Chapter One: A journey through time in search for a new Constitution

PLO Lumumba

1	Introduction	13
2	The Kenyan Constitution at Independence	18
2.1	The Phase between 1897 and 1905	18
2.2	The Phase between 1905 and 1923	19
2.3	The Phase between 1924 and 1954	20
2.4	The Phase between 1954 and 1960	20
2.5	The Phase between 1960 and 1963	21
3	The Kenyan Constitution in the Post-Independence Era: a Historical Account of Constitutional Amendments in Kenya	23
4	Contemporary Constitutional Reforms	36
5	Conclusion	43

Chapter Two: Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law under the New Constitutional Order

Dennis Ben Mosota

1	Introduction	45
2	Constitutionalism in the New Constitutional Dispensation	46
3	The Question of Legitimacy	49

4 Rule of Law in the New Constitutional Dispensation 55
5 Conclusion 58

Chapter Three: The Bill of Rights

Morris Kiwinda Mbondenyi

1 Introduction: General Structure and Salient Features of the Bill of Rights 61
2 Substantive Provisions of the Bill of Rights 65
2.1 Right to Life 65
2.2 Equality and Freedom from Discrimination 67
2.3 Human Dignity 70
2.4 Freedom and Security of the Person 70
2.5 Slavery, Servitude and Forced Labour 75
2.6 Privacy 77
2.7 Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Belief and Opinion 78
2.8 Freedom of Expression 80
2.9 Freedom of the Media 82
2.10 Freedom of Association 82
2.11 Assembly, Demonstration, Picketing and Petition 84
2.12 Political Rights 84
2.13 Freedom of Movement and Residence 85
2.14 Right to Property 86
2.15 Labour Relations Rights 87
2.16 Right to Clean and Healthy Environment 87
2.17 Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 91
2.18 Family Related Rights 92
2.19 Consumer Rights 93
2.20 Justice Related Rights 94
2.21 Rights of Special Groups 95
3 Conclusion 97

Chapter Four: Gender Equality

Ruth Aura Odhiambo & Maurice Oduor

1 Introduction 99
2 Background 102

3 Gender and Law in the Pre-2007 Constitutional Dispensation 106
3.1 Political Decision-Making 106
3.2 Property Relations 107
3.2.1 Acquisition and Ownership 107
3.2.2 Inheritance 108
3.3 Customary Law and Practices 109
3.4 Inequalities in Marriage 111
3.5 Matrimonial Property 113
3.6 International Human Rights Standards 116
3.7 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence 118
3.8 Social and Economic Rights of Women 121
4 Gender Equality in the New Constitution 122
4.1 General Framework 122
4.2 Fundamental Values of the State 124
4.3 The Bill of Rights 125
4.3.1 Generally 125
4.3.2 Non-Discrimination 126
4.4 Civil and Political Rights 131
4.5 Property Relations Including Matrimonial Property 133
4.6 Political Representation 136
4.6.1 Generally 136
4.6.2 Principles of the Electoral System 137
4.6.3 Political Party Framework 139
4.6.4 Structures of Political Representation 141
4.6.5 Representation in Appointive Bodies 143
4.7 Application, Limitation, Enforcement and Interpretation of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution 144
5 Gender Equality in Context 147
6 Conclusion: The Way Forward 151

Chapter Five: Land and the Environment

Tom Ojienda & Mathews Okoth

1 Introduction 153
2 Land Acquisition and Governance in Kenya from

Colonialism to the Effective Date of the New Constitution 158
2.1 Pre-Independent Kenya 158
2.2 Post-Independent Kenya 163
2.2.1 Public Tenure 164
2.2.2 Trust Lands 165
2.2.3 Customary Tenure 169
2.2.4 Private Tenure 170
3 Environmental Regulation in Kenya 170
4 Outline of Chapter Five of the New Constitution 172
5 Improvement on Land and Environmental Governance under the New Constitution 175
5.1 In Respect of Abuse of Presidential Discretion in Land Allocations 175
5.2 In Respect of Use of Corporations as Conduits for Land Grabbing 176
5.3 In Respect of Irregular Disposal of Trust Lands and Group Lands 176
5.4 In Respect of Conservation of Forests, National Parks, Game Reserves, Riparian Reserves and Specially Protected Areas 177
5.5 In Respect of Pastoral Lands 177
5.6 In Respect of Squatter Problems at the Coast 177
5.7 In Respect of Historical Injustices in Land 178
5.8 In Respect of Gender Parity in Land use, Holding and Access 178
5.9 Self Enforcement of the Constitution 178
6 Conclusion 179

Chapter Six: Separation of Powers

Elisha Z. Ongoya
1 Introduction 181
2 The Recognition and Vesting of Exercise of Powers by the Constitution of Kenya 2010 184
2.1 Sovereign Power 184
2.2 Separation of Power between that of the National Level Government and the

County Level Government 185
2.3 Organs of Government and their Respective Powers 190
2.3.1 Legislative Power 191
2.3.2 Executive Power 192
2.3.3 Judicial Power 193
2.3.4 The Authority of Constitutional Commissions and Independent Offices 194
3 Fusion/Overlap of Power and the Mechanisms for Checks and Balances under the Constitution of Kenya 2010 195
3.1 Fusion of all Sovereign Power in the People 195
3.2 Overlap of Judicial and Executive Powers 196
3.3 Overlap of Executive Power and Legislative Power 198
3.4 Overlap of Legislative Power and Judicial Power 199
3.5 Overlap between Powers of Independent Offices and Constitutional Commissions and other Organs of Government 200
4 Conclusion 201

Chapter Seven: Devolved Government

Steve O Odero

1 Introduction: Devolved Government as a Form of Decentralisation 203
1.1 Forms of Decentralisation 203
1.2 The Content of Devolution 205
2 The Road towards Devolved Government in Kenya: Brief Historical Narrative 208
3 Present Day (Transitional) Local Government System 211
3.1 Local Government Structure 211
3.1.1 The Functioning of Local Government: The Committee and Full-Council System 212
3.1.2 Local Government's Power to Legislate 212
4 Devolved Government under Chapter Eleven of the Constitution 213
4.1 National Government in Kenya 214

4.2	County Government System	214
4.3	Distribution of Functions between the National Government and the County Governments	215
4.4	Key Elements of Fiscal Devolution in the Kenyan System	217
4.4.1	National-County Taxation Powers	217
4.4.2	Revenue Allocation: Commission on Revenue Allocation	217
4.4.3	Financial Equalisation in the New Constitution	218
4.4.4	County Revenue Funds	220
5	Issues for Consideration in the Enactment of Implementation Legislation	220
5.1	Financial Equalisation and Composition of the Revenue Allocation Commission	220
5.2	Developmental Devolved Government	222
5.3	Devolved Government and Poverty Eradication	223
5.4	Good Governance and Devolved Government	225
5.5	The Promises of Devolved Government: Enhanced Public Service Delivery?	226
5.6	Devolved Government: Bringing Governance Closer to the People through Citizen Participation	228
5. 7	Devolved Government and Affirmative Action	229
6	A Legislative Framework and Proposals for Incorporation in the Devolved Government Statute	230
7	Conclusion	230

Chapter Eight: Constitutional regulation of international law in Kenya

Luis G Franceschi

1	Introduction	233
2	Constitutionalism and Limitation of Powers	234
3	International Policy, International Relations and the Foreign Affairs Power	236
3.1	The Origin of the Foreign Affairs Power	238
3.2	Interplay between International and Domestic Law	242

3.3 The Exercise of the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya from a Historical Perspective 246
3.3.1 Political-Historical Foundations of the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya 247
3.3.2 Legal-Historical Foundations for the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya 254
3.4 The Limits of the Foreign Affairs Power 260
4 The Implementation of the Foreign Affairs Power in Africa 264
4.1 The Constitution of Algeria 265
4.2 The Constitution of Cameroon 266
4.3 The Constitution of Equatorial Guinea 268
4.4 The Constitution of Madagascar 269
4.5 The Constitution of South Africa 271
4.6 The Constitution of Uganda 273
5 The Implementation of the Foreign Affairs Power in Kenya 275
5.1 Treaty-Making 278
5.2 Diplomacy 281
5.3 War and Peace 283
5.4 Recognition of States and Governments 285
6 Conclusion 286

Chapter Nine: Constitution Implementation in Kenya

Victor Odhiambo
1 Introduction 287
2 Constitution Implementation: A Two-Prong Process 289
3 The Constitution Implementation Process and Organs 289
3.1 Parliamentary Select Committee 291
3.2 Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution 292
3.3 Parliamentary Oversight Role in the Implementation Process 293
4 Policy, Institutional and Administrative Reforms: A Needed Outcome of Implementation 296

5	The Implementation Schedule	298
6	Probable Challenges to the Implementation Process	301
7	Monitoring the Implementation Process: The Players	303
7.1	Civil Society	303
7.2	International Community	303
7.3	General Public/Kenyans	304
8	Conclusion	305