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Strengthening the Value System for Economic Transformation in Kenya: A Systematic Literature Review

Valerie Nyachieo and Elton Khaemba

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Kenya Institute for Public Policy
Research and Analysis

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Abstract

Values are important in laying the foundation for economic transformation in any economy. The study focused on the barrier constraining adherence to uptake of national values in the country and interventions towards strengthening the inculcation of national values. This study was carried out using a systematic literature review on ways to strengthen the values system to enhance economic transformation as envisaged in Kenya's Vision 2030. The key barriers that limit inculcation of national values in the country were weak political institutions, political clientelism, impunity and lawlessness, ethnic exclusion, inequality; weak social capital and accountability; gaps in economic development characterized by inequalities and unemployment; gaps in performance of oversight role of legislators and in low sense of national identity and patriotism; limited information, research and evidence to inform policy on inculcation of national values; inadequate funding of devolution; and weak implementation of planned development activities. Interventions towards enhancing the national value system include the following. a) Strengthening political institutions including the legislature, political parties, electoral bodies, civil society and the media in mainstreaming values. Enforcement of the Public Participation Bill of 2018; developing appropriate monitoring tools to curb political clientelism; and building capacity for legislature on fiscal management; b) Enhancing social capital and accountability through active citizenry participation in decision making, especially for the marginalized groups and ensuring leaders promote good governance. c) Creating a conducive economic environment by reducing vertical and horizontal inequalities, encouraging marketing agencies to use patriotic marketing information and educational materials, facilitating trade fairs and cross-cultural inter-county activities; and addressing youth unemployment; d) Reducing cost of justice through reduced court fees, construction of more courts in devolved units and hiring of more judges to reduce case backlogs and increase education or awareness campaigns on matters of rights among Kenyans; and e) Build capacity of counties to develop sustainable mechanisms for Own Source Revenue generation and collection in line with specific counties' resources and capabilities, while ensuring equitable resource distribution across the country.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDF	County Development Fund
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
CRA	Commission on Revenue Allocation
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IGRTC	Intergovernmental Relations Technical Committee
KICA	Kenya Information and Communications Act
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MCA	Media Council Act
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NV&PG	National Values and Principles and Governance
OSR	Own Source Revenue

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1. Introduction

A values system is a set of values that shapes the character, attitude and behaviour of people within a society. The value system can take the form of family, cultural or traditional, religious, institutional and national values. Societies in the form of nations strive to come up with national values that cut across their different ethnicities, race and religion. The various national values reflect people's history, culture and practices to give a sense of identity to citizens and make them proud to live in their country. Further, national values create a cohesive environment by dictating rules of engagement for interaction within a society that individuals, institutions and government abide. Falade and Falad (2013) indicate that a nation can achieve national integration and development if its citizens practice values that define them. This is important because a country's values are fundamental for sustained development (Chee, 1995).

Kenya launched Vision 2030 in 2008 to guide the country's development agenda for the next 30 years. The plan aims to transform the economy to a middle-income economy providing high quality life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment. This transformation is to be characterized by annual sustained economic growth of 10 per cent, a just and cohesive society with equitable social development and an issue based, people centred, result-oriented and accountable political system (Vision, 2030). To achieve this form of transformation, the government adopted national values as one of its key enablers. The seventeen (17) national values are stated in Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya and if fully implemented, they can result in the desired economic transformation. The national values are further classified into the various groups as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1: Classification of national values

Group	Values
Creation of national identity and exercise of sovereign power	Patriotism, National Unity, Rule of Law, Democracy and Participation of the People
Sharing and devolution of power	Sharing and Devolution of Power
Protection of bill of rights	Human Dignity, Equity, Social Justice, Inclusiveness, Equality, Human Rights, Non-Discrimination and Protection of the Marginalized
Good governance, transparency and accountability	Good Governance, Transparency and Accountability and Integrity
Realization of sustainable development	Sustainable Development

Source: Constitution of Kenya (2010)

Consequently, economic transformation of a society cannot be separated from values practiced by its members (Ntibagirirwa, 2009; Friedman, 2017; Kapa, 2017). It is critical that society upholds values that translate to positive transformation. Friedman (2017) showed that economic growth devoid of values results in exclusive growth, often marginalizing most citizenry from the benefits of the growth. Despite Kenya adopting national values as its foundation for economic transformation, the desired transformation is yet to be realized, and the national values have not been fully adhered to as a building block to a strong foundation for this transformative vision.

On values pertaining to national identity as shown in Table 1.1, the country has been faced with rise in voter apathy, as evidenced by a decline in voters registry of 5 per cent in the number of youth registered voters in 2022 in comparison to 2017, and reduction in voter turnout from 85.0 per cent in 2013 to 65.4 per cent in 2022 as per Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The country has also not achieved the desired public participation in policy making at the National and County governments. Despite most counties having legislation on public participation, they still lag in operationalizing them and adequate budget is not always allocated for public participation (IGTRC Report). This undermines the economic transformation under the Kenya Vision 2030, which is people-centred, whereby citizens actively participate in the decisions made in the nation on various issues.

On the rule of law values under national identity, the World Justice Project report 2022 ranked Kenya 106/139 with a score of 0.44 on rule of law index. The low score is evidenced by a rise in crime of 16.7 per cent from 2020 to 2021, according to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) 2022 Economic Survey. High crime rate does not produce a conducive environment for business as it inhibits growth of private investments (Marang'a, Kosimbei and Ouma, 2018). These investments are critical to spur 10 per cent sustained economic growth necessary for the economic transformation desired under the Kenya Vision 2030.

The country in 2013 implemented the decentralized system of government comprising the National government and 47 County governments. However, devolution has faced major challenges of insufficient budget allocation and delay in disbursement of funds from the National government to the County governments, poor coordination and consultations on overlapping functions between National and County governments, inadequate capacity and skills to deliver county government functions, and low public participation in policy making (Ngigi and Busolo, 2019). Weak implementation of devolution would have implications on the transformation of society that the country aspires to in the form of equitable distribution of resources with equitable social development as envisaged in the Kenya Vision 2030.

On good governance, Kenya has dropped in voice and accountability governance index score from 42.00 per cent in 2016 to 33.75 per cent in 2021 according to the World Bank 2022 Worldwide Governance Index report. Transparency international further ranked Kenya 128/184 with a score of 0.3 in a range of 0 to 1 on corruption perception index report 2022. The low score is supported by reported cases of

corruption, evidenced by the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) 2022 report tracing Ksh 5 billion of illegally acquired wealth and forwarding 675 investigation files to the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) for prosecution. Poor governance characterized by lack of transparency and accountability results in channeling of resources from productive to less productive activities that may not support a sustained 10 per cent economic growth envisaged under the Kenya Vision 2030.

On values touching on Bill of Rights as shown in Table 1.1, the country has faced issues of inclusivity and marginalization, as evidenced by KNBS report on labour force 2021 quarter 1, which showed that youth are highly excluded from participating in the labour market, recording the highest percentage of unemployment at 16.9 per cent. Azeng and Yogo (2013) showed how high youth unemployment increases the risk of political instability and national insecurity in a nation, and is detrimental to economic transformation. Mroz and Savage (2006) showed how youth unemployment results in sub-optimal investment in human capital. Lack of proper investment on human capital compromises labour productivity, which limits high levels of economic growth capable of achieving desired economic transformation.

Kenya in trying to adhere to the value of sustainable development has adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in its National and County government development plans. However, achievement of the SDGs has been elusive. The country is yet to achieve zero hunger through sustainable food security policies. The country has also not been able to eradicate poverty, with 36.1 per cent of Kenyans falling below the poverty line, according to the 2016 Kenya Integrated Budget Household survey by KNBS. Clean and affordable energy has also been a challenge, with an estimated 70 per cent of Kenyans still using dirty sources of energy in form of biomass fuel as a primary source of energy. Poor adherence to values of sustainable development is an impediment to the economic transformation desired.

The year 2022 marks 12 years since the adoption of national values in Kenya. Although various steps have been taken to promote uptake of these values, the efforts have not yielded the desired results. The African Youth Survey (2022) indicated that 84 per cent of youths think that the country is headed in the wrong direction. The country has fallen short of its ambition to transform into a middle-income economy where citizens enjoy high quality life. One aspect that can explain this failing is poor adherence to national values as discussed above. Kenya risks missing on economic transformation envisaged under the Kenya Vision 2030 if it does not find ways to strengthen its national values and set the country on the right path.

This study aims to look at ways to strengthen the inculcation of national values in Kenya in a bid to enhance economic transformation. This study does this by identifying the barriers to inculcation of national values, and outlining on the strategies to promote adherence of national values in Kenya.

The study is organized in six sections. The first section discussed above is the introduction. Section two focuses on stylized facts. Section three reviews the literature relevant to the study. Section four outlines the methodology the study used to achieve its objectives. Section five focuses on the results and findings of the study. Finally, section six discusses the findings and gives the policy implications.

2. Stylized Facts

2.1 Economic Transformation and National Values in Kenya

Kenya has recognized the importance of values since independence in 1963. After independence, the government resolved to move away from the values established by the colonialist that were based on discrimination, unequal distribution of resources and social injustices for the indigenous Kenyan communities. Although there were no documented enforceable values, the government through different development plans highlighted the key values guiding decisions on economic development.

The government through the Sessional Paper of 1965 on Africa Socialism adopted cultural values of social justice, political equality, human dignity, mutual social responsibility and Harambee spirit as its guiding principles in transforming the economy from a subsistence to a monetary economy. Kenya performed well in some measures, such as increased access to education through free primary education from grade 1 to 4, construction of 500 community aided schools through the Harambe spirit, increase in health coverage through introduction of free health care for children, and reduced inequality characterized by wage increase of 48 per cent in public sector wages and raising of the minimum wage. This period also saw abandonment of the *Majimbo* system that promoted devolution of power as power was now centralized. It was also characterized by the establishment of a one-party system, undermining the value of political democracy. National disunity was also evidenced by the Shifta war that took place from 1963 to 1967 where part of Northern Kenya wanted to be part of Somali rather than Kenya.

The period between 1970 and 1980 saw Kenya follow the national development plan that sought economic independence of the country. Underlying values to achieve economic independence included mutual social responsibility, devolution of resources and social justice. This period saw an increase in the income of small-scale farmers. However, instead of devolution, the period saw centralization of local authority functions such as health, education and roads. The period also saw an increase in poaching, which undermined sustainable development.

The period between 1980 and 1990 had Kenya's national development plan focus on inclusive growth. This is because the country, through centralization of power, saw regional imbalance when it came to growth. Further, groups such as pastoralists, persons with disability, landless rural and urban poor were largely left out of the economic development agenda. To achieve inclusive growth, Kenya listed values of hard work, regional balance through district focused groups, human dignity and social justice as its guiding principles. The period further saw Kenya adopt the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity. A pledge of allegiance was also introduced in form of the Nyayo loyalty pledge to foster patriotism in the country. However, these values did not yield the desired outcome as the period was characterized with increase in inequality, increase in fiscal deficit, attempted coup of 1982, and establishment of Nyayo torture chambers for political prisoners.

The period between 1990 and 2002 saw the national development plan focus on transforming the economy to a modern market economy. This saw the

privatization of parastatals such as Kenya Airways. The values stated in the national development plan of 1990-2002 were mainly sustainable development and democracy. The period ushered in multi-partyism and the country in 2002 witnessed change of power after elections where the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party that had ruled since independence lost elections to the National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition (NARC). This period, however, saw the country lose money through corruption to the tune of Ksh 158.3 billion in the Goldenberg scandal. The period was marred with high levels of poverty, with 56 per cent of the population falling below the poverty line in 2002.

The period between 2003 and 2007 had the country adopt an economic recovery strategy plan that sought to increase wealth and employment opportunities for its citizens. The guiding principle to achieve this was good governance and rule of law. This period saw the establishment of the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act and the Public Officer Ethics Act. Economic growth in this period reached an all-time high of 7.1 per cent in 2007. The period, however, was marred with election violence, where more than 1,100 people lost their lives and over 600,000 people were displaced from their homes.

Before the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010, there was little in policies that informed national values and their implementation. Few institutions had the task of promoting the uptake of national values by the citizens. Further, there was little consistency in the national values pursued as there were no agreed set of values that uniquely identified Kenya as a country. Different values were pushed at different times in isolation. A key lesson that comes out in Kenya regarding realization of national values from independence is that different national values cannot be pursued in isolation. For a country to have a strong value system, the critical values should be pursued simultaneously.

Kenya sought to strengthen its value system by adopting national values enshrined in Chapter 10 of the Constitution. Further, Kenya through the Leadership and Integrity Act 2012 has pushed for State Officers to adhere to national values in the Constitution in execution of their duties. Monitoring tools such as the Annual Presidential Report have been put in place to assess progress in adherence of national values by the public sector. Kenya has also adopted policy on national values by operationalization of Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2013. Institutions such as the Directorate of Cohesion and Values, EACC, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, National Gender and Equality Commission, and IEBC have been established to spearhead mainstreaming and inculcation of national values. Kenya further conducted a baseline study on national values in 2015 to identify where we are as a country with regard to national values and how we can improve on the same. However, these efforts have not yielded the desired outcome as evidenced by Kenya's low ranking and score of various national values globally as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Kenya ranking on various national values

National Value	National Value Indicator	Score	Rank	Source
Good Governance	Corruption perception index (2021)	0.30	128/184	Transparency International
National Identity Values (Democracy)	Democratic perception index (2022)	0.54	Less Free	Latana
Bill of Rights values	Commitment to reduce inequality (2022)		93/161	Oxfam
Sustainable Development	Sustainable development index	0.61	118/163	United Nations
Rule of Law	Rule of law index	0.44	106/139	World Justice Project

Source: Authors' compilation

3. Literature Review

3.1 Theoretical Literature Review

3.1.1 Virtue Ethics

Ethics is generally defined as the principles that dictate one's behaviour. The virtue ethics theory is associated with Aristotle back in the 4th century BC. This theory emphasizes the virtues or moral character of an individual as the foundation to their overall well-being (Bowin, 2020). For example, if you find a stranger lying down on the street hurting from an accident, virtue ethics dictate that helping that person would be charitable or benevolent, hence the right thing to do. Virtue ethicists indicate that the fundamental questions that human beings should ask themselves are 'How should I live my life?' and 'What kind of person should I be?' They assert that when accounting for right and wrong actions, one needs to refer to the character of the person performing the act (Athanasoulis, 2018).

Athanasoulis (2018) indicates that virtue ethics has six essential features: An action becomes right if and only if it is the only action that one has to do at a particular time; goodness precedes rightness; virtues are important because they are good and not because they promote some other value; virtues are good independently and not because they are desirable; some virtues are agent-relative while others are agent-neutral; and doing the right thing does not guarantee maximizing the good.

The theory is applicable to national values in that national values foster national identity; and this begs the question - what kind of a citizen am I?. This question should prompt citizens to act in ways that reflect their national identity. This means to exhibit behaviours that are in line with national values that reflect one national identity.

3.1.2 Consequentialism

The consequentialism theory indicates that an action is right or wrong based on its expected results. If its expected result is good, then it is ethically right to do it but if its expected result is bad, then it is wrong to do it. The theory is further divided into three types: Ethical Egoism, which indicates that an action is good as long as its expected outcome is good to the person who carries it out; Ethical Altruism, which indicates that an action is good as long as it is good to everyone else; and Utilitarianism, which indicates that an action is good as long it is good to everybody including the person who carries it out (Mwadiugwu, 2015).

Consequentialism theory can also be applied to actions carried out by institutions, because they are the most important platforms that influence human behaviour and shape individual identities (Williams, 2006). For instance, one can choose to evaluate the rules or social institutions by looking at the consequences of taking up the rules or institutions then generate justification from the value of the outcomes (Kagan, 1998). Krzysztof (2019) calls it Institutional Function Consequentialism (IFC) and states that "We should always act according to some rules, virtues,

motives and intentions that constitute optimal harmony of normative institutions, whose internalization by the overwhelming majority of everyone in each new generation has maximum expected value in terms of the best realization of the equilibrium of the most important practical functions of normative domains”.

The theory is applicable to national values in that national values should have some positive outcome when practiced. Studies have shown that adherence to national values results in economic transformation. It is important to highlight the positive consequences of national values in prompting citizens to adhere to them.

3.1.3 Contractualism

This is a theory put in place by Scalon in the year 1998. The theory is based on the moral question of what do we owe each other? An act is wrong if its performance under the circumstances is disallowed by a set of principles for the general regulation of behaviour that no one could reasonably reject as a basis for informed, unforced general agreement (Scalon, 1998). Contractualism is not limited to whether an act is right or wrong but also reasons that justify behaviour. One thus seeks to act in a way that he / she can justify to others. One of the strengths of contractualism when it comes to group behaviour is that it avoids aggregation to justify behaviour that benefits the majority, but is rather concerned with pursuing acts that are justifiable based on principle that benefits each person.

This theory is applicable to national values in Kenya. National values are the agreed set of principles that as a society we have chosen to justify one's actions. Therefore, national values encourage society to move beyond acting in self-interest but rather in a way that can be justified to others based on the agreed principles that guide behaviour. Further, this theory tends to take care of the minority as an action is not judged on its benefit to the majority but rather judged on a principle and reason basis that protects each person.

3.1.4 Utilitarianism

The theory of utilitarianism was postulated by Jeremy Bethany in 1832 and later enhanced by John Stuart mill in 1863. The theory tries to explain human behaviour from the principle of utility. The principle of utility puts forward the argument that human behaviour or action is determined by the pain or pleasure they get from a certain action. An act is good if it results in pleasure and bad if it brings pain. The principle of utility says that humans should look to carry out actions that maximize happiness and minimize their pain.

There are three facets to this theory, namely individual utilitarianism, society or groups utilitarianism and fairness. Individual utilitarianism is about the act of an individual that maximizes one's utility. The theory also postulates that an action that brings the maximum benefit to a larger number of people is preferred to an action that brings maximum pleasure to a few. In this aspect, the community

benefit is greater than the individual benefit. Another facet of utilitarianism is the issue of fairness, in that equal consideration of interest is given to each person.

Utilitarianism further brings the issue that certain actions are more beneficial than others. This was brought about by Mill (1963), who put forward that education is better than drinking alcohol; although both bring about happiness, one is better than the other. It is with this reasoning that Mill (1963) suggested that society should put mechanisms to promote actions that bring about greatest benefit and put up systems that discourage certain vices.

This theory is applicable to the issue of values in the Kenyan society as it proposes that for a people to embrace national values, they should be able to see value in values. The values should have some sought of benefit for them to be embraced by a larger population of a society. It also puts in the issue of the need to put systems that encourage certain values and discourage certain vices. In national values, for example, there should be a system that promotes uptake of national values through use of institutions, law, education etc. One major drawback of this theory is on the promotion of values and behaviour that benefit the majority and thereby marginalizing the minority. Values should strive to promote behaviour that benefits everyone, not just the majority as purported by this theory.

3.1.5 Nature Verses Nurture theories

Various scholars have tried to explain behaviour based on two fundamental principles, namely nature and nurture. Psychodynamic theorists tend to explain behaviour by nature, putting forward the argument that the unconscious mind is the primary source of human behaviour (Freud, 1915). Wilson (2002) describes the unconscious mind as the mental process inaccessible to the conscious mind that influences behaviour. The proponent of nature as the main influence of human behaviour is also held by the biological theorist. Biological approaches explain behaviour as a function of genetic makeup, biochemical imbalances and brain physiology. The Darwin theory of evolution showed that the biological component in form of genetic makeup of an individual determined how natural selection occurred between who evolved and adapted and who risked extinction.

The second school of thought are behavioural theorists, who believe that human behaviour can be explained by nurture through the influence of the environment one lives in. Watson (1913) noted that human beings are born *tabula rasa*; that is, as a blank slate and the environment is what shapes their behaviour. Other scholars in support of this notion are BF Skinner (1963), who argued that human behaviour can be conditioned, thus introducing the concept of operant conditioning. Although behaviourist theorist such as Bf Skinner accept the role of genes in human behaviour and that organism are not entirely born as a blank state but with certain innate behaviours, behaviourists still hold firm that behaviour is mainly a result of stimuli response (McLeod, 2017).

In the recent past, there have been attempts to merge the two schools of thought to explain behaviour as a product of nature and nurture. This is through a humanistic approach. The humanistic approach is based on the principle that

human beings are unique individuals and should be treated as such. Further, the humanistic approach acknowledges that humans have free will, with the innate need to self-actualize and make positive contributions to the world around them. The behaviour of human beings at different times is motivated by the need they are trying to achieve. This is demonstrated in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which shows the 5 stages of need that motivate human behaviour. The five stages of need from the lowest to the highest are physiological needs, security needs, social needs, esteem needs and self-actualization needs. The human desire is to be able to reach the self-actualization stage where they realize their full potential.

These three schools of thought discussed above are relevant to the discussion of national values as to how it can be inculcated in society. This can be through nurture in the form of teaching the value at the family level, community level, school level and religious level in a bid to nudge citizens to act in a certain way. However, nurture is not enough to keep one in the straight and narrow road as human nature dictates one to act in self-interest and look for ways to get away with doing wrong. Thus, values should also be legislated to deter bad behaviour. From a humanistic approach, it provides that national values should be in line with the needs that motivate human behaviour such as social needs, physiological needs and self-actualization needs.

3.2 Empirical Literature

3.2.1 Values and economic transformation

Historically, values have been proved to drive socio-economic transformation. According to Weber (1905), protestant work ethic aided in ushering Europe to the industrialization phase. Weber purported that protestant ethic or values favoured the spirit of ideas that promoted rational pursuit of economic gain. Protestant values promoted a culture of hard work, creativity and self-determination. This helped Europe to industrialize through capitalism. A study by Ayal (1963) showed how Japan's value system had aided in transforming Japan's economy into first class status. The values Japan practiced as identified by Ayual (1963) were an active sense of obligation of class status and loyalty, self-discipline and frugality, importance of mastery of tasks and diligence in performing tasks. These values were largely shaped by the religious practices of Buddhism, Confucianism, Shintoism and Bushido (Code of ethics for Samurai) that was dominant among Japanese people.

3.2.2 Drivers and barriers of national values

This study identifies various literature on key drivers and barriers to inculcation of the various national values as outlined in Article 10 of the Constitution of Kenya. On democracy value, Bunce (2008), Furnato (2015) and Kyriazia and Karayiannis (2011) conducted in-depth literature review on democracy and its drivers. Bunce (2008) highlighted the presence of large and diverse civil society, stable state borders, strong political institutions and minority political voice as

crucial influences towards promoting democratic values in a society. Furnato (2015) identified social capital, information, education and equality as the critical socio-economic variables that create and maintain a well-functioning democracy. Kyriazia and Karayiannis (2011) argued that the type of democracy practiced can either be a barrier or a driver to democratic values. According to Kyriazia and Karayiannis (2011), direct democracy promotes democratic values while representative democracy hinders development of democracy in a society. Further, the study argues that institutions play a key role in promotion of democratic values in a society.

On values of patriotism, the study by Druckman (1994) of group loyalty conducted a literature review to determine the factors that influence loyalty in a group. The key findings on Druckman (1994) study showed that loyalty in a group is determined by how well the group meets the individual needs of its members. The study by Druckman (1994) is seen to agree with contractualism theory on contractual agreement, which dictates how people in a society act. Further, the study showed how loyalty in a group encourages collective behaviour in a group. El-Haddad (2019) study on patriotism brought out the contractual aspect that influences patriotism in a country. According to El-Haddad (2019), how the social contract between a government and its people is upheld determines the level of loyalty. A social contract that benefits the majority breeds loyalty, while that which serves a select group discourages patriotism.

On values regarding rule of law, Lindberg, LoBlue and Sen (2022) researched the relationship between rule of law, political clientelism and corruption. The study took a quantitative approach using fixed effect regression technique of a panel of 134 countries across the period 1901 to 2018. The independent variables used in the study were rule of law and corruption while the dependent variable is political clientelism represented by variables of voter buying and party linkages. The findings showed that political clientelism acted as a barrier to good governance and rule of law as it resulted in an increase in corruption and weakening of the rule of law. Further, the study highlighted that political clientelism in form of voter buying promotes corruption, which eventually impedes good governance while party linkages, also called relational clientelism, acted as a barrier to rule of law.

Pertaining to the values of devolution of power and resources, Ngigi and Busolo (2019) conducted a desk review on the good, the bad and the ugly issues coming out of devolution since its implementation in 2012. The key finding from the review showed that although devolution had resulted in more equitable distribution of resources, inclusion of the marginalized promoted democracy through public participation. The issues highlighted were insufficient funding, lack of capacity in skills, corruption and poor public participation conducted in the counties. Nyandiko's (2020) study on devolution and disaster risk reduction in Kenya used a diagnostic approach to review progress and challenges of devolution in Kenya. The key challenges identified in the study facing devolution are inadequate funds, weak coordination, insufficient engagement of vulnerable persons, and issues of inadequate capacity in the counties.

Concerning national values of human dignity, social justice, inclusiveness, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized, Desa (2009) used a literature review approach to research on creating an inclusive society. The study identified cultural participation, political inclusion, access to the labour market, increased access to social services of health and education, improved housing and participatory dialogue as key strategies in developing an inclusive society free of marginalization of any group of people. These strategies also act as drivers of national values of human dignity and social justice.

The national values on good governance are transparency and accountability. Banerjee, Boly and Gillanders (2022) conducted an experimental analysis of policy spillovers on anti-evasion, anti-corruption and public good provision. The study's main aim was to look at how deterrence of corruption and tax evasion behaviour through policy can improve governance, evidenced by increase in public provision. The findings of the study revealed that policies that aim to deter corruption and tax evasion behaviour simultaneously were the most effective in increasing provision of public goods. Further, the study showed that a standalone anti-corruption, monitoring and punishing strategy is the second most effective policy on increase of public good provision while tax auditing is the third effective policy on increasing public good provision. An interesting finding by the study was on how introducing a policy that punishes public officials who embezzle public funds results in reduction of tax evasion by the citizens. The study recommends that should one choose to fight off one evil through policy due to limited resources, focus should be on policy that deters corruption rather than one that deters tax evasion as anti-corruption policy could automatically discourage tax evasion.

3.3 Overview of Literature

The empirical literature discussed above mostly dealt with issues surrounding various national values in isolation. It is important to deeply interrogate the various studies on the national values to know how the findings relate or differ with each other with regard to the research objective of the current study. Further, it is important to extract new knowledge from the existing literature through an in-depth analysis of all relevant studies to know the picture the studies are depicting combined rather than in isolation about barriers to adherence of national values, and recommend strategies that would lead to deeper inculcation of national values in the society. A systematic literature review on the national values is thus necessary and this is the gap this study intends to fill.

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Methodology: Systematic Literature Review: Meta-Synthesis

The study adopted meta-synthesis as its methodology in answering the research questions raised in this paper. Meta-synthesis is a form of systematic literature review that seeks to look for new interpretation of a phenomenon by comprehensively synthesizing findings from all qualitative research carried out in interest. Systematic literature review in the form of meta-synthesis is recommended when a study attempts to generate new insights from a collection of all relevant literature, rather than from parts of the literature with regard to individual studies. Extensive research has been carried out globally in the areas of values resulting in various conclusions. This study investigated various literature in values to derive new revelation from literature, collectively considering their similarities and differences with regard to the questions of interest.

This study followed the following steps to conduct a meta-synthesis:

1. Clear definition of the research questions
 2. Definition of the inclusion and exclusion criteria
 3. Search for the studies
 4. Study selection based on the predefined inclusion and exclusion criteria
 5. Assessment of the quality of the studies selected
 6. Synthesis of data
1. Clear definition of the research question

In coming up with clear research questions for Systematic Literature Review (SLR), there are various criteria used such as PICO (Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome), PEO (Population, Exposure Outcome), SPIDER (Sample, Phenomenon of Interest, Design, Evaluation, Research Type), SPICE (Setting, Perspective, Intervention, Comparison, Evaluation) and ECLIPSE (Expectation, Client, Location, Impact, Professionals, Service). These criteria are acronyms that should be clear in the research question. The PICO criteria is recommended for quantitative studies such as meta-analysis, and thus did not fit into the methodology of this study. SPIDER criteria is suitable for a mixed method study. This study adopted the PEO criteria which is recommended for qualitative studies.

P – Population: who is the question focused on?

E – Exposure: what is the issue the researcher is interested in?

O – Outcome: what is the relation to the issue of interest to be examined

With regards to the above criteria, the study formulated the following research questions

1. What are the barriers to effective inculcation of national values in Kenya?

P- Kenya. E- Barriers. O- effective inculcation of national values

2. What strategies can the Kenyan government undertake to promote uptake of national values?

P- Kenyan Government. E – Strategies. O- uptake of national values

The research question need not fit perfectly to the criteria chosen, but should be able to meet most of the criteria.

The variables of interest of the research are national values. National values are defined as shared beliefs citizens of a country hold that dictate their behaviour. National values were broken down into the following components adopted from Chapter 10 of the Constitution of Kenya:

1. National Unity, Patriotism, Rule of Law, Democracy
2. Sharing and Devolution of Power (fiscal decentralization)
3. Protection of the Bill of Rights, which will focus on value of inclusivity specifically for youth, women and persons with disability (PWDs)
4. Good governance

The methodology focused on the broken-down component of national values as variables to be reviewed and examined from literature to answer the research questions.

4.2 The Inclusion and Exclusion criteria

The inclusion and exclusion criteria guide in the selection of the study and should be defined prior to the search of the studies. The inclusion criteria can be based on methodology, timeline, thematic focus, language, type of study.

On methodology, the research selected studies that employed both qualitative and quantitative methodology. On the type of study, the study included peer reviewed research articles, book chapters and government publications. On thematic areas, the study selected studies that focused on themes that provide answers to the research question with regard to barriers and strategies for effective inculcation of national values. Research from the year 1990 to 2022 were considered for inclusion. The study excluded all research that were not written in the English language. The research focused on studies that were done in Kenya and those that were done outside Kenya, but Kenya was part of the study.

4.3 Search for the Studies

The process of searching for the study included identifying the databases where the search was conducted, selection of keywords used for search of the studies and the choice of articles to be selected. The study capitalized on Science Direct, Research Gate, Google Scholar and Kenyan government website as the databases for the research articles and government publications required for the study.

The keywords used in the search for relevant studies were based on the study research questions, which include the area of interest the study is concerned with, which is national values. The specific issues on national values the study is focused on are barriers and strategies for effective implementation of national values. To have an effective search on the areas of interest, which is effective implementation of national values with regards to barriers and strategies on effective inculcation of national values, the study broke down national values into components of patriotism, democracy, rule of law, devolution of power/fiscal decentralization, inclusivity and good governance.

Some of the keywords were used together in the search, such as 'barriers and the various individual components of national values'; 'strategies and the various individual components of national values'; effectiveness, inculcation and the various component of national values were also be used together. In addition to the individual component, the study also included national values and shared values as part of the keywords used in the search for relevant studies to be assessed for inclusion.

4.4 Study Selection Based on Predefined Criteria

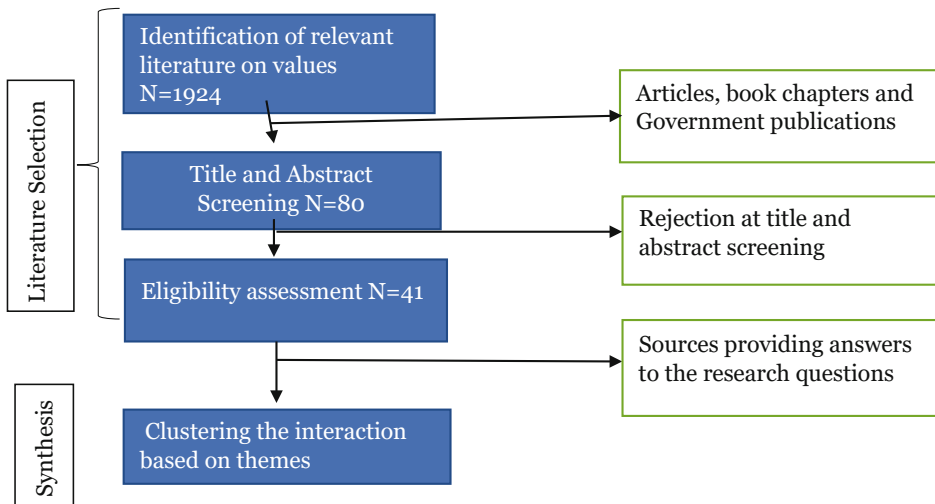
This process included title and abstract screening to assess whether the earlier predefined criteria were met for the selected studies.

4.5 Quality Assessment of the Studies Selected

The quality assessment of the selected studies was based on the critical appraisal skills programme criteria that used the following questions to determine the quality of the study:

- I. Were there clear statement on the study goals and objectives?
- II. Was the qualitative methodology used in the study appropriate?
- III. Was the data collected for the study appropriate to address the research issue?
- IV. Was the data correctly analyzed?
- V. Does the study have clear statement of findings?
- VI. How valuable is the study in question?

Studies that checked at least 4 of the 6 indicators listed above were of good quality and eligible to be used in answering the research questions of the current study.

Figure 1: The systematic literature review process

4.6 Synthesis of the Data

The methodology of this study synthesized various studies to put together the ideas and findings of multiple sources and make an overall point. At the most basic level, the study looked for similarities and differences between the literature sources. The synthesis shows where established themes on national values overlap and diverge. The study adopted the following four steps approach to synthesize information from different sources:

Step 1: Organizing the sources

The study constructed a synthesis matrix and put notes from the various studies depending on the research.

Step 2: Outlining the structure

The study outlined the synthesis structure based on selected themes outlining the main connections and differences between the various selected sources.

Step 3: Writing Paragraphs with topic sentences

In combining various sources, the study developed paragraphs to discuss different sources and then condensed the overall point of each paragraph into a topic sentence.

Step 4: Revise, edit and proofread

During synthesis, the authors kept on redrafting, revising and editing and proofreading the work to make it have a flow.

Table 4.2: Descriptive analysis

Year of Publication	Cluster	Source	Number of papers and publications
1990 to 2022	National Identity	Science Direct; Research Gate	14
2010 to 2022	Devolution	Science Direct; Office of the Controller of Budget; Constitution of Kenya	8
2010 to 2022	Protection of the Bill of Rights	Science Direct, Institute of Economic Affairs; Constitution of Kenya	7
2008 to 2022	Good Governance	Science Direct	12

5. Findings and Discussion

The key factors identified to influence the inculcation of national values include the following:

a) Political environment

Political institutions

Kanyinga (2014) identifies weak political institutions as a significant barrier to practice of democratic values in Kenya. These political institutions include legislature, political parties, electoral bodies, civil society and the media. Political parties play a critical role in promotion of democratic values as demonstrated by Stiftung (2010). These roles include mobilization of citizens to participate in elections, recruitment of candidates through party nominations, political socialization and education, representation role and policy formulation. Political parties have, however, faced various challenges in effective performance of the above role. On the mobilization of citizens to vote, the political parties are expected to use issue-based approach to motivate citizens to go and vote, aligning issues affecting citizens to party ideologies. However, parties have used ethnicity to mobilize citizens to go and vote rather than issues. Although Chapter 7 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 forbids parties to be formed on ethnic basis, most parties in Kenya tend to be formed on ethnic basis. The Political Parties Act of 2011 that requires parties to have 1000 members from at least 24 counties to be registered put the threshold too low to ensure parties are not formed on ethnic basis.

Pertaining to the role of recruitment of candidates through party nominations, parties in Kenya have been faced with the challenge of patronage selection where candidates are imposed rather than selected from the grassroots through a free and fair election process. On political socialization and education, parties are faced with various challenges such as capacity issues, lack of effective programmes to conduct this function, insufficient funding and general lack of political ideologies to aid in performance of this role. Representation role of parties is often compromised when the party's interest is not in sync with the interest of the citizens they are representing in Parliament. All these challenges faced by political parties in performance of their role as a driver of national values of democracy is an indication of political parties as weak institutions of democracy; it inhibits realization of democratic values in Kenya.

Electoral bodies are generally charged with ensuring free, fair and transparent elections. Article 88 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 established IEBC with the responsibility of conducting elections in Kenya. Other responsibilities resting on IEBC include voters' registration, voter's education, monitoring and evaluation of elections, among others. IEBC have managed to conduct three elections since the promulgation of the new constitution. However, issues of free and fair elections by IEBC have been brought to question through three petitions of presidential elections where the 2017 petition resulted in nullification of results, thus planting

seeds of doubts among voters on the transparent nature of the elections. Further, internal wrangles in the IEBC as evidenced in the 2022 elections when four commissioners distanced themselves from the presidential results of 2022 have further raised integrity issues on IEBC. Although IEBC has been mostly successful in conducting elections, doubt has been cast on its independence and integrity, and this has a negative effect on democratic values in the country. This is because if Kenyan citizens believe their votes do not count due to a rigged system, they will not be motivated to exercise their democratic rights in form of voting.

Bunce (2008) shows how large and diverse civil society is important in promoting democratic values in a society, and absence of civil society inhibits democratic practices in a society. Civil society in Kenya, according to Kanyinga (2014), has been on the decline since 2003 due to reforms that resulted in government performing functions that were typically performed by the civil society, tedious registration process required by the Public Benefits Organizations (PBO) Act, and lack of technical capacity in the civil society as people who had the required expertise and experience moved into governmental jobs and roles as legislatures. This has left the civil society struggling to establish its role. However, civil society has a critical role to play in promoting democratic values through civic engagement, and encouraging citizens to effectively participate in the governance issues of the country in line with the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

Practice of democracy

Kyriazia and Karayiannis (2011) showed how the form of democracy either promotes or discourages democratic values in a society. The studies show that direct democracy tends to encourage citizen participation in comparison to representative democracy. Direct democracy has been observed to effectively educate citizens on democratic values via experience rather than preaching, as common in representative democracy. According to Rousseau (1762), there is no democracy when people allow themselves to be represented as people's sovereignty cannot be alienated or represented. Representative democracy often results in elected leaders distancing the electorate from the governance role as politicians pursue their own selfish interests. This has been observed in Kenya where the legislature raised their salaries in 2013, voted to opt out of the Rome Statute in 2013 and raised the debt ceiling in 2022, which was inconsistent with public interest. Kenya has representative democracy but has made efforts to ensure citizen participation through the Constitution, which requires public participation on critical issues both at the national and county level. However, effective public participation is still an issue at the two levels of government in Kenya. With representative democracy, democracy tends to be limited to only elections, which should not be so.

Political clientelism

A study by Kramon (2016) showed how political clientelism behaviour of vote buying influences voters' decisions in Kenya, which is against healthy democratic practices. Ignorant voters are most susceptible to tactics of voter buying by politicians. Surprisingly, the study noted that monitoring tools tend to be ineffective to curb vote buying behaviour. Although Kenya, through Election Offence Act (2016), criminalizes political clientelism in form of vote buying practice that attracts a penalty of not more than Ksh 2 million or a maximum of 6 years prison term, the penalty has not managed to stop this practice.

Leight et al. (2020) showed how vote buying inhibits good governance as the electorate paid for their vote are often hesitant in holding elected officials accountable. This results in rent seeking behaviour from elected officials, compromising on governance principles. Further, Jensen and Justesen (2014) observed that political clientelism was high among low-income societal groups. Opalo (2022) observes how political clientelism in Kenya in form of both vote buying and relational clientelism that ties services to votes have distorted Kenyans' views on the real role of the legislature, which is to make laws and promote good governance through effective oversight of the executive rather than the secondary role in form of development activities. This distortion undermines values of good governance as it has resulted in politicians focusing more on local development activities, leaving a gap in oversight role aimed at promoting good governance through checks and balances.

Leadership

Political leaders in Kenya are meant to be drivers of national values by sensitizing the society on importance of national values and acting in a manner that reflects adherence to national values. However, leaders in Kenya have instead been a barrier to effective inculcation of national values in the society. This is observed by Mbote and Aketch (2011), who point out how blatant disrespect to the rule of law by executive and legislature, thus sending a message to the electorate that rules are made to be broken. Kenya has experienced disrespect of the rule of law from the executive, as evidenced by the May 2021 evictions of Kariobangi dwellers despite a stay order from the Environment Court. The legislature has continued with implementing the Constituency Development Fund Act that was deemed illegal by the Supreme Court. Further, the legislature has failed to implement the two-third gender rule within the time frame set by the constitution.

Political leaders in Kenya have been taken to court for hate speech that undermines values of national unity as it often tends to incite ethnic groups against each other. Some political leaders in Kenya have further been charged with possession of fake academic certificates in a bid to get elected and appointed to positions in government that they are not qualified for. Such behaviour acts as a barrier to the value of integrity. The citizenry tends to emulate the behaviour of their leaders, and, if leaders compromise on integrity, then such values will not be emulated by the younger generation who see these leaders as role models.

Oversight

One of the key roles of the legislature is to provide oversight to the executive to improve governance through checks and balances. Mihyo, Musahara and Muhuna (2016) showed that poor oversight by legislature is hurting governance outcomes in the country. Kivuva (2003) also noted that oversight from the legislature has not been successful in curbing corruption. The factors attributed to poor oversight of legislature in accordance with Mihyo, Musahara and Mukuna (2016) were simple majority system that has seen ruling party legislatures with majority in parliament overlook their oversight role and instead aid in executing bills from the executive branch with very little scrutiny, largely ignoring the minority opposition party legislature concern. Weak technical capacity on the part of legislatures, especially on budgetary and accounting oversight roles, has contributed to weak oversight. Insufficient time for scrutiny was also identified as an issue that leads to poor oversight role especially when it comes to budgets documents.

b) Social capital and accountability

Social capital

Furnato (2015) showed how social capital can result in positive democratic outcomes both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is because social capital facilitates coordination and cooperation among individuals, which can encourage collective behaviour that promotes active citizenry. Active citizenry encompasses citizens who exercise their democratic right that promotes values of democracy. Active citizenry also involves holding leaders accountable, which promotes values of good governance. Poor social capital breeds suspicion among people and groups in a society, resulting in individualism and hostility between ethnic groups. Such behaviour often leads to marginalization of minority groups, whose interests are ignored as their voice is not loud enough due to their small numbers. Weak social capital results in poor information transmission, resulting in weak democratic practices because of ignorance.

The Kenyan society is characterized with weak social capital as evidenced by below average trust index of 43 per cent, as per the social cohesion index report of 2016. The weak social capital is further fuelled by politicians who use divide and conquer tactics through ethnic-based politics that breeds hostility among tribes in Kenya. This acts as a barrier to the national value of good governance as the electorate are apprehensive to hold leaders of their community accountable. Weak social capital compromises democratic values as it results in ethnic-based democracy due to citizen's affinity to vote based on ethnicity rather than issues. Ethnic-based democracy often marginalizes smaller communities from leadership roles at the national and county level.

Social contract

El-Haddad (2019) studies show how the nature of social contract can either promote or impede patriotism. Social contracts that benefit only a few individuals often result in low levels of patriotism in a society. According to Druckman (1994), loyalty to a group is based on the group meeting an individual's needs. Societies with social contracts that result in the government meeting the needs of the majority are often characterized with a strong sense of national identity by the population. The National Gender Equality Commission report on status of equality and inclusivity in 2016 developed an equality and inclusivity index where the country score was slightly above average at 58.9 per cent. Further, the dimension of development included in the index was scored at 44 per cent, indicating that 66 per cent of the population do not benefit from crucial services such as water, electricity, roads, among others. Only four counties scored above 50 per cent in the development dimension. This shows that social contact is marginalizing a good number of citizens from development agenda, making it unsocial in nature.

Social accountability

Fox (2015) observes that poor social accountability where the teeth and voice do not work together often results in poor governance outcomes, especially on accountability aspects. The voice refers to citizens' concerns often raised through civil societies, while the teeth is the government organization with the ability to act on these concerns. Voice without teeth often results in citizens feeling powerless to hold the government accountable. Teeth without a voice makes the government less accountable, compromising on governance values.

c) Economic environment

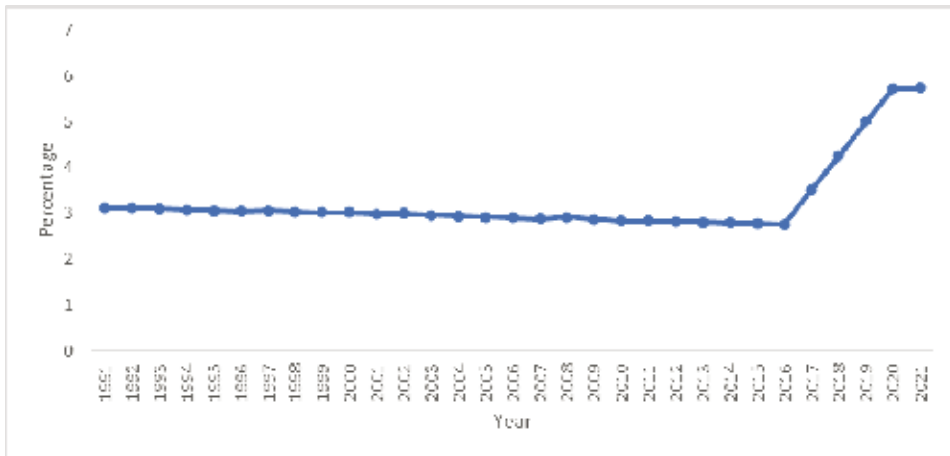
Status of economic development

Huang, Chang and Chu (2008) note that economic development is a precursor to democracy. Therefore, weak economic development acts as a barrier to democracy because low economic development is characterized with poverty and inequality that tend to breed political clientelism, which negatively affects democracy. Economic development results in more educated citizens who are aware of their democratic responsibility and their constitutional rights to actively participate in governance. Kenya's goal of achieving a sustained Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 10 per cent has yet to be realized. The poverty rate in Kenya is still high at 36 per cent, according to the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey of 2016 by KNBS. Despite Kenya's literacy level being as high as 82 per cent (UNESCO, 2022), the harsh economic conditions Kenyans face because of poverty makes them susceptible to political clientelism by politicians, and this undermines value of democracy, good governance, integrity, among others. Weak economic development results in extreme poverty and acts as a barrier the value of human dignity as these societies are unable to meet the basic needs of food, shelter, clothing and education.

Unemployment rates

The study review established that increasing unemployment rates in Kenya make citizens who are willing and actively looking for employment to feel less included in economic matters (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2020). The study uses this as a measure of how citizens feel not included in project development, both in the national government and counties, hence a barrier to achievement of the national value on inclusivity.

Figure 5.1: Increasing unemployment rates in Kenya, 1991-2021



Data Source: World Bank (2022)

Inequalities

Munga, Mwabu and Kiplagat (2014) identified horizontal inequality as a key barrier to national cohesion in Kenya. The Kenya Gini coefficient as per the KNBS 2021 inequality trend and diagnostics report is 0.4, which is the highest in East Africa, and showing Kenya as the most unequal country in East Africa. Onsomu et al. (2017) rated the component of equity in the social cohesion index lowest at 34.6 per cent in a range of 0-100. Further, Sessional Paper No. 9 of 2013 on national cohesion and integration pointed to inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities as a major challenge facing national cohesion in Kenya. Inequality and equity issues always result in some people or ethnic communities feeling marginalized and unable to positively identify as Kenyans with other fellow citizens and ethnic groups. Inequality and unequal distribution of resources leaves some communities with low levels of development, resulting in ethnic conflict, and undermining the value of national unity in the form of social cohesion as each fights for limited resources.

Product patriotism

Spielmann, Maguire and Charters (2020) showed how products associated with the country result in a sense of national pride. Kenya has tried on use of product patriotism through initiatives such as *Buy Kenya Build Kenya* campaigns that aim to promote locally manufactured products. Firms such as Safaricom have also made use of patriotic marketing through campaigns that speak on personal values largely held by Kenyan citizens. Equity Bank has also leveraged patriotic marketing through "I'm a Member" campaigns that spoke on values to do with national cohesion and patriotism. However, there has not been enough patriotism marketing, and this acts as a barrier to inculcation of values of patriotism.

d) Justice system

Access to justice

Mbote and Aketch (2011) point to high cost of justice in Kenya, lack of knowledge on matters of rights among Kenyans, and limited number of courts to serve the Kenyan population as key contributors to low access to justice in Kenya. This compromises the value of rule of law. The recent increase of court fees and the previous revision of Advocate Remuneration Order of 2014 has resulted in raising the cost of justice, making it too prohibitive for the average Kenyan. Kenya also has a limited number of judges and magistrates, estimated at 780, who are too few to handle the numerous cases thus resulting in a backlog. Further, Kenyan courts are mostly situated in urban areas, making access to justice for citizens in rural areas difficult. Although Kenya now conducts mobile courts to help reach rural areas, access to justice is still a problem due to limited capacity and inadequate courts in rural areas. Kenya also has a national Legal Aid Act of 2016, which encompasses a clause to establish a national legal aid fund to mitigate the cost of justice for those who cannot afford it. The move has not yielded the desired result as justice is still elusive to the poor due to cost. The low access to justice diminishes trust by the citizenry in judicial institutions, resulting in settling of issues outside the formal ways through the courts that could result in increased lawlessness.

Ethnic exclusion

Sifuma (2013) showed how ethnic exclusion results in poor sense of national identity and patriotism as citizens feel they do not belong. The ethnic and diversity audit report of parastatals in 2016 by the National Cohesion Integration Commission showed how 80 per cent of employment is taken up by 6 of the largest communities, leaving just 20 per cent for the remaining 36 ethnic communities in Kenya. Although these 6 communities are also the largest in terms of overall population, the report noted that some communities are over-represented by more than 1 per cent, indicating that some communities are under-represented and excluded by the over-representation of other communities. The report also noted that some parastatals did not comply with the National Cohesion and

Integration Act of 2008, which requires that no single ethnic group should form more than a third of employment in a public office. The ethnic and audit report of the County Public Serviced Board of 2016 by the NCIC revealed that 68.1 per cent of the counties had more than 70 per cent of the entry level jobs given to one ethnic group. This goes against Section 65 of CGA (2012) , which requires at least 30 per cent of entry level position jobs to be given to applicants not from the dominant ethnic community.

Discrimination

The values of inclusiveness, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized encourages embracing of diversity, while avoiding nepotism both in public and private sector. Article 27(4) of the Constitution states that the State shall not discriminate a person based on their ethnic, social, religion, culture, marital status, marital status, sex, health status or language. Article 27(6) further directs the legislature and other governance bodies to strictly put in place affirmative action policies and programmes that will solve any past discrimination cases towards individuals, communities or regions. To this effect, the Constitution restricts both direct and indirect forms of discrimination through Article 56, which requires establishment of affirmative action programmes to cushion the minority and marginalized groups. This is one way of ensuring that the values under protection of the Bill of Rights are achieved. On the contrary, this synthesis established that nepotism is high in the country (KIPPRA, 2016). An analysis by KIPPRA (2016) established that nepotism exists more in county governments than the national government. This creates a barrier in achieving the national values on integrity, inclusiveness, and non-discrimination.

e) Enabling environment

Policy environment

Sessional Paper 8 of 2013 on National Values identified various challenges to adherence of national values and how to address them. On one recommendation, there was a suggestion to carry out primary research on national values every five years from 2013 when the paper was operationalized. Although, there was a baseline study done in 2016 on status of national values, no other study has been done to establish how effective the policy has been on driving inculcation of nation values through the various strategies identified in the policy paper. The policy paper appears not to have provided a monitoring framework for identified value drivers in form of private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and progress made on their side to promote realization of national values. The monitoring was limited to the public sector, even though majority of Kenyans are in the private sector.

Information Framework

Information has been shown to be powerful in promoting values of democracy and good governance through transparency and accountability. However, Kosec and Wantchekon (2018) show that information only aids good governance and service delivery if it is deemed relevant, actionable and individuals have the power and incentive to act upon it. Lieberman, Posner and Tsai (2014) further showed how the way information is conveyed can act as a barrier to democracy. The framework under which information will have an impact on citizens behaviour is if the following conditions are met: is the information understandable by the citizen; is the information new; does the citizen prioritize the issue; do citizens know the action to take; do citizens believe their action will make a difference; does the citizen believe others will act? Outside this framework, information will be ineffective to promote any form of action from the recipient.

Media Freedom

Dutta and Roy (2016) show how the media is a tool to curb corruption and promote good governance. However, the study showed how inhibited press freedom and low media coverage can act as a barrier for the media to be effective in its role as a tool against corruption and promotion of good governance. Media has a key role to play as a watchdog in a bid to enhance accountability of the government by properly informing citizens on the working of government on key governance issues. Media pushes for transparency and accountability in governance. Kenya through the constitution guarantees media freedom under Article 34. However, legislative acts in the form of Media Council Act - MCA (2013) and Kenya Information and Communication Act - KICA (2013) have been observed to limit media freedom, with clauses that advocate for harsh punishment on journalists and media houses, and limited independence of the media regulation bodies.

f) Distribution of financial resources

Disbursement of funds

Delay in disbursement of funds to counties can paralyze delivery of programmes and services. Article 219 of the Constitution states that the National government shall transfer part of its raised revenue to counties without undue delay. County governments have complained about delays in receiving their equitable share of funds, and have raised concerns on the impact of these delays. The factors that contribute to delay of funds include: stalemate among the actors in the approval of the revenue sharing process (Commission on Revenue Allocation, National Treasury, National Assembly, Intergovernmental Budget and Economic Council and Senate); unmet revenue targets by the National government, hence no money to share among counties; and disbursements to counties sometimes fail to adhere to the approved disbursement schedule by the Senate. This has led to misallocation of county funds meant for various department projects and activities through delayed procurement processes (Owuor, 2018).

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Adherence to national values is a key driver of economic transformation. The study sought to look at ways to strengthen inculcation of national values by identifying barriers to adherence of national values and further suggest strategies to overcome these barriers in a bid to strengthen uptake of the national values in Kenya. The study used a systematic literature review that ensures objectivity in literature selection and in-depth analysis. The study identified several barriers that limit inculcation of national values in Kenya. These barriers include weak political institutions, political clientelism, impunity and lawlessness, ethnic exclusion, inequality, weak social capital, poor performance of oversight role on the part of legislators, poor social accountability, nepotism, inadequate funding of devolution and high youth unemployment.

a) *Political environment*

Political institutions such as the legislature, political parties, electoral bodies, civil society and the media are important in practice and enforcement of democratic values in Kenya. However, the institutions have not adequately promoted the inculcation of democratic values such as through mobilization of citizens to participate in elections right from the political parties primaries, promoting equitable representation of candidates through party nominations, promoting civic education and inculcating knowledge and role of citizenry in policy formulation and implementation; ensuring a free, fair and transparent elections, voters' registration, voter's education, monitoring and evaluation of elections, promoting respect of the rule of law, curbing hate speech among the political class and general public and oversight by the legislature.

b) *Social capital and accountability*

Social capital has potential to promote positive democratic outcomes. This can be achieved through active citizenry participation in decision-making resulting in active participation in democratic rights, and ensuring leaders promote good governance. Poor social capital often leads to marginalization of minority groups, and poor information transmission that undermines democracy and good governance. Social contracts that benefit a few individuals result in low levels of patriotism in a society. Weak social accountability often results in low governance outcomes, especially on accountability aspects.

c) *Economic environment*

Economic development is a precursor to democracy. Weak economic development constrains democracy. Poverty and weak economic development increases citizens' vulnerability to low civic participation. Economic development results in more educated citizens who are aware of their democratic responsibility and their

constitutional rights to actively participate in decision-making and governance. Increasing unemployment rates is a sign of less citizen inclusivity in development matters. Horizontal inequality acts as a key barrier to national cohesion in Kenya. Product patriotism helps to promote locally manufactured products and builds on personal values held by the citizens.

d) *Strengthening justice system*

Access to justice is affected by high cost of justice, lack of knowledge on civic rights among citizens and limited number of courts to serve the population, which compromises the value of rule of law. Ethnic exclusion results in low sense of national identity and patriotism. Potential cases of nepotism in employment create a barrier in achieving the national values on integrity, inclusiveness, and non-discrimination.

e) *Enabling environment*

There are limited studies on status of national values in Kenya. Apart from the baseline study done in 2016 on status of national values, no other study has been undertaken to assess the effectiveness of policy on driving inculcation of national values among the citizenry. Information is a powerful tool in promoting values of democracy and good governance through transparency and accountability. Media and press freedom can act as a tool to curb corruption and promote good governance. Media has a key role to play as a watchdog in a bid to enhance accountability of the government through properly informing citizens on role of government in promoting good governance.

f) *Distribution of resources*

Delay in disbursement of funds to counties has implications on delivery of programs and services to the citizens. Majority of counties still experience weak collection of own source revenue (OSR). Delayed disbursement of funds and weak collection of OSR act as barriers to full implementation of devolution as a national value. There is also weak implementation of planned development activities.

To strengthen the value system, the following strategies are recommended:

Political environment

- i. National and County governments could promote civic participation through enforcement of the Public Participation Bill of 2018.
- ii. Strengthen political parties as institutions critical in promoting adherence to national values by raising the budget for political parties from 0.3 to 1.0 per cent of revenue collected.

- iii. Amend Political Parties Act of 2011 to require political parties to have at least 10,000 members from more than half of the counties to be eligible for registration instead of the current 1,000 members to address ethnic-based political parties that undermines democracy, good governance and inclusivity.
- iv. Develop appropriate monitoring tools to curb political clientelism in form of vote buying.
- v. Build capacity of legislature on technical aspects of budget and other areas of fiscal management. This can be done through designing a training programme on budgetary and fiscal management to be done at Kenya School of Monetary Studies for legislatures who are members of the budgetary committee.
- vi. Review the rule of decision-making in Parliament from a simple majority to at least 2/3 majority to ensure effective consultation between the majority and minority party before a decision is made.

Social capital and accountability

- i. Develop a policy framework with which civil service and various oversight institution in the government can work together to promote effective social accountability.

Economic environment

- ii. Review and ensure adherence to employment policies under the ministry of public service, youth and gender and the ministry of labour and social protection to facilitate structured employment in the labour force. These reviews need to be done at National and County governments as a way of achieving national cohesion.
- iii. Encourage marketing agencies to use patriotic marketing in a bid to educate the masses on the country's national values.
- iv. Implement the recommendations made by the NCIC ethnic and diversity auditing to enhance inclusivity in the county.
- v. Facilitate inter-county activities such as trade fairs and cross-cultural events to build on social capital to promote values of national unity and democracy.

Justice system

- vi. A reduction in the cost of justice through reduced court fees, construction of more courts in devolved units and hiring of more judges to reduce case backlogs and increase education or awareness campaigns on matters of rights among Kenyans.

Enabling environment

- vii. Amend the Leadership and Integrity Act of 2012 to exclude anyone who has been charged with violating any of the 17 national values and principles of governance from taking office of elective and appointive position until his or her case is resolved.
- viii. Conduct a primary study in national values to assess the status to see if recommendations on Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2013 being implemented yielded the desired outcome and if not, revise Sessional Paper No. 8 of 2013 with other strategies to promote adherence to national values in the country.
- ix. Develop a monitoring tool to assess how the private sector and NGOs are inculcating national values in their spaces.
- x. Repeal the specific clauses in the MCA 2013 and KICA 2013 amendments to guarantee media freedom.
- xi. Adopt an information framework that is easily understood, actionable and arouses desire to act upon in promoting national values.

Distribution of resources

- xii. Build capacity of counties to develop sustainable mechanisms for Own Source Revenue collection in line with specific counties' resources and capabilities.
- xiii. There is need to carry out the public expenditure and financial accountability (PEFA) assessment in all the 47 counties as a way of enhancing financial accountability in the counties.

The study has tried to highlight some of the underlying issues that prevent practice of national values in the nation and suggested strategies that if implemented would help to supplement the strategies in the national policy for values resulting in higher adherence to national values. Higher adherence of the national values would thus result in the desired economic transformation as outlined in the Kenya Vision 2030.

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