

Kenya: Review of Rights Discourses

1. Trends of human rights in Kenya

Phase I of the rights discourse: Outcry in the international community about the serious human rights violations in the mid 1980s. Amnesty International Reports, African Watch Reports. Lack of rule of law and personal safety, in general lack of secure civil rights. Main actors? (Amnesty, the NCKK, individual lawyers and dissidents – others?) Who were the key actors/institutions in this phase?

Phase II of the rights discourse: The demand for political liberalization and multi-party democracy; Grew out of the 1988 elections (70 per cent clause, queue voting etc and claims about Moi's regime as dictatorial). Demand for political rights – freedom to organize political parties. Main actors? (As above, but also “excluded” politicians: Jaramogi, Kibaki etc. Critical voices (Githobi Imanyara and Nairobi Law Review etc). Who were the key actors/institutions in this phase?

Phase III of the rights discourse: The demand for a comprehensive constitutional reform. Who were the key actors/institutions in this phase?

Phase IV of the rights discourse: The mobilization for economic and social rights in local communities (CBOs, rural, urban – slums). Who were the key actors/institutions in this phase? Plus the constitutional issue.

Constitutionalism and the rule of law are the central features of any political democracy that respects human rights. An independent judiciary, the essential guardian of the rule of law, is the linchpin of the scheme of checks and balances through which the separation of powers is assured. Right from the Kenyatta government, Moi government and now the Kibaki administration, the rule of law has perpetually been undermined. The constitution is thus not merely hortatory but the fundamental and supreme law of the land, and a vital source of power, like the media, that politicians use in power play. The two first administrations had to rule by law, and were dictatorial in nature. The rule of law makes a democratic society.

It's in the effort to introduce democratic trends in government that the proponents of multiparty democracy, led by the doyen of opposition politics Jaramogi Oginga Odinga broke ranks with the KANU leadership. Kenyatta ruled Kenya in an increasingly autocratic and unilateral manner with increased restrictions on freedom of expression of dissenting views both from within KANU and from outside the ruling elite. After his death in 1978 the presidency passed to the current President, Daniel Arap Moi, a Kalenjin. In 1980 he succeeded in persuading Odinga to return to the KANU fold.

Once in government KANU initially reached out to embrace a wide range of interests and to bring these under the umbrella of the organisation. The tendency shifted, however, to

increasing levels of intolerance of dissent. This was evidenced in 1982 by the expulsion from the party of senior leaders who had countenanced the formation of a new political party, and then by the amending of the constitution to establish Kenya as a one party state. One of the immediate results of this was an air force initiated revolt to overthrow the government. The army swiftly and harshly suppressed this. The 1980's were characterised by purges from KANU, suppression of opposing leaders, and attempts to define opposition in tribal and ethnic terms. Simultaneously Kalenjins were appointed to senior government and party posts, increasing ethnic tensions, and powers were increasingly vested in the president and a small group of trusted colleagues. Imprisonment without trial, expulsion from the party, banning of public meetings and demotion of Ministers became the order of the day. An open-air "queue voting" system was introduced to select candidates for elections ensuring little opposition even within the KANU party structures. These measures combined with a period of relative economic prosperity effectively capped opposition to the government until 1990.

International criticism of government behaviour developed into suspension of aid and support to Kenya. Within the state lawyers, religious groups and political leadership began to co-operate in demanding multi-party democracy. These proponents included Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, James Orengo, Gotobu Imanyara, Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, Peter Kuguru, Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Mukhisa Kituyi, Martin Shikuku Wamalwa Kijana, Gibson Kamau Kuria, Paul Muite, Raila Odinga, Mukaru Ng'ang'a among others. The combined pressures resulted in 1991 in the repeal by parliament of the constitutional clause making Kenya a one party state.

The elections in 1992 saw opposition parties winning 88 of the 200 seats in parliament. The government continued to divide the opposition, to deploy state assets to promote its own party political agenda and to play the ethnic/regional division card to keep control. By the time of the 1997 elections the opposition had increased its share of the seats to 109 out of 222 seats, but remained hopelessly divided.

2. Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

This category of rights is not prominent in the current constitution of Kenya and is by and large, unjusticeable. The source of this group of rights are: International Treaties, and Conventions and other international instruments to which a state is a party. The rights under this category may/ for want of a better term, be described as rights that deal with basic needs. They include the right to: food; health care; water; social security; housing; education; employment; right to information; right to healthy environment; language and culture. The collectivity of all the foregoing rights constitutes the recently found right to development, Mutungi, (2001).

As compared to civil and political rights, it is difficult to rationalize inclusion of some rights in the constitution, while leaving out those without which the first category is practically hollow. A hungry person is unlikely to be concerned about freedom of association or assembly.

A demand for an economic, social or cultural right is not a demand for state handouts, or rights with untold state monitoring as it was during the Moi regime.. To the contrary, such a demand is for the state and the government of the day, to put in place social and policy arrangements that facilitate access to such right. An examination of any of such rights, within the Kenyan context illustrates the point. It is worth noting that economic, social and cultural rights are not rights that can be "imposed" or demanded of any state, overnight. Constitutional reforms that the Kenyan people are agitating for will need to have clear illustrations of all forms of rights fundamental to man upon the earth.

(Use the text below, but restructure according to the above narrative)

Over the years there has been concerted effort to ameliorate the standards of life by changing the state of human rights and socio-economic circumstances. Human rights refers to the, McLagan, (2003), "basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled." Examples of rights and freedoms which are often thought of as human rights include civil and political rights, such as the right to life and liberty, freedom of expression, and equality before the law; and social, cultural and economic rights, including the right to participate in culture, the right to food, the right to work, and the right to education.

The government of Daniel Arap Moi in its reigning years was perpetually unsure of how much freedom to permit even under a multi-party democracy in Kenya. This created a serious dilemma for Kenyan human rights groups, who reacted by exercising caution in their activities. They avoided the more controversial areas of human rights monitoring and politically contentious public interest litigation. Only the Kenya Human Rights Commission laid claim to human rights monitoring and proposed to institute legal challenges of government human rights violations. This marked a new confrontational approach on the government in respect to rights violations.

A review of political activity of the period since the advent of multipartism shows a consistent pattern of incremental, small changes often reversed or diluted subsequently. Similarly, there have been relatively minor changes in the ranks and beliefs of those wielding power. Those used to call for significant change had been found outside of KANU, and had been consistently ignored, silenced or marginalized.

The result has been a political dispensation characterised by little innovation and creative initiative in responding to the changing circumstances and needs of the country. Pressure for change has always been resisted to the point that there cannot be adequate governance in the country without fundamental change in political power, and a new constitutional dispensation.

From inside the country and from international agencies and observers there ever was growing appreciation of the need for substantive structural change. Changes that are merely cosmetic and tamper with the system without fundamentally altering the balances of power in the country are increasingly regarded as inadequate and dangerous. Such

"changes" will only serve to perpetuate the status quo and delay the economic recovery so badly needed in Kenya.

Many groups, individuals and the civil society came up in arms to fight for the rule of law, real democratic leadership and called for an end to the torture of pro-democracy adherents. *Kituo Cha Sheria* is another good example of a group well versed in areas of raising human rights awareness, public education, empowerment as well as legal services and advice to the masses.

The Government's human rights record has remained poor, largely due to the abuses of its security forces; police officers (AP and GSU) used excessive force against demonstrators during the post-election violence, and 80% of deaths in Nyanza province are reported to have been as a result of police shootings (CIPEV report, 2008). Although there are a number of improvements, serious problems remain witnessed through the handling of suspects allied to the out-lawed Mungiki sect. Police committed unlawful killings, tortured and beat detainees, arrested citizens arbitrarily, and used excessive force in pursuit of such suspects, (KNCHR report).

Despite slight improvements, cases of torture, poor prison and police cell conditions, police brutality, unlawful arrests and detention, rape, and abuse of women are rampant. (KNHRC report). Pretrial detention was a serious problem in the past, especially during the KANU reign, so far such cases (which mainly served political reasons) have reduced.

Trafficking of persons, including the theft of newly born children, is a problem that gains significant attention from the Government and media as well as the American Embassy and the German Embassy through the TIP (trafficking in persons) programmes in Mombasa and Nairobi. This basically infringes on the rights of the trafficked persons. TIP is a human rights issue that successive governments in Kenya have never given the critical attention it deserves. Trafficking in persons is usually an "underground" crime, it can be difficult for law-enforcement personnel, the public, or service providers to readily identify a trafficking victim and/or a trafficking scenario. There have been cases of victims escaping and reporting the situation to the police. However, many are physically unable to leave their work sites without an escort and are not free to contact family, friends, or members of the public.

Women and children have always been the exploited lot in regard to TIP. This mainly happens in Mombasa Kenya, Eistleigh Nairobi, and along the border towns like Namanga and Busia. A draft bill forwarded to the Attorney-General in June 2008 threatens to award human traffickers life in prison if it becomes law, after a multi-sectoral committee appointed to write a law against human trafficking and smuggling finished its work, (Daily Nation, 10.06.2008). The bill has however not been put forth for debate in parliament. This goes a long way to indicate the Grand Coalition government's laxity in curtailing this form of human rights violation. The proposed law does not only target traffickers. Those who abet the crime, including owners or representatives of hotels, bars, villas and brothels that use or employ trafficked people, are considered culprits. They

also face lengthy jail terms or life imprisonment, in addition to losing property acquired from the trade.

According to a study report, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for the year 2004 released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor in Kenya, released in February 28, 2005, the Government is said to have instituted a number of reforms through the years to improve human rights protection. This can be attributed to the establishment of KNCHR through an Act of parliament. There were no politically motivated arrests or disappearances during the year. For prisons, the Government outlawed corporal punishment and liberalized regulations for family visitations. However, prison warders still live in dehumanizing and degrading housing conditions unfit for human occupation.

The Government allowed prisoners to sit for the Primary School Certificate examination. Further, the Government also allowed human rights organizations to inspect prisons, although some organizations continued to have problems actually doing so. This has seen the KNHRC officials visit the prisons and promulgate appalling prison conditions, KNHRC (2004). The government arrested a number of police officers for allegations of abuses, and ill treatment of suspected criminals or shooting them dead even when they had already surrendered; however, most police who committed abuses were neither investigated nor punished. The Government created and activated a new institution to root out corruption, i.e. Kenya Anty Corruption Commission (KACC), in 2003, although, by year's end, the Government had not arrested or prosecuted any high-level government officials on corruption charges. The Government generally protected the rights of workers to join unions and engage in collective bargaining, according to the Ministry of Labour Issue 2004. These can be said to be steps in the right direction, but the ultimate has not yet been reached. The post-poll occurrences unmasked the vulnerability of the rights of the people and the institutions that are meant to safeguard those rights including parliament.

It demonstrated that there are partisan and non-partisan groups and affiliations on the threshold of protecting and sustaining the constitutional and unalienable rights of all the Kenyan people. Bigambo (2006) argues that it behooves all rights based organizations to selectively choose fitting channels to communicate their selected messages to the audiences and stamp their impact. This is because the choice of media matters in terms of who gets the message, when and how. Media has been a source of both good and bad information. Protection of human rights in Kenya, as it is in any country, is the concern of fundamental institutions established in due regard for the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family, thus, the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

However, in consideration of the isolated events through the past decade that culminated in the post-election violence, it is self-evident that majority of Kenyans were denied the right of self-determination and the right to freely determine their political status, affiliation and to and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development from their legally determined places of choice.

3. Human Rights and their place in Kenyan Law and Politics

BAA Guideline: 1. Are human rights conventions are incorporated into domestic law and used in jurisprudence? 2. The legal context will include the legislation that governs the operations of NGOs. 3. Contemporary human rights discourses (the constitutional issue still important, the Media Bill debacle, the Political Parties Act, the land issue, issues in informal settlements – security, housing, health, access to information etc). (I have tackled some of these issues in other sections of this work, where the sub titles os provided favoured them. Kindly let me know through your comments on further reinforcement that is needed).

The Kenyan media sector has however been operating devoid of a clear framework on matters of explicit human rights protection and advocacy. The media, being a powerful and vital instrument for championing freedom, democracy and human rights, need not only be an information disseminator, but act as a pressure pump on the government and the civil society to uphold human dignity and protect the weak. The media needs to be politically non-partisan, and become the towering Big-brother in defense of human rights for the many who have no voices of their own on matters political.

On the unimpressively flip-side, incessant political interference and skewed political will on the implementation of major findings of commissions of inquiry (such as the bickering and bigotry of politicians) heighten the lack of public trust in the political class. This impedes the desired progress on the national human rights record, especially in consideration of the January 2008 ethnic profiling and the resultant pogrom.

4. Governance, Leadership and Human Rights in Kenya

Governance is a concept largely understood to mean the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels, and comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences' (UNDP Policy Document, 1997). While the concept of Human Rights is essentially founded on the belief that all men and women are born equal and that every individual is entitled to enjoy certain basic rights by virtue of being human. It was first formulated in the United States Bill of Rights and subsequently developed as a universal concept in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. In Kenya, many have been the cases where the human rights of many citizens have been violated both by the state agencies and private individuals. The civil society has consistently kept the government in check on the duties it owes to the citizens.

Good governance ensures inclusion of all members of the society in the decision making process, and creates opportunities for all the groups and stakeholders, including and especially the most vulnerable to improve and maintain their well being. Kenya's political leadership has been riddled with endemic corruption, misuse, conspicuous

consumption and deliberately wasteful expenditure of public resources which has continued unabated even after Kenyans voted for change in the 2002 General election. This has been the lifeline of the culture of impunity in the government and political circles. It's time to have good governance and accountable leadership and deal a death blow to the culture of impunity and embezzlement of funds, and sustain principles of equality.

Governments that adhere to human rights regime have the primary responsibility to respect, protect, promote and fulfill the fundamental rights including civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, of their citizens and others within their territories and jurisdiction and champion for equality, especially human rights and gender equality. Gender equality refers to the valuation by society of both the similarities and differences between male and female human beings and the different roles they play in the society. It is believed that men and women should enjoy the same status in the society in terms of access to resources and opportunities for realizing their full potential. This will enable them to contribute to national political, economic, social and cultural development (Wagacha, 2007). In reality women are disadvantaged in this respect, hence the reason for championing such a goal. The gender gap that exists is mainly as result of cultural or traditional beliefs which view women as weaker compared to men.

5. Human rights and multi-party politics in Kenya

Multi-party politics in Kenya came with a fair share of human rights violations. Kenya has had a multi-party system since 1991 via constitutional amendment, with politicians frequently "crossing the floor" or setting up new political parties and coalitions to achieve their political aims. The Moi government met the "dissidents" who were advocating for multipartism with untold state forces. When Kenya entered the second multi-party era it was assumed that by allowing opposition to exist, the government would create an enabling environment for its citizens to freely exercise their constitutionally guaranteed rights. What resulted, however, was continuity in human rights violations by the police, and government-supported armed militia and hired thugs. The arbitrary arrests, detentions, and the practice of the interference of the judiciary by the executive, also continued for most of the 1990s. This was a bid to silence the dissidents and teach them submission.

In the early 1990s, the KANU government went as far as instigating ethnic violence in order to portray the multi-party system as inappropriate for Kenya. Ethnic cleansing was introduced in order to eliminate opposition in "KANU-only zones." From various independent human rights reports, the 1992 and 1998 ethnic violence in the Rift Valley Province was deliberately inflamed for political purposes by members of the government. Violence spread in the Likoni-Kwale (Coast Province) prior to and after the 1997 general elections, in areas where opposition to KANU was strong. The 1998 clashes were different from the previous ones in that this time the Kikuyu community in the Rift Valley retaliated in an organized fashion which the attackers had not anticipated.

Independent investigators again confirmed state complicity in these 1997 violations of human rights. A task force appointed by KANU as well as a parliamentary committee

reaffirmed the findings of the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) that the state was involved in widespread ethnic cleansing in the Rift Valley. In December 2002, Kenya held democratic and open elections and elected Mwai Kibaki as president from the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) as president. The NAK and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) formed the NARC coalition that currently governs Kenya.

6. Conclusion

The preceding dimensions have tried to reflect and interrogate significant correlations in the respective ethical leadership, characteristic of political leadership in Kenya, dimensions of human rights standing in the country, the ailments and the possible way forward. The discussions herein too reveal that to pursue protection and preservation of fundamental human rights to the ultimate as well as peace and reconciliation is both a commitment and responsibility for all the parties involved through sound and credible institutions. Vital to note are the ontological differences between existing political transformations and leadership in Kenya, juxtaposed with the global trends. There is need for absolute political good will, independent institutional capacities guided by laid down procedures, and following due process when there's need to seek redress. Both of them are human phenomenological constructions that explain a community's interrelationships in the political development process through human-rights based approaches.

There is need for integrity to reign supreme in the corridors of power, the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. This exercise was a cross disciplinary dialogue that comprise the wholesome democratic enterprise. It's clear that corruption and governance are interlinked yet so distinct notions. Merely adding anti-corruption offices or commissions does not amount to fighting corruption. Drafting new laws alone does not curtail the cancer of corruption in Kenya. That is why it has remained a crisis in Kenya. It instead calls for putting it in broader governance contexts such as need for an absolute rule of law, protection of property rights, intellectual property included, freedom of the press, transparent campaigns, because obscure funding channels fuel corruption, fair political competition, and stopping to play the tribal card on the political arena. The studies referred to herein illustrate the need for human rights organizations and political parties to take more responsibility in educating their members to acquire skills for responsibly communicating political interests and human rights affairs through love, care, patience and tolerance for sustainable peace and human rights preservation, as well as progressive democratic praxis. These will expeditiously respond to the 21st Century development agenda for Kenya, focused leadership and a rush to beat the deadline for attaining the United Nation's led Millennium Development Goals.

Kenya: Organizational Mapping

1. Types of rights-promoting organizations

Many rights-promoting organizations exist in Kenya, and have, over time, been crucial and instrumental in fostering the development agenda on the national stage. They have a history of pushing the government, and rallying the support of the public toward championing national courses. Among these issues are colonial era land edicts and policies which dispossessed many communities; the impact of mining and extraction activities on the environment and human livelihoods; discriminatory policies by successive governments that have guaranteed the stubborn survival of pre-colonial conditions of poverty and underdevelopment among many pastoralist and minority communities; the arrogant disregard for the concerns raised by (for example) Samburu women raped over the years by British soldiers dispatched on military exercises in those Kenyan communities; proposals on ending conflict and creating conditions for sustainable growth; the role of youth; tensions persisting with neo-colonial era settler farmers and indigenous Kenyan comprador businessmen in hiving off thousands of hectares of land while the pastoralists and minority communities are targets of state terror, evictions and denunciations.

The civil society and social movements therefore have a critical role in the development agenda, and creating social and economic, as well as political justice and equilibrium for resource redistribution. Such groups include Bunge la Mwananchi. Kutoka Network, Kenya Human Rights Commission, Peace Foundation (Africa), Kenya Anti-Rape organization. Lately there is the World Assembly of Social Movements, which seeks to galvanize social movements accross the globe so as to have global power and influence.

Social movements, including dozens in Kenya, are transforming themselves into a space for organizing and mobilizing against the nefarious forces of ethnic politics, neo-liberalism and all its local neo-colonial and comprador collaborators, skewed resorce distribution and a host of socio-economic ills the shroud the boby politic in Kenya. However, social movements, non-governmental organizations, community based organizations and professional associations have been incessantly repressed by successive regimes basically because of the kind of power they wield. Such, for instance, has been the constant fate of the People's Parliament (Bunge la Mwananchi) members who perpetually face arrests and interference by the police at Jeevanjee Gardens in Nairobi.

2. The networks of affinity groups

Poverty cannot be removed without sustainable development and sustainable development cannot be achieved where there is poverty. That is logically why social movement networks and affinity groups have always risen up to champion and tackle problems of human rights nature relating to women's rights, land issues and human rights in relation to health and medicine.

Access to drinking water and sanitation has been key issues affecting urban and rural communities in many parts of Kenya, and cannot be separated from other poverty related issues like hunger, starvation, illiteracy, abortion and unemployment. Slum dwelling is yet another concern because it demonstrates poor sanitation, insecurity, landlessness and scramble for resources. A large proportion of the urban population in Kenya have no access to water and sanitation services and this is more pronounced in urban informal settlements. UNICEF (1992 report) indicates that over 56 per cent of slum populations in Nairobi have no access to appropriate means of excreta disposal.

Networks in Kenya that work to correct this is such as the Undugu Society, National Council of Churches of Kenya, Health Rights Advocacy Forum, African Network for the Prevention and Protection of Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN); Basic Rights Campaign; Carolina for Kibera; Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG); Kenya Human Rights Commission; Kituo Cha Sheria; Kutoka Network of Parishes in the Informal Settlements Christ the King, Line Saba Sacred Heart, Dagoretti Christ the King, Embakasi St. John's, Korogocho Consolata Shrine, Westlands St. Joseph, Kahawa West Holy Cross, Dandora St. Joseph and Mary, Shauri Moyo Holy Mary Mother of God, Githurai St. Joseph the Worker, Kangemi Holy Trinity, Kariobangi St. Mary's, Mukuru kwa Njenga Our Lady of Guadalupe, Adams Arcade St. Theresa's, Eastleigh/Mathare Valley; Maji na Ufanisi; Pamoja Trust; Shelter Forum.

During the turmoil in January and February, health workers were displaced, and some faced violence and ethnic discrimination, weakening the health system and scattering doctors and nurses across the country. Health conditions for the victims too deteriorated to crisis levels.

3. Land issues and informal settlements

Currently, there are over 168 informal settlements in Nairobi that are home to over two million people. Residents of Nairobi's informal settlements constitute 55% of the city's total population and yet they are crowded on 5% of the total land area in the city. Informal settlements in Nairobi have encroached on unoccupied land, including that set aside for road reserves, railway lines, forests and public utilities, where they have put up semi-permanent structures. This is a direct result of poor land laws and lack of state concern. There are a host of land issues currently sizzling away in Kenya, including historical Maasai and coastal land claims and the now widely leaked Ndungu Report into past land grabbing. There is urgent need for a clear and comprehensive land policy, and new constitution that safeguards the interests of the landless, the poor, women against sexual abuses, discrimination, gender bias and environmental health for all Kenyans.

4. The range of rights being promoted within Kenya

The many non governmental organizations, the civil society and community based organizations work toward the protection of minority rights. Such rights include right to property ownership, education, food, land, freedom of speech, freedom of association and the right to health care and sanitation. Women rights feature prominently because women

have perpetually been discriminated against and short changed when it comes to opportunities to which they face the glass ceiling.

Appendices

Numerical data and lists and charts will be presented where available

References

Achermann, E. (1996) *Cry Beloved Africa! A Continent Needs Help*; Dusseldorf, African University Studies Munich-Kinshasa.

Alexander, Fran (ed) (1998). *Encyclopedia of World History*. Oxford University Press.

Alston, Philip (2005). "Ships Passing in the Night: The Current State of the Human Rights and Development Debate seen through the Lens of the Millennium Development Goals". *Human Rights Quarterly*. **Vol. 27** (No. 3).

Amnesty International (2004). Amnesty International Report. Amnesty International Publications.

Andreassen, Bard, Barasa Tiberius, Kibua Thomas and Tostensen Arne (2008) "I Acted Under A Lot of Pressure" The Disputed 2007 Kenyan General Election in Context. Nordem Report. Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights. University of Oslo. Vol. 7/2008.

Barasa, Tiberuis. (2006) Reforming the Political Market in Kenya Through Public Party Funding. IPAR Discussion paper.

Barzilai, Gad. (2003). *Communities and Law: Politics and Cultures of Legal Identities*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bharathi, K.S. (1989) *Socio Religious Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi*; Nagpur, Dattsons Publishers and Distributors.

Bigambo, Javas. (2006). *The Concept of Selective Communication: Shaping the Needs of Conflict and Human Resource Management in Kenya: A Case Study of Action Aid Kenya – Western Region*. Unpublished Human Resource Management report submitted for the award of Diploma in HRM at the Kenya Institute of Management.

Chauhan, O.P. (2004). *Human Rights: Promotion and Protection*. Anmol Publications.

Donnelly, Jack. (2003). *Universal Human Rights in Theory & Practice*. 2nd ed. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Kamoche, K. (2008) "*He who disturbs peace is no lover of his country*" In Sunday Nation; January 13.

Kamugisha, F, M. Fr. (2006) *Is Your Sorrow like the Sorrow of Mary? Our Lady of Seven Sorrows*; Makuyu, Don Bosco –Makuyu Press.

Kanyinga Karuti (2006) in *Readings on Inequality in Kenya: sectoral dynamics and perspectives*. Society for international Development, East Africa.

- League of Kenya Women Voters (1997) *Women and Democracy: A Voters' Handbook*.
- Mapesa, B. And Kibua, Thomas. (2006) *An Assessment of the Management and Utilisation of the Constituency Development Fund in Kenya*. IPAR Discussion paper.
- Mayeshi John (2008). *Going back to the Polls*. Katiba News.mIssue No. 09.08.
- McLagan, Meg (2003) "Principles, Publicity, and Politics: Notes on Human Rights Media". *American Anthropologist*.
- Morsink, Johannes. (1999). "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, Drafting & Intent" (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Mutere, A. (2005) *The Media Observer*, Issue 1 June.
- National Economic and Social Council of Kenya (2007) *Kenya Vision 2030*, Nairobi, Govt. Printer.
- Oloo Adams (2006) *Devolution and Democratic Governance: Options for Kenya*. Ipar Discussion paper No. 077/2006.
- Tierney, Brian (1997). *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- Wheelis, A. (1973) *How People Change*; New York, Harper & Row.
- Leonard, David, (1991) *African Successes: Four Public Managers of Kenyan Rural Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Haugerud, Angelique, (1995) *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochieng, William R. (1995) " Structural and Political Changes", pp. 83-109, in *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya, 1940-93* , B. A. Ogot and W. R. Ochieng, Editors. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, pp. 83-109.
- Persson, T. and Tabellini, G. (1994) 'Is Inequality Harmful for Growth?' *American Economic Review*.
- Kenya, (1998) *The Constitution of Kenya*. Laws of Kenya, rev. ed. Nairobi: Government Printer, Chapter II, PartI (6)(1-2).
- Amnesty International, Kenya, (1995) *Torture, Political Detention and Unfair Trials*. AI Index AFR 32/17/87, 1987 and Amnesty International, Kenya: *Torture Compounded by the Denial of Medical Care*. AI Index AFR 32/18/95.

Republic of Kenya (2002) Basic Report: Urban Household Budget Survey 1993/94.
Nairobi. Central Bureau of Statistics.