowledge and local organizations and programs into their curriculum to offer students supplementary information to complement their basic courses of study. Many teachers collaborate with local communities, local universities, museums, factories, and community service organizations to expand the resource based in terms of knowledge available to students/ pupils and enhance their educational experience.

Teachers have ensured that forge relationships with outside agencies and community members to provide children with the best possible learning environment. For examples students and pupils of Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College have been taken for field works around schools and even other educational sites far away from their schools like National parks (Queen Elizabeth N.P, Lake Mburo N.P, Bwindi Impenetrable N.P and Kidepo Valley N.P among others), Owen falls dam to analyse the power generation, Entebbe Wild life Education centre, and other sites like Uganda Museum, Igongo Cultural centre, Water falls on different rivers, Kingdom cultures, environmental conservation sites, transport stations, markets and Historical sites.

To meet the diverse needs of students in our schools, community services and service providers are often connected to the children's school experience. As organizations, schools have the advantage of having the most frequent contact with students and therefore the potential to truly benefit children through the integration of school-linked services in meeting

the children's needs (Kirst & Kelly, 1995). Teachers may work with corporate organizations, civil society Organisations, local leaders, social workers, family counselors, local health care providers, and others to address and fulfill the needs of their students.

“Society has a stake in the well-being of children down the block ... Whether or not kids eat well, are nurtured and have a roof over their heads (and are well-educated) is not just a consequence of how their parents (provide for them). It is also a responsibility of society....” Richard B. Stolley (1995), U.S. editor and child advocate.

Communities have been helpful through;

- learning the key information to know about supporting the school’s efforts to improve student reading outcomes;
- collaborate with school leaders to identify the variables they can influence which can make a difference in student outcomes;
- advocate at the community and state levels for systems supports-policies, priorities, training, and resources which will support improved outcomes; and
- Support and promote the improvement agenda of the schools their community and the district as a whole.

Teacher - Parents relations

The study findings indicated that teachers are parents at school for students and pupils in the studied schools in Kabale Municipality. It was noted 11% of the respondents indicated that where the parents are engaged, there is always effective communication with the parents. Teachers have to listen to Parents and vice versa. It was noted that teachers give positive praise and criticism where possible of the student/ pupil when interacting with Parents especially during school meetings and class visits. Teachers are at the foundation of working with parents to promote the students/ pupils and the school performance in general. This has been harmonized through the Parents Teachers Associations that are very active in the management of secondary and primary schools. Teachers’ expectations have been answered through PTAs contributing to teachers’ welfare (top-up allowances/ PTA allowances). Some UPE schools like Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, teachers have some PTA top-up through parents support. This is a motivation to teachers to impact on students’ performance. Teachers also interact with parents when they visit schools during school academic days, visitation days, sports days and open school days for music dance and drama. Among others they discuss on how to maintain good performance and also strategies to up lift weak performing students/ pupils. School management committees in primary schools have also improved teachers’ interactions with parents in the management of schools. Teachers have also expected that schools’ Boards of governors have also helped much in the management to ensure that their academic programs are well achieved.

According to Margaret C. Wang and Geneva D. Haertel, teacher-parent relationships impact students' learning and well-being and many teachers attempt to involve parents in school management or classroom activities. These parent-involvement efforts help establish and foster parent-teacher relationships, and include parents in educational interventions, which are significantly more effective than those without parent involvement. Parent involvement programs promote a number of desirable student outcomes, including: decreased teen pregnancy and drop-out rates, increased graduation rates, and improved achievement and school attendance. Teachers can encourage and support parental involvement through home visits and parent teacher conferences. Parents who participate in these programs are more likely to further their own education by attending classes and are more able to provide

increased support to their children and their children's learning needs. Caring parents and teachers who act in concert can strengthen the effects of educational and social interventions. When there are positive relationships among parents and teachers, the resources of the home and school contexts are amplified, providing a greater likelihood of positive outcomes for children.

Parents have been helpful in following ways;

- Parent support; In terms of the school's homework practices and the child's homework efforts (including student independent reading outside of school).
- learn the key information to know about supporting the school's effort to improve student reading outcomes;
- follow the progress of their own children and of the school as a whole, talking with teachers and school leaders about how the parent can help when results fall short of goals;
- Advocate at the school, district, and state levels for systems supports which will help produce and sustain improved results.
- Attending to schools' projects like school's mentorship programs, sports day, school open days for Music dance and drama, and religious days like thanks giving.

It was noted that teachers' expectations are met when they interact with the parents and the students together we discuss the abilities, strengths and weaknesses of the student.

Teacher and teachers' associations (trade unions) relations

Teachers in academic institutions have subscribed to teachers' associations like Uganda National Teachers Union (UNATU). and Teachers SACCOs. 12% of the respondents linked the Teachers to trade unions like UNATO that has tried its best to ensure that the teachers' welfare is promoted but has failed because its partners like working with Government under Ministry of Education and sports has not been well motivating especially on improving the teachers' remunerations. Teachers have expected improved welfare from UNATO and loans from Teachers' SACCOs. Some of these demands have not been met and this has continued to make the teacher vulnerable to social risks and economic risks. Most teachers in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School were members of UNATU. While Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College had few membership of UNATU.

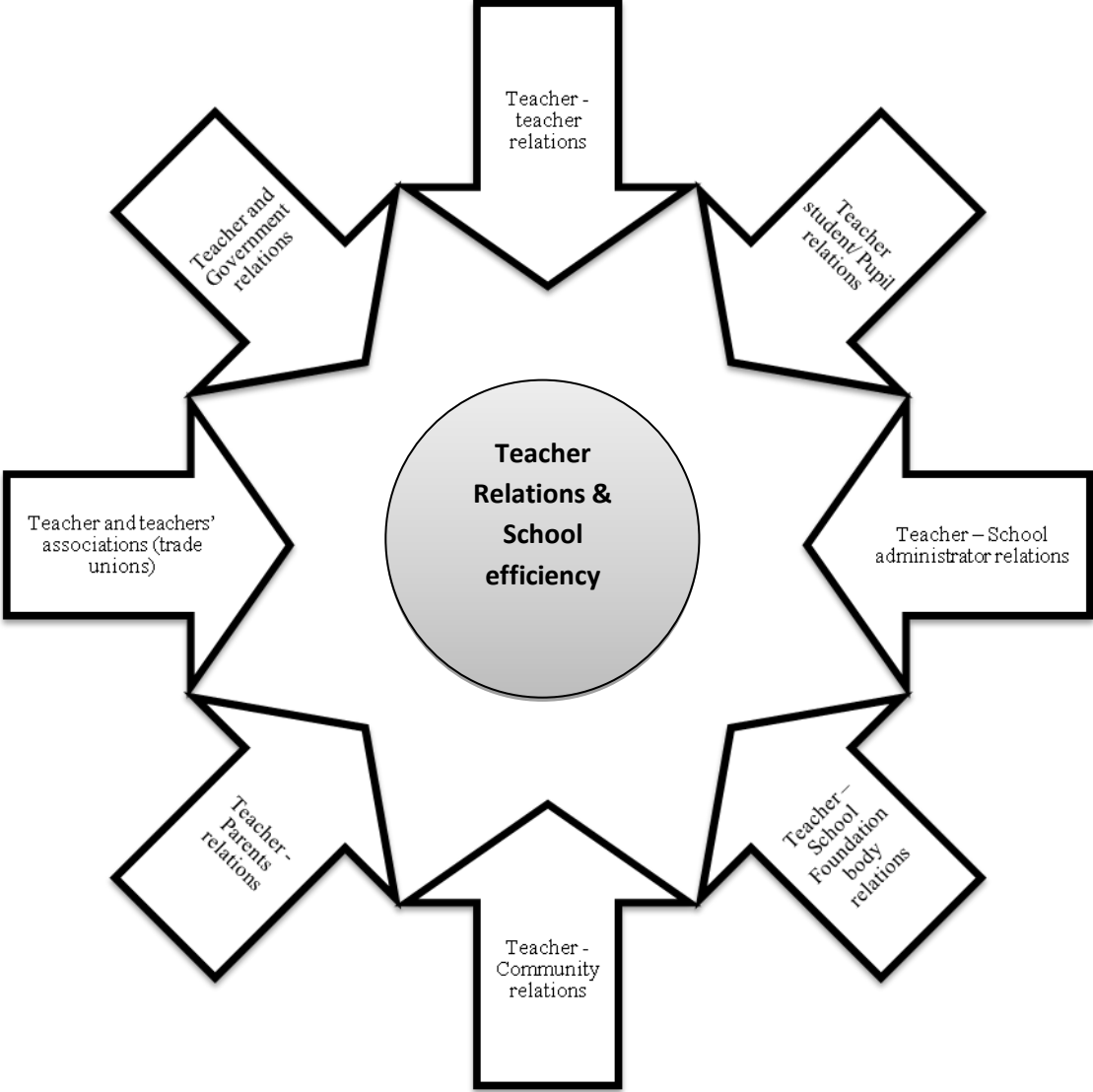
Teacher and Government relations

Out of the 20 teachers studied in both primary and secondary schools 17 were registered by Ministry of Education and Sports. At local Government levels, teachers in Uganda have networked with the Local Government staff like the District Education Officer, Inspector of Schools, Chief Administrative Officer, Town Clerks, Sub county chiefs, parish chiefs, RDC and local leaders among others. They are the main supervisors in the Local Governments. The teachers have expected continuous supervision by these officers and guiding them on the new policies and instructions from the Central Government, refresher training, Sports involvement, bursaries for the needy students, Local government support through Local Government management Service Delivery (LGMSD) program to construction of class room blocks, toilets and staff quarters. Sometimes this does not happen so frequently, it even becomes worst when the schools are in remote areas. At Kabale Primary school and Kigezi High School Primary have all benefited from Kabale Municipal council through construction of classroom blocks, teachers' staff quarters and toilets for both teachers and pupils.

In Uganda, teachers have also related with officials from Central Government like from Ministry of Education and sports like UNEB scouts, UPE Monitoring teams, Auditors,

Education commissioners and Ministers among others. Other ministries involved include Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of Public Service, Prime Minister's Office, and Ministry of Local Government among others. These Ministries have direct impacts on the teachers and their performance in schools. The inspectorate of education carries out inspection of schools to ensure the following are taking place: effective teaching, effective management and effective financing. The teachers have expected frequent payment of their salaries and their arrears, improved welfare, improved school learning and teaching environment, appraisals, scholarships, study leaves, support to science equipment for laboratories, sports equipment, book donations, computer donations, and other instructional materials among others. Some of these have been met and others are delayed. Like UPE and USE grants are always delayed and this affects the learning and teaching in primary and secondary schools in Uganda. The details of the teacher relations within the school and outside the school were presented in indicated below.

Figure 2: Teacher Relations linkage with school efficiency and performance framework



Source: Developed by Authors

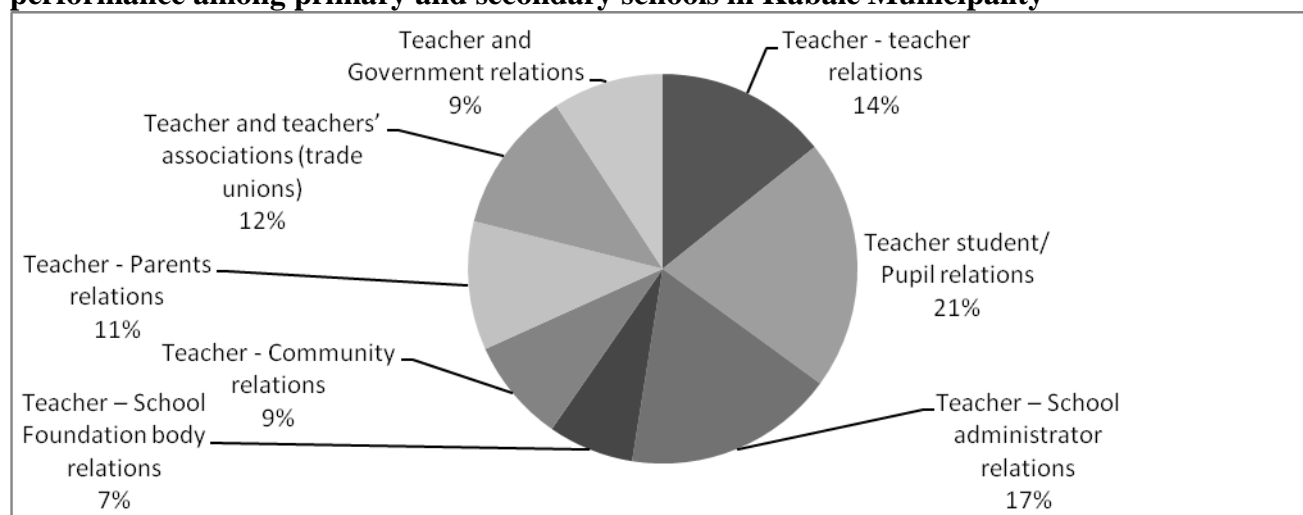
In the above Teacher Relations and linkage to School efficiency and performance was done in all the studied four schools both primary and secondary schools (Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College). The above Teacher Relations linkage with school efficiency and performance framework identified Teacher - teacher relations, Teacher student/ Pupil relations, Teacher – School administrator relations, Teacher – School Foundation body relations, Teacher - Community relations, Teacher - Parents relations, Teacher and teachers’ associations (trade unions) and Teacher and Government relations.

Table 2: Teacher Relations linkage with school efficiency and performance among primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality

Teacher Relations with other stakeholders	Frequency
Teacher - teacher relations	48
Teacher student/ Pupil relations	70
Teacher – School administrator relations	59
Teacher – School Foundation body relations	24
Teacher - Community relations	29
Teacher - Parents relations	36
Teacher and teachers’ associations (trade unions) relations	40
Teacher and Government relations	31

Source: Data collected by the Authors

Figure 3: Percentage of teacher Relations linkage with school efficiency and performance among primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality



Source: Developed by the Authors

Objective 2: Examine the factors promote the use of Teaching aids/ tools in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality.

The teachers’ training and experience on the use of the teaching tools; The study found out that some teachers are not trained on the use of teaching tools like the use of computers, projectors, experiments, and internet among others. Therefore when teachers have inadequate knowledge then this affects the use of the teaching aids like listed above.

Cost also influences the use of the teaching tools. Some teachers and Institutions have not been able to use some of the teaching tools like computers, maps, LCD projectors, overhead projectors, internet, and charts because they are experience to acquired and also the maintenance costs are high. Therefore the teachers have opted for the use of cheap and most available teaching tools like the print teaching tools and locally and charts. The charts indicated below may be used in teaching if the costs are inexpensive.

Motivation of teachers also influences the use of teaching aids: Teachers and lecturers have always been poorly remunerated due to low salaries. Most of them are not provided with accommodation, meals and other allowances. Therefore this affects the teaching and the teaching tools to be used. Other teachers have not been motivated to use the helpful teaching

aids like charts, computers and others due to big classes. Some teaching aids that may require more time may not motivate the demotivated teachers to use the appropriate teaching aids.

Administrative factors also influence the use of the teaching tools. The study findings indicated that different academic institutions have different administrative problems that have not supported the teachers/ lecturers to the use of teaching tools/ aids. For example, some schools due to administrative problems may not be able to buy computers, charts, projectors, video facilities, TV facilities in the teaching. Therefore it has been found out that some of the Academic Institutions have not prioritised on the ICT teaching tools like buying of computers. It has been noted that the use of computers as teaching tools has been helpful to effective learning by learners/ students and teaching by teachers. Due to limited budgets, some administrators in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College have always limited their expenditure on the expensive teaching tools like use of computers, LCD projectors, maps, and charts.

Size of the class also influences the use of the teaching tools; There are teaching aids that are more suitable for small classes and big classes. The big classes have always been affected on the ineffective use of teaching aids as shown in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College. For example if a map is being used for a big class, then the students may take more time to view what is on the map. Whereas a small class of 20 students will benefit from the use of the map.

Conclusion and recommendations

Conclusions to the study

The study concluded that the success of teacher's relations with others stakeholders should not be under mined especially with focus to the outcomes of improved academic performance and addressing social and psychological needs of the students have been met in Kabale Municipality. The burden of the meeting these demands for the success of the student will depend entire on the whether the expectations of the teacher have been met. From the above expressions and demands that have been met and other that have not are the major determinants as indicated in the study findings. What was presented critically analysed the extent of teacher relations with other stakeholders in the Educational Institutions with focus to Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College and facts presented indicated that good relations led to achievement of the planned outcomes. Whereas the poor relations between the teacher and other stakeholders led to poor performance of the teacher's expectations in these academic institutions hence affecting the students' learning and level of satisfaction of their potential and needs.

The use of teaching tools is very fundamental in the teaching in Primary schools and secondary schools as indicated in Kigezi High School Primary and Kabale Primary School, Kabale Secondary School and Kabale Trinity College. Teaching tools that have been used include visual aids like maps and charts; audio visual teaching tools like the use of videos; Audio teaching tools like recorders; reading materials; electronic teaching tools and internet for e-learning.

Recommendations to the study

The focus was put on recommendations to improve teacher relations and the use of Teaching aids/ tools in improving performance in Primary and secondary schools in Kabale Municipality. Below are the major recommendations that have been presented;

- 1) **Enforcement of Education Laws, Polices and regulations.** The Constitution of Uganda, Education white Paper, Education Act, education policies and regulations are available but implementation has not be enforced maximally to foster standard and quality education in Uganda. These will promote innovation, competitiveness, and research and quality education in both primary and secondary schools. A lot of focus on vocational and technical education, science education, and business education will help in job creation opportunities.
- 2) **Increasing funding for remuneration of teachers:** there is need for Government through Ministry of Education and Sport to increase salaries for teachers. This will motivate them to increase their current zero for increased performance of students/ pupils. The Government should set the Minimum wages and salaries.
- 3) **Routine Refresher course/ Continuous Professional Development:** Teachers need more of Routine Refresher course/ Continuous Professional Development courses to enhance their skills acquisition of knowledge and professional skill for teachers. This will increase their efficiency in the delivery of their teaching. Relevant stakeholders should organise and conduct in-service courses of instruction for the
- 4) **Schools should undertake the stakeholder analysis:** Active Engagement of Stakeholders in planning for school is important. This will help all the stakeholders like parents, teachers, pupils/ students, School administration, School Board/ School Management Committee, Parents Teachers Association (PTA), Local Government, Central Government, Community and Trade unions among others to actively participate in school activities;
- 5) **Increase on Support supervision and inspection:** The Municipal Inspector of Schools and the District Education Officer should ensure that there is increased support supervision and inspection of both Primary and secondary schools within their areas of jurisdiction.
- 6) **Increase funding to the education sector:** The increased funding will enhance teaching and learning in both primary and secondary schools. More schools' infrastructure like class room blocks, staff houses, latrines/ toilets should be improved and increased. There is need to improve on the library, computer labs and use of Information Technology, and buy more instructional materials. According to Kasente (2003), since 1997, government's main education priority is to ensure that all children enroll in primary school. The plan tries to address gender concerns and sets specific output targets for different components. For example the UPE programme, school buildings and facilities have been provided by government through a School Facilities Grant (SFG) which is fully supported by funding partners. The grant included funds for compulsory provision of separate latrines with doors, for girls and boys. The grant operates through a ranking system which prioritises poorest schools and rewards schools with 48% or more girls enrollment. The UPE has greatly increased enrollment of both boys and girls aged between 6-12 years even among the very poor.
- 7) **Strengthen Teacher relations** with teachers, parents, pupils/ students, School administration, School Board/ School Management Committee, Parents Teachers Association (PTA), Local Government, Central Government, Community and Trade unions among others to actively participate in school activities. This will further address the gaps that exist in these relations. Teachers responsible for such teacher

relations with other stakeholders should be trained and supported by the School Administration.

- 8) **Design and develop teaching aids and instructional** materials that are relevant to all classes in both primary and secondary schools;

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Motivations behind Kenya's Preference for Chinese Development Finance, 2013-2017: A Voluntary Policy Transfer Perspective

By Oscar Meywa Otele

Abstract

Contrary to the dominant strand in “China-Africa relations” literature that portrays African states as preferring Chinese development finance as an alternative to western aid tied to neoliberalism prescriptions, from a voluntary policy transfer perspective, this paper argues that Kenya is attracted towards Chinese funds because it acts as a source of diversifying foreign capital. Kenya also prefers Chinese funds because of the apparent mutual conception of developmental visions between Kenyans and Chinese, as well as “few” bureaucratic procedures in acquiring the funds.

Key words: Preference, Kenya, Chinese, Development, Finance, Motivations

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By Oscar Meywa Otele

Introduction

When National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) took over power in December 2002 from Kenya African National Union (KANU), in its first development blueprint- *Economic Recovery Strategy [ERS]*) paper it prioritized infrastructure development. In the context where the new government was searching for potential development partners, Kenya's decision to approach China made strategic sense since China was gradually increasing her presence in Africa's infrastructure sector. Upon promulgation of "One China Policy", the Kenyan government began receiving Chinese development finance on credit terms. When the Grand Coalition Government took power in 2008, it equally prioritized infrastructure projects in *Kenya's Vision 2030* and *Its First Medium Term Plan*. Similarly when the Jubilee Government took power in 2013 it prioritized infrastructure projects. Instructively, a majority of the earmarked projects were predominantly financed by the Chinese government.

The preference for Chinese development finance by successive governments since 2003 has intensified China's engagement in Kenya so much that in less than two decades, the Chinese government has entrenched itself as Kenya's leading development partner, and making Kenya the second largest country in Africa in terms of contracting Chinese funded infrastructure project (Daily Nation, 2016). *Why then did successive governments since 2003 prefer Chinese development finance in general?* This paper seeks to theorize motivations behind Kenya's preference for Chinese development finance from 2003 through 2017 from voluntary policy transfer perspective. If as Ake (1996:41) observed that African leaders did not believe in western aid tied to policy prescriptions, at the core of the voluntary policy transfer is to interrogate whether the preference for Chinese development finance was based on the genuine believe that its acquisition and utilization would lead to successive implementation of development projects. Fundamentally for voluntary policy transfer policy makers (interviewees) "must [not] explicitly display a conscious awareness [of factors associated with coercive policy transfer, in other words]...motives such as adherence to conditionalities, which would seem to militate against the voluntary nature of policy transfer, must be discounted" (Fourie, 2014:544). As such, the reasons provided by Kenyan policy makers were taken as having "casual impact on [them and their] behaviour and hence [were] theorized to exist as ontologically real" (Kurki, 2007:366).

Theorizing Kenya's Preference for Chinese Development Finance

During the interviews, some policy makers associated preference for Chinese development finance to their displeasure with traditional development partners as exemplified below:

Chinese have a totally different approach to project implementation...You approach them with what you want, they come and see where you want the project implemented, they quickly provide funds and the following day they are on the site. If it were the World Bank you would still be embroiled in the feasibility tests, then lengthy tendering procedures which sometimes collapse midway over "flimsy" integrity issues (S. Kasuku, Interview, 14 July 2015).

Western countries had a lot of other issues. There was supposed to be economic and political reforms, which had nothing to do with terms of contract, but Chinese aid targeted only terms of the contract (F. Muthaura, Interview, 4 July 2015).

Therefore, the above reasons were discounted since they would have pushed us closer to Stiglitz's (2006) suggestion that China's "model" of development experience presents opportunity for developing countries to learn on how they could develop and escape the prescriptions of western neoliberalism. Therefore, other reasons were considered. Several themes emerged and were further condensed into three major reasons: quest for diversifying Kenya's external assistance, mutual conceptual of development visions and "few" bureaucratic procedure.

Quest for Diversifying Kenya's Sources of Foreign Capital

Upon ascending to power the NARC government awoke to the reality that the country's official development assistance was marginal. In 2004, Kenya's development finance stood at US\$ 750 million and it was mainly dominated by the western countries (Prizzon & Hart, 2016:13). In this context, having conceptualized development as rapid growth, the government faced uphill task of mobilizing resources domestically and externally. Externally, the *ERS* envisioned a consistent partnership with development partners in marshalling the required resources, especially for the infrastructure sector where huge amounts were required.

Since adherence to "One China" Policy is one of the key requirements before acquiring Chinese development finance. It was then unsurprising that no sooner had Kenya consented to the policy in August 2005, than she began receiving concessional loans from the Chinese government as evidenced by the records at the National Treasury. In the meantime, it appeared Kenya pursued a deliberate foreign policy to improve her relationship with China as Mr. Raphael Tuju, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, remarked a few day to the first FOCAC summit in 2006.

...the policy of looking eastwards including towards China is the cornerstone of [Kenya's] foreign relations agenda and it is a mistake of the past in this country [Kenya] that we concentrated for too long in our relations with Europe at the expense of our relationship with Eastern countries.

That Kenya was determined to diversify her external sources of foreign capital in Asian countries is further corroborated by remarks by former Deputy Director of Asia and Australasia Directorate at the Ministry Foreign Affairs and International Trade:

I can only say that in 2003 when the NARC government came in power under former President Mwai Kibaki, there was a re-energized relationship between Kenya and China. It was a rebirth. Yes, we have had relationship with China since 1963, even during the [sic] Cold War, but 2003 came with the idea of Look East Policy. That [meant] focusing on new horizons in the East. The East of course you are referring to Asia...in addition to the traditional development partners in the West.

Although early attempts at formulating Kenya's foreign policy had recognized the need "to increase capital in-flow through harnessing and retaining existing sources of development assistance" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009:53), the economic pillar of the 2014 Kenya's foreign policy is cautiously worded to portray a country out to protect its national interests by reducing overreliance on foreign aid. The irony is that the vision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that of *Kenya's Vision 2030* is carbon copy! This implies that the future of Kenya's external relations could be interpreted through the *Vision 2030* rear-view mirror. Thus, the *Vision's* medium term plans explicitly recognize the inability of the country to meet huge capital outlay required to finance some of the flagship projects, and call upon the development partners to assist in mobilizing the required resources to revamp Kenya's

infrastructure key to sustaining her economic hegemony in East Africa region- a cornerstone of Kenya's national interest. Viewed this way, although not explicitly stated in the policy document, Kenya aspires to diversify external assistance through sources like Chinese development finance to safeguard national interests which, as the former President Kibaki acknowledged, may be successfully attained by strengthening the bilateral cooperation with China (Xinhua News Agency, 2003)

Mutual Conception of Developmental Visions

When interview data from Kenyan policy makers is juxtaposed with the statements made by Chinese officials, there is an emerging consensus that Kenya's preference for Chinese development finance was motivated by a shared vision of development path with China. Put differently, Kenyan policy makers understood Chinese development vision in the same manner Chinese officials understood Kenya's development vision. Perhaps, what is interesting is that both sides conceptualized development as rapid economic growth. On one hand the Kenyan side acknowledged China's speedy and impressive economic growth as offering opportunity for Kenya to learn on how to develop as opined by Raphael Tuju, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs:

I think we have to learn from China because of the very quick transformation that is happening [there]...that is something which Africa should learn so that we can also leapfrog as opposed to going through the slow process that western countries went through (Xinhua News Agency, 2006)

On the other hand the Chinese side saw Kenya as a country full of economic potential as exemplified by remarks made by Guo Chongli, former Chinese ambassador to Kenya, on the 54th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. He noted that "China is the biggest developing country undergoing modernization while Kenya is one of the African countries with great development potentials" (Xinhua News Agency, 2003). That the engagement of China in Kenya's infrastructure would contribute to the economic development was corroborated by another Chinese diplomat, noting that:

On infrastructure, Chinese companies have brought their advantages into full play, and have actively involved in constructing roads, railways, airports and ports in Kenya. The Thika-Superhighway, a landmark project constructed by three Chinese companies...propelled the economic development in areas along the road. The Mombasa-Nairobi SGR, currently being built by China Road and Bridge...will...lift Kenya's GDP growth by 1.5% (Chinese Embassy, 2015).

Kenyan policy makers understood that by obtaining Chinese development finance, they would create avenues for Chinese contractors to get markets for manufactured goods, thus improving the revenue collections for Chinese economy. In addition, they also saw demand for finished goods as creating opportunities for millions of unemployed Chinese. The former Head of Civil Service observed:

Africa [Kenya] had a very serious deficit of infrastructural development, and China was willing to support infrastructural development. First of all, for China their interests lie in the manner in which they finance a project, but still *a lot of that money goes back to China*. Because *they bring the equipment*, you also *pay for Chinese consultancy* in the project and *the materials also come from China*. So we are *indirectly supporting Chinese economy*. They spend

money on project here to support Chinese economy, *but we benefit!* (emphasis added) We get the infrastructure, [sic] So infrastructural development here directly supports Chinese economy. But also supports African economy because we need infrastructure (F. Muthaura, Interview, 4 July 2015).

This tying of goods and service from China in return for the construction of the infrastructure was aptly conceptualized as a win-win situation by one Chinese diplomat (Chinese Embassy, Interview, 31 August 2015), which in Kenya was translated in terms of “Justice, Equality and Trust (JET) for mutual benefit” (P. Kalihih, Interview, 7 August 2015).

It could also be added that the mutual conception is anchored on what perhaps the two sides consider as having the same developmental aspirations. Thus, while the Kenyan side has the *Vision 2030*, the Chinese side has the *Chinese Dream*. Whereas the *Vision 2030* aims at making “Kenya globally competitive and prosperous, where every person will enjoy a high quality of life” (Republic of Kenya, 2008a: ii), the *Chinese Dream* is “about prosperity of the country, rejuvenation of the nation, and happiness of the people” (Chinese Embassy, 2015). The underlying common theme in the two development aspirations is the strong emphasis placed on improving the living standards of their populations. That the two sides are serious about the implementation of their development aspirations is evidence by the attendance of Chinese Ambassador to Kenya, Liu Xianfa to a meeting organized by the board of *Kenya Vision 2030* Delivery Secretariat on 26 June 2015. This board is the decision-making summit of the *Vision 2030*, and the participation of Chinese officials could be interpreted in two ways. On one hand the participation presents opportunity for knowledge sharing on how best to realize the development visions. On the other hand the participation could also be viewed as an attempt by China to infiltrate into Kenya’s public policy space, thus shaping the policy to the interest of the Chinese state.

The notion of mutual conception of development between Chinese and African elites is not just unique in Kenya. Using the concept of “rear-view mirror”, Power (2012) has vividly illustrated how the mutual understanding of development as modernization brings together China and Angolan elites as the latter attempt to reproduce China’s historical experience of development. However, in Angola the mutual conception of development has resulted in skewed distribution of settlements where the poor have been dispossessed land, a situation Power (2012:995) predicted as likely to lead to “reversals and regressions”, thus disallowing Angola to “take off”. Whereas China has engaged in Angola’s post-war reconstruction programme for substantial time, concerns over sustainability in the apparent success in the infrastructure sector (Republic of Kenya, 2008b), may be asked in the case of China’s intensified engagement in the sector. Chinese leaders and diplomats have consistently maintained that China is not out to exploit Kenya and that the engagement would be beneficial in the long run. While meeting Raila Odinga, the then Kenyan Prime Minister on the sideline of the Fifth FOCAC ministerial conference Xi Jinping, the then Chinese Vice President, assured him that:

as we continue to develop, we will remain sensitive to the needs of other developing countries so that they also develop with us. We cannot repeat the mistakes that those who have developed ahead of us made (Daily Nation, No Date “China-beams-at-superior-balance-of-trade-with-Kenya”).

More recently Guo Ce, The Economic and Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Kenya, affirmed that: “China’s assistance is not structured to be exploitative, not only because of the long-standing friendship with Kenya dating back to the 15th Century, but also because the development trajectory of the two countries is quite similar” (Daily Nation, No Date

“Chinese-loans for Kenya’s progress”). Despite this assurance, some Kenyans in the civil society and academia are sceptic about the outcomes of the engagement. One representative of a civil society organization observed:

So in terms of sustainability, do we have long term plans? Take for example the Thika-Superhighway. If we have such models like seven across the country, are we likely to maintain them without calling back Chinese?...Chinese would come and build [the road], but we don’t expect Chinese to be around here for 50 years to come and maintain the road (O. Adala, Interview, 5 August 2015).

A Kenyan scholar also noted:

The projects [China] is investing in be it roads, railways, have specific Chinese tailored technology [sic]. By the time we need to repair our roads [and railways] they would have modified the technology and would demand huge costs for maintenance. This is what they are permanently doing (E. Kisiang’ani, Interview, 28 July, 2015).

In the face of concerns over the sustainability of Chinese funded infrastructure projects in Kenya, critics may also add that the mutual conception of development as realized through speedy completion of development projects has made the Kenyan government to disregard its own governance principles on public participation, accountability, transparency and integrity. As Chinese contractors are keen to quickly complete one infrastructure project and move to the next one, the governing elites are always counting on the speedy completion of the projects so that they use them as platforms to seek re-election. Thus, regardless of controversies dodging Standard Gauge Railway around opaque financing arrangements, corruption allegations, economic viability, inclusion of local context, the Jubilee government consistently maintained that the construction of the First Phase from Mombasa to Nairobi had to be completed by the end of May 2017, just two months before national elections.

“Few” Bureaucratic Procedures in Acquiring Chinese Development Finance

The notion of “few” bureaucratic procedures as pulling Kenya towards Chinese development finance was conceived differently depending on the role of policy makers in the government. The idea of “few” was conceptualized in at least three senses. One, policy makers at the National Treasury directly conceived “few” in the sense of the shorter time taken between the time when the formal application process is made to the time when Chinese financial institutions approve funding. In other words “the process of disbursing fund is fast” (Anonymous, Interview, 15 July 2015). Another officers reported:

The maturity of the loan from the time when it is signed to the time when payments are done is very short...you can sign the loan agreement in the month of July, by next month or say September it is already approved. This way the project can start very fast (Anonymous, Interview, 22 July 2015).

Second, policy makers in planning departments conceived “few” bureaucratic procedures in the sense of the delivery of infrastructure projects in time. Michael Chege, a former policy advisor in the NARC government, said, when the government was sourcing for development partners to assist in actualizing *Vision 2030*, they were interested in one who “will deliver quickly and efficiently”. Third, policy makers in state corporations like Kenya National

Highway Authority (KeNHA) and Kenya Railway Corporation (KRC) conceived “few” bureaucratic procedures in the sense of the Chinese model of combining project execution designs known as Engineering, Procurement and Construction (EPC) in addition to sub-contracting (Anonymous, Interview, 6 August, 2015).

Even a few stakeholders from civil society organizations were supportive of the Chinese model of quick delivery of infrastructure projects which results to quick benefits to citizens. One activist commented that although Chinese do not attach their aid on democracy, their approval is much faster “compared to other aid” (F. Njehu, Interview, 28 July 2015). Another corroborated along similar lines, noting that:

You will appreciate that the completed infrastructure projects done by Chinese especially those bypasses have really saved a lot in terms of easing traffic congestion...I think this is a plus and we have to give them that (M. Omollo, Interview, 16 June 2015).

This finding is surprising especially from the representatives of civil society organizations who tend to view the benefits of Chinese engagement in Africa as overwhelmingly in favour of political elites. The finding contradicts Horta’s (2009) conclusion that although China is perceived positively among the ruling elites, those in civil society perceive China in negative light.

Before concluding this section, it is important to attempt to uncover “few” bureaucratic procedures in acquiring Chinese Development Finance as reported by Kenyan policy makers. Literature on “China-Africa relations” seems to agree on the following general procedures for loan application. (cf. Corkin, 2013; Brautigam, 2009; Hubbard, 2008). For instance, in the case of loan application from China Export and Import (EXIM) Bank, in an ideal situation the recipient country with the recommendation of the resident Chinese Economic Counsellor’s office, submits application to the Ministry of Finance and Commerce (MOFCOM) via the Chinese Embassy. At the MOFCOM, the Department of Foreign Aid and the Department of Economic Cooperation, in consultation with China Exim Bank consider the application. Once the contents of the loan have been agreed upon, two agreement frameworks are signed, one between China Exim Bank and the lead financial agency in the recipient country and, two between the MOFCOM and the implementing authority in the recipient country. Thus, in theory these steps seem to lend credence to the notion of the “few” bureaucratic procedures.

However, the revelation by the former Head of the Civil Service that the government would identify the infrastructure projects then invite development partners to show interest, but they “there is a way [Chinese] do it- through follow-ups and consultations”, suggested much more complex picture. Undoubtedly, the Chinese government has supported several infrastructure projects in Kenya since 2003, however, it is the processes involved in acquiring funds for the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) that attracted a lot of controversy (Wissenbach & Wang, 2016:1), so much that two parallel parliamentary investigations (The Transport Committee and Public Investment Committee [PIC]) were conducted. Through process tracing of events and activities based on the PIC report we could thus have some sense of the notion of “few” bureaucratic procedures in the Kenyan context so as to understand how the Kenyan policy were motivated in preferring Chinese development finance.

In the case of the SGR, the PIC heard that in April 2008, China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) wrote as a private investor to the Minister for Transport Chirau Ali Mwakwere expressing interest in railway sub-sector (National Assembly, 2014). The delayed response from the minister prompted the contractor to contact Prime Minister Raila Odinga in

September (National Assembly, 2014). In the following month the idea of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) was officially launched at the State House in Nairobi in a joint communiqué witnessed by President Mwai Kibaki and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (National Assembly, 2014). In August 2009, the Ministry of Transport (MoT) and CRBC signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in which CRBC was to undertake a free feasibility study on the SGR. The existing literature (cf. Corkin, 2013; Brautigam, 2009; Hubbard, 2008) underestimates the importance of these background procedures before the formal loan application is initiated.

In January 2010, the Ministry of Finance (MoF) wrote to the Chinese government requesting for a concessional loan for the construction of a new SGR at a cost of US \$2.5 billion. In January 2011, CRBC submitted the feasibility study to MoT in which it recommended that the SGR be changed from an electric engine to a diesel powered engine. In the same year in February the Permanent Secretary (PS)-MoT submitted a feasibility study report conducted by CRBC to the Kenya Railway Corporation (KRC). In June 2012, the Chinese Embassy in Nairobi wrote a letter expressing support and confirming the capacity of CRBC to undertake the project. Shortly, KRC approved the feasibility study and entered into commercial agreements with CRBC. Later in July, KRC awarded CRBC the tender, and subsequently the cabinet approved the development of the SGR. In October 2012 KRC informed CRBC about the award of tender, and later informed the Public Procurement Oversight Authority (PPOA) that it had engaged CRBC through a direct procurement. In the same month the Ministry of Finance (MoF) submitted a formal request to the Chinese government for financial assistance towards implementation of the SGR. Between 27 October to 5 November 2012 the Kenyan government undertook due diligence on CRBC by sending a delegation to China. Based on commercial agreements between KRC and CRBC, in July 2013, Treasury signed a MoU with China Exim Bank witnessed by President Uhuru Kenyatta. One month later the Bilateral Agreement was scaled up to a Tripartite Agreement with the entry of the Republic of Rwanda (National Assembly, 2014). Finally, in May 2014, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Kenya to witness the signing of the loan agreement framework between the Kenyan government and China Exim Bank (Sunday Nation, 2014).

Clearly, these series of events and activities are suggestive of the kind of interaction between a portion of elites in the recipient country and the Chinese state often overlooked in the literature. Curious in these perceived “few” bureaucratic procedures is how a process initiated by the Chinese investor- China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) is taken over by Kenyan political elite, clearly contradicting President Kenyatta’s insistence that SGR was an “African idea” (Wissenbach and Wang, 2016:1). Whereas the implementation of the SGR project is ongoing we may tentatively start questioning whether its success would be beneficial to the citizens given the apparent conflict of interests. That the likelihood of converge of personal interests between the Chinese and Kenyan officials cannot be ruled out can be gleaned from the remarks made by the Chairman of Kenya Railway Corporation Gen (Rtd) Jeremiah Kianga during the launch of the SGR on 31 May 2017. Kianga observed that a “multiplicity of players and the diversity of interests ...pulling in directions that were not helpful”, nearly crippled the construction of the SGR (Mutambo, 2017)

Also the previous engagement between Chinese contractors and governing elites in Kenya can be corroborated. For instance it was alleged that China's Wi Yi had donated US\$ 50,000 towards a campaign drive for Raila Odinga, then Prime Minister and a leading presidential candidate in the 2013 general elections (Daily Nation, 2014), to ostensibly influence financing arrangements for rehabilitation of Moi, Teaching and Referral Hospital. As Suisheng (2014:1041) observes, Chinese companies have perfected the art of using bribery to secure government contracts in China, and if evidence from Namibia is anything to go by, then China is gradually exporting corruption to Africa. Namibian anti-corruption authority

found officials of China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Company guilty for paying a local company 10 percent of the final contract price after the latter assisted in sealing a contract for building a 38-mile long rail line (Suisheng, 2014:1042). Infrastructure contracts without transparent tendering processes create opportunity for siphoning off much of the wealth that China pumps into Africa into Chinese companies and local elites. To the extent that the infrastructure projects are conceived to benefit political elites, it is plausible to conclude that the perceived success may be illusory in the long run.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper has presented Kenya's quest to diversify her external sources; the mutual conception of developmental aspiration and "few" bureaucratic procedures as the motivations behind the preference for Chinese development finance. With regards to diversification of external sources, it was argued that as one of the many sources of development finances, policy makers could have entertained the view that acquiring and utilizing Chinese development finance could shield off the government infrastructure development agenda in the event that some other external sources pulled off, thereby leading to successful implementation and realization of tangible outcome. Concerning the mutual conception of developmental aspirations, it was observed that policy makers understood Chinese development vision in the same manner Chinese officials understood Kenya's development vision. Both sides conceptualized development as rapid economic growth and this has seen them share concepts and strategies in the implementation of the development blueprints. Like in Angola where the mutual conceptual of development has resulted in skewed distribution of settlements, concerns over sustainability have already been raised in some of the infrastructure projects funded by Chinese development finance. As for the "few" bureaucratic procedures although the acquisition and utilization Chinese development finance has already produced some tangible outcomes in some infrastructure projects, in some, the complexity of the interaction between Kenyan political elites and the Chinese officials is suggestive of the convergence of interests likely to militate against the expected success.

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Packaging, Finishing, Presentation and Development of Nigeria's Indigenous Products: Global Perspective

By Esther Akumbo Nyam and Tor Iorapuu

Abstract

Culture is seen to be symbolic communication. This include: knowledge, group skills, values, attitudes and motives. These symbols are learned. Culture consists of patterns, implicit and explicit of a behavior acquired and transmitted by the symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; there is need for Nigeria as a nation with a growing population recorded in 2006 census over 140 million to give attention to the economy, education social sector and to ensure sufficient opportunities for both graduates, Artist and artisans, University graduates. This article reawakens the need of indigenous technology for sustainable growth and development in Nigeria. Research has shown that culture is closely linked to civilization and that all observable civilizations are derived from one culture or the other. The spate of culture globally in recent years has attracted scholars in different fields of study. The world is as well becoming a global market. Nigeria as a nation is blessed with numerous and abundant indigenous products, therefore, there is need to patronize the global village with its final cultural products. This is important for those with products to offer to the global market for prosperity. Culture is the people's way of life, is *seen* to becoming extinct as cultural entity. This article examines Nigerian's diverse indigenous products, its challenges are traced to grossly inadequate financial, cultural learning, patronage, packaging, finishing, presentation and implementation of government policies in order to inculcate desired, skills training, attitudes, professionalism and knowledge within the culture which will support nation building. It concludes on how it can be applied to Nigerian's socio-economic gains in a global village. It dares to challenge both governments and stakeholders to have a rethink in the future and wellbeing of the future generation.

Key words: Packaging, Finishing, Nigeria's Indigenous Products, Technology

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Packaging, Finishing, Presentation and Development of Nigeria's Indigenous Products: Global Perspective

By Esther Akumbo Nyam and Tor Iorapuu

Introduction

Nigeria's greatest exhibitions and contribution to world culture is practically not in doubt. It has a vibrant population of 140 million people (CENSUS, 2006). Nigeria's indigenous products is applied to domestic and industrial life that finds forms of expression in elaborate pottery, hair dressing, dyeing, weaving, leather works, handcraft. The trending products include the performative arts with activities such as music, dance, theatre festivals example is the national festival of arts and culture, drama,, oral tradition, film, home movies/videos. Others include tourism (as a stage event) popularly known as Abuja national carnival. Dating back to the origin of Nigeria's culture, tourism sites, solid minerals, petroleum and gas abound to exhibit the depth and wealth of Nigerian culture. This is no doubt that these products owed their hard work to the creative impulse of the Nigerian people. The indigenous products have played an important role in our socio-economic life.

All these products can compete favourably for collectors and consumers. Presently, Nigeria is undergoing a period called recession and the economy is biting hard on the citizenry which is affecting the whole lifestyle of the people , yet, the indigeneous products still has great patronage is still in great demand at both national and international markets.

Today, Nigeria's cultural diversity in such productions is numerical. If attention is not taken, it will go into extinction. It is important to talk about what these cultural products are before categorizing them to the research title. These definitions will give a better knowledge to the marketing strategies and the importance of the products to the global market.

Objectives

1. Raise awareness about our cultural potentials in our productions in other to create employment for sustainable development
2. Understanding globalization, a new market perspective and philosophy. These and other related issues will be explored in the article.
3. Finding means for conscientization, and transformation of Nigeria's cultural reawakening of indigenous products.

Problems

1. How qualitatively can the produce be packaged and accepted to the global market?
2. Can the finishing be acceptable to the global village?
3. What are the key areas in adding value to the products?

Theoretical Framework

The concept of culture forms the theoretical frame work. what is culture? and how does it foster the development of the people Culture is an integral way and important instrument for development. UNESCO describes culture as a complex of material, emotional, destructive spiritual feature that characterize a society. It includes both arts, letters modes of life, value systems, fundamental human rights and beliefs (UNESCO 1982:41).

Otonnti (2004) opines that every society has a social culture that enables the control of society and maintenance of system and culture in form of rules, laws, ethnics and morals. The tenets of this statement is captured by Onwumah's (2004) who asserts that: culture could only exist within the framework of a society and it is an instrument which enables man to imbibe societal norms as it provides means of gratification for compliance and sanctions for

deviance. Culture has acquired new dimensions from the mid-nineteenth century. Taylor (1958) defines culture as:

Culture of civilization, taken in its widest ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (pg. 1)

Culture is now seen to precede “civilization” Uchendu (1988) lays emphasis on the tenets that culture is:

“The totality of the way of life of the people, its institutional, material, creative and philosophical ways of life. Our adaptable attitude to the future of the traditional values which is faced with the demands of modern technology. (p. 5)

The idea here, shows how culture goes beyond civilization and has become interchangeable with it. At a substantive level, it is seen both as a process and an end result. Kluckhain (1963) is of the view that to be human, is to be cultured. Benedict (1960) is very much conscious of culture as a unifying force, that which instructs not nepotism, but rather should be seen as a unifying force and it is its merits that should develop in other cultures.

The concept of culture is studied in several degrees and ways. Defining culture is most times problematic. Linton (1936) asserts that culture embodies four separate but related spheres of enculturation: Universal, alternatives, individual peculiarities and specialties. Cultural competence shares that an individual is required to master the universals of his particular culture to include basic industrial skills. Cultural Universals are those cultures open to all and shared by every culture-bearer. The tenet here is that as we move from the trending ethnic-based society to a civic society, Nigerians are expected to have equal rights to those institutions that will eventually equip them with national universals.

Cultural alternatives are referred to the various institutions given by the society to enable the people to satisfy a given cultural means in different ways. Cultural specialties are cultures that arise from division of labour, they are shared by recognized sect of individuals but are not open to a wider population. Such skills could be manual skills, performance training, technical or professionalism. This skills and knowledge to development acquired that justifies their support by society.

Frank (2010) defines culture as heritage. This heritage includes intangible and tangible endowments such as behavior, knowledge, ideas, traditions, products generally guided by the people. This gives the people the sense of identity.

Without culture, people may suffer extinction. The tenet here is the exposition of the threatening danger faced in globalization and imperative to package and present Nigeria's product abroad. This contest is seen on how popular people's products are while others face extinction.

Finishing

It is a decorative texture, an appearance of a surface. It can also be define as something which is highly developed or an establish state of perfection. The finishing of a cultural product becomes very vital. All indigenous products in Nigeria at this point needs to be at the point where perfection of performance, craft, artifacts and so forth is ensured.

Presentation

Generally, presentation inflects the final sell of the products. It is design to attract the attention of the final consumer internationally. (Wiznotes, 2011). It is paramount to understand the presentation, needs, trends and demands of consumers of the indigenous products for easy accessibility and effectiveness.

Arts and Crafts

UNESCO (1997) defines arts and crafts as produced by Artisan, Either completely by hand or with the help of hand tools or even mechanical means as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most substantial component of the finished product. Arts and craft is very resilient in Nigeria. Successes are recorded as the artist continue to excel. These exhibitions are displayed in the cultural festivals and carnival such as textiles, clothing, beads, weaving. Ekanem (2010). The focus of this article is to suggest ways for effective packaging, finishing and presentation of the indigenous products to the international market.

Performing Arts in Nigeria

Nigeria is seen to be the richest country culturally throughout the whole world, because of its cultural diversity. This is reflective in their cultural festivals packaged during the National festival of Arts and culture and Abuja carnival. There is therefore, a rich and untapped resources available in this area. The performing arts is the arts of which the human person is an instrument of expression. It is seen to be the moving force of entertainment industry today. These include: costume making, dance, music, drama, home movies, theatre festivals, carnivals, tourism and so forth.

No doubt that the modern popular music of Nigeria, drawn from our traditional music and dance is paving waves internationally. Flavor, T.Y Savage, Davido, D. Banj, Fela Anikulapo Kuti have broken through to the world stage and are reckon with. This has shown decades of investment in capacity building, building markets and research.

Nigeria's performing arts as entertainment operates at three levels:

Traditional/Resident

The artist operate at local indigenous level where productions and consumption are played to local audiences on the streets and markets (Theatre for Development, circus and the likes), and during cultural festivals. It is not exactly profit driven.

Tradi-modern

It is derived from the first category but is been elevated from it and assuming dimensions of mass mediated culture.

Modern (Contemporary)

The new technology is now driven by profit and the material content is hybridized. It is important to note that this is the era of internet, CDs, Phones and digital mode of circulation are all common grounds which has exposed the artist and are smiling to the bank. The Nigerian home videos (Nollywood) is also an emergent explosion bringing stories and entertainment of Nigeria and African value to the home. This home movies dominates the whole of Africa and is paving waves around other continents.

Tourism

Tourism is creating new arenas of performance entertainment. Baikie (2006) views Nigeria's National festivals as the best festivals in Africa. This include Abuja carnival, National festival

of arts and culture, Izere festivals and host of others. Not forgetting the fashion industry, is also rapidly complimentary. This is exhibited in Nigeria's indigenous products. Umukoro (2008) reiterates:

Cultural symbolism is the hallmark of the Nigerian traditional products. It is consciously or unconsciously evolved to bear emblems unique to its owners. Such emblems may be derived from common features in the environment, it may also, be persistent contact of an ethnic group with some other, be a feature borrowed, appropriate and seemingly endorsed by widespread acceptance and use as one of its ethnic symbol. (p. 50).

The tenet here is the awareness that Nigeria fabrics is now seen as a multi-billion naira industry and is broadening Nigeria's revenue base and foreign exchange status. Based on this survey, the performing arts in the entertainment industry has been tremendous. Presentation and finishing of these products are bound to do Nigeria proud in the global market.

Indigenous cloth making culture

The art of making clothes for body atonement has been in existence across all cultures for centuries. Craftmen make clothes from indigenous materials ranging from animal skins, plant fibres, tree barks, cotton trees, weaves, tie and dyes, batiks and industrial prints all represent the type of cloth used by Nigerians in making clothes which are impressive. Eicher attested to this by saying:

The present quality of cotton which is grown in such vast quantities in Yoruba. It is declared by those who are most capable of judging that although the supply is intermittent and the sample not over clean. It is very well thought of in the Liverpool market and commands a paying price, equal to that of Louisiana and superior to that of India. (p.13)

Murray (1938) also attest of "the uniqueness and artistic skills of weaving usually made with quality materials. Murray further gave a vivid account of Nigeria weavers in omu Aran in 1936 were he described the woven clothes as natural. In Benin, the weaving tradition was highly regarded by both explorers and the indigenes. Weavers from many ethnic groups of Nigeria produced locally hand woven cloths for themselves and other surrounding communities.

Dye Clothes

These clothes could be regarded as Nigerian legacy. There existed a wide variety of local sources for extracting dye. Towns such as Kano, Sokoto, Nasarawa, Osun, Ogbomosho, Zaria, Abeokuta are well known for cloth dying. Weaving and dyeing traditions are unique attributes of traditional Nigerian culture. These are all displayed in their festivals and ceremonies. Indigenous dress have taken over the commercial aspect of African prints as Modern alternatives for sustainability of indigenous dress culture. Nigerian textiles, especially woven and dyed have also gained international recognition and could benefit from improved packaging, finishing and presentation. Fashion shows should be a spring bud for its promotions and advertisement.

Challenges of Marketing Nigeria's Indigenous produce.

Nigeria is faced with protection challenges of Non enforcement of copy right laws especially in the film industry. Actors are always running at a lose in their productions.

It is faced with bad policies from the government.
There is multiple taxation in our system.
There are better patronage, finishing and qualities from competitors.
There is problem of product labels, and market presentations
There is low tourism patronage and activities due to the insurgency especially in the Northern region of Nigeria
The issue of poverty is still a burning issue especially with the recession crisis presently on in Nigeria.
There is the issue of Quality question and improvement on the Nigerian indigenous products.

Recommendation for successful marketing of crafts

Nigerians are beginning to rise to the challenge by saying, “Lets look inward by having an attitudinal re-orientation. Training manpower by investing in the school curriculums. It is important to harness the untapped natural resources of the Nigerian people.

Building locations in the state’s tourist sites in other to actualize the tourism plan in Nigeria, as a tourism destination. Raise more awareness about trade fares in Nigeria in order to protect vulnerable domestic markets. It is also important to minimize the ports multi-taxation. All taxes should be coordinated.

Training small and medium enterprises should be supported as a panacea for rapid economic development. All indigenous products should try to adhere to global standards and labels. It is paramount to upgrade the hospitality facilities in the state hotels, roads, parks and museum.

Nigeria arts and craft, especially costumes should include training the trainee, availability of raw materials, exhibitions, trade fares, and the internet in order to increase sales and profits.

Conclusion

Nigerian indigenous products have greatly influenced and is been influenced by other cultures the world over. Different styles of Nigerian products have also evolved from a mixture of Nigeria and other African fashions, performing industry, tourism, fashion and western culture. Interestingly, Nigerians indigenous products have penetrated the global market.

This article has attempted a summation of the packaging, finishing, presentation and development of Nigeria’s indigenous produce globally. Groups of products were identified on the way forward through standardization. It is important to note that the world is trending towards globalization. There is need however to move Nigerian indigeneous products away from transient exhibitve pomp to a focal arena.

The youths should be motivated. They are the new icons of cultural promotions. Nigeria as a great Nation have manifest themselves in both music, films and hard work. This has given the youths inspiration. Nigeria’s indigenous products must continue to focus on development for socio-economic stability.

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Examining antecedents of destination loyalty in a Zambian context: The effect of perceived value, service quality and satisfaction

By Jane M. Kwenye and Wayne Freimund

Abstract

Drawing from the cognitive->affect->conative loyalty formation model, this study explored predictors of loyalty in a domestic tourism context through an investigation of the relationships among service quality, perceived value, satisfaction and destination loyalty. The relationships are explored using data collected from a sample of 1,060 domestic tourists at the Victoria Falls World Heritage site in Zambia. Using structural equation modeling (SEM) technique, the results reveal that satisfaction has a direct effect on destination loyalty while the effects of perceived value and service quality on destination loyalty is recognized via the mediating effects of satisfaction. Findings are discussed with respect to their applied and theoretical relevance. Practical applications of this study include strategies aimed at promoting destination loyalty by addressing aspects of service quality, perceived value and satisfaction in a domestic tourism context of an African setting.

Key words: perceived value, service quality, satisfaction, destination loyalty, domestic tourism

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Abstract

Amidst growing competition, destination marketing organizations (DMOs) are facing increased difficulties in convincing visitors to choose their specific destinations over an increasing number of alternatives (Castro, Armario, & Ruiz, 2007; Morais & Lin, 2010; Pike & Ryan, 2004). Consequently, destination marketing and management research has been focusing on understanding tourist' post-purchase behaviors and decision making processes so as to divulge avenues for fostering destination loyalty (Chi & Qu, 2008; Lee, 2003; Zhang, Fu, Cai, & Lu, 2014). Built upon related theories of customer loyalty in marketing literature, destination loyalty has been receiving increased attention among tourism researchers. The importance of understanding, predicting and influencing tourists' intentions to patronize specific destinations has motivated research on the concept of destination loyalty (Chi, 2005; Chi, 2012; Kwenye & Phiri, 2016; Oppermann, 2000; Prayag & Ryan, 2012; Yoon & Uysal, 2005; Yuksel, Yuksel, & Bilim, 2010). Past studies note that if a tourist's experience at a destination is understood as a product, then the degree of loyalty can be reflected in their intention to revisit the destination and recommend the destination to others (Oppermann, 2000; Chen & Tsai, 2007). Consequently, tourists' intentions to revisit the destination and their intention to recommend it to others are considered as indicators of destination loyalty (Chi, 2005; Chi & Qu, 2008). Intentions to revisit and recommend a destination to others are used as indicators of destination loyalty in that studying actual behavior is difficult and costly (Halpenny, 2010). Further, behavioral intentions have proven to be effective indicators of future behaviors (Ajzen, 1988; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Kraus, 1995).

Key words: Destination loyalty, Zambia, Service quality and satisfaction

Examining antecedents of destination loyalty in a Zambian context: The effect of perceived value, service quality and satisfaction

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Introduction

While research on destination loyalty has received considerable attention in the tourism literature (Chi & Qu, 2008; Kim, 2010; Lee, Graefe, & Burns, 2007; Yoon & Uysal, 2005), studies exploring this concept among domestic tourists in an African context, particularly, Zambia are rare. This is despite the Zambian governments' desire to foster domestic tourism as highlighted in the 2014 marketing plan of the Zambia Tourism Agency, ZTB (2014) and the country's Tourism Strategic Plan (MTA 2013). Therefore, this study examined antecedents of domestic tourists' loyalty to a local natural tourist setting in Zambia drawing from the cognitive -> affective -> conative loyalty formation model (Oliver, 1997, 1999). This loyalty formation model posits that loyalty is shaped through sequential phases: cognitive, affective and conative. That is the cognitive component influences the affective component which consequently influences the conative component. Accordingly, consumers develop positive beliefs and affective sentiments about a service provider and experience increasing intention to purchase preferably from that provider (Morias, Dorsch, & Backman, 2004). The beliefs that customers develop about the service provider emanate from cognitive evaluations of the product based on vicarious knowledge related to the offering, its attributes, and its performance or current experience-based information (Cronin, Brady, & Hult, 2000; Eggert & Ulaga, 2002; Han, Kim, & Kim, 2011). Past studies in marketing and consumer behavior indicate that cognitive components of the cognitive-> affective->loyalty model loyalty formation model mainly consists of perceived value and service quality (Back, 2005; Han & Back, 2008; Oliver, 1997, 1999).

The affective component of the cognitive-affective-conative loyalty formation model constitutes emotional response to a product or service experience or feelings towards a product (Campon, Alves, & Hernandez, 2013). Past studies conceptualize satisfaction as an emotional response to a product or service experience (Han & Back, 2007). Consequently, researchers agree that satisfaction constitutes the affective component of the cognitive-affective-conative loyalty formation model (Han, Kim, & Kim, 2011; Oliver, 1997, 1999). The final component in the loyalty model which is conative, relates to behavioral intention towards a product (Campon, Alves, & Hernandez, 2013). Oliver (1997, 393) describes conation as "an intention or commitment to behave towards a goal in a particular manner". Consequently, the conative stage in the loyalty formation model entails an intention to repurchase (Oliver, 1997, 1999). In destination loyalty studies, intentions to revisit and recommend a destination to others are considered as indicators of destination loyalty (Chen & Tsai, 2007; Chi, 2005; Chi & Qu, 2008).

Drawing from the cognitive- affective-conative loyalty formation model (Oliver, 1997), past studies have identified service quality, perceived value and satisfaction as antecedents affecting destination loyalty/ tourists' behavioral intentions (Chen & Chen, 2010; Kim, 2010; Petrick, 2004; Petrick & Backman, 2002). Consequently, the effect of service quality, perceived value, and satisfaction as antecedent of destination loyalty have been explored in past studies (e.g. Kim 2010; Lee, Graefe, & Burns, 2007). To extend an examination of these relationships to a domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, Zambian setting, this study examined the effect of perceived value, service quality and satisfaction as antecedents of loyalty destination loyalty. Although these relationships have been studied in past research, to the author's best knowledge, there is no previous study endeavored to the context of domestic tourism in an African setting,

particularly, Zambian setting. A better understanding of the relationships explored in this study can provide destination managers insight into knowing factors that need to be addressed in order to foster domestic tourists' willingness to revisit the destination and recommend the destination to others.

Theoretical background and hypotheses

Service quality is considered as a critical construct given its effect on consumer choice behavior (Cole & Illum, 2006; Dabholkar, Shephard, & Thorpe, 2000). In the tourism context, service quality refers to service performance at the attribute level (Chen & Chen, 2010; Cole & Illum, 2006). It is defined as the quality of the attributes of a service that are under the control of the service provider (Crompton & Love, 1995). This performance quality is said to contribute to the quality of the tourists' experience at a destination (Cole & Illum, 2006). In terms of service quality measurement, the service quality model, SERVQUAL based on the expectancy disconfirmation theory (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985, 1988), has been widely although the applicability of the SERVQUAL scale has been criticized (Petrick, 2004). Studies argue that the relevance of the disconfirmation of expectations as the basis for measuring service quality are ambiguous and inadequate (Carman, 1990; Cronin & Taylor, 1992). Consequently, the performance-based measurement of service quality is recommended (Crompton & Love, 1995; Cronin & Taylor, 1992).

In the marketing services literature, past studies indicate that service quality consists of five dimensions namely tangibles, reliability; responsiveness; assurance; and empathy (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1988). However, applying the measurement scale that reflected the five dimensions in the tourism context, Fick and Ritchie (1991) noted that the original measure did not adequately cover tangibles factors. The authors indicated that this was probably because facilities tend to be situation-specific in tourism and hence do not lend themselves to inclusion in a generic type of measure. That is, in tourism contexts, there is no process of delivery per se that is addressed by four of the dimensions reported by Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry (1988). Rather the dominant measure is the tangibles dimension (Crompton & Love, 1995). Thus, in the tourism field, service quality is generally assessed in terms of the tangibles dimension (Baker & Crompton, 2000; Crompton & Love, 1995; Cole & Illum, 2006). For instance, examining predictors of loyalty in a forest setting, Lee (2003) used service quality indicators that reflected dimensions including conditions of facilities, safety and securities, health and cleanliness of settings and responsiveness of staff. Similarly, Cole & Scot (2004) measured service quality using indicators that reflected dimensions including amenities, ambiance and comfort.

Past studies have suggested that service quality influences consumer choice behavior and is an important antecedent of satisfaction and behavioral intentions/loyalty (Cronin, Brady, & Hult, 2000; Kim, 2010). Consequently, past studies have explored the relationship between service quality, satisfaction and behavioral intentions/destination loyalty. Confounding results have been reported. In the context of the cognitive-affective-conative link, some studies suggest that the cognitive variable (i.e. service quality) has an indirect effect on the conative variable (i.e. destination loyalty) through the affective variable (i.e. satisfaction) (e.g. Alexandris, Kouthouris, & Meligdis, 2006; Kim, 2010). Other studies indicate that the cognitive variable (i.e. service quality) has a direct effect on the conative variable (e.g. Petrick, 2004). Given the confounding results in the existing literature, researchers have suggested further investigations on the relationship between service quality, satisfaction and loyalty (Velazquez, Saura, & Johnson, 2011). Therefore, drawing from the cognitive->affective->conative loyalty model (Oliver, 1997, 1999), this study examined the relationships among service quality, satisfaction and destination loyalty. The following hypotheses were tested:

H₁: Service quality has a significant direct effect on satisfaction

H₂: Service quality has a significant indirect effect on destination loyalty through satisfaction

Perceived value has gained considerable research interest as a stable construct to predict buying behavior (Anderson and Srinivasan, 2003; Chen & Dubinsky, 2003; Cronin, Brady, & Hultz, 2000). As a result, it has been emphasized as the object of attention by researchers in tourism (Chen & Tsai, 2007). Notwithstanding the lack of consensus on the definition of the concept, a frequently cited definition of perceived value is that it is the consumer's overall assessment of the utility of a product (or service) based on perceptions of what is received and what is given (Zeithaml, 1988). Perceived value has been measured using either a self-reported, unidimensional measure (Gale 1994) or a multidimensional scale (Petrick & Backman, 2002; Sheth, Newman, & Gross, 1991). However, the validity of the unidimensional measure has been criticized due to its assumption that consumers have a shared meaning of value (Chen & Chen, 2010). Consequently, many researchers recommend the use of the multidimensional scale to measure perceived value (Sanchez, Callarisa, Rodriguez & Moliner, 2007; Sweeney & Soutar, 2001; Sweeney, Soutar, & Johnson, 1996). For instance, building on past studies that conceptualized perceived value using multidimensional scales, Lee, Yoon, & Lee (2007a) constructed a multidimensional scale consisting of dimensions including emotional, functional and overall value.

The influence of perceived value on re-purchase behavior (e.g. loyalty) has been widely explored in services marketing studies. However, research on perceived value as it relates to loyalty and its predictors is still in its infancy in tourism studies. Studies that have explored the relationship between perceived value, satisfaction and destination loyalty report confounding results. In the context of the cognitive-affective-conative loyalty model, some studies reported that perceived value (i.e. the cognitive variable) has an indirect effect on destination loyalty (i.e. conative variable) through satisfaction (i.e. affective variable) (e.g. Deng & Pierskalla, 2011, Kim, 2010; Lee, Yoon, & Lee 2007a). Other studies indicated that perceived value has a direct effect on tourists' intention to revisit and recommend a destination (e.g. Chen & Chen, 2010; Petrick, 2004; Petrick, Morais, & Norman, 2001). Confounding results on the relationships among these variables necessitates the need for further investigation on these relationships. Therefore, drawing from the cognitive-affective-conative model (Oliver, 1997, 1999), this study examined the relationships among perceived value, satisfaction and destination loyalty. The following hypotheses were tested:

H₃: Perceived value has a direct effect on satisfaction

H₄: Perceived value has a significant indirect effect on destination loyalty through satisfaction.

Satisfaction is considered to play an important role in influencing the choice of the destination and the decision to return (Kozak & Rimmington, 2000). Consequently, satisfaction has been receiving increased attention in tourism studies. Approaches to the definition of satisfaction in the extant literature range from cognitive and/or affective perspective to those which consider the specific or overall assessment of the transaction (Hu, Kandampully, & Juwaheer, 2009). Past studies that employed the cognitive approach defined satisfaction as consumers' response to the discrepancy between pre-purchase expectations and post-purchase perceived performance (Fornell, 1992; Deng & Pierskalla, 2011). In this respect, satisfaction is viewed as a relative concept that is judged in relation to a standard (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2001). However, the cognitive approach has been criticized given that the measurement of consumer expectations and the selection of appropriate comparative standards remain problematic (Yuksel & Yuksel, 2001). Studies that employ the affective perspective define satisfaction as an effective response to a specific consumption experience

(Gotlieb, Grewal, & Brown, 1994). It is viewed as consumers' emotional state after exposure to a consumption experience (Baker & Crompton, 2000; Petrick, 2004). Thus, it reflects the degree to which a consumer believes that an experience evokes positive feelings (Rust & Oliver, 1994). While there is no consensus on its conceptualization and measurement, satisfaction is considered as a critical concept for understanding post purchase behaviors (Velazquez, Saura, & Molina, 2011). It is generally believed that satisfaction leads to repeat purchases and positive word of mouth recommendation, which are main indicators of loyalty (Chi & Qu, 2008). Consequently, this has motivated research on the influence of satisfaction on destination loyalty (Chi, 2012; Kim, 2010; Lee, 2003; Lee, Graefe, & Burns, 2007; Prayag & Ryan, 2012; Yoon & Uysal, 2005).

Past studies provide empirical evidence that tourists' satisfaction is a significant indicator of their intentions to revisit and recommend the destination to others (Chi & Qu, 2008; Kim, 2010; Yoon & Uysal, 2005). It is noted that satisfied tourists are more likely to return to the same destination and are more willing to provide word of mouth recommends about the destination to others (Chi & Qu, 2008). Although past studies have investigated the influence of satisfaction on destination loyalty (e.g. Chi & Qu, 2008; Kim, 2010; Yoon & Uysal, 2005), this relationship has not be investigated in a domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, a Zambian setting. Therefore, this study investigated the relationship between satisfaction and destination loyalty. The following hypothesis was tested:

H₅: Satisfaction has a significant direct effect on destination loyalty

The hypothetical model tested in this study is presented in Figure 1. Drawing the cognitive-affective-conative loyalty formation model (Oliver, 1997, 1999), it was posited that cognitive variables (i.e. perceived value and service quality) had a direct influence on the affective variable (i.e. satisfaction), and subsequently an indirect on the conative variable (i.e. destination loyalty). Further, it was postulated that the affective variable (satisfaction) has a direct effect on the conative variable (destination loyalty).

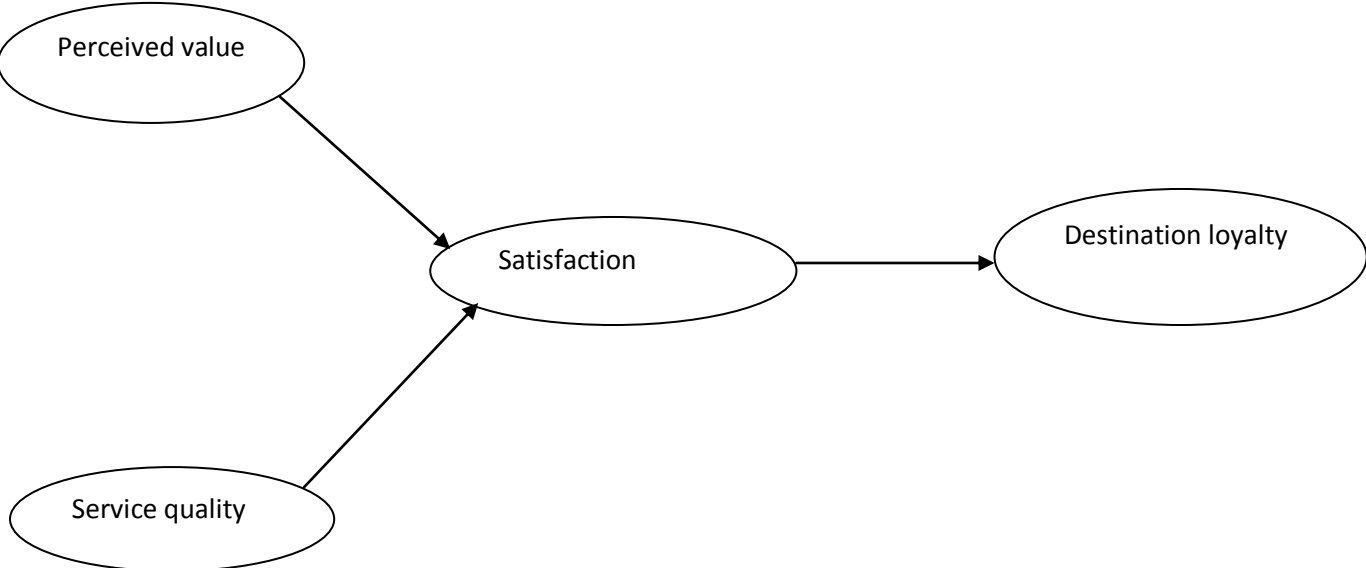


Figure 1: Proposed Theoretical Model (TM)

3. Methods

3.1 Study site

The data for this study were collected by a self-administered questionnaire method at the Victoria Falls World Heritage site in Livingstone, Zambia (Figure 2). The Victoria Falls World Heritage site is located in the southern part of Zambia and is situated within the Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park which covers an area of 66 km². It is a mature natural tourist destination attracting domestic tourists in high volumes over a couple of decades.

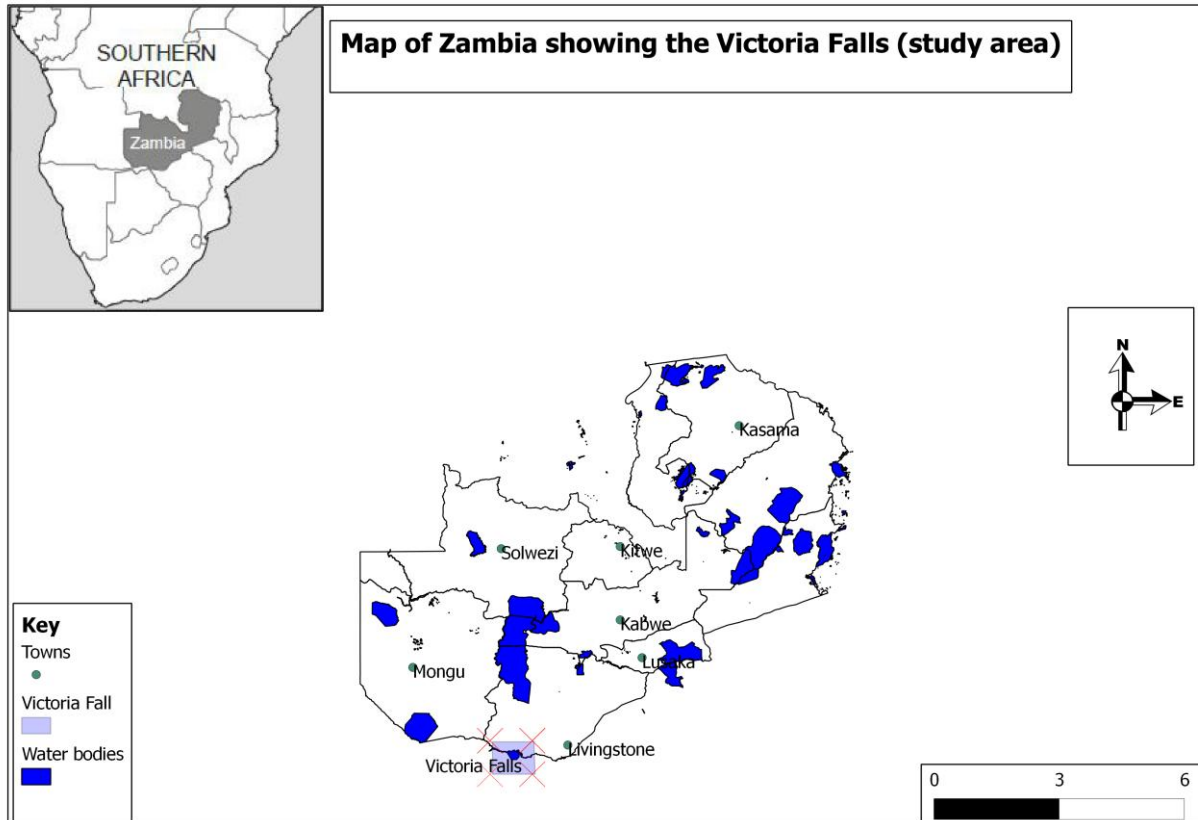


Figure 2: Map of Zambia showing the location of the Victoria Falls World Heritage site

3.2. Survey instrument design and research variables

A self-administered questionnaire was pre-tested on domestic tourists at the Victoria Falls World Heritage site from 5th to 10th August 2014. Reliability assessments results showed that the items used to measure perceived value, service quality, satisfaction, and destination loyalty had acceptable internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha ranging from 0.81 to 0.87. All items in the questionnaire were retained although some items were slightly modified in wording to improve comprehensibility based on feedback from Victoria Falls World Heritage site staff, five professors at the University of Montana and domestic tourists who participated in the questionnaire pre-test. The questionnaire included items measuring perceived value, service quality, satisfaction, and destination loyalty (Table 1). Information on key demographic and travel characteristics about the domestic tourists was also solicited in the questionnaire. Measurement scales used to measure the constructs in the hypothetical model were as follows:

(1) Perceived value: A twelve-item scale composed of functional value (measured by four items), emotional value (measured by three items), and overall value (measured by five items)

was used to measure perceived value. All the twelve items included in this scale were based on the findings of Lee, Graefe, & Burns, (2007a).

(2) Service quality: A ten-item scale consisting of conditions of facilities (measured by four items), amenities (measured by four items), and accessibilities (measured by two items) was used to measure service quality. These items were adopted from Lee (2003), Chi (2005), and Cole & Scott (2004).

(3) Satisfaction: Three items adopted from Back (2001) and Han, Kim, & Kim (2011) were used to measure satisfaction.

(4) Destination loyalty: A six-item scale composed of revisit intentions (measured by three items) and recommendation intentions (measured by three items) was used to measure destination loyalty. These items were adopted from Chi (2005), Chi & Qu (2008) and Lee (2003).

Items used to measure perceived value, satisfaction and destination loyalty were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) = Strongly Disagree to (5) = Strongly Agree. Indicators used to measure service quality were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) = Very poor to (5) = Very Good.

3.3 Data collection and study sample

Data for this study were collected in a three weeks period between August 26th and September 10th 2014. This data collection period was the peak season, consequently, it provided the opportunity to survey a representative sample of domestic tourists who travelled from various towns across the country thereby reducing any risk of under coverage due to the administration period. In terms of sampling, the convenient sampling method was used in this study in that no complete sampling frame was available for the visitor population. This approach is appropriate in instances where a sampling frame is unavailable (Lee, 2003). The first respondent to participate in the survey on each day of the data collection period was determined by selecting every second available respondent upon commencing the data collection. Thereafter, every available respondent was requested to participate in the survey. The respondents were requested to complete the self-administered questionnaire after visiting the Victoria Falls World Heritage site. Consequently, three sampling points were selected and used for this study based on their popularity as exit point from the site.

The minimal sample size for this study was determined using the confidence interval approach (Burns & Bush, 1995; Chi, 2005). To obtain a 95 percent desired accuracy at the 95 percent confidence level with the response and unusable rates set at 50 percent and 20 percent respectively, the required minimum sample size was 963. A total of 1,150 domestic tourists were requested to participate in the self-administered survey of which 1,060 accepted, giving a response rate of 92 percent. Slight more than half of the total sample was comprised of males (56 %), with the majority of the total sample aged between 18 and 40 years (76 %). The highly represented education level was a college/university diploma with respondents in this category constituting 46 percent of the total sample. The majority of the respondents earned less than K60, 000 per annum constituting 58 percent of the total sample.

3.4. Data analysis

The proposed model in this study was examined using the Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) procedure. SEM was used to test both the theoretical relationships within the model and the model's overall fit to the survey data. The SEM procedure was an appropriate

technique for testing the conceptual model in this study given that the model was set up on the basis of prior empirical research and theory. All the parameters were estimated using the maximum likelihood estimation in Stata 13.0.

The two-step SEM estimation process recommended by Anderson & Gerbing (1988) was adopted in this study. This process involves testing the fit and construct validity of the measurement model in the first step and then testing the structural model in the second step. The two-step SEM process is recommended in that valid structural theory tests cannot be conducted using poor measures (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). The measurement model was validated using confirmatory factor analysis while the structural model was examined to test the hypotheses simultaneously by using path analysis.

Missing values, outliers, and distribution of all measured variables were examined to purify the data and reduce systematic errors. Normality assessment results showed that the data deviated from multivariate normality. The detrimental effects of data demonstrating non-normality diminish with large sample sizes having a ratio of at least 15 respondents per each estimated parameter (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson 2010). The sample size for this study was adequate to diminish the detrimental effects of non-normality. Outlier detection results showed that no outliers were found and observations with missing data were managed using a listwise procedure.

Sequential chi-squared difference tests (SCDTS) were also performed using competing models. SCDTs were performed as post hoc tests to provide successive fit information (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). An insignificant change in chi-square (χ^2) statistics between the nested models was used as test of invariance (Byrne, 1993; Lee, 2011). The χ^2 was used to determine whether there were significant differences in estimated construct variances explained by the four models (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1995). To determine the best fitting model, three competing models (CM₁, CM₂, CM₃) (Figure 2) were compared with the theoretical model (TM) (Figure 1). In CM₁ a path was added between perceived value and destination loyalty. In CM₂, a path was added between service quality and destination loyalty. Further, in CM₃ two paths were simultaneously added between (1) service quality and destination loyalty, and (2) perceived value and destination loyalty.

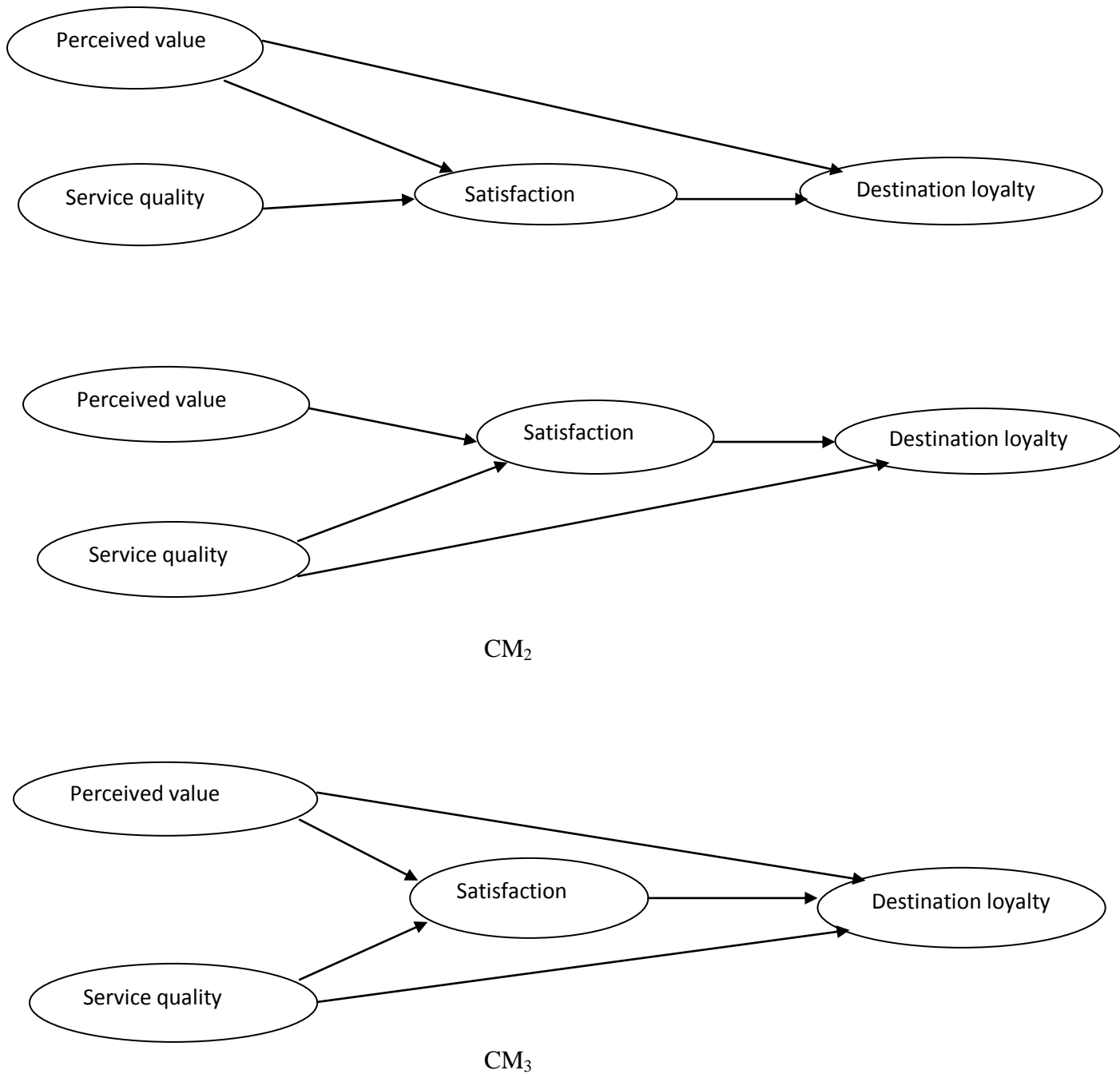


Figure 2: Competing Models

Results

Summary statistics of the multi-item scales that include composite mean scores and standard deviations (SD), as well as factor loadings, composite reliabilities (CR) and average variance extracted (AVE) estimates are presented in Table 1. All the composite mean scores were above the mid-point (2.5) indicating that respondents rated the measures of all the latent variables highly. The composite reliabilities (CR) estimates were all within the 0.7 cut off value indicating internal consistency. All the AVE estimates were also within the recommended 0.5 cut off value indicating that the latent variables explained a good amount of variance in their respective indicators.

Table 1: Summary statistics for multi-item scales, factor loadings, composite reliabilities (CR) and average variance extracted (AVE) estimates

Indicator	Mean	SD	Factor loading	CR	AVE
Perceived Value					
Dimension 1: Functional value	3.97	0.69		0.8	0.6
Visiting Vic Falls was reasonable priced			0.56		
Compared to travel expenses I got reasonable quality from visiting Vic Falls			0.67		
Compared to other destinations Vic Falls is a good value for money			0.64		
I received good service while visiting Vic Falls	4.23	0.72	0.55		
Dimension 2: Emotional Value				0.8	0.5
Visiting Vic Falls gave me pleasure			0.73		
Visiting Vic Falls made me feel better			0.76		
After visiting Vic Falls my image of Vic Falls was improved			0.62		
Dimension 3: Overall Value				0.7	0.5
The choice to visit Vic Falls was the right decision	4.21	0.62	0.74		
I obtained good results from visiting Vic Falls			0.71		
Overall visiting Vic Falls was valuable			0.65		
Overall visiting Vic Falls was worth it			0.66		
The value of visiting Vic Falls was more than what I expected			0.54		
Service quality					
Dimension 1: Accessibility				0.7	0.5
Availability of parking spaces	3.83	0.77	0.57		
Availability of site maps			0.60		
Dimension 2: Conditions of facilities				0.7	0.5
Cleanliness of toilets	3.89	0.66	0.59		
Cleanliness of recreation areas			0.71		
State of trails around the site			0.66		
Sate of the road at the site			0.59		
Dimension 3: Amenities				0.5	0.5
Availability of raincoats/umbrellas	3.35	0.78	0.56		
Availability of interpretation services			0.68		
Availability of restaurants			0.66		
Availability of places to sit and rest			0.60		
Satisfaction					
Overall I am satisfied with my experience at Vic Falls	4.35	0.67	0.74	0.7	0.7
As a whole I really enjoyed my visit to Vic Falls	4.42	0.67	0.85		
Overall I am happy with my experience at Vic Falls	4.35	0.77	0.73		
Destination loyalty					
Dimension 1: Revisit intentions	4.38	0.57		0.8	0.6
I intend to revisit the Vic Falls again			0.69		
I intend to revisit the Vic Falls with other who have never visited the site before			0.81		
My next recreation trip will mostly likely be to Vic			0.34		

Indicator	Mean	SD	Factor loading	CR	AVE
Falls					
Dimension 2: Recommendations intentions	4.50	0.56		0.8	0.5
I intend to say positive things about Vic Falls			0.66		
I intend to recommend Vic Falls to others			0.71		
I intend to share my positive experiences at Vic Falls with others			0.77		

4.1. Measurement model

The overall measurement model was validated using confirmatory factor analysis. Prior to testing the overall measurement model, each of the four constructs in the model was evaluated separately to ensure that the indicators variables were actually measuring the underlying constructs of interest. Results of CFA tests for all the constructs provided support for the underlying factor structures of the constructs. With each of the five constructs appropriately specified, the overall measurement model was evaluated next. Results of the goodness-of-fit statistics are reported in Table 2. The chi-square (χ^2) value was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 67.45$, $df = 38$, $\rho < 0.01$) indicating poor fit to the data. However, a large sample size can hinder this test's ability to assess model fitness because sample size can affect χ^2 value (McDonald & Ho, 2002). Consequently, other measurement model fit indices were employed to verify results of the χ^2 test.

Table 2: Goodness of fit statistics for the measurement model

Chi-square (χ^2)	67.45 (df = 38, $\rho < 0.01$)
RMSEA	0.03
SRMR	0.02
CFI	0.99
TLI	0.99
N	1054

Additional fit indices showed that RMSEA was 0.03 and within the suggested 0.08 cut-off value for an acceptable model fit (Acock, 2013; Kim, 2010). The SRMR value was 0.02 and within the suggested < 0.1 cut-off value for a well fitting model (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson 2010; Kline, 1998). The CFI and TLI values were both 0.99 and above the recommended 0.90 cut-off value for a well fitting model (Kim, 2010). On the basis of the additional fit indices, it was concluded that the measurement model fit the sample data fairly well.

Table 3 presents the indicator loadings, z-statistics, composite reliabilities and average variance extracted estimates for the latent variables. All composite reliabilities were greater than or equal to 0.7 indicating that the latent variables had a high degree of internal consistency (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson 2010). The AVE estimates were all greater than or equal to 0.5 indicating that the latent variables explained a good amount of variance in their respective indicators. The measurement for the latent variables reached convergent validity at the item level given that all the indicator loadings ranged from 0.62 to 0.82 and were significant at the $\rho < 0.01$ level (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). Discriminant validity was assessed by comparing the AVE values with the square of the correlations between each pair of constructs. Discriminant validity is established when the AVE values exceed the squared correlations of a pair of constructs (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson 2010). The AVE estimates for each of the constructs exceeded the square of the correlations between each pair of the constructs thereby providing support for the discriminant validity of the constructs.

Table 3: Indicator loadings, z-statistics, CR and AVE estimates for the Overall Measurement Model

Construct and indicators	Std loadings	z- statistics	CR	AVE
Perceived value			0.8	0.6
Functional value	0.62	26.95		
Emotional value	0.81	46.28		
Overall value	0.81	46.36		
Service quality			0.8	0.5
Accessibility	0.70	28.10		
Conditions of facilities	0.71	28.51		
Amenities	0.63	24.37		
Satisfaction			0.7	0.5
Overall I am satisfied with my experience at Vic Falls	0.75	41.66		
As a whole I really enjoyed my experience to Vic Falls	0.82	51.76		
Overall I am happy with my experience at Vic Falls	0.76	42.84		
Destination loyalty			0.7	0.5
Revisit intentions	0.74	18.98		
Recommendation intentions	0.70	45.16		

Structural Model

Having assessed the measurement model, the fit of the theoretical model was examined. The chi-square (χ^2) value for the model was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 146.84$, $df = 57$, $p < 0.01$) indicating a poor fit to the data (Table 3). However, since the χ^2 test is heavily influenced by sample size (Bollen & Long, 1993), other goodness of fit statistics are suggested to help the model evaluation (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996). The additional goodness of fit indices including RMSEA (0.04), SRMR (0.03), CFI (0.98) and TLI (0.97) were all consistent in suggesting that the hypothesized model fit the data fairly well.

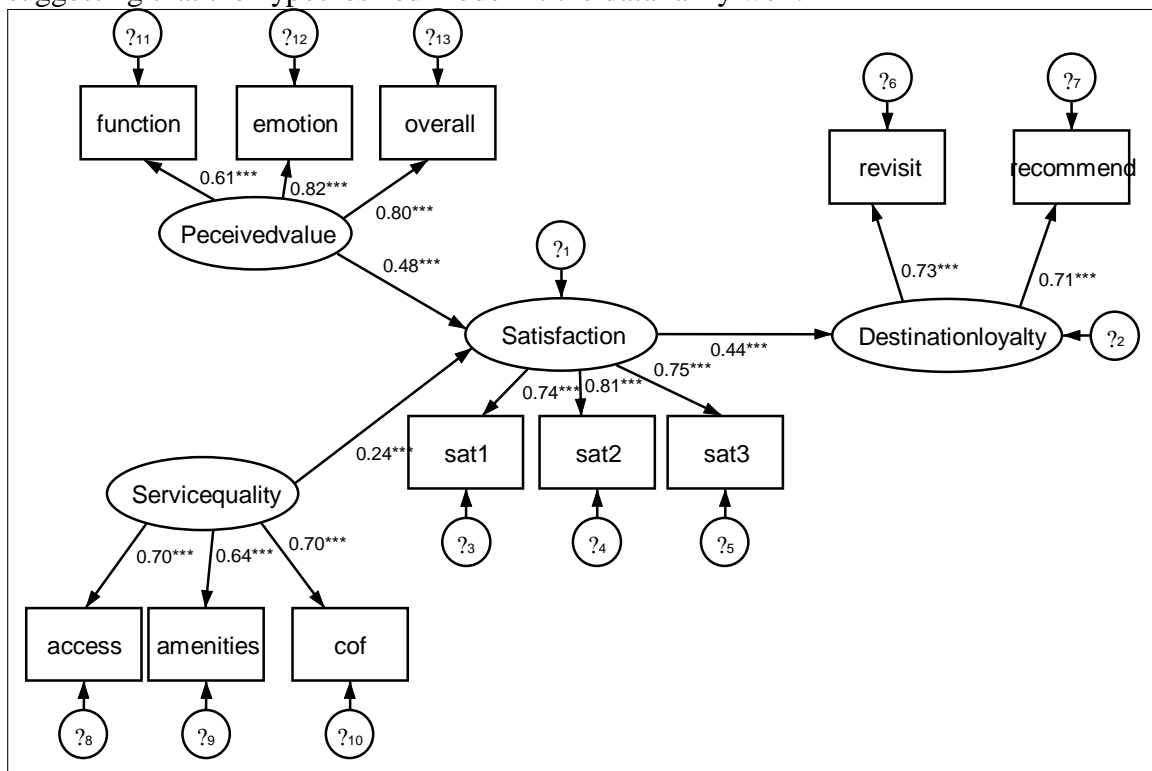


Figure 2: Results of the relationships among perceived value, service quality, satisfaction and destination loyalty.

Figure 2 and Table 4 shows results of the relationships among perceived value, service quality, satisfaction and destination loyalty. The analytical results indicated that service quality directly affected satisfaction ($\beta = 0.24, z = 6.18, \rho < 0.001$) and indirectly affected destination loyalty through satisfaction ($\beta = 0.08, z = 5.10, \rho < 0.001$) though weakly; therefore, H₁ and H₂ were supported. Perceived value directly affected satisfaction ($\beta = 0.48, z = 14.73, \rho < 0.001$) and indirectly affected destination loyalty through satisfaction ($\beta = 0.20, z = 7.61, \rho < 0.001$); thus, H₃ and H₄ were supported. The analytical results also showed that satisfaction affected destination loyalty directly ($\beta = 0.44, z = 12.74, \rho < 0.001$); thus, H₅ was supported.

Further, the squared multiple correlation (R^2) was 0.3 for satisfaction indicating that 30 percent of the variance in satisfaction was explained by the variance in perceived value and service quality. The squared multiple correlation was 0.2 for destination loyalty indicating that 20 percent of the variance in the destination loyalty was explained by the variance in perceived value, service quality and satisfaction.

Table 4: Hypothesis tests results

Structural path tested	Std loadings	Z-statistic	Test results
SQ->SAT	0.24	6.18	Supported
SQ->SAT->DL	0.08	5.10	Supported
PV->SAT	0.48	14.78	Supported
PV->SAT->DL	0.20	7.61	Supported
SAT->DL	0.44	12.74	Supported

*** = $\rho < 0.001$. PV = Perceived value; SQ = Service quality; SAT = Satisfaction; DL = Destination loyalty

Competing models

Having assessed the structural model, sequential chi-squared difference tests (SCDTs) were performed as post hoc tests to provide successive fit information. Table 5 lists the statistical indices of the theoretical, TM ($\chi^2 = 197.02; df = 41$) and the three competing models. First, the $\Delta \chi^2$ for TM and CM₁ ($\chi^2 = 145.37; df = 56$) was 0.05 (with 1 df, $\rho > 0.05$), indicating that the theoretical model, TM and CM₁ were insignificantly different in terms of model fit. However, the statistical indices favored the theoretical model. Second, the $\Delta \chi^2$ for TM and CM₂ ($\chi^2 = 195.49; df = 40$) was 1.53 (with 1 df, $\rho > 0.05$), indicating that the TM and CM₂ were insignificantly different in terms of model fit. The statistical indices indicated that the TM had a better fit than CM₂. Third, the $\Delta \chi^2$ for TM and CM₃ ($\chi^2 = 195.36; df = 39$) was 1.66 (with 2 df, $\rho > 0.05$), also indicating that the TM and CM₃ were insignificantly different in terms of model fit. The statistical indices indicated that the TM had a better fit than CM₂. To detect the effect of adding causal relationships (paths) in the competing models, the statistical significance of the parameter coefficients for the additional paths were examined. The analytical results showed that all the added paths in the three competing model were insignificant at $\rho < 0.05$. This finding suggested that there should be no direct path between perceived value and destination loyalty, as well as between service quality and destination loyalty as the three competing models proposed. This finding further provided support that TM provided a better representation of the data.

Table 5: Fit indices for the theoretical model and competing models

Models	TM	CM ₁	CM ₂	CM ₃
Chi-square	197.02 <i>df</i> = 41, $\rho < 0.01$	196.97 <i>df</i> = 40, $\rho < 0.01$	195.49 <i>df</i> = 40, $\rho < 0.01$	195.36 <i>df</i> = 39, $\rho < 0.01$
RMSEA	0.060	0.061	0.061	0.062
SRMR	0.092	0.092	0.091	0.091
CFI	0.956	0.956	0.957	0.956
TLI	0.942	0.940	0.940	0.938

Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

Drawing from the cognitive-> affective->conative loyalty formation model (Oliver, 1997), past studies have identified service quality, perceived value and satisfaction as antecedents affecting destination loyalty/ tourists' behavioral intentions (Chen & Chen, 2010; Kim, 2010; Petrick, 2004; Petrick & Backman 2002). However, relationships among these variables have not been examined in domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, Zambian setting. Therefore, to extend an examination of these relationships to a domestic tourism context of an Africa setting, particularly, Zambia, this study examined the effects of perceived value, service quality and satisfaction as antecedents of destination loyalty. Although these relationships have been studied in past research, to the author's best knowledge, there is no previous study endeavored to the context of domestic tourism in Zambia. It is believed that this study has a substantial capability for generating more precise applications related to promoting destination loyalty by addressing aspects of service quality, perceived value and satisfaction in a domestic tourism context of an African setting, especially Zambia setting.

The empirical results of this study provide tenable evidence that the proposed structural equation model designed to examine the relationships among service quality, perceived value, satisfaction and destination loyalty simultaneously is acceptable. Consistent with the cognitive

->affective->conative link (Oliver, 1997, 1999), service quality directly affects satisfaction and indirectly affect destination loyalty through satisfaction, although this link was weak but significant. Further, perceived value was also found to directly affect satisfaction and indirectly destination loyalty through satisfaction. These results imply that the effects of perceived value and service quality on destination loyalty is recognized via the mediating effects of satisfaction in a domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, Zambian setting. Consistent with Bagozzi's (1992) proposition that cognitive responses precede emotional response, the findings of this study lend support to Cronin, Brady, & Hult's (2000) proposal that quality and value are cognitive responses to a service experience while satisfaction is an emotional response. Consequently, enhancing service quality and value thereby leading to satisfaction is important for destination managers when designating strategies to promote loyalty in domestic tourism contexts

Enhancing service quality as a management goal as well as ensuring superior value leading to satisfaction are important issues for destination managers when designing strategies for promoting loyalty in a domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, Zambian setting. To provide superior service quality, destination managers could endeavor to meet tourists' expectations with respect to components of accessibility, amenities and conditions of facilities as found by this study. Further, since perceived value was found to have significant effects on satisfaction and destination loyalty, destination managers and marketers need to recognize the importance of multidimensional values when destination tourism services are developed. Particularly, destination managers and marketers could endeavor to meet tourists' expectations with respect to functional, emotional and overall value

as found by this study. Consequently, the need to provide pleasurable and fairly priced experiences is among important ways of meeting the aforementioned tourists' expectations.

Empirical results also showed that satisfaction has a significant direct effect on destination loyalty, thus, the affective->conative link was supported. This relationship suggests that tourists' satisfaction with their experiences at the destination have significant effects on their future behavior. Consequently, as satisfaction levels increase, the propensity to return and recommend the destination increases. This finding reinforces past studies that argue that satisfied tourists are more likely to revisit a destination, recommend it to others or express favorable comments about the destination (Chen & Chen, 2010; Cole & Illum, 2006). Conversely, dissatisfied tourists may express negative comments about a destination and damage its market reputation (Reisinger & Turner, 2003) and never return to a destination (Chen & Chen, 2010).

Notwithstanding the study's contributions, the findings presented in this study should be qualified in light of some limitations. First, to investigate the relationship between perceived value, service quality, satisfaction and destination loyalty in a domestic tourism context of an African setting, particularly, Zambia setting, this study used cross sectional data. Thus, it was impossible to analyze the potential time-lag effects on the relationships established. Future research can build on this study by using longitudinal data to examine the relationships explored in this study in similar contexts. Second, the structural model tested in this study, assumes unidirectional relationships among the model constructs, however, they could be bidirectional linkages that may exist. Future research could explore such bidirectional linkages. Third, while the effects of cognitive variables (i.e. perceived value, service quality) and affective variable (i.e. satisfaction) on destination loyalty were demonstrated in this study, there could be other cognitive and affective variables (e.g. destination image, personal involvement) that can included in the model tested in this study in a domestic tourism context of an African setting. Therefore, future research could include these variables to extend our theoretical understanding of destination loyalty antecedents in a domestic tourism context, especially in an African setting.

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