

THE CENTRALITY OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHER GENIUS IN CONTEMPORARY  
COUNTY GOVERNANCE: PROFESSOR-GOVERNED COUNTIES IN KENYA



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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby attest that this dissertation is my original work and has not, in part or in whole, been published or submitted for publication, and has hitherto not been presented for examination in this or any other university. I further attest that to the extent that information has been derived from other sources, this has been duly acknowledged in the dissertation.

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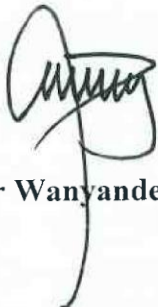
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This dissertation is a bona fide record of the academic research that was done under my supervision and has been submitted for examination with my approval as the candidate's dissertation supervisor.

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Date: 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2022.

**Professor Peter Wanyande.**

## **DEDICATION**

To the glorious memory of my grandfather, (1930-2019);

The man who kindled my first academic fire.

&

To my grandmother, my two mothers, my brother and my nephew;

The loved ones whose profound love has always kept the flames of my academic fire alive.

This is also dedicated to every young girl who dreams of climbing up the academic ladder and breaking through the glass ceiling in academia; May your academic fire stay alive.

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[...] Unless either philosophers,..., govern in the cities, or those who are at present called kings and governors philosophise really and thoroughly, and these two, the political power and philosophy, unite in one, and 'till the bulk of those who at present pursue each of these separately are of necessity excluded, there shall be no end,... to the miseries of the city, nor yet, as I imagine, to those of the human race; nor till then shall ever this republic, which we have gone over in our reasonings, spring up to a possibility, and behold the light of the sun.

**-Plato, c. 380 BC.**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Title Page</i>	<i>(Page i)</i>
<i>Copyright Page</i>	<i>(Page ii)</i>
<i>Declaration</i>	<i>(Page iii)</i>
<i>Dedication</i>	<i>(Page iv)</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>(Page v)</i>
<i>Epigraph</i>	<i>(Page vi)</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>(Page vii)</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>(Page x)</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>(Page xi)</i>
<i>List of Graphics</i>	<i>(Page xii)</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	<i>(Page xiii)</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>(Page xiv)</i>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b><i>(Page 1-16)</i></b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b><i>(Page 1)</i></b>
1.1. Background to the Study	<i>(Page 1)</i>
1.2. Statement of Research Problem	<i>(Page 3)</i>
1.3. Research Questions	<i>(Page 4)</i>
1.4. Research Objectives	<i>(Page 5)</i>
1.5. Justification and Significance of the Study	<i>(Page 5)</i>
1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study	<i>(Page 7)</i>
1.7. Conceptual Framework	<i>(Page 10)</i>
1.8. Definition and Operationalisation of Key Concepts	<i>(Page 10)</i>
1.9. Research Hypotheses	<i>(Page 11)</i>
1.10. Research Methodology	<i>(Page 12)</i>
1.10.1. Research Design	<i>(Page 12)</i>
1.10.2. Research Sampling Frame	<i>(Page 12)</i>
1.10.3. Research Sampling Technique	<i>(Page 13)</i>
1.10.4. Research Sample Size	<i>(Page 13)</i>

1.10.5. Methods of Data Elicitation, Presentation and Analysis	<i>(Page 14)</i>
1.10.6. Data Reliability and Validity	<i>(Page 15)</i>
1.10.7. Ethical Considerations	<i>(Page 16)</i>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE KALLIPOLIS</b>	<b><i>(Page 17-35)</i></b>
<b>INSIDE THE KALLIPOLIS: UNWRAPPING PLATO’S IDEAL STATE</b>	<b><i>(Page 17)</i></b>
2.1. What is the Anatomy of Plato’s Ideal State?	<i>(Page 17)</i>
2.2. The Place of the Philosopher Genius in Plato’s Ideal State	<i>(Page 20)</i>
2.3. The Place of Education in Plato’s Ideal State	<i>(Page 22)</i>
2.4. The Place of Justice in Plato’s Ideal State	<i>(Page 26)</i>
2.4.1. Non-Platonic Concepts of Justice	<i>(Page 26)</i>
2.4.2. The Platonic Concept of Justice	<i>(Page 29)</i>
2.5. The Place of Women in Plato’s Ideal State	<i>(Page 31)</i>
2.6. Inside the Kallipolis: Summary and Gaps in Literature	<i>(Page 32)</i>
<b>CHAPTER THREE: THE PLATONIC PERSPECTIVE ON GOVERNANCE</b>	<b><i>(Page 36-43)</i></b>
<b>GOVERNANCE AND PLATONISM: PLATO’S CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE</b>	<b><i>(Page 36)</i></b>
3.1. Hallmarks of Plato’s Concept of Governance	<i>(Page 36)</i>
3.2. Aristocracy from the Vantage Point of Plato	<i>(Page 37)</i>
3.3. Timocracy from the Vantage Point of Plato	<i>(Page 38)</i>
3.4. Oligarchy from the Vantage Point of Plato	<i>(Page 39)</i>
3.5. Democracy from the Vantage Point of Plato	<i>(Page 40)</i>
3.6. Tyranny from the Vantage Point of Plato	<i>(Page 41)</i>
3.7. Governance and Platonism: Summary and Gaps in Literature	<i>(Page 42)</i>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	<b><i>(Page 44-108)</i></b>
<b>DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS</b>	<b><i>(Page 44)</i></b>
4.1. Presentation and Analysis of Primary Data	<i>(Page 44)</i>
4.1.1. Presentation of Primary Data	<i>(Page 44)</i>
4.1.2. Analysis of Primary Data	<i>(Page 77)</i>
4.2. Presentation and Analysis of Secondary Data	<i>(Page 89)</i>
4.2.1. Data Presentation of Key Points from Auditor General Reports	<i>(Page 89)</i>



4.2.2. Analysis of Auditor General Reports on Professor-Governed Counties	(Page 92)
4.2.3. Data Presentation of Key Points from Controller of Budget Reports	(Page 96)
4.2.4. Analysis of Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties	(Page 101)
4.2.5. Data Presentation and Analysis: A Summary	(Page 107)

**CHAPTER FIVE** (Page 109-121)

**SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS** (Page 109)

5.1. Research Summary	(Page 109)
-----------------------	------------

5.2. Research Findings, Inferences and Conclusions	(Page 112)
--	------------

5.3. Research Recommendations	(Page 116)
-------------------------------	------------

5.4. Suggestions for Further Studies	(Page 120)
--------------------------------------	------------

**REFERENCES**

**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX I: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION LETTER**

**APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1.1. Interview Data on the Impetus for Working towards Professorship

Table 1.2. Interview Data on the Interest in Learning after Attaining Professorship

Table 1.3. Interview Data on the Place of Education when Making Appointments

Table 1.4. Interview Data on the Ranking of Education among Leadership Qualities

Table 1.5. Interview Data on Priorities Areas when Formulating Education Policies

Table 1.6. Interview Data on the Degree Requirement for Elective Positions

Table 1.7. Interview Data on the Role of Academic Backgrounds in Governance

Table 1.8. Interview Data on the Role of Academic Specialisations in Governance

Table 1.9. Interview Data on Handling Opposition

Table 1.10. Interview Data on Power and How Power Corrupts

Table 1.11. Interview Data on Chapter Six of the Constitution

Table 1.12. Interview Data on Integrity

Table 1.13. Interview Data on Equity, Equality and Fairness

Table 1.14. Interview Data on Role Models in Leadership and Governance

Table 1.15. Interview Data on Handling Corruption

Table 1.16. Interview Data on Handling Bribery

Table 1.17. Interview Data on Public Funds Embezzlement

Table 1.18. Interview Data on the Place of Women in Governance

Table 1.19. Interview Data on Upholding the Rule of Law

Table 1.20. Interview Data on Respecting Court Rulings

Table 1.21. Interview Data on Handling the Greatest Governance Challenge

Table 1.22. Interview Data on the Immediate Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic

Table 1.23. Interview Data on the Happiness Derived from Governance

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1.1. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports

Figure 1.2. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports

Figure 1.3. Key Points from the 2019/2020 Auditor General Reports

Figure 1.4. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports

Figure 1.5. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports

Figure 1.6. Key Points from the 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports

Figure 1.7. Key Points from the 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports

Figure 1.8. Key Points from the 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports

## **LIST OF GRAPHICS**

Graphic 1.1. Graphic Representation of the Conceptual Framework of the Study

Graphic 1.2. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports

Graphic 1.3. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports

Graphic 1.4. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2019/2020 Auditor General Reports

Graphic 1.5. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports

Graphic 1.6. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports

Graphic 1.7. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports

Graphic 1.8. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports

Graphic 1.9. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports

Graphic 1.10. Graphic Representation of Conformity of Professor-Governed Counties to Plato's Ideal Polis

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**ECDE** Early Childhood Development Education

**CEO** Chief Executive Officer

**ICT** Information and Communication Technology

**IFMIS** Integrated Financial Management Information System

**MCA** Member of County Assembly

**MP** Member of Parliament

**MSSD** Most Similar Systems Design of Research

## **ABSTRACT**

This study explores the Centrality of Plato's Concept of the Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya. Its point of departure is thus interrogating the veracity of the assumption by both the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya that governors who have achieved the highest possible educational attainment will, incontrovertibly, mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius and the counties they govern will, indubitably, mirror Plato's Ideal Polis (Kallipolis). Hence, to this end, Professor Governors and professor-governed counties are singled out as the optimal units of analysis. Thereafter, the study adopts a double-pronged methodological approach wherein a Philosopher Genius Model that underpins the cardinal virtues of the Philosopher Genius is embraced as the yardstick for ascertaining whether Professor Governors are, in actual fact, Philosopher Geniuses, and wherein county reports are scrutinised to ascertain whether professor-governed counties mirror Plato's Kallipolis. It is within this frame of reference that the study confirms that Professor Governors are the ne plus ultra of Plato's Philosopher Genius, and equally confirms the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya, with the caveat that there is more to establishing an Ideal Polis than solely governance by governors who are Philosopher Genius exemplars.

**Key Words:** County, County Governance in Kenya, Education, Governor, Ideal Governance, Kallipolis, Philosopher, Philosopher Genius, Plato, Polis, Professor Governor, Professor-Governed, Virtue.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Background to the Study

The concept of governance “is as old as human history” and equally as old as human civilisation (Weiss, 2000, p. 795). This concept is typically fluid in nature and is understood differently depending on the contextual considerations in question (Pierre & Peters, 2007, p. 7). In the Kenyan state, in particular, the concept of county governance was established by the new constitution, under Chapter 11 (The Constitution of Kenya 2010, 2010, p. 106). In principle, at the heart of this establishment was bringing forth social and political reforms, by curing the social and political ills that were intrinsic to a highly centralised system of governance (Wanyande & Kibara, 2021, p. 3).

In the same breath, Plato's concept of governance mainly rests on the platform of social and political reforms intended to establish justice in society (Nettleship, 1967, p. 6). This Platonic justice is not justice in the legal sense but rather, social justice, geared towards ensuring society achieves “goodness and thereby happiness” (Barker, 1960, p. 207), and it thus lays the groundwork for social and political reforms. This is owing to the fact that it is all about achieving virtue and attaining the ideal (Popper, 1945, p. 24), and equally about the conversion of the soul and the service of mankind (Burnet, 1964, p. 218).

Overall, justice is a recurring theme in the works of Plato and his contribution to the debate on the Ideal Polis cannot be ignored. By and large, he describes justice as a virtue that is both honourable and profitable, and injustice as a vice that remains unprofitable even when one is not punished for it (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 141). This justice, he argues, lies in both the individual and the city, for the good of the individual is inextricably linked with the good of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 38). It is against this background that he elucidates the concept of justice based on the Analogy of the Soul and the City (Yunis, 2007, p. 12).

In principle, Plato opines that for there to be justice in society, both the soul and the city need to be just. There must hence be justice in the individual for there to be justice in the city, for one is a reflection of the other. It is thus neither possible to have just individuals in an unjust city nor a just city with unjust individuals. This is because “states do not come out of an oak or a rock, but from the characters of the men that dwell therein” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 127). That being the case, if there is justice in the individual and no justice in the city, there

can consequently be no justice in society as a whole, for a balance between the two is the basis for a just society and for social and political reforms. On this premise, therefore, Plato asserts that “the character of a state is determined by the character of its citizens” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 138), and hence, the aspects of justice that are present in the individual are fundamentally the same ones that are present in the city (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 127).

Thus, as far as the individual is concerned, when critically analysed, (s)he embodies three main distinctive elements. These elements can be described as the Rational, the Spirited and the Appetite (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 128). In general terms, if all three elements do not perform the respective tasks they are responsible for, and if they do not work in harmony, it will be impossible for the individual to be a true representation of justice or to refrain from practices that propel injustice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 137). Consequently, it will be impossible to achieve social and political reforms.

Then, on its part, just like the soul of the individual, the city is partitioned into three different components (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 300). As is the case with the individual, the three main components of the city are clear-cut and they are; the Philosopher Genius, the Auxiliary and the Producers (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 125). In essence, Plato is of the opinion that each of these components should only perform the role for which it is best qualified for, because this is the only way to achieve justice and establish an Ideal Polis (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 126). Thus, to achieve social and political reforms and achieve justice in society, the three components of the city must, of necessity, be in harmony, and this harmony can only be achieved if each component restricts itself to its assigned role (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 124).

So, what does the foregoing evince? To put it in a nutshell, reforming society socially and politically is the logical basis behind the establishment of Plato’s theory of justice and behind the establishment of county governance in Kenya. Fundamentally, then, this convergence of social and political reforms is the very foundation upon which this study rests. Therefore, because the sub-field of Political Theory assumes that antiquity is indeed relevant in the understanding of the contemporary, and supposes that classical political theorists provide a foundation for the understanding of contemporary Political Theory (Strauss, 2007, p. 518), it follows that Plato’s Political Theory can justifiably be employed when seeking to interpret political phenomena in contemporary Kenya. The study thus took a classical appreciative approach and against this backdrop, the political inquiry into the Centrality of Plato’s Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya was launched.



## 1.2. Statement of Research Problem

The overriding research problem this study endeavoured to tackle was anchored on an assumption drawn from the wells of two Republics; the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya. For the Republic of Plato, this assumption was drawn from his works, *The Republic* while for the Republic of Kenya, it was drawn from *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*.

In the Republic of Plato, to begin with, Plato provides a blueprint for ideal governance wherein he delimits what constitutes the ideal governor and the Ideal Polis (The Kallipolis). On one side of the divide, the ideal governor is one who is the most highly educated individual, for it is education that inculcates ideal governance virtues and moulds one into an ideal governor (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 113). On the other side of the divide, the Ideal Polis is one in which the most highly educated, namely, Philosopher Geniuses, govern (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 123). Evidently, to Plato, education is the key that unlocks ideal governance. To be specific, the level of education he makes reference to is higher education that is based on the curriculum of The Academy, which was the “university” that he himself founded (Barker, 1960, p. 230), whereas the nature of education he refers to is “long and rigorous philosophical education” (Ober, 2013, p. 153). Plato thus concludes that ideal governance can only be achieved if either philosophers govern or those who govern philosophise (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 174), and draws the inference that with the most highly educated governing, the establishment of an Ideal Polis is a guarantee (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 228).

Then, on its part, the Republic of Kenya, in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, offers a roadmap for ideal governance. Through Section 22 of Elections Act No. 24 of 2011, it stipulates that the bare minimum educational requirement for a candidate for the position of governor is to be “a holder of a degree from a University recognised in Kenya” (Election Act No. 24 of 2011, 2019, p. 17). On that account, in the Republic of Kenya, as is the case in the Republic of Plato, higher education is a sine qua non of ideal governance. That being so, those who have already pursued higher education indubitably qualify to seek to govern, whereas those who have not, and would aspire to seek to govern, must first pursue higher education. The constitution of Kenya 2010 therefore echoes Plato’s reverence for higher education and its role in governance, and chimes impeccably with the Platonic blueprint for the ideal governor and the Ideal Polis. Essentially, by obliging governors to be, at the very least, holders of a first degree, the Constitution of Kenya alludes to the Platonic inference that governance by the most highly educated gives an adequate assurance that the Kallipolis will be established.

Ergo, both the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya draw a similar portrait and manifestly presume that those who have attained the highest possible educational attainment will definitively be archetypes of an ideal governor, and the counties they govern, exemplars of an Ideal Polis. On this basis, then, it was deemed well founded to contend that, in an ideal world, governors in Kenya who have attained the highest possible educational attainment, in this case Professor Governors, will all, unequivocally, pass the Philosopher Genius litmus test and all turn out to indeed be the quintessence of Plato's Philosopher Genius. Along the same lines, it was considered viable to aver that, in an ideal world, counties governed by the most highly educated governors will all, indisputably, accurately mirror Plato's Ideal Polis. Hence, what this study ventured to ascertain was; Does the ideal match the reality? Is governance in the ideal world cut from the same cloth as governance in the real world?

This research venture, it must be noted, was informed by, and premised on, the observation that, in an ideal world, in a country where it took almost five decades to at long last have a vehicle for social and political reforms, that is, the Constitution of Kenya 2010, it would be expected that all the ideals this constitution stipulates, especially those concerning governance, are embraced with no contention whatsoever. In the real world, nonetheless, over a decade since the promulgation of this constitution, there remains a highly contentious debate in Kenya on the necessity, or lack thereof, of the constitutional stipulation that an undergraduate degree is the bare minimum educational requisite for governors, the main bone of contention being whether what the makers of the constitution present as ideal is tenable in the real world. Evidently, therefore, it is from the fabrics of this observation that the research problem of this study was woven and the research questions drawn up.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

The main research question this study envisaged to unravel was:

i. Is Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius central in county governance in Kenya?

Consequently, the specific research questions it intended to address were:

ii. Is there a nexus between philosophy and governance and hence, do Professor Governors in Kenya mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius?

iii. Is there a nexus between governance by the most highly educated and the establishment of an Ideal Polis and hence, do professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis?

#### **1.4. Research Objectives**

This research purposed to:

- i. Ascertain whether Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius is central in county governance in Kenya.
- ii. Ascertain whether there is a nexus between philosophy and governance and hence, whether Professor Governors in Kenya mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius.
- iii. Ascertain whether there is a nexus between governance by the most highly educated and the establishment of an Ideal Polis and hence, whether professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis.

#### **1.5. Justification and Significance of the Study**

Undoubtedly, there are scores of studies on Plato's Political Philosophy that zero in on the general understanding, implementation and operationalisation of his Political Theory. Most of these studies, nevertheless, tend to focus on his theme of justice and his Analogy of the Soul and the City either in general terms or from a Western perspective (Bakalis, 2005; Fine, 2012; Barney et al., 2012; Crossman, 2013; Skedzielewski, 2020), without relating it to the Kenyan political setting. Also, for the most part, those that do not lean towards a Western perspective tend to be concerned with non-African perspectives (Begum & Awan, 2013; Natomi, 2015). Moreover, those that are indeed Afrocentric in nature (Enomah, 2019; Wogu et al., 2017), do not address the question of the relevance of Plato's Political Theory in Kenya's system of governance, and in particular, the relevance of Plato's Concept of the Philosopher Genius in county governance. Further, those that delve into how Plato conceptualises the link between education and governance (Sanga, 2018), do not scrutinise whether this link exists in the context of county governance in Kenya. This knowledge gap was therefore the impetus for setting this study in motion.

Thus, from an academic angle, by bringing in a Kenyan perspective, this research will add its voice to the voices of other scholars who have researched on the relevance of Plato's Political Theory in the contemporary world. Against this backdrop, it will broaden the apprehension of the extent to which Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius is central in understanding the dynamics of contemporary governance, not solely for students but also for scholars in the field of Political Theory, and will, as well, add some drops to the cup of African Political

Philosophy, a cup that seems insufficiently filled as of this time. This will, in turn, ameliorate the study of Modern Political Philosophy in universities in Kenya, and Africa as a whole. Further, seeing that this study is premised, inter alia, on the Constitution of Kenya 2010, it will offer substantial insight into the study and apprehension of constitutionalism within the context of Political Theory.

Then, from a policy standpoint, seeing that this study set out to deduce if there is, as Plato opined, a nexus between philosophy and governance, the study will be instrumental in shaping governance policies in Kenya. This is in view of the fact that, since the promulgation of The Constitution of Kenya 2010, there has been an elastic and contentious socio-political debate on the necessity of the constitutional provision obliging elected leaders to, at the very least, be holders of an undergraduate degree. This study will thus help fill the yawning chasm between those pro and against this constitutional provision, for it will add to the existing perspectives on governance policies, and in particular, perspectives on the ideal selection criterion for those who should govern, and what their minimum academic qualification should or should not be. In this way, it will be useful to policy makers in the realm of devolved governance, for it will illuminate on the role county governments play in the establishment of ideal governance in Kenya and in bringing forth the socio-political reforms that were envisaged at the inception of county governance in Kenya.

Finally, this study will be of interest to the Judiciary of Kenya. This is taking into account the fact that the once predominantly socio-political debate on the vexed question of whether or not Section 22 of the Elections Act is a desideratum, and whether those seeking to govern should be obliged to be, at the very least, holders of an undergraduate degree, has in recent times been morphing into a judicial debate as well. Constitutional Petitions E229, E225, E226, E249 & 14 of 2021, E275 of 2022, all challenging Section 22 of the Elections Act, are a case in point. Similarly, and very pertinent to this study, the June 2022 petition on the subject of Section 22(2) and specifically on the subject of whether governors should be obliged to be degree holders, is also another case in point. Thus, owing to the fact that this study interrogated the dynamics of this debate from a Platonic perspective, the study lends itself to being a philosophical lens which members of the judiciary can fuse with their legal lenses. Hence, from this confluence, by viewing their role in this debate through these fused lenses, members of the judiciary will have additional clarity on whether their role will fan the flames of this socio-political and now constitutional problem, or whether their role will, conversely, foster constitutionalism and socio-political reforms in Kenya.

## 1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

To start with, in relation to the geographical scope of the study, while there exists other geographical political entities that could have been selected to scrutinise the pertinence of Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius in contemporary Kenya, this study was restricted to counties. This was on grounds that counties are the structural modern-day equivalents of the city-states of Plato's epoch. To be specific, the same way Greek city-states were self-governing political entities within the larger state of Greece, is the same way Kenyan counties are self-governing political entities within a larger political entity, that is, the Kenyan State. Likewise, the same way there were smaller local units with their own assemblies in Greek city-states, is the same way there are smaller local units (constituencies) and county assemblies within Kenyan counties.

Further, as far as the scope of the units of analysis is concerned, given that the geographical scope of the study was counties, governors were selected as the units of analysis by dint of being the governing heads of the counties. Further, within this larger scope of governors, was a more precise scope. This was in view of the fact that, both Plato in his *Republic* and the Republic of Kenya in *The Constitution of Kenya 2010*, tie higher education to ideal governance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 123; Election Act No. 24 of 2011, 2019, p. 17). Thus, governors in Kenya were categorised into four, based on their level of higher education. These were; governors with an undergraduate degree as their highest academic qualification, governors with a Master's degree as their highest academic qualification, governors with a PhD as their highest academic qualification, and Professor Governors.

Therefore, whereas any of the four above-mentioned categories could have been selected as the unit of analysis, the study was solely fixated on Professor Governors. The rationale behind this choice was that, because Plato asserts that it is the education system that moulds one into a Philosopher Genius (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 113), it follows that, those who have attained the highest possible level of education will, unequivocally, be a mirror image of Plato's Philosopher Genius, because the education system has assigned them the Philosopher Genius role. On this basis then, because they were the category of governors who had attained the highest possible educational attainment, it was an axiomatic fact that Professor Governors were, automatically, the impeccable yardstick for assessing whether Plato's assertion was indeed viable and whether there is indeed a nexus between philosophy and governance, as Plato contends.

Moreover, with respect to the methodological limitations of the study, as much as there exists innumerable sources of data elicitation, the study focused exclusively on two. For primary sources of data, the study relied on one-on-one interviews, whereas for secondary data, the study depended on non-opinion based county reports. In both cases, these choices were informed by the nature of the double-faceted research problem this study aspired to address. On one end, one-on-one interviews were opted for because the study was aimed at gauging whether Professor Governors were indeed Philosopher Geniuses and in essence, virtue and intellectual knowledge are the defining attributes of a Philosopher Genius. Thus, seeing that these are both abstract concepts, one-on-one interviews were singled out as the most ideal data elicitation apparatus to give proof of the presence or absence of these attributes in the Professor Governors. On the other end, non-opinion based county reports were settled on because the study additionally sought to discern the degree to which professor-governed counties constituted an Ideal Polis. That being the case, these reports were identified as the befitting secondary data source, owing to the fact that they were not only based on facts in lieu of opinions, but they were also official county reports enshrined in the constitution.

To go into detail, for primary data, other political actors could have certainly been interviewed to scrutinise whether Professor Governors were indeed Philosopher Geniuses. These could have included Members of County Assembly (MCAs) or the county citizenry. In this study, nonetheless, only Professor Governors themselves were interviewed. The reason for this was because interviewing the former would mean that the data obtained from the interviews would have been opinion-based and for this particular study, opinion-based data would not have been plausible. This is in light of the fact that Plato's Political Theory is the point of reference of the study and Plato is opposed to direct democracy (Murkherjee & Ramaswamy, 2011, p. 60), and consequently opposed to the opinions of the governed in matters to do with governance. As such, anchoring a Platonic-based study in opinion-based interviews with MCAs or the citizenry would have been in defiance of the very premise of the study. Besides, the nature of the interview questions was such that the responses could only have been highly accurate if they came from the governors themselves, since the questions were very specific to their personal experiences and their virtue orientation.

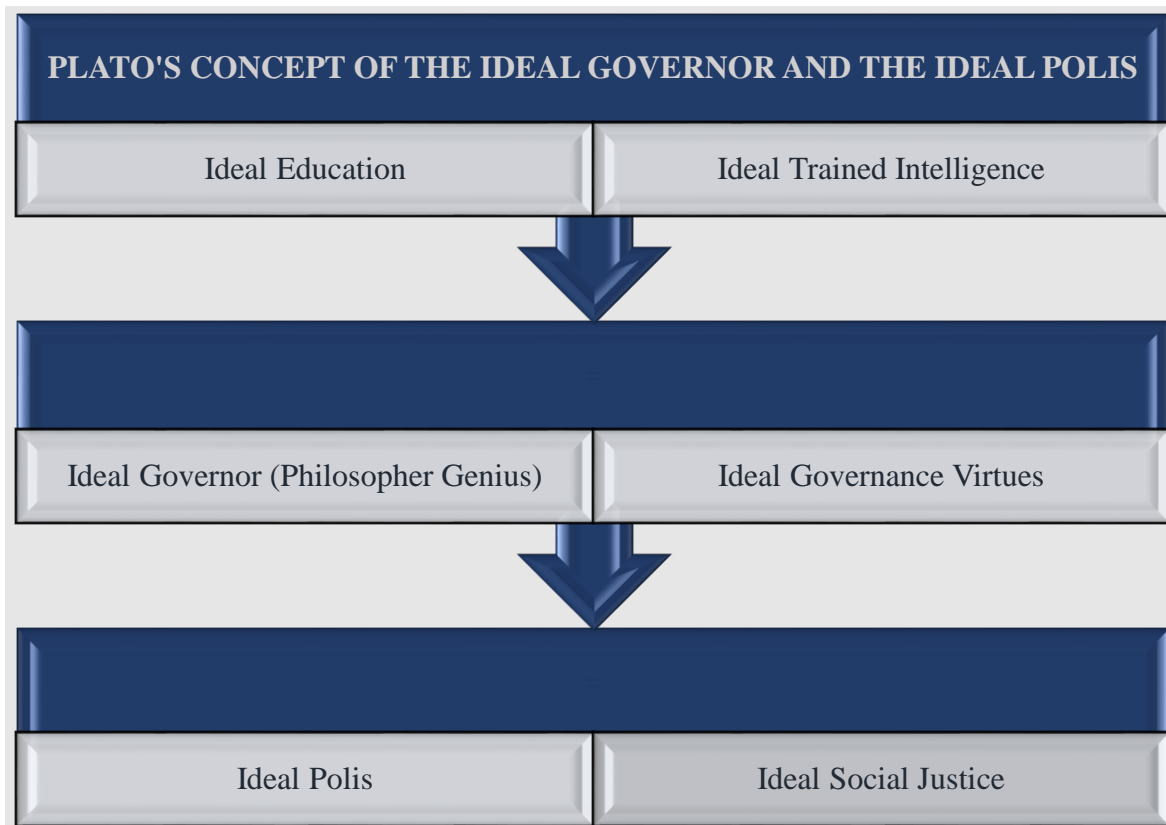
By the same token, as regards secondary data, there assuredly exists a vast array of reports on Kenyan counties, both from local and international organisations and institutions. On one side of the divide are opinion-based reports. These include reports from organisations such as Transparency International Kenya, Mizani Africa and Infotrak. On the other side of the

divide are non-opinion based reports. These include reports from the Office of the Auditor General and the Office of the Controller of Budget. For this study, the latter were selected. This was on grounds that the study uses Plato's Political Theory as its focal point, and at the very core of this Platonic Political Theory is abhorrence for governance by lot (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 280), which translates to disdain for the governed expressing any opinions on the art of governance. Thus, to use opinion-based reports to test Plato's Theory would have been akin to going against the very premise upon which this study is founded. It was for this reason that the study sourced its secondary data from non-opinion based reports.

Additionally, concerning the time frame limitations of the study, in general, the study was limited to the second gubernatorial term in Kenya, that is, 2017-2022. This was because at the time this study was conducted, there had only been two gubernatorial terms and this second term was, thus far, the term with the most professors serving as governors, hence making it the optimum time frame for a more comprehensive research. It is however important to draw attention to the fact that, although the time frame of the study was 2017-2022, when it came to secondary data elicitation, not all non-opinion based reports from this period of time were taken into account. Notably, for the Auditor General Reports, the 2020/2021 as well as the 2021/2022 reports would have, indisputably, been not only viable, but very pertinent to this study, but they were not available at the time the study was embarked on.

Lastly, with regards to the philosophical limitations of this study, there are, incontestably, other works of Plato, such as *Phaedo*, *The Laws* and *The Statesman*, in which he deliberates on the Ideal Governor (The Philosopher Genius) and the Ideal State (The Kallipolis). That notwithstanding, this study solely focused on *The Republic* as its point of reference. This was owing to the fact that the key objectives of the study revolved around interrogating the role of philosophical education in moulding the Philosopher Genius, who is Plato's Ideal Governor, and equally, the role of this kind of education in establishing the Kallipolis, which is Plato's Ideal State, and how this concept takes shape in contemporary county governance in Kenya. *The Republic* was thus singled out as the most pertinent point of reference because of all of Plato's works, it stands out with regard to the prominence it gives to the crucial role education plays in governance. Indeed, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Plato's fellow philosopher and an equally competent authority in matters to do with the linkage between education and governance, as is demonstrated by his works *Émile*, firmly asserts that *The Republic* "is not all a political work, as think those who judge books only by their titles. It is the most beautiful educational treatise ever written" (Rousseau, 1762/1979, p. 40).

## 1.7. Conceptual Framework



*Graphic 1.1. Graphic Representation of the Conceptual Framework of the Study*

In essence, this study was anchored in Plato's concept of the Ideal Governor and the Ideal Polis. On balance, at the core of this concept is the notion that a coalescence of Ideal Education and Ideal Trained Intelligence will bring forth the Ideal Governor (Philosopher Genius) and the Ideal Virtues for Governance. This synergy will in turn give rise to the Ideal Polis and Ideal Social Justice.

## 1.8. Definition and Operationalisation of Key Concepts

*Akeraiótita*; The character virtue of integrity.

*Arêtê*; The character virtue of moral excellence and incorruptibility.

*Dikaiosunê*; The character virtue of allegiance to the spirit of justice.



***Enkrateia***; The character virtue of temperance.

***Epistêmê***; The intellectual virtue of knowledge and reverence for acquisition of knowledge.

***Eudaimonia***; The character virtue of genuine ultimate happiness.

***Ideal Polis***; A polity wherein there is perfect harmony and wherein each polity apparatus is as it should be.

***Justice***; Social justice that is an amalgam of virtue and societal role specialisation.

***Higher Education***; University education, ranging from first degree to Doctor of Philosophy.

***Kallipolis***; Plato's Ideal Polis; the "beautiful city."

***Philosopher Genius***; An individual who is a paragon of virtue and intellectual knowledge.

***Sophia***; The virtue of intellectual curiosity, resourcefulness and excellence.

***Phronēsis***; The intellectual virtue of discernment of what is best suited for the Polis.

## **1.9. Research Hypotheses**

The hypotheses steering this research were as follows:

- i. Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius is central in county governance in Kenya.
- ii. There is a nexus between philosophy and governance, and hence, Professor Governors in Kenya mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius.
- iii. There is a nexus between governance by the most highly educated and the establishment of an Ideal Polis, and hence, professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis.

## **1.10. Research Methodology**

### **1.10.1. Research Design**

In any given Political Inquiry, the Research Design selected is primarily of crucial importance owing to the fact that it is what determines the units of analysis to be chosen for a given study. In principle, this is key in the entire methodological process because the units of analysis selected carry weight in the study, seeing that they not only form the very basis of the study, but also form the foundation for observation of phenomena, measurement of concepts empirically and data analysis (Neuman, 2013, p. 69). It is against this backdrop that this study employed the Most Similar Systems Design of Research (MSSD).

In essence, the MSSD research design focuses on selecting units of analysis that have as many similar features as possible, as these are viewed as the best sample for obtaining optimal results, since the number of experimental variables is reduced, and hence, the nexus between the dependent and independent variables can be more accurately established (Przeworski & Teune, 1970, p. 32). This means that, given that the units of analysis have as many similarities as possible, if any differences are identified among them, these differences will be considered sufficient enough to offer an explanation for the relationship between the independent and dependent variables (Przeworski & Teune, 1970, p. 34).

### **1.10.2. Research Sampling Frame**

In line with the MSSD Research Design and also in accordance with the 2017-2022 time frame of the study, the target population chosen for this study was the governors of all 47 counties in Kenya serving in the second gubernatorial term. This target population was selected by reason of its pertinence to the research questions and the research objectives of the study, owing to the fact that the geographical scope of the study was counties in Kenya and the units of analysis were county governors. There was thus no selection bias.

Hence, as far as the sampling frame of the research was concerned, within the target population, the study identified four categories of governors based on their level of education and their highest educational attainment. These four categories were; governors with an Undergraduate Degree as their highest academic qualification, governors with a Master's Degree as their highest academic qualification, governors with a PhD as their highest academic qualification, and Professor Governors. It is this sampling frame that guided the sampling technique of this study.

### **1.10.3. Research Sampling Technique**

The main sampling technique employed in this study was non-probability sampling. This is a sampling technique wherein “some members of the population, compared to other members, have a greater but unknown chance of selection” (Galloway, 2005, p. 859). This choice was informed by the fact that the research problem the study sought to address was such that not all members of the target population had an equal chance of being selected for the study. Subsequently, the non-probability sampling technique utilised was Purposive Sampling. That being so, the governors chosen were those who had attained the highest possible academic attainment, in view of the fact that the research problem this study sought to address was centred on assessing whether governors with the highest possible academic attainment mirror Plato’s Philosopher Genius and whether the counties they govern mirror Plato’s Ideal Polis.

### **1.10.4. Research Sample Size**

To arrive at the sample size of this study, the strategy employed was a Census for Small Populations. This was taking into consideration the ability of this strategy to eliminate sampling error by providing data on all the units in the research sample and ultimately offering a higher precision (Israel, 1992). Thus, the research sample selected for this study was all the governors who had attained the highest possible educational attainment, that is, professorship. All four Professor Governors were therefore selected for this study and they were:

- i. Professor Kivutha Kibwana (Governor of Makueni County).
- ii. Professor John Lonyangapuo (Governor of West Pokot County).
- iii. Professor Paul Chepkwony (Governor of Kericho County).
- iv. Professor Anyang Nyong’o (Governor of Kisumu County).

Essentially, the rationale for narrowing down on all four Professor Governors was to ensure that the sample size was statistically adequate to allow for valid conclusions and sufficient enough both to extrapolate a trend from and draw generalisations from.

### **1.10.5. Methods of Data Elicitation, Presentation and Analysis**

As far as data elicitation was concerned, the study depended on both primary and secondary sources. For primary data, one-on-one interviews with the Professor Governors were conducted, while for secondary data, this was drawn from both Auditor General Reports and Controller of Budget Reports on professor-governed counties. Worth mentioning is that for both data sources, selecting them was not a random endeavour and there were indeed specific logical grounds for their selection.

On one end, one-on-one interviews were embraced because the study was aimed at authenticating whether Professor Governors were truly Philosopher Geniuses. Thus, to be able to ascertain whether the Professor Governors embodied the cardinal Philosopher Genius attributes of virtue and high levels of intelligence, pertinent questions were coined, and the nature and content of those questions was in such a way that they could only be best answered in one-on-one interviews with the Professor Governors themselves. On the other end, non-opinion based county reports were preferred because the study additionally sought to examine if professor-governed counties constituted an Ideal Polis. That being the case, these reports were identified as the ideal data source, in light of the fact that they are non-opinion based and hence in line with the Plato-inspired premises of this study. That is, since Plato execrates democracy (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 280), and he disapproves of the governed giving opinions on governance-related matters, these non-opinion based reports were chosen because they fit right into the premises of the study.

Following data elicitation, the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources was coded thematically. After this thematic coding, primary data was presented in form of tables wherein the responses of the Professor Governors to the interview questions were presented in a summarised form but without omitting the principle ideas, and secondary data was presented in form of figures, with each figure containing key points from reports on the four professor-governed counties, and these key points were grouped based on financial years.

Thereafter, in the final phase of the research methodology, data analysis was carried out. In particular, a thematic analysis of the data was conducted and a graphical presentation given for each of the themes. For primary data, the analysis was done based on Plato's Philosopher Genius Model whereas for secondary data, the analysis was done based on a Likert Scale coined specifically for this particular study. Ultimately, it was on the basis of this analysis of data that the research hypotheses of the study were tested and inferences drawn.

### **1.10.6. Data Reliability and Validity**

With regard to data reliability, the tools of data collection chosen were consistent and reliable and the methodological approach applied sought to ensure that the study was set on an even ground. Specifically, the study was limited to only collecting data that evenly cut across all four Professor Governors and all four professor-governed counties. In view of this, for primary data, the questions posed to the Professor Governors during the one-on-one interviews were exactly the same and equally, as much as there was more than one question to seek to identify each of the Philosopher Genius attributes, the questions were correlated. Correspondingly, for secondary data, the reports from the Auditor General and the Controller of Budget were those that covered the financial years in which all four Professor Governors were in office at the same time. There was thus internal consistency reliability. Furthermore, concerning data analysis, the measurement instruments chosen for the study were such that the study can be replicated and reproduced, and the same conclusions will still be drawn from it, if the same study conditions are maintained. This means that even if the same study were to be done more than once, or even if a different researcher were to conduct the study, or even if different research methods were to be employed for the same study, the results of the study would remain consistent, owing to the fact that there was test-retest reliability, inter-rater reliability and parallel forms reliability respectively.

Then, in relation to data validity, on one hand, in terms of data elicitation, the sampling technique and the sample size selected for the study was valid for it was an accurate representation of the target population. Equally, the questions selected for the one-on-one interviews were a representative selection of the possible questions that could have been posed to identify the Platonic qualities of a Philosopher Genius in the Professor Governors. The study thus projected both sampling validity and content validity. On the other hand, concerning data analysis, the instruments of measurement selected, in actual fact, only measured what they were intended to measure, and no other unrelated constructs. In particular, for primary data, the attributes measured were indeed the Philosopher Genius attributes outlined by Plato, and for secondary data, the measurement tools, as a matter of fact, measured the conformity of professor-governed counties to Plato's Ideal Polis. Therefore, the study had face validity. Moreover, the measurement instruments were such that theoretical relationships could be established between the key concepts of the study and so could a correlation between the dependent and independent variables. There was hence criterion validity.

Lastly, the indicators of the virtues and constructs being measured aligned with the operational definitions of the same virtues and constructs, and the study hence had construct validity and translational validity. Worth noting is that these two validities (construct and translational) were achieved through application of the Q-Sort Technique by experts in the field of Political Theory at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Nairobi. In this technique, they operationalised the Platonic Philosopher Genius attributes and the Platonic distinctive features of the Ideal Polis. Thereafter, taking this into consideration, they assessed various indicators of these constructs and ultimately established which indicators measured them best. In this way, therefore, the study exhibited construct and translational validity.

#### **1.10.7. Ethical Considerations**

In principle, research ought to be embedded on a specific ethical axis as a matter of course. Subsequently, it is in reference to this axis that a researcher ought to interrogate the applicability of the ethical rules that exist within the constructs of the subject matter of the research and thereafter determine how they should be conceptualised (Cannella & Lincoln, 2018, p. 184). Against this backdrop, therefore, this study strictly adhered to the code of conduct of scientific and academic research, and this was the guiding principle of the study from beginning to end.

From the point of view of scientific ethics, the researcher ensured that the study was value free, in the sense that, it was solely guided by empirical evidence and not personal values, beliefs and judgments. There was hence no methodological bias and the methodological approach selected was chosen because it was the most pertinent and most suitable in as far as addressing the research problem of the study was concerned. There was also no research misconduct in terms of data falsification, data manipulation or data misrepresentation. On the whole, therefore, scientific integrity was continuously maintained in this study.

Equally, from the perspective of academic research ethos, the University of Nairobi's approval was obtained before conducting interviews as part of this research. On top of that, as far as the study participants were concerned, each and every participant voluntarily consented to take part in this study and the purpose of the study was put across before engaging the participants in the study. Further, the information each provided was not used for any other purpose besides the academic purposes of this study. The study thus reflected the ethos that characterise academic research.

## CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE KALLIPOLIS

### INSIDE THE KALLIPOLIS: UNWRAPPING PLATO'S IDEAL STATE

#### 2.1. What is the Anatomy of Plato's Ideal State?

Plato builds his concept of the Ideal State (The Kallipolis) around his Analogy of the Soul (*psuchê*) and the City (*polis*) and the notion advanced by this analogy is that both the soul of an individual and the city comprise three main parts. For the individual, these parts are the Rational (*logistikon*), the Spirited (*thymoeides*) and the Appetite (*epithymetikon*) (Dorion, 2018, p. 193), whereas the city comprises the Philosopher Genius Class, the Auxiliary Class and the Producing Class (Yunis, 2007, p. 12).

At the outset, concerning the individual, the *logistikon* is what is related to reason and logic and it essentially differentiates humankind from plants and animals. For this reason, it is what restrains one from being led by irrational desires (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 134). It is also this Rational part of the soul that enables one to weigh different issues and establish which is better than the other and thereafter make a distinction between right and wrong, and between good and evil (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 326). In view of that, this part is thus what should govern all the actions of the individual, for it enables the individual to be aware of what is good for oneself and for society as a whole (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 137). Essentially, then, an individual is only just if (s)he is governed by the Rational part of the soul, for this is the only way the other parts are able to do what they should do (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 309).

Moreover, in regards to the *thymoeides* element of the soul of the individual, this is what enables one to demonstrate courage when need be. It is equally the element that enables the individual to shun cowardice in situations that demand bravery (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 137). On the whole, it is “a natural auxiliary of the element of reason” (Barker, 1960, p. 189). In that respect, the Spirited element works hand in hand with the Rational so as to make it possible for the individual to establish when it is necessary to show courage and when this courage is unnecessary. Along the same lines, the Spirited is what enables the individual to refrain himself or herself from the desire to seek pleasure and self-gratification, and to allow oneself to be guided by bravery (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 137). It thus serves to restrain the Appetite, which is the pleasure-seeking part of the soul in situations where there is a need for courage (Brennan, 2012, p. 116), and it is hence the part of the soul that inspires humankind whenever it is time for battle (Barker, 1960, p. 189).

Further, with respect to the *epithymetikon* element, it is the element of the soul that is related to the thirst for nutrition and for other pleasures that humankind may seek. Accordingly, it is what makes one human and is the main feature that humankind shares with plants and other animals, because human beings need to eat in order to survive (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 129). Inherently, this part of the soul is thus irrational since it is only associated with pleasure, gratification and concupiscence. Consequently, the Appetite has no capacity to suppress the desire of humankind to be governed by their own selfish interests (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 134). Therefore, when an individual is led by the Appetite, it is impossible for him or her to be just because injustice constitutes “intemperance, cowardice and folly” and these are the very constructs that characterise the Appetite (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 140).

On the flipside, in as far as the City is concerned, its first element constitutes Philosopher Geniuses who are the most honourable members of the city and are by virtue of this considered to be the gold of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). Worth mentioning is that, because they are the gold of society, Philosopher Geniuses are fewer in number compared to other individuals in society (Dorion, 2018, p. 193). This is because “it is impossible then for the multitude to be philosophers... and those who philosophise, must of necessity be reproached by them” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 194). Also, the other reason why they are fewer is because they possess the highest level of virtue and the highest level of education (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 122). Plato thus argues that these few individuals are the only ones who should be entrusted with the role of governance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 123).

In principle, the ideal Philosopher Genius is guided by the Rational element of the soul and therefore represents wisdom and virtue (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 303). Hence, on one side of the coin, on account of being guided by wisdom, the Philosopher Genius has an interest in learning and takes pleasure in it (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 177). On the other side of the coin, given that (s)he is governed by virtue, the Philosopher Genius is one who is moderate, liberal, not a coward and not boastful (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 188). Along with that, (s)he is not led by personal pleasures and the love for money (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 187). As a result, the decisions of the Philosopher Genius are considered to be the very best for (s)he is an exemplar of all that is wise and all that is virtuous (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 303). It is in view of this that Plato posits that Philosopher Geniuses are best suited to govern for it is those who are most knowledgeable about the principles on which the city is established that deserve to be entrusted with its governance and guardianship (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 228).



Next, the second element of the city comprises soldiers who are mainly the youth and are regarded as the Auxiliary of the governing and they thus have an obligation to obey the rulers (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 135). They are the silver of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). In principle, their main role in society is to protect the city from any invasions or external aggression (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 104). Therefore, for them, exercise and proper nutrition are necessary because those in the military should, of necessity, be healthy enough to brave whatever weather and danger they may experience in their efforts to protect the city (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 91). All the same, physical exercise and nutrition is not all they require. In order for them to perform efficiently, effectively and as required, they need to receive education that is suitable for their role. This involves being trained in simple and moderate exercise, and particularly that which pertains to war (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 91). Moreover, they have an obligation to have a good grasp of the law (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 121). All said and done, Plato acknowledges the challenging nature of the role of the Auxiliary and recommends that they not only be honoured, but also rewarded for their bravery and sacrifices (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 168).

Lastly, in the city, there are the masses who are the Producing Class. They do not perform any advanced role in society, owing to the fact that they lack the required levels of wisdom, skills and education. They are hence the iron and brass of society, for their dominant feature is the Appetite and this feature represents ignorance, cowardice and the pursuit of selfish interests (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). They include farmers, masons, weavers, smiths, shepherds, herdsmen and merchants who trade in imports and exports depending on what is produced (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 52). They can thus not be Philosopher Geniuses for they are not principally guided by rationality and temperance. Equally, another reason they cannot be Philosopher Geniuses is in light of the fact that their irrational aspect of the soul is supreme and hence, they are self-seeking and are often guided by mob psychology (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 197). In the same way, they cannot be soldiers because they do not manifest any form of courage, they are not necessarily physically fit (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 52) and they are governed by their human desires (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 123). Nonetheless, although the dominant feature of the Producing Class may not lie in intellectual resourcefulness, they possess sufficient physical strength to be able to sell their labour so as to fuel production (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 53). This is why they are the workforce, for they are generally people who are skilled in the various arts that are required for society to function (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 50).

## **2.2. The Place of the Philosopher Genius in Plato's Ideal State**

Plato places the Philosopher Genius at the helm of the Ideal State and presents this Philosopher Genius as the prerequisite for ideal governance in the Kallipolis. The reason for this is because the Philosopher Genius, he postulates, as a matter of principle, manifests both intellectual and moral or character-based virtues, seeing that in the Platonic Theory of Forms, only Philosopher Geniuses have the ability to mirror the forms of all that is good, and these forms are the source of both categories of virtues (Moravcsik, 1992, p. 300). This is because Philosopher Geniuses receive rigorous philosophical education that inculcates in them the ideal virtues requisite for ideal governance (McAleer, 2020, p. 110). Further, another reason why Plato maintains that Philosopher Geniuses should reign over the Kallipolis is because in his Allegory of the Cave, he argues that it is only those who have received education of a philosophical nature that are capable of being an embodiment of genuine virtue, for their high level of education makes them capable of guiding the soul out of the darkness of the Cave and ushering it into the light of the real world (Bobonich, 2002, p. 7).

In essence, as far as intellectual virtues are concerned, Plato opines that the possession of high levels of wisdom and high levels of education is indispensable for the Philosopher Genius. This is because in decision-making, education plays a big role, for it is only by acquiring the right kind of education that the Philosopher Genius will be able to judge what is best suited for the city and what is not, and whether or not tasks in the city are performed and executed as they should (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 88). To Plato, then, it is those who are endowed with wisdom and intelligence that should serve society in matters that require the application of knowledge, and governance is one of those matters (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 53). Hence, the governor of the city should be a Philosopher Genius and be interested in learning and the acquisition of knowledge (Singpurwalla, 2010, p. 883). At the same time, having a good memory is crucial so that the Philosopher Genius does not forget what (s)he learns (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 188). It is in light of these aspects of wisdom and education that Plato concludes that “philosophy supplies the true expertise needed for political rule” (Schofield, 2006, p. 157).

Then, concerning character virtues, the integrity of Philosopher Geniuses should be unquestionable and they should not be lovers of money (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 187). They should, in that case, be incorruptible and as such, they should not own private property or expect any rewards for their service, for God has already rewarded them with the divine gift

of the gold and silver that rests in their souls (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 107). In addition, they need to be individuals who manifest temperance and who have a self-mastery of their desires and pleasures (Dorion, 2007, p. 120). This is because only when they have the ability to control their temper are they consequently able to have the ability to be meek when dealing with allies, and fierce when dealing with foes (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 57). Moreover, they should not just appear to be guardians of the law but be so in real sense because failure to that, the constitution will be wrecked (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 109). From Plato's perspective, therefore, "those are philosophers who are able to attain the knowledge of that which exists always" and those who appear to be "capable of preserving the laws and institutions of cities" (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 185). They thus need to be individuals who are interested in what would be best for and what would be of advantage to the city, and individuals who shun what would be of disadvantage (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 102). They also have a duty to preserve both themselves and the city (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 107).

To illustrate why it is crucial for Philosopher Geniuses to be at the helm of the Kallipolis, Plato presents the Allegory of the Ship of State. On one hand, in the Ship, Plato explains, is a captain who is in some measure deaf and in some measure partially blind, but is nonetheless a very skilled master in all that relates to the sea. On the other hand, in the same Ship, are sailors who want to revolt against the stewardship of the captain, for they feel that they deserve to be captains, notwithstanding the fact that they have not learned the art of sailing, yet they wrongly insist that the art cannot be taught in the first place, and are ready to pounce on whoever dares say the contrary (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 190). Beyond that, time and time again, they plead with the captain to let them take charge and when they fail and others succeed, they get rid of these others by either ending their lives or throwing them overboard. Thereafter, they inebriate the captain and take up the reins, and make merry as they sail. At this point, they praise those who aid them in the insurgency and castigate those who do not, for they have complete disregard for the fact that a captain ought to be a master of the art of sailing and possess knowledge of the winds, seasons, stars and skies (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 191). On the whole, therefore, based on this Allegory, Plato concludes that Philosopher Geniuses in the Kallipolis ought to be given honour and be at the helm, for they possess true knowledge on ideal governance and governance structures and they are thus the only ones capable of steering the Ship of the State in the right direction, owing to their expertise in governance (Aramayo, 2019, p. 28).

### **2.3. The Place of Education in Plato's Ideal State**

Education is of paramount importance in the establishment of Plato's Ideal State since Plato asserts that it is through education that labour is assigned in society and that it is the education system that determines who should be in the governing, military and producing classes of society. In the same vein, education paves the way for the establishment of justice in society, for justice is only achieved when labour is assigned based on merit and when an individual only performs the role which one is best qualified for (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 126). In essence, the education Plato makes reference to is a combination of both practical and theoretical skills and knowledge that ensures the mind is developed holistically (Barker, 1960, p. 217), and he is of the opinion that it should begin when one is young because it is at that tender age that one's character is easily moulded (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 60).

This education, Plato further insists, is cemented at higher levels of learning. It is for this reason that he proposes that in the Platonic Academy, the level of education should be a notch higher than that which was provided in the medieval university in order to get the most qualified rulers (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 230). Additionally, he holds the view that this education should take at least ten years but that only the earlier stages of education are for everyone. The later stages, on their part, are reserved for the chosen few because they are more predisposed towards becoming the perfect rulers and the ideal Philosopher Geniuses. To him, therefore, those who receive higher education past the basic university level are more likely to become better rulers (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 233). It is against this background that Plato affirms that education, and especially that involving science and philosophy, is what produces the best rulers in society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 220).

Undeniably, Plato tightly ties education with governance for he emphasises that in the Ideal State, education is crucial in governance because proper knowledge is the main origin of proper governance (Lane, 2006, p. 171; Russell, 1945, p. 106). In particular, it is the education system that is responsible for inculcating the variant ideal traits in an individual and it is through education that the ills of society are cured (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59). It is also the avenue through which the individual acquires virtues such as temperance, great heights of insight and respect for women and hence, good education ultimately produces highly intelligent individuals and geniuses who are best suited to govern (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 113). From Plato's perspective, therefore, given how crucial education is in governance, the level of education possessed by governors directly influences governance in

the city and is important in determining who is best suited to govern. Plato thus provides the Philosopher Genius as the prerequisite for ideal governance, for it is only a Philosopher Genius who “will be able to apprehend the paradigms or models after which the city is to be patterned so that it is as good as possible” (White, 1979, p. 164).

Another reason why Plato laces together education and governance is owing to the fact that from his standpoint, one who governs needs to be a philosopher and a “lover of learning” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59). To achieve this, it is important that governors receive the right form of education, the point of departure being providing them with education on justice and injustice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59). The Philosopher Genius should thus be trained in a manner that ensures that his or her rule is steered by “trained intelligence and not by the letter of the law” (Barker, 1960, p. 129). Additionally, the education (s)he receives should be such that it enables him or her to “more easily comprehend the idea of the good” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 235). This education should further involve separating truth from false beliefs, such as, the misconception by poets and orators that the just are unhappy whereas the unjust are happy, and that it is more profitable to be unjust as long as one’s actions remain discreet (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 76). For this reason, it is important that in their youth, future governors are not taught poetry that will have a negative impact on their focus and moral values (Havelock, 1963, p. 202). Instead, they should be educated on “what justice is, and how, in its nature, it is profitable to the just man to be such” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 77).

In essence, it is the nexus between education and governance that leads Plato to assert that “unless either philosophers,..., govern in the cities, or those who are at present called kings and governors philosophise, really and thoroughly, and these two, the political power and philosophy, unite in one, and ‘till the bulk of those who at present pursue each of these separately are of necessity excluded, there shall be no end,... to the miseries of the city, nor yet, as I imagine, to those of the human race; nor till then shall ever this republic, which we have gone over in our reasonings, spring up to a possibility, and behold the light of the sun” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 174). He, in addition, insists that “the ultimate test of a true ruler is therefore an intellectual test of his philosophical power” (Barker, 1960, p. 196). Overall, it is in line with these arguments that Plato holds the view that it is only through an “intellectual test of philosophical power” that the few who are best suited to govern are discovered (Barker, 1960, p. 198).

Furthermore, Plato opines that the importance of education in governance cannot be overlooked because without good education, even one with a philosophic genius nature will be unable to play his or her role effectively (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 199). This is because a city can only “attain its perfection when, and only when, it is guided by the insight of philosophical reason” (Barker, 1960, p. 196). Indeed, Plato’s emphasis on education is echoed by Jean Jacques Rousseau who describes *The Republic* as “not a work upon politics but the finest treatise on education that was ever written” (Rousseau as quoted by Barker 1960, p. 168). Philosopher Geniuses should therefore, of essence, be “the models of education and discipline” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 101). They should also be intellectually curious and desirous and always interested in intellectual training in its entirety, not just part of it (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 186). In the same vein, they should be interested in learning and in the pursuit of knowledge and truth, and only engage in the pleasures which they deem necessary (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 301).

Moreover, education is of great significance in governance for it shapes the character of those governing, owing to the fact that those who are ill-educated are guided by the inferior part of the soul and inevitably lack the ideal character (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 122). Hence, as far as character is concerned, Plato contends that “a man’s character and conduct will always be according to his education” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 115), and education is the only means through which Philosopher Geniuses develop the ideal character, and consequently obtain the ideal virtues necessary for governance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 196). As such, Philosopher Geniuses are the most honourable individuals in society and they are the gold of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). On this basis, therefore, they should be able to control the pleasures and desires of the body and be guided by the Rational element of the soul (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 187). They should also be “naturally temperate and graceful” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 189). Equally, they should be “generous, graceful, and the friend and ally of truth, justice, fortitude and temperance” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 189).

In addition, according to Plato, it is through education that one learns decency (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 88). That being so, Plato states that the right and the suitable education makes it possible for the Philosopher Genius to attain all the virtues required for decency in governance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 195). Along the same lines, education plays a pivotal role in governance for it is critical that the Philosopher Genius be educated in matters related to “temperance, fortitude, liberality and magnificence, and other sister virtues” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 89). Moreover, it is education that ensures that the Philosopher Genius is

moulded into a person of high integrity, morality and character, and one who will neither do nor say anything abominable (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 81). Aside from that, the nature of the education given to Philosopher Geniuses instills propriety, which is an imperative in governance, for it would be ridiculous “that the guardian should stand in need of a guardian” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 91).

To illustrate how indispensable education is in governance, Plato presents the examples of Athens and Sparta. On one hand, in the city-state of Athens, Plato observes, the importance of education in governance had been overlooked and it was left to be the responsibility of the individual. The result was that those who governed were ignorant, incompetent and lacking in efficiency (Barker, 1960, p. 212). On the other hand, in Sparta, unlike Athens, education was not the responsibility of the family but rather that of the city. Being a war-state, it ensured that from a tender age, athletics and military training and education were made compulsory for its citizens. The Spirited element of the soul and the city was thus nurtured and reinforced, and the outcome was success in its military expeditions, because those who governed militarily were competent enough to execute the duties of the offices they occupied. Nonetheless, liberal education was ignored and hence, the Spartan kind of education did not produce a complete individual. Plato therefore sees achieving a balance between these two forms of education, liberal and military, as being the basis of achieving justice in society and as a result, he advocates for education being at the centre-stage of any given city in as far as governance is concerned (Barker, 1960, p. 213).

In conclusion, it is important to note that Plato observes that, as much as education is important in the Ideal State, governance should not be open to all individuals who have received education. Rather, it should be restricted to only those who have received education and have the interests of the state at heart because the best suited to govern are “only those, who, under a system of trials and temptations, have held firm to the belief that the weal of the state is their own weal, and its woe is their woe” (Barker, 1960, p. 176). Those who govern should thus be individuals who love the state enough to put its interests first and those who rule devoid of any selfish personal or political interests (Barker, 1960, p. 195). On top of that, because their focus should only be on what is best for the city, they should concentrate solely on governance, for if they attempt to perform various other activities, they will fail at all of them. Mastery and specialisation are therefore important for efficiency and effectiveness and Philosopher Geniuses should thus only focus on the liberty of the city (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 79).

## **2.4. The Place of Justice in Plato's Ideal State**

Plato is the father of justice and the theme of justice is ubiquitous in all his works. This is however not to say that Plato is the sole contributor in the debate on justice. On the contrary, as much as it is an undisputable fact that it is Plato who gives the concept of justice its coherence, it is worth noting that there are other political thinkers and interlocutors who contribute to the discourse on justice. The reason why it is important to highlight this is because, for one to illustrate the place of justice in Plato's Ideal State, it is indispensable to, first and foremost, delve into the non-Platonic concepts of justice as it is the weaknesses in these concepts that shape Plato's conceptualisation of justice. That being the case, it is of the essence to first establish what Platonic justice is not in order to comprehend what Platonic justice is.

### **2.4.1. Non-Platonic Concepts of Justice**

Besides Plato, the other political thinkers and interlocutors involved in the discourse on justice are Polus, Cephalus, Simonides, Polemarchus, Glauco, Thrasymachus and Socrates.

To begin with, Polus is envious of the unjust man and opines that the life of an unjust man is better than that of a just man. From his point of view, therefore, as much as injustice tarnishes the reputation of the individual engaging in it, it brings no harm to him or her, and he supports this argument by giving the example of tyrant who becomes successful after clinching power through unjust means. Thus, to Polus, the end justifies the means and what matters is success, regardless of how this success is achieved, even if success that stems out of injustice is ignoble (Barker, 1960, p. 157). In contrast, Cephalus discredits the arguments of Polus and is of the opinion that the just man has a better life because even in old age, he is not haunted by the fear of having harmed others throughout his lifetime, whereas the unjust man is miserable and unhappy even if he has a lot of wealth in old age (Reeve, 1988, p. 5).

Then, according to Simonides, a poet referred to by Socrates, justice basically entails giving people what befits them and what is due to them (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 6). This means that from Simonides' perspective, doing good to friends and doing ill to enemies is what constitutes justice because this is what is due to both of them. Hence, to him, a man is considered just if he fights in alliance with his friend and fights against his enemy (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 7). In that regard, justice to Simonides is a matter of reciprocity that entails doing good to those who would equally do good to someone (Vlastos, 1977, p. 3). Socrates,



however, counters this by arguing that justice is a virtue of man and it is therefore impossible for a just man to hurt other individuals in society, regardless of whether they are friends or foes. By the same token, he insists that a just man is not capable of hurting anyone in society, whether or not it is deserved, and it would hence be wrong to claim that in giving everyone their due, the just man would hurt his enemies (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 12).

Next, another conceptualisation of justice is from Polemarchus who is of the view that justice is hurting those who are unjust for the benefit of those who are just because “justice profits friends and hurts enemies” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 9). Thus, from his standpoint, “it is just to do good to a friend when he is good, and to hurt an enemy when he is ill” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 11), and he describes a friend as one who seems honest and is indeed honest, and an enemy as one who seems honest but is in real sense not (Rosen, 2005, p. 36). Furthermore, he argues that justice goes beyond doing good to friends and doing evil to enemies because justice is useful at all times and so, unlike other individuals who have specialised in other arts in society, such as being a physician or a pilot, a just man is useful both in times of war and peace, unlike a physician who is only useful to the sick and a pilot who is only useful to those travelling by sea (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 7).

Furthermore, as for Glauco, he conceptualises justice as either one of three types of good; a good that is good in its very nature, a good that is good because of the consequences that ooze out of it and a good that is good both because of its very nature and the consequences it yields (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 37). Therefore, he opposes one of the seemingly popular doctrines of the demarcation between justice and injustice and opines that this doctrine is flawed, given that it lays the foundation of justice on merely formulating laws to prevent people from doing injustice and suffering from injustice. He thus dismisses this doctrine for it purports that the law came into existence through one group of people agreeing to no longer be unjust and another wanting to no longer suffer from injustice. In his view, this doctrine thus wrongly assumes that doing injustice is good but suffering injustice is not, and that the affliction that comes from suffering injustice surpasses the good that comes from doing injustice. It hence does not differentiate between acts of injustice not being punished and those who suffer injustice lacking the capability to punish those responsible for it. It is against this background that Glauco makes the assertion that this doctrine of justice is not a true representation of justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 39), owing to the fact that it is misguided in asserting that individuals are not just by choice but rather by constraint, and that humankind is inclined to do injustice whenever it is possible to get away with it (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 40).

In contrast, on his part, Thrasymachus refutes the views of Glauco and posits that justice is merely the advantage of those who are strong in society (Cross & Woosley, 1964, p. 24). To him, therefore, the strong are always in charge of governance irrespective of the form of government, be it a democracy, aristocracy or tyranny. He thus sees justice as being superficial because the governing make laws for the governed and make it appear as if these laws are what constitute justice, whereas in real sense, these laws are for their own advantage and this is the reason why those who act contrary to these particular laws and the doctrine of justice they represent, are punished, since obeying the governing is deemed to be just (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 15; Rosen, 2005, p. 41). In the same vein, he postulates that injustice is more powerful than justice in the sense that, it is possible for an unjust state to enslave other states in an unjust manner so as to become more powerful (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 31).

Additionally, Thrasymachus believes that complete injustice is more profitable than complete justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 27). In line with this, he argues that in all situations, those who are unjust always get more than those who are just. This he sees to be true, for instance, in scenarios where a company is being dissolved and the just man gets the lower percentage of what is to be shared, or in matters to do with taxes where the just man always pays more than the unjust man (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 21). Similarly, in governance, the just man gains nothing from the public for he is governed by the virtue of justice. It is this, therefore, that renders the just man unhappy and the unjust man happy. Besides, those who are unjust and steal from the citizens are considered happy and blest and this is what makes injustice, when in sufficient measures, more powerful than justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 22).

Finally, from Socrates' perspective, governors are not infallible and they may err in the process of making laws. As a result, they in some situations make laws that are disadvantageous to themselves, but it would still be just for the governed to obey these laws. He therefore dismisses the assumptions of Thrasymachus and emphasises that justice cannot be defined as being the advantage of the more powerful (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 17). This is because no form of art focuses on what is advantageous for itself but rather, what is advantageous in terms of the benefits of the art, the same way the art of medicine does not concentrate on what is of benefit to the medicinal art but instead, what is of benefit to the body (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 20). He thus reaches the conclusion that the just man is not only blessed but also happy, whereas the unjust man is miserable and unhappy (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 34). Justice is therefore a virtue desired by any man who is in pursuit of happiness (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 38).

#### **2.4.2. The Platonic Concept of Justice**

At the outset, in his concept of justice, Plato argues that justice is a virtue that is both honourable and profitable, while in contrast, injustice is a vice that remains unprofitable even when one is not punished for it (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 141), and that justice is about achieving virtue and attaining the ideal (Popper, 1945, p. 24). Thus, within this framework of achieving the ideal, Plato emphasises that in the Ideal State, the same way justice exists in the individual is the same way it exists in the city (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 49). There thus exists a harmony between the individual and the city and it is justice that holds this harmony in place. Without it, injustice takes the upper hand and the harmony is disrupted, consequently making a city non-ideal (Annas, 1981, p. 295). Therefore, in a just city, all its three parts must be harmoniously interrelated. In the same way, in a just individual, because Plato considers justice as being a virtue that rests upon the quality of the soul of an individual (Barker, 1960, p. 171), there ought to be the right kind of interrelation between the three parts of the soul, for this is the only way in which virtue reigns and justice and happiness are achieved (Irwin, 1977, p. 225).

Further, of great significance, Plato's concept of justice draws a connection between justice and philosophy and Plato points out that justice in society can only be achieved if philosophy takes the centre stage, either when philosophers become kings or when kings become philosophers (Barker, 1960, p. 130; Shields, 2003, p. 7). This is because justice is a virtue that represents wisdom whereas injustice is a vice that represents ignorance (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 30). This thus means that the just man is good and wise whereas the unjust man is ill and ignorant (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 30). For this reason, Plato emphasises on the need for education because it is only through ultimate knowledge that virtue and justice can be achieved in society (Barker, 1960, p. 169). One of Plato's main arguments, therefore, is that philosophical intelligence should take the centre stage in the governance of the city for the city to be just (Klosko, 2006, p. 172). This is why he insists that a good ruler of the city must possess philosophical knowledge, for this is how (s)he is able to establish a just city in which (s)he is not serving his or her own personal interests but rather, the interests of all and those of the city. Philosophical knowledge hence favours the establishment of justice by reinforcing the notion that the city should not be individualised, and at no point should the city be used to serve personal selfish desires (Barker, 1960, p. 171), because justice is all about service to mankind (Burnet, 1964, p. 218).

Moreover, in his conceptualisation of justice, Plato opines that the establishment of justice in both the individual and the city is rooted in role specialisation because in any given society, there does not exist a uniformity of skills and different individuals are best suited to perform different tasks. As such, Plato emphasises that justice stems from role specialisation because justice is when each person does what one is naturally best qualified for (Barker, 1960, p. 204; Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 125). That being the case, each and every individual is encouraged to strive to be the best performer in whatever role one plays in society, depending on one's level of education (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 110). This is by virtue of the fact that the only way an individual can perform one's optimum best is by specialising in what one is best qualified for, in lieu of practicing various different arts (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 51), for justice is "acknowledged to be the habitual practice of one's own proper and natural work" (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 126). It follows, then, that justice can only be achieved if each individual in society fulfills one's allotted duty based on the existing division of labour (Barker, 1960, p. 152).

Finally, Plato associates justice with happiness and is of the opinion that justice is what brings happiness and injustice only brings misery, more so when acts of injustice are neither punished nor corrected (Barker, 1960, p. 157). It is thus the role of the city to guarantee the happiness of its citizens (Kamtekar, 2001, p. 191). This is why only those who are true philosophers can be happy because they are governed by reason. On these grounds, those who lead without being true philosophers cannot achieve this happiness because they are governed by greed and self-gratification (Lane, 2001, p. 173). In view of this, Plato postulates that the just man is happier than the unjust man for he has more wisdom and strength. This is because, on one hand, he is wise enough not to compete for the sake of it but rather in a quest for excellence, wise enough to only compete with those who fail to live up to this excellence and also wise enough to only strive to be equal with those who are good and to do better than those who are bad. On the other hand, he is stronger because even when a group of unjust individuals want to engage in an unjust action, they need to be just towards each other for this unjust action to be successful (Barker, 1960, p. 182). Indeed, in the Ideal State, the just soul is the happiest soul because justice is all about ensuring society achieves "goodness and thereby happiness" (Barker, 1960, p. 207), and it is a virtue desired by any individual who is in pursuit of happiness (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 38).

## 2.5. The Place of Women in Plato's Ideal State

In Plato's Ideal State, no distinction is made between the sexes and Plato contends that women are only different from men in as far as their ability to procreate is concerned (Sissa, 2013, p. 182). As such, in terms of whether the sex of the Philosopher Geniuses matters, Plato argues that in the Kallipolis, women also qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they are provided with the same nurture and education as men (Annas, 1976, p. 308; Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 146). To illustrate this assertion, he uses the analogy of the male and female watch-dogs wherein both watch, hunt and perform common roles efficiently, regardless of their sex (Barker, 1960, p. 138). Therefore, against this backdrop, Plato maintains that as long as women are qualified, their gender should not stop them from being rulers or limit them only to the role of being the wives of rulers (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 150). Thus, according to Plato, "the woman is naturally fitted for sharing in all offices, and so is the man" (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 151). However, the only difference he highlights between women and men is the difference in physical strength and thus suggests that women rulers should also be allowed to be involved in war the same way their male counterparts are, the difference being that their duties should be lighter, owing to the fact that they are naturally physically weaker (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 153).

Overall, therefore, with regard to the place of women in the Ideal State, Plato summarises by stating this, "for do not imagine that I have spoken what I have said any more concerning the men, than concerning the women, such of them as are of a sufficient genius" (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 252). This is because, from his vantage point, if both women and men are provided with the same educational nurture, the education system will provide the best of men and the best of women. As such, these women who are the best of their kind will be fully capable of discharging the high level functions of governance in the very same way as the men who too are the best of their kind (Okin, 1979, p. 40). In essence, from where Plato stands, the fact that men and women are physically different does not translate to them being intellectually different. This is owing to the fact that whether one can be a Philosopher Genius or not is determined not by one's sex, but rather, by whether one's dominant soul element is the Rational, that is, the element that corresponds to wisdom and knowledge (McAleer, 2020, p. 138). All the same, it is worth noting that Plato's feminist-leaning views on women are not only alien but also groundbreaking, for if *The Republic* is anything to go by, so misogynistic is the society of Plato's era that throughout *The Republic*, at no point in time does a woman take part in the political discourse.

## **2.6. Inside the Kallipolis: Summary and Gaps in Literature**

In the first place, the first distinctive peculiarity of the Kallipolis is that it constitutes a tripartite division of the soul of the individual and of the city, and this division is founded upon Plato's Analogy of the Soul and the City (Dorion, 2018, p. 193; Yunis, 2007, p. 12). On one side of the divide, the soul of an individual has three main parts which are the Rational, the Spirited and the Appetite. On the other side of the divide, the city too is made up of three main parts and specifically, three main classes which are the Philosopher Genius Class, the Auxiliary Class and the Producing Class. In principle, Plato avers that in both the soul and the city, each element must restrict itself to what it is best qualified for and all three elements must work in harmony, for this harmony ensures that there exists an ideal individual and equally ensures that an Ideal State, that is, the Kallipolis, is established (Annas, 1981, p. 295).

Moreover, justice is an integral feature of Plato's Kallipolis. In fact, so important is justice to Plato that his Ideal State is founded upon the establishment of justice (Nettleship, 1967, p. 6). This justice, he affirms, is only achieved when the tripartite parts of the soul of the individual and those of the city do only what each part is best qualified for (Irwin, 1977, p. 225; Barker 1960, p. 175). In this regard, because the dominant soul element of the Philosopher Genius Class is the Rational, those in this class should govern because they represent wisdom, intelligence and virtue. They are the gold of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). Then, given that the dominant soul element of the Auxiliary Class is the Spirited, those in this class should make up the military for they represent courage. They are the silver of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). Lastly, the dominant soul element of the Producing Class is the Appetite. Consequently, those in the Producing Class should only focus on production activities, for these individuals represent human desires. They are the bronze of society (Plato, c. 380 BC, pp. 53, 123). In essence, therefore, there can be no justice in society if each class does not restrict itself to its assigned role (Irwin, 1977, p. 225).

All the same, when taking cognisance of the primacy of justice in the Kallipolis, it must be pointed out that Plato's conceptualisation of justice is born out of critiquing and discarding the concepts of justice that are advanced by the other political thinkers and interlocutors taking part in the discourse on justice, and they are Polus, Cephalus, Simonides, Polemarchus, Glauco, Thrasymachus and Socrates. To begin with, Polus is envious of the unjust man and opines that the life of an unjust man is better than that of a just man (Barker, 1960, p. 157). In contrast, Cephalus is of the opinion that even in old age, the just man has a

better life because he is not haunted by the fear of having harmed others throughout his lifetime, whereas the unjust man is miserable and unhappy, even if he has a lot of wealth in old age (Reeve, 1988, p. 5). Then, according to Simonides, a poet whom Socrates refers to, justice basically entails giving people what befits them and what is due to them (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 6), while to Polemarchus, “justice profits friends and hurts enemies” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 9) and “it is just to do good to a friend when he is good, and to hurt and enemy when he is ill” (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 11). Moreover, on his part, Glauco conceptualises justice as either one of three types of good; a good that is good in its very nature, a good that is good because of the consequences that ooze out of it and a good that is good both because of its very nature and the consequences it yields (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 37). There is also Thrasymachus who is of the view that justice is merely the advantage of those who are strong in society (Cross & Woosley, 1964, p. 24). Lastly, Socrates states that justice is a virtue that represents wisdom whereas injustice is a vice that represents ignorance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 30). Evidently, therefore, Plato gives the concept of justice its coherence by critiquing the concepts of the other political interlocutors of his time and by building on the concept of justice of his teacher, Socrates.

Carrying on with the peculiarities of the Kallipolis, another striking feature is the prominence it gives to education and this is because Plato contends that the assigning of roles in the Ideal State is determined by the education system (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59). For this reason, those with the highest possible level of education become Philosopher Geniuses and they are assigned the role of governance, for they are the embodiment of both philosophical and intellectual power (White, 1979, p. 164). Subsequently, those who receive education in athletics, physical exercise and military training are assigned the Auxiliary role. This is by virtue of the fact that they are best suited for defence, given that they are the epitome of courage (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 104). Then, those who neither receive philosophical nor military education are assigned the role of production. They include farmers, masons, weavers, smiths, shepherds, herdsmen and merchants who trade in imports and exports depending on what is produced (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 52). Fundamentally, education is so crucial to Plato’s conceptualisation of the Kallipolis, to an extent that Jean Jacques Rousseau posits that Plato’s *Republic* merits being described as “not a work upon politics but the finest treatise on education that was ever written” (Barker 1960, p. 168).

To add to that, the Philosopher Genius is the linchpin of Plato’s Kallipolis. Hence, in the Kallipolis, the Philosopher Genius takes pride of place in the societal structure and this is a

key attribute of the Kallipolis. In particular, Plato emphasises on the role of the Philosopher Genius because, at the heart of the Ideal State and at the heart of Ideal Governance is the Philosopher Genius. Governance by a Philosopher Genius is thus the touchstone of ideal governance (White, 1979, p. 164). This is because from Plato's perspective, ideal governance can only be achieved if either one of two things happens; if philosophers govern or if those who govern philosophise (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 174). Thus, from Plato's point of view, education plays a crucial role in determining who is best suited to govern, for it is through the education system that the virtues required for ideal governance are inculcated in Philosopher Geniuses (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59). To be specific, the level of education he makes reference to is higher education which is an equivalent of contemporary university education, and this is based on the curriculum of the Academy, which is the "university" that he himself founded (Barker, 1960, p. 230).

Also worth noting is that gender equality thrives in the Kallipolis and Plato's convictions on the place of women in the Kallipolis are indeed at odds with the predominant views of the inherently patriarchal society of his time. In particular, Plato propounds that governance is not a male preserve, and that education is indeed the only consideration to be made when determining who governs in the Ideal State (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 126). As such, it does not matter whether one is a man or woman (Barker 1960, p. 138). As long as one receives the appropriate education, one can perform the role that is commensurate to one's level of education. It is against this backdrop that Plato argues that in an Ideal State, women too qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they receive the same nurture and education as their male counterparts (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 146.) They are also sufficiently capable of being part of the Auxiliary class if they receive military education but all the same, they should be assigned lighter duties compared to their male counterparts in the military because they are naturally physically weaker (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 153). On balance, therefore, in the Kallipolis, women are not at the periphery but rather at the very core of governance and right at the apex of society, for they are not regarded as subservient to men.

In conclusion, from the aforementioned, it is indeed clear that in the field of Political Theory, Plato's schematic outline of the Ideal State, the Kallipolis, is crucial in apprehending how to establish ideal governance and how to establish justice in society. Nonetheless, specific research gaps can be identified in the existing literature in this subject matter. At the outset, as much as various scholars have made their contributions with regard to the Analogy of the Soul and the City (Bakalis, 2005; Barney et al., 2012; Fine, 2012; Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p.



127 & Yunis, 2007, p. 12), there does not seem to be any scholarly contributions that explain how this analogy can be interpreted in the context of a modern day government and in particular, a county government. Moreover, while existing academic works comprehensively capture the idea of the ideal individual and the Ideal State and how these two aspects bring forth Ideal Justice in society (Barker, 1960, p. 207; Burnet, 1964, p. 218; Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 141; Popper, 1945, p. 24), there appears to be no works that explain how this concept of Ideal Justice fits into the setting of the contemporary polis (county), a setting in which justice is a combination of both social and legal justice. In addition, although there exists literature on Plato's explanation of how the education system assigns roles in society (Lane, 2006, p. 171, Russell, 1945, p. 106; Schofield, 2006, p. 157) it looks as though there are no explanations that narrow their focus on how the same roles are assigned in the modern state, within the framework of the modern system of education, and similarly, no explanations on whether the modern system of education is indeed capable of assigning these same roles. Finally, existing research in this branch of study gives the impression that there are no studies that tie the establishment of the Ideal Polis to the education level of those governing, or studies that interrogate how viable and applicable the Philosopher Genius concept is in modern county governance, particularly in Kenya. Indeed, it is in light of the aforesaid research gaps that this particular study was deemed befitting.

## CHAPTER THREE: THE PLATONIC PERSPECTIVE ON GOVERNANCE

### GOVERNANCE AND PLATONISM: PLATO'S CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

#### 3.1. Hallmarks of Plato's Concept of Governance

Plato enumerates five types of civil governance which he refers to as the five republics. These are the Aristocracy, the Timocracy (best represented by the Cretan and the Spartan republics), the Oligarchy, the Democracy and the Tyranny (Laertius, c. 150 AD/1925, p. 349). According to Plato, these five republics are in hierarchical order, from the best to the worst, and the changes in each republic, from the one at the apex, are what give birth to the next republic in the hierarchy. To Plato, therefore, when the Analogy of the Soul and the City ceases to be viable, instead of there being just one ideal republic, there exists five, as a result of the decay of, not just the soul (*the psychê*) of the individual but that of the ideal city (the Kallipolis) as well (McAller, 2012, p. 229).

To elaborate on the stages of this decay, Plato details that the Aristocracy is the ideal system of governance and he considers it the best, seeing that it exists before the decay of the soul and the city commences. Then, at the initial stages of the decay, the Timocracy comes into being and is the second best republic, for it is usually the most widely lauded system of governance. Thereafter, at the middle stages of the decay, the Oligarchy emerges and is the third best republic, even though it is characterised by a great deal of evil. Lastly, as the degeneration of the *psychê* and the Kallipolis approaches the final and advanced stages, the Democracy, which is a system of governance that Plato abhors, springs up and is ranked in fourth place, whereas in fifth position is the Tyranny, which he considers the worst republic and which he likens to a disease (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 255).

On the whole, for each of these five republics and five systems of governance, Plato postulates, their hallmarks are dependent upon whether in them, there is pellucid clarity in terms of the distinction between the three elements of the soul and the city and whether each part plays its designated role (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 254). On balance, therefore, it can validly be argued that, when there is a sharp distinction between these three elements, the system of governance is at that point the most ideal. However, the more blurry the distinction gets, the more the system of governance in question deteriorates. It is within this frame of mind that Plato conceptualises governance and elaborates on, from his vantage point, the peculiarities of each of the five systems of governance.

### **3.2. Aristocracy from the Vantage Point of Plato**

To begin with, the Aristocracy is what Plato conceives to be the best system of governance (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 257). In this system of governance, as is determined by educational attainment, the metal elements of the soul are pure and unalloyed, while the three elements of the city are clear-cut (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 126; Yunis, 2007, p. 12). In the first place, there are those in the Philosopher Genius Class who represent wisdom and are the gold of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105). Then, there are those in the Auxiliary Class who represent courage and are the silver of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 135). Lastly, there are those in the Producing Class who represent the appetite and are the bronze of society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 105).

In essence, it is this wholly clear-cut distinction between the three elements of the city, Plato argues, that warrants the Aristocracy being termed as the best possible system of governance, for there is ideal harmony between the three parts of the city (Irwin, 1977, p. 225) Equally, there is role specialisation, and each one only does what one is best qualified for (Annas, 1981, p. 295). The Aristocracy is thus a system of governance built on the foundation of justice, because to Plato, the establishment of justice in both the individual and the city is rooted in role specialisation since in any given society, there does not exist a uniformity of skills and thus different individuals are best suited to perform different tasks. As such, Plato emphasises that justice stems from role specialisation because justice is when each person does what (s)he is naturally best qualified for (Barker, 1960, p. 204).

It then follows that, because role specialisation is firmly established in the Aristocracy, when it comes to governance, those who govern are chosen not on the basis of their richness or poverty, or nobility or lack thereof, but rather, on the basis of the Philosopher Genius attributes they possess (Laertius, c. 150 AD/1925, p. 349). Correspondingly, those in charge of governance in the Aristocracy have virtue and philosophical intelligence as their main distinctive qualities and they are thus the wisest and the worthiest (Plato, c. 380 BC/1925, p. 259). That being so, Aristocracy becomes the best system of rule, for it is rule by the most virtuous, rule by the most intelligent and the most educated, rule by Philosopher Geniuses and therefore, rule by the best (Schofield, 2006, p. 103). This is owing to the fact that in the Aristocracy, the soul of the individual is governed by the Rational element, whereas the polis is governed by those whose dominant soul element is the Rational (McAller, 2012, p. 230).

### **3.3. Timocracy from the Vantage Point of Plato**

The second-best system of governance, Plato postulates, is the Timocracy. This system of governance emerges from changes and sedition in the Aristocracy. To elucidate the cause and subsequent effect of these changes, Plato makes the assertion that for the polis to remain ideal, the nature of education must remain structured in such a way that it produces souls that fit into either of the three categories of metals of the soul (gold, silver and bronze), and individuals that fit into either of the three societal strata (Philosopher Geniuses, The Auxiliary and Producers). For this reason, he beseeches the Philosopher Geniuses to at all times, more than anything else, safeguard the existing system of education, for any alterations in it would interfere with its impeccable ability to produce individuals who solely perform what they are best qualified for (McAleer, 2020, p. 110). This remains the case in the Aristocracy. Nonetheless, for the Timocracy to spring up, the three distinct metals of the soul mutate into alloys and the golden souls of the Philosopher Genius Class are made impure by iron and bronze and thus, instead of seeing governance as a means to achieving common good, they start seeing it as a means to achieving individual good (McAleer, 2020, p. 231). For this reason, the driving force in this form of governance is not virtue and philosophy, as is the case in the Aristocracy, but instead, the strong ambition for power (Nechaev, 2018, p. 7).

In the Timocracy, therefore, those in positions of governance are selected based on their ambition to acquire power and hoard wealth, their forward temper and their contention, as is demonstrated by their need to engage in continual war (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 259). Plato is thus of the opinion that the Timocracy is somewhere in between the Aristocracy and the Oligarchy. This is owing to the fact that, in the Timocracy, as much as the law exists and as much as there are individuals who are drawn to virtue, the law will not be supreme and the reigning lack of harmony will push those governing to abandon virtue and instead acquire wealth, divide it amongst themselves and then enslave those in lower social ranks in society (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 258). This means that if the law is obeyed by the Timocrat, it is not usually out of will but rather, out of fear of the repercussions that come with disobedience, particularly in the form of punishment (Gavrielides, 2010, p. 213). Moreover, another reason why the Timocracy has elements of both the Aristocracy and the Oligarchy is because as much as those who govern acquire the education required to be the best governors, this education is acquired through force in lieu of persuasion (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 259). Overall, then, the Timocracy is a system of governance that is an embodiment of both good virtues and ill vices.

### **3.4. Oligarchy from the Vantage Point of Plato**

The Oligarchy is the third best Platonic system of governance. This system stems from the Timocracy because the growing ambition to acquire power, wealth and money goes hand in hand with blatant disregard for the rule of law and for virtues, owing to the fact that the Appetite element of the soul forcibly enslaves the Rational element (Gavrielides, 2010, p. 213). For this reason, the ambitious man in the Timocracy transitions into a covetous man in the Oligarchy (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 266), for he seeks to hoard as much money and wealth as he possibly can (Johnstone, 2015, p. 428). Thus, the oligarch is governed by the desire to acquire and amass wealth, even through unjust means, as long as he can get off scot-free (Lorenz, 2006, p. 42). This then means that great honour is attached to wealth itself and to wealthy people, but no honour is given to the law, virtue and goodness, as it does not matter how this power, wealth and money is acquired as long as it is acquired. Therefore, unlike in the Timocracy where the driving force is contention and ambition, the driving force in the Oligarchy is the love and pursuit of wealth and money (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 262). For this reason, the oligarch is governed by the Appetite element of the soul and is a slave to it (Barney, Brennan & Brittain, 2012, p. 2).

That being the case, oligarchic rule is rule by a few and whether or not one is fit to govern is determined by the wealth one possesses (Jones, 2013, p. 125). In view of this, depending on the extent to which the constitution is oligarchic, there is always a set amount of wealth that one ought to possess if (s)he seeks to be an oligarch. Hence, the more oligarchic the constitution, the more the wealth one is required to possess if (s)he desires to be part of the governing class (Simonton, 2017, p. 39). On these grounds, the rich who are fewer in number have monopoly over power and governance while the poor have no stake whatsoever (Laertius, c. 150 AD/1925, p. 349). It follows, therefore, that on one hand, those in power in the Oligarchy may not necessarily be the most suited to govern but merely those with the most wealth, but this does not stop them from clinging onto power anyway (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 263). On the other hand, those who are better suited to govern but are poor are denied an opportunity to do so, for wealth possession is the sole criterion of determining who governs in the oligarchy (McAller, 2012, p. 233). In the long run, these poor individuals who are marginalised in governance, because of the inequalities between the rich and the poor, develop ill virtues due to the lack of proper education, good nurture and a good constitution. Ultimately, the Oligarchy becomes a republic marred with evil (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 265).

### **3.5. Democracy from the Vantage Point of Plato**

The fourth best republic, according to Plato, is the Democracy. This system of governance, Plato propounds, is born when the Oligarchy goes rack and ruin and metamorphoses in the sense that, the irrational element of the soul subdues the rational, thus obliterating the soul's principle of specialisation which when in place, ascertains that there is a consensus among the elements of the soul as to which element should rule (Storey, 2014, p. 88).

Correspondingly, either one of two changes occur in the Oligarchy; either the rich in positions of power withdraw out of fear or the poor revolt against the rich and the latter are either killed or banished, as the former take over power and assign positions of power notably by lot (Balot, 2001, p. 179). That being so, this system of governance is characterised by a guarantee of freedom and liberty when it comes to actions and to speech, and people are free to do and say whatever they please (Wallace, 2013, p. 268). Further, in this system of governance, people have the right to choose whether to govern or to be governed and also whether to maintain peace or go to war, and it is this freedom that leads the multitude to consider it the best form of republic (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 271).

All the same, even if freedom is guaranteed in the Democracy and although the masses hail it as the best of the best, Plato observes that because positions of governance in the Democracy are assigned principally by lot, its major shortcoming is that those who govern may not necessarily have much substance, as what matters is not substance, but rather, the backing of the majority (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 280). In addition, Plato points out that there are other shortcomings which are evident in the ability of those banished or condemned to death to come back to society as heroes, and equally evident in the contempt and disregard it has for philosophy and education in governance, for the only thing that matters in the choice of those who govern is the support of the multitude (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 271).

In general, therefore, Plato decries Democracy because in his view, Democracy is “the right divine of the ignorant to govern wrong” (Murkherjee & Ramaswamy, 2011, p. 60). He thus views this Democracy as being the breeding ground for injustice and moral corruption in society because it often creates a political environment where those who govern are not the best qualified or professionals but rather, amateurs (Murkherjee & Ramaswamy, 2011, p. 60). Also, of great importance, his distaste and dissatisfaction with Democracy is additionally reinforced by the trial and execution of Socrates (Grote, 1865, p. 333). This is because he holds it accountable for the execution of Socrates (Hahm, 2013, p. 289).

### **3.6. Tyranny from the Vantage Point of Plato**

The Tyranny is the last and worst system of governance, in Plato's view. This system of governance mushrooms from the Democracy owing to the fact that in the Democracy, there is an insatiable desire for liberty and so, if those who govern are not able to tame this desire, anarchy is bred and they turn into tyrants (Anderson, 2021, p. 15). This is because ideally, the soul of an individual is supposed to be harmonious but the soul of the Tyrant flouts this principle, for it is disorderly, chaotic and inclined towards slavery (Gavrielides, 2010, p. 216). In the Tyranny, therefore, there are no laws whatsoever, as no one wants to have any kind of master, and it is this excessive liberty that creates a state of anarchy and a savage kind of slavery (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 279). Thus, as a result of this lawlessness, anarchy and savage slavery, this system of governance is characterised by the use of open force, unnecessary and undeserved bloodshed, unlawful division of land, unlawful banishing and slaying of people, unlawful debt abolition and an unjust judicial system wherein those who oppose the regime are accused falsely in courts of justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 282).

It is hence not surprising that Plato likens the governing tyrant to a man who turns into a wolf after partaking animal sacrifices that constitute human entrails (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 282). This is because at the beginning of his reign, the tyrant presents himself as a patriot who loves all people and one who has the interests of the people at heart, but he soon starts to become hateful towards these same people, starts to wage wars so that there can be the necessity of a leader to lead the people in war, and starts to overtax the people so that they are left too poor to want to scheme and conspire against him. Then, if there are any who are brave enough to want to oust him from power, he exposes them to the enemies so that the enemies can vanquish them (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 283). The tyrant therefore becomes one who serves his own selfish interests and does everything possible to remain in power and avoid destruction by his enemies, even if this is not in line with the interests of the people (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 282). This is because (s)he embraces an opulent lifestyle of hedonistic pleasures and excesses (Johnstone, 2015, p. 428). Additionally, this is owing to the fact that (s)he is governed by the Appetite element of the soul, an element that is drawn to anarchy and lawlessness (Reeve, 1988, p. 257), and for this reason exercises no restraint, as a result of the insatiable desire, not just for power, but for bodily pleasures as well (Kraut, 1992, p. 325). Plato thus concludes that the Tyranny is the worst form of governance, for there can be no good governance if only the interests of the ruler matter, unless of course this ruler is the pre-eminent symbol of virtue (Laertius, c. 150 AD/1925, p. 293).

### **3.7. Governance and Platonism: Summary and Gaps in Literature**

Plato presents a quintuple model of governance that is hierarchical in nature and wherein its five systems of governance deteriorate in suitability as one goes down the hierarchical ladder. In specific terms, this model encompasses Aristocracy, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. To begin with, the Aristocracy is Plato's preeminent system of governance for it is knitted from the fabric of all that is just and all that is virtuous (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 257). Then, the Timocracy comes in second because its driving force is ambition for power and as such, those who govern are chosen on the basis of their ambition, contention and forward temper (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 259). Ranked third is the Oligarchy where the eligibility to govern is dependent upon wealth possession and thus, the rich invariably hold the whip hand in governance (Laertius, c. 150 AD/1925, p. 349). Further, the Democracy is in fourth place and in the Democracy, the law guarantees that all, rich and poor, have an equal chance to take part in governance (Liddel, 2013, p. 225). That notwithstanding, it is a system of governance that Plato execrates, for he feels that in the Democracy, virtue is disregarded in governance, given that choosing those who govern is by lot, hence, the preference of the majority overrides virtue (Murkherjee & Ramaswamy, 2011, p. 60). Equally, another reason he regards Democracy with disdain is because he imputes the trial and execution of Socrates to Democracy (Hahm, 2013, p. 289). Lastly, Plato holds that the Tyranny is the fifth ranking and the worst form of governance owing to the fact that it is a system of governance riddled with vices (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 282).

To justify this hierarchical order, Plato explains that these republics sprout from each other, from the one at the apex to the one at the foot (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 255). Thus, first and foremost, Aristocracy transitions to Timocracy when the desire for virtue is replaced by the ambition to gain power (Nechaev, 2018, p. 7). Then, Timocracy subsequently transforms into Oligarchy when the place of ambition for power is taken by the love and pursuit of wealth, money and power (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 262). Further, on its part, Oligarchy becomes Democracy when the love and pursuit of wealth, money and power, by the wealthy minority in positions of governance, is replaced by the fear of this wealth, money and power being taken away by the poor majority in revolt and protest. Ultimately, when the poor do indeed take over governance, they introduce a new governance system, where governance is by lot and where there is freedom and liberty (Balot, 2001, p. 179). Lastly, Tyranny is born out of Democracy when those in positions of governance are unable to tame their desire for freedom and liberty, and they therefore disregard both the law and virtue, and institutionalise a system



of governance that disregards virtue and disregards the rule of law and is hence, essentially, built on savagery, slavery and anarchy (Anderson, 2021, p. 15). In summary, therefore, on the basis of this hierarchy, it would be justified to contend that the dominant soul element of those who govern changes from one system of governance to another. That is, those governing in the Aristocracy are governed by the Rational soul element, those governing in the Timocracy are governed by the Spirited soul element whereas those who govern in the Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny are governed by the Appetite soul element.

To sum up, therefore, with regards to Governance and Platonism, the weight of evidence from this summary of the empirical literature review of Plato's concept of governance suggests that there is seemingly no political inquiry that transforms the theoretical repository of knowledge on the Platonic concept of governance to the actual world of governance in Kenya. It also gives the impression of there being no research that maps the Platonic conceptualisation of governance onto the contemporary concept of county governance in Kenya. Notably, there appears to be no inquiry that investigates whether ideal governance could be understood within the confines of other system of governance, besides Aristocracy, which is Plato's touchstone of ideal governance. In the same vein, it looks as though there are no studies that look into whether the very existence of a Philosopher Genius is indeed a conceivable idea or if it remains far-fetched in the contemporary world, a world where Democracy is given prominence and Aristocracy shunned, unlike in Plato's world where he takes a dim view of Democracy and instead glorifies Aristocracy. In light of these gaps in literature, it proved instructive to pursue an inquiry into the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1. Presentation and Analysis of Primary Data

##### 4.1.1. Presentation of Primary Data

##### Key Virtues of the Philosopher Genius & Questions Seeking to Identify these Virtues

1. The virtue of *epistêmê*; the intellectual virtue of knowledge and the reverence for acquisition of knowledge (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. Being a professor is the highest possible academic qualification one can attain. What was your impetus for working towards this academic qualification?
- ii. On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge after becoming a professor?
- iii. On a scale of 0-10, where do you place educational attainment when appointing those who will serve in your government? Could you kindly explain why?
- iv. Of all the qualifications a leader should have, where would you place education on a scale of 0-10? Could you kindly explain why?
- v. What are your main priority areas when formulating education policies in your county? What informs this decision?

I. Being a professor is the highest possible academic qualification one can attain. What was your impetus for working towards this academic qualification?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The love for education from a tender age owing to encouragement from parents and teachers.</li> <li>-The childhood dream to become a teacher, inspired by teachers in the home village because being a teacher was the greatest thing one could become at the time.</li> <li>-The realisation that the dream of being a teacher could still be realised by studying law and teaching at the university, in lieu of the then popular custom of studying law solely to make money.</li> <li>-The opportunity, after undergraduate studies, to be chosen among the best four students to go study law at the University of London and then go back to the University of Nairobi to lecture.</li> </ul>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The presence of role models in academia and the desire to walk in the steps of these academic giants.</li> <li>-The inspiration drawn from the extraordinary degree of commitment seen in fellow scholars, both men and women, when pursuing a PhD at the University of Leeds.</li> <li>-The motivation sparked by seeing Isaac Newton's bed on a visit to present a conference paper at the University of Cambridge and the imagination of the many discoveries that can be made if the mind is exercised.</li> <li>-The yearning to go beyond self-pity, ethnic origin, doubts and seasonal pleasures, and instead climb the academic ladder all the way to being the first Professor from the Pokot community.</li> </ul>
<p><i>Being a professor is the highest possible academic qualification one can attain. What was your impetus for working towards this academic qualification?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The itch to use education as a tool to break the chains of poverty, having grown up in poverty and landlessness.</li> <li>-The desire to become a civil activist and the knowledge that getting a good education prior to that was of the essence.</li> </ul>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The interest to attend a top notch graduate school in Social Sciences (The University of Chicago) and the interest to be in an academic environment that facilitated a high level of competition and in turn guaranteed a high level of learning.</li> <li>-The interest to teach, research, publish and to keep evolving through the dissemination of ideas and knowledge after starting to lecture at the University of Nairobi.</li> <li>-An interest in the creation of ideas and analysis of reality.</li> </ul>

Table 1.1. Interview Data on the Impetus for Working towards Professorship

II. On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge prior to and after becoming a professor? Could you kindly explain why?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that regardless of the fact that the biggest chunk of time goes to governance, there is still an interest in continuing to educate the general population through poetry and creative writing for newspapers, keynote addresses to different groups of people and an interest in academia through regular research and occasional lectures.</i></p> <p><i>-On grounds that there was an interest to pursue a Master's in Theology between 2009-2012 when already a professor and currently, there is an interest to pursue a Master's in Youth Studies, in a bid to understand where we are going wrong as a continent and what we can do moving forward to make certain that our youth are an integral part of our development process.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that the beauty of education is that attaining the highest possible academic attainment is not the end of education. On the contrary, it creates more room to interpret existing knowledge and even generate more knowledge.</i></p> <p><i>-On grounds that although being a governor means that most of one's time goes to serving the people and making the world a better place, the interest in learning and knowledge acquisition has increased.</i></p>
<p><i>On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge prior to and after becoming a professor? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that there is always the determination to add value and to increase knowledge because an increase in knowledge increases one's capacity and equips one with the necessary tools of trade to solve the challenges of life. This knowledge should be multifaceted regardless of the field of specialisation.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that there is still an interest to disseminate ideas and contribute to the body of knowledge even after becoming a professor.</i></p>

Table 1.2. Interview Data on the Interest in Learning after Attaining Professorship

III. On a scale of 0-10, where do you place educational attainment when appointing those who will serve in your government?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>-In view of the fact that at the inception of county governance, it was a challenge finding highly educated, qualified and experienced people willing to work for the county government, for they equated it to the defunct city council where one could not realise one's potential, and this was a major drawback for good governance.</i></p> <p><i>-In view of the conviction that most of the success that has been achieved in Makueni County is as a result of working with people who are well educated and highly qualified.</i></p> <p><b>CAVEAT:</b> Education should be a very important consideration but this should not exclude other key considerations such as ethics and morals.</p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>-In view of the fact that no matter the ranking criterion, education always ranks highest.</i></p> <p><b>CAVEAT:</b> Education always ranks highest but it is part of an interlinked chain of considerations to be made when making appointments. The other considerations include equity, moral conduct and one's previous record.</p>
<p><i>On a scale of 0-10, where do you place educational attainment when appointing those who will serve in your government? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><b>10.</b></p> <p><i>In view of the fact that service delivery is proportional to the level of education of those in charge of this service delivery and hence the choice of mostly professors as advisors to the governor in Kericho County.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>In view of the fact that education is very important in whichever work one does in any given government.</i></p> <p><b>CAVEAT:</b> The level of education required must be commensurate to the line of work in question.</p>

Table 1.3. Interview Data on the Place of Education when Making Appointments

IV. Of all the qualifications a leader should have, where would you place education on a scale of 0-10? Could you kindly explain why?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that education is a vital thing but it is not everything.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Illustrations:</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-There are historically good leaders, such as Mansa Musa, who only had traditional education yet their leadership was exemplary.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-There are uneducated people with high levels of integrity and morality, and there are also highly educated people who use their education not to do good, but to do evil.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that leaders are indeed born but they need education to shape them, and therefore, education should always be valued, honoured and held in high regard.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that leadership, and especially elective leadership, has to have a certain level of education attached to it and the higher the level of responsibility a position has, the higher the level of education required.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that there is no point in the government investing heavily in education from Early Childhood Development Education (ECDEs) to University level and then not seeing to it that education and leadership go hand in hand.</i></p>
<p><i>Of all the qualifications a leader should have, where would you place education on a scale of 0-10? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>10 WITH A PROVISIO.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that leaders are born then shaped, and education is the tool that shapes them.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROVISIO:</b> <i>This education must be paired up with virtues such as morality, charisma and truthfulness. Truthfulness is particularly important because everything depends on the truth.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>-Owing to the fact that in the past, at independence, there were very few opportunities for people to go to university and thus, people could even become presidents having only secondary school education. In the present world, however, more people have access to university education. As such, because times have changed, university education is very necessary in leadership, for it enables one to easily grasp, analyse and understand the art of leadership.</i></p>

Table 1.4. Interview Data on the Ranking of Education among Leadership Qualities

V. What are your main priority areas when formulating education policies in your county?  
 What informs this decision?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>- At ECDE Level:</b></p> <p><i>Availability and empowerment of teachers; Inclusion of life skills in the curriculum; Inclusion of children in public participation through songs and plays; Provision of ICT materials for certain camps of children.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At Secondary School Level:</b></p> <p><i>Scholarship and Mentorship Programmes.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At Tertiary Level:</b></p> <p><i>-Tuition fees subsidies in polytechnics for people living with disabilities; Chaplaincy programmes for interested teachers; Apprenticeship programmes with a stipend for polytechnic and university graduates.</i></p> <p><i>-Man Enough Programme and Esther Programme, for young men and women respectively, to teach them virtues of manhood and womanhood.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At ECDE and Primary School Levels:</b></p> <p><i>-Provision of the initial seed for parents, for every two acres of land, every year, and provision of 2-3 exotic bulls in every village to cross breed with indigenous cows, on condition that parents enroll their children in school.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>- At Secondary School Level:</b></p> <p><i>-Creating an Education Magnet; that is, KES 20,000 worth of tuition fees for all students in boarding schools and a few in day schools, regardless of the number of students per household.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At Tertiary Level:</b></p> <p><i>-Compulsory Internship Programmes with a monthly stipend, after completion of secondary school and university studies; Scholarships for Master's and Doctoral Programmes.</i></p>
<p><i>What are your main priority areas when formulating education policies in your county?          What informs this decision?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At ECDE Level:</b></p> <p><i>Roads leading to schools; Infrastructure; Learning materials; Water; School feeding programmes.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>- At Tertiary Level:</b></p> <p><i>Bursaries, Scholarships, ICT Training Centres and Centres for Job Creation Skills.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At all levels:</b></p> <p><i>Mentorship, because students learn from their leaders.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-At all levels:</b></p> <p><i>Honouring the constitution and ensuring that all persons have a right to education, beginning from ECDE to higher levels of education.</i></p>

Table 1.5. Interview Data on Priorities Areas when Formulating Education Policies

2. The virtue of *sophia*; intellectual curiosity, intellectual resourcefulness and intellectual excellence (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 186).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. The constitution stipulates that a first degree is a requirement for all elective positions, ranging from Member of County Assembly (MCA) to the President. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think this requirement is?
- ii. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think your academic background has prepared you for your job as governor? Could you kindly explain why?
- iii. Are there any given moments where your academic area of specialisation has been particularly valuable in your career as a governor? Could you kindly explain why?



I. The constitution stipulates that a first degree is a requirement for all elective positions, ranging from Member of County Assembly (MCA) to the President. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think this requirement is?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>-On the basis that, although some argue that the provision is discriminatory, basic education is important for legislation and governance and in the current world, that basic education is a degree.</i></p> <p><i>-On the basis that leaders need a certain basic level of education to understand the content and level of language of used in reports and meetings, to participate meaningfully in debates and to relate with others across the globe, and in the current world, that basic level of education is a degree.</i></p> <p><b>CAVEAT:</b> <i>In history, there were great leaders who were not educated but then, they were self-taught.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>-On the basis that it is a constitutional requirement and the constitution must be respected.</i></p> <p><i>- On the basis that ironically, the leaders championing for the amendment of this constitutional provision have more than one degree and are thus merely misusing their positions to politicise and look down upon education.</i></p> <p><i>-On the basis that although historically one could be a great leader without higher education, that is no longer viable in the present world where leadership involves interacting with complex documents and participating in intellectually demanding debates.</i></p>
<p><i>The constitution stipulates that a first degree is a requirement for all elective positions, ranging from Member of County Assembly (MCA) to the President. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think this requirement is?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><b>0 WITH A CAVEAT.</b></p> <p><i>-On the basis that it is a violation of human rights. People should have the right to choose the leaders they want because leadership is people-driven.</i></p> <p><b>CAVEAT:</b> <i>The government should provide continuous education for all its people, for if everyone is educated, the degree requirement will not marginalise any persons.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>8.</p> <p><i>-On the basis that in the present world, there are now many Kenyans who are holders of a first degree and thus, because many Kenyans have access to university education, this should reflect in leadership given that education is indeed necessary in leadership.</i></p>

Table 1.6. Interview Data on the Degree Requirement for Elective Positions

II. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think your academic background has prepared you for your job as governor? Could you kindly explain why?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>-A background in law comes in handy when formulating policies and laws at the county level seeing that it makes it possible to share legal knowledge with consultants.</i></p> <p><i>-A background in law provides a good understanding of the constitution and county government laws hence providing a good understanding of what is legal and what is illegal.</i></p> <p><i>-A background in Development Studies provides ample knowledge on public participation and project cycles and this comes in handy in the county development process.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Mathematics comes in handy in analysing numbers and figure for budgets, county assignments and projects.</i></p> <p><i>-A background in Mathematics provides for the ability to quickly analyse a project proposal, its applicability and its usefulness, to prevent it from being a dead end.</i></p> <p><i>(E.g. For a road; how many people will it serve? What volume of goods will it transport?)</i></p> <p><i>- A background in Mathematics provides the capacity to analyse, calculate and measure, so as to be objective and to know when to reorganise and improvise within a project cycle.</i></p>
<p><i>On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think your academic background has prepared you for your job as governor? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Chemistry came in handy at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, seeing that Kericho County came up with a new method of testing COVID-19 using a CT Scan at a time when other counties were still limited to DNA testing.</i></p> <p><i>- A background in Chemistry is also the reason why Kericho County has always had a good performance in the health sector.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Political Science comes in handy every single day in governance as it is not something that one can choose to apply today and not tomorrow, owing to the fact that politics and governance form part of the very essence of Political Science.</i></p>

Table 1.7. Interview Data on the Role of Academic Backgrounds in Governance

III. Are there any given moments where your academic area of specialisation has been particularly valuable in your career as a governor? Could you kindly explain why?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><b>6 WITH A PROVISIO.</b></p> <p><i>-A background in law guarantees not unknowingly engaging in illegal undertakings in the process of governance.</i></p> <p><i>-A background in other self-taught subjects, through wide reading, guarantees the ability to easily understand systems and how systems work and governance is all about building systems.</i></p> <p><b>PROVISIO:</b> <i>The academic background matters BUT it is the balance between the educational aspect and the moral-ethical aspect that matters the most in governance.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A PROVISIO.</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Mathematics guarantees an expanded capacity to absorb knowledge and to critically analyse issues in any given field, even in governance which is not a related field.</i></p> <p><b>PROVISIO:</b> <i>Education is an important aspect but there is the natural aspect too, in the sense that, leaders are born and then education shapes them.</i></p>
<p><i>Are there any given moments where your academic area of specialisation has been particularly valuable in your career as a governor? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><b>10.</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Chemistry guarantees better analytical reasoning. It is for this reason that most great leaders are scientists.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><b>10 WITH A PROVISIO.</b></p> <p><i>-A background in Political Science guarantees advanced and adequate knowledge of how government works.</i></p> <p><i>-A background in Political Science set the scene for a career in governance because advancing in the study of politics created a desire to govern so as to establish the system of government that the people deserve.</i></p> <p><b>PROVISIO:</b> <i>A background in Political Science is important but there are still aspects of politics one must learn on the ground.</i></p>

Table 1.8. Interview Data on the Role of Academic Specialisations in Governance

3. The virtue of *enkrateia*; temperance (Plato, c. 380 BC/ 1999, pp. 91, 189).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. How do you handle opposition especially from groups or individuals who resort to insults and/or violence?
  
- ii. Being a governor comes with a lot of power and power has the potential to corrupt. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think being a holder of this office has corrupted you? Could you kindly explain why?

I. How do you handle opposition especially from groups or individuals who resort to insults and/or violence?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>-By employing the principles of democracy.</i></p> <p><i>This means tolerance, accepting other people's views and accepting that all views count and must be listened to.</i></p> <p><i>Being highly knowledgeable in Political Theory, Theology and the Constitution inculcates this tolerance and respect for other people's views.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-By employing temperance.</i></p> <p><i>This means knowing how to control one's emotions and to neither get too excited nor lose one's temper.</i></p> <p><i>Being highly educated and being a professor inculcates this temperance for the higher one goes up the academic ladder, the higher the level of temperance.</i></p> <p><i>It is for this reason that the professors who are in the political realm are not erratic and remain grounded amidst political torrents.</i></p>
<p><i>How do you handle opposition especially from groups or individuals who resort to insults and/or violence?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-By employing temperance.</i></p> <p><i>-This means knowing when to relax and when to insist, knowing when to remain calm instead of being antagonistic, and knowing how to handle chaos by being calm and reasonable so as to make the infuriated calm down.</i></p> <p><i>Being highly educated inculcates this temperance.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-By employing the virtues of democracy.</i></p> <p><i>This means using opposition as an opportunity to enter into dialogue and discuss issues.</i></p> <p><i>-By employing temperance.</i></p> <p><i>-This means understanding that one cannot be in politics and fail to encounter opposition and understanding that some opposition can be obstructionist and some can be genuine, and the ability to be able to address both and not to ignore even the latter.</i></p>

Table 1.9. Interview Data on Handling Opposition

II. Being a governor comes with a lot of power and power has the potential to corrupt. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think being a holder of this office has corrupted you? Could you kindly explain why?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>0.</p> <p>-Seeing that the guiding concept of power is not holding a position so as to be a 'big man' and have power over people but rather, holding a position to be of service to the people.</p> <p>-Seeing that the guiding concept of power is treating everyone equally, be it ordinary citizens or other people in positions of power.</p> <p><i>This explains the choice not to have a motorcade and sirens, not to be addressed as Your Excellency, not to include honorary titles in documents and communiqués, not to have people stand up upon entering a room and to as often as possible have one-on-one meetings with different groups of ordinary citizens just to listen to their views and listen to their issues.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>0.</p> <p>- Seeing that the guiding principle is serving the master and the master in this case is the constituents.</p> <p>-Seeing that the guiding principle is serving the people in lieu of serving personal interests hence the choice to live in the home county and not in Nairobi County at the expense of the voters and taxpayers in the home county.</p> <p><i>This explains the choice to drive oneself, to be accompanied by only two police officers, to not have a motorcade, to not have the special GVN vehicle number plate reserved for governors, and to only fly the national flag on the government vehicle only on official events and not on a daily basis.</i></p>
<p><i>Being a governor comes with a lot of power and power has the potential to corrupt. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think being a holder of this office has corrupted you? Could you kindly explain why?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>0.</p> <p>-Seeing that power belongs to the people and governance should thus be driven by public participation.</p> <p>-Seeing that a governor is a policy maker and the Chief Executive Officer(CEO) of the county and a good CEO is one who sees the bigger picture. Thus, being a professor governor creates value addition and makes one a good CEO.</p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>0.</p> <p>-Seeing that the guiding principle is self-discipline and seeking to serve the interests of the people and not personal interests thus, this prevents being corrupted by power.</p> <p>-Seeing that the guiding principle is integrity and not seeking to achieve personal goals but rather common goals.</p>

Table 1.10. Interview Data on Power and How Power Corrupts

4. The virtue of *akeraiótita*; integrity (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 81, 187).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think Chapter 6 of the constitution is?  
Kindly explain your position.
  
- ii. Are there any specific ways in which you bring honour to the nation and dignity to the office you hold and also promote confidence in the integrity of your office?

I. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think Chapter 6 of the constitution is? Kindly explain your position.

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-It is essential because although it tends to restrict itself to government positions, it is a very critical chapter in all spheres of society, whether at high levels such as government or lower levels such as a funeral committee.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential for there cannot be good leadership without the moral-ethical aspect of leadership, for this is what promotes public good and public interests.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential for bringing change in our country because we can only bring change if we enforce Chapter 6 of our constitution, enforce the constitution in its entirety and enforce the rule of law.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>- It is essential and should be made the compulsory guiding principle in all spheres of society.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential and should always be read before the opening of business in all forms of gathering and in all spheres of society from churches, to schools, to local meetings, to government meetings.</i></p>
<p><i>On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think Chapter 6 of the constitution is? Kindly explain your position.</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-It is essential for ensuring honesty in governance.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential for ensuring moderation in dealing with the public and handling public resources.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>10.</p> <p><i>-It is essential for all the issues it addresses are cardinal when it comes to promoting good governance and democracy.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential and very necessary for ensuring integrity in governance and curbing corruption.</i></p> <p><i>-It is essential because it is in the constitution for a reason and the constitution is the highest body of law in the country and should hence be respected.</i></p>

Table 1.11. Interview Data on Chapter 6 of the Constitution



II. Are there any specific ways in which you bring honour to the nation and promote confidence in the integrity of your office?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>-By ensuring that everything done in the capacity of governor is guided by the law, Chapter 6 of the Constitution and all other sections of the Constitution.</i></p> <p><i>-By recognising the sovereignty of the people of Makueni and making them part and parcel of everything that is done at the county government level, through public participation.</i></p> <p><i>-By ensuring that the people of Makueni have a people's government, from the village level to the county level, and a government in which leaders are solely custodians of the true owners of the government i.e., the people.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-By practicing what is preached and living by what is said.</i></p> <p><i>-By being a man of the people and changing the 'big man' perception associated with the office of governor.</i></p>
<p><i>Are there any specific ways in which you bring honour to the nation and promote confidence in the integrity of your office?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-By contributing to creativity in research which led to the award of the EGH title. This creativity provides opportunities for the youth within the county government.</i></p> <p><i>-By applying the HR mark, which is a document that is a guiding principle on how to manage, motivate and empower people through equity and fairness.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-By ensuring that the position of responsibility is discharged with a high level of honour and virtue.</i></p> <p><i>-By ensuring that work is done properly and that services are delivered to the people.</i></p> <p><i>-By keeping the promises made at the time of elections and fulfilling the campaign manifesto.</i></p>

Table 1.12. Interview Data on Integrity

5. The virtue of *dikaiosunê*; allegiance to the spirit of justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 189).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. What do you do to ensure equity, equality and fairness in service delivery?
- ii. Who would you say is your role model in the field of politics and governance? Why this person?

I. What do you do to ensure equity, equality and fairness in service delivery?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ensuring elaborate public participation so that people can highlight areas which have been overlooked in the budget.</li> <li>-Ensuring there is universal healthcare for all, which equalizes all.</li> <li>-Ensuring flagships projects are distributed fairly to all sub-counties and also ensuring that in all 377 clusters, (several villages clustered together), there is no cluster without a project and that all 30 wards have an equal share of the ward development funds.</li> <li>-Ensuring that in recruitment, the public service board considers all 30 wards and also considers people from outside the county so as to achieve the 70/30 rule. Although it has been quite a challenge achieving the 70/30, there are attempts to address it.</li> </ul>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ensuring that whatever form of development is done in one region is done in every region.</li> <li>- Ensuring equity from the lowest devolved unit (the village) to the highest devolved unit (the county).</li> <li>-Ensuring every ward has the same amount of funds for projects such as ECDE classrooms, boreholes and dispensaries.</li> </ul>
<p><i>What do you do to ensure equity, equality and fairness in service delivery?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ensuring there is equity in employment by using a formula that guarantees that everyone has an equal share, including the youth and women who are often marginalised.</li> <li>-Ensuring that resources are divided equally and that funding is provided in an egalitarian manner.</li> </ul>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ensuring that the County Integrated Development Fund, (the roadmap that guides the use of resources), is subject to public participation then subject to being passed by the county assembly and it is thus, by its very nature, fair and equitable.</li> </ul>

Table 1.13. Interview Data on Equity, Equality and Fairness

II. Who would you say is your role model in the field of politics and governance? Why this person?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara, Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, Willy Mutunga, Desmond Tutu, Pio Gama Pinto, Bildad Kaggia, Dedan Kimathi and Mwai Kibaki.</i></p> <p><i>-For their love for people, their genuineness, their sacrifice, their passion and their empathy.</i></p> <p><i>-For the very reason that they lived for others.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-President Moi; for the way he walked and worked with the people and the commitment he showed in walking and working with them.</i></p> <p><i>-President Kibaki; for his style of governance and how he never interfered with the work of those in his government.</i></p> <p><i>-Winston Churchill; for how he worked for the people of the United Kingdom.</i></p> <p><i>-Nelson Mandela; For how he served his term gracefully without forcing himself on the people and wanting more and more presidential terms.</i></p>
<p><i>Who would you say is your role model in the field of politics and governance? Why this person?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-Angela Merkel.</i></p> <p><i>For her simplicity in governance and how this simplicity promoted effective service delivery.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-All great leaders who who have always upheld the law, always put the interests of the people before their own interests and always stood for good and honest governance.</i></p>

Table 1.14. Interview Data on Role Models in Leadership and Governance

6. The virtue of *aretê*; moral excellence and incorruptibility (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 107).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. Do you have measures in place to address potential corruption in your government? If so, what measures are these?
- ii. Have you ever been offered a bribe? If so, how did you handle that situation?
- iii. Have you ever been tempted to embezzle public funds? If so, why and how did you handle this situation? If not, what held you back?

I. Do you have measures in place to address potential corruption in your government? If so, what measures are these?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>-Having open contracting because most corruption takes place during procurement hence, when there is that openness, corruption is curbed.</i></p> <p><i>-Inviting the Anti-Corruption Commission to analyse county systems and help identify potential corruption loopholes.</i></p> <p><i>-Termination of employment for county employees found guilty of corruption.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-Shifting focus from forming bodies to look into corruption and instead focusing on instilling the virtues of responsibility and accountability so that those in positions of power can know that responsibility and accountability starts and ends with them.</i></p> <p><i>Why? At the family level, these bodies do not exist but people still do what is expected of them, guided by natural law and the virtues of responsibility and accountability. The same can thus be translated to the county and national levels.</i></p> <p><i>-Shifting focus from Western work ethics and instead focusing on African culture and applying its virtues to our work ethics, instead of saying that we will do what the World Bank wants us to do as far as corruption is concerned, without tailor-making it for the African context.</i></p>
<p><i>Do you have measures in place to address potential corruption in your government? If so, what measures are these?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-Having Reporting Systems that citizens can use to report corruption directly or through use of suggestion boxes.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-Having a good system of information gathering and storage because corruption begins when there are no proper systems of records for proper checks and balances.</i></p> <p><i>-Ensuring the procurement system is streamlined and ensuring that what is paid for is what is implemented.</i></p>

Table 1.15. Interview Data on Handling Corruption

II. Have you ever been offered a bribe? If so, how did you handle that situation?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-To fend off bribery, offers to gift the governor, (for instance, sharing a goat as a sign of appreciation), have always been politely turned down and postponed to after the end of the gubernatorial term, to avoid the misinterpretation of the gifts as bribes.</i></p> <p><i>-To avert bribery, it has always been made clear and made known that the governor does not accept bribes and this has always prevented anyone from soliciting a bribe and claiming it is on behalf of the governor.</i></p> <p><i>-If it were to happen and if the one offering the bribe were to insist, then that would call for reporting to the police.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>To fend off bribery, a clear demarcation is made between bribes and gifts such as cows and goats which are culturally a sign of appreciation and not a bribe.</i></p> <p><i>-To avert bribery, it should be denounced and any leaders that take part in it should be denounced as well.</i></p>
<p><i>Have you ever been offered a bribe? If so, how did you handle that situation?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-If it were to happen, the response would be to report the incidence to the police.</i></p> <p><i>-To fend off bribery, all gifts given to the governor are handed over to the county.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>-Yes.</p> <p><i>-The response was choosing integrity and turning down the bribe.</i></p>

Table 1.16. Interview Data on Handling Bribery

III. Have you ever been tempted to embezzle public funds? If so, why and how did you handle this situation? If not, what held you back?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-In view of the fact that public funds belong to the public and not to the governor and the governor should thus be a good custodian of public funds.</i></p> <p><i>It is for this reason that when there was suggestion by MCAs during the first term to embezzle KES 1 billion, the answer was a definite NO.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-In view of the fact that one should not use one's position to take that which does not belong to him or her, and public funds belong to the people.</i></p>
<p><i>Have you ever been tempted to embezzle public funds? If so, why and how did you handle this situation? If not, what held you back?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-In view of the fact that a governor is a custodian of public funds and should thus not embezzle the same public funds.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>In view of the fact that good and honest governance should be about not interfering with the offices that handle public funds and not interfering with the work of the officers in charge of public funds at the county level.</i></p>

Table 1.17. Interview Data on Public Funds Embezzlement



7. The virtue of respect for women (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 113).

The question selected to seek to identify this virtue was as follows:

- i. Plato argues that women also qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they are provided with the same nurture and education as men. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

I. Plato argues that women also qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they are provided with the same nurture and education as men. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>-10.</p> <p><i>-By virtue of the fact that women are equal participants in the development process and including them empowers young girls to believe that they can be anything they would want to be.</i></p> <p><i>It is on this account that women have always been included in every committee and in every community engagement in the county.</i></p> <p><i>It is also on account of this that the Deputy Governor chosen for Makueni was a woman and if there was an opportunity to choose again, the choice would still be a woman, and the same should be recommended even for the positions of President and Deputy President.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>-10.</p> <p><i>-By virtue of the fact that given the same platform and given the same education as men, women can be as good as men in whatever sphere and in fact, there are spheres in which women are excelling more than men because more often than not, when women are given a challenge, they take it more seriously than men. For this reason, it is justified to have an equal number of men and women in governance.</i></p>
<p><i>Plato argues that women also qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they are provided with the same nurture and education as men. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you agree with this statement?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>-10.</p> <p><i>-By virtue of the fact that women are colleagues with equal rights.</i></p> <p><i>Being a professor governor nurtures the empowerment of women because high levels of education influence how much one is committed to the values of women.</i></p> <p><i>-It is on account of this that in Kericho County, the men to women ratio has always been 65:35 in county employment and 50:50 in governance as there has always only being female deputy governors.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>-10.</p> <p><i>-By virtue of the fact that women have proved time and again that they can be as good leaders and as good presidents as men.</i></p> <p><i>-It is on account of this that there has always been efforts to obey the constitution and progressively apply the two-thirds gender rule at the county level.</i></p>

Table 1.18. Interview Data on the Place of Women in Governance

8. The virtue of reverence for *nomos*; respect for the rule of law and for the institutions established by the law (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 109, 185).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. Would you break the law if it were in the interests of the people you govern?
- ii. If you were to lose an election then address this matter in court and the court were to rule in favour of your opponent, would you seek to address this outside the law?

I. Would you break the law if it were in the interests of the people you govern?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that if the law can be broken at will, it stops being the law.</i></p> <p><i>This is why the Moi Regime 'laws' such as detention without trial were not laws because they were unjust and against the law.</i></p> <p><i>This is also why the 'laws' of Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa were not laws.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that the law should always be respected and should never be broken no matter the situation, and even in cases where the security of the people is at stake, the law can only be modified without being broken.</i></p> <p><i>For instance, if lions are invading human settlement, they can be scared away by shooting into the air instead of shooting at them.</i></p>
<p><i>Would you break the law if it were in the interests of the people you govern?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that breaking the law should never be an option and even in cases where the security of the people is at stake, the better option would be to use open channels if the authorities and structured security systems fail.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-On grounds that the constitution is the greatest law of the land.</i></p> <p><i>This was the impetus for fighting dictatorial 'laws' during the Moi regime because if a law impedes on justice, it is not a law.</i></p>

Table 1.19. Interview Data on Upholding the Rule of Law

II. If you were to lose an election unfairly then address this matter in court and the court were to rule in favour of your opponent, would you seek to address this outside the law?

<p><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-The decision would be to respect the court ruling because if the law is broken at will, it ceases to be the law.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-The decision would be to respect the court ruling and do the honourable thing which is going back home and preparing for the next election.</i></p>
<p><i>If you were to lose an election unfairly then address this matter in court and the court were to rule in favour of your opponent, would you seek to address this outside the law?</i></p>	
<p><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-The decision would be to respect the court ruling because the law exists to preserve democracy and prevent anarchy.</i></p>	<p><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p>-No.</p> <p><i>-The decision would be to respect the court ruling because the law is supreme.</i></p>

1.20. Interview Data on Respecting Court Rulings

9. The virtue of *phronēsis*; discernment of what is best suited for the Polis (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 88, 102).

The questions selected to seek to identify this virtue were as follows:

- i. What would you rate as the greatest challenge you have ever faced in the exercise of your mandate? How did you handle it?
- ii. In your capacity as governor, what was your immediate response to the COVID-19 pandemic?

I. What would you rate as the greatest challenge you have ever faced in the exercise of your mandate? How did you handle it?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The challenge:</b></p> <p><i>-A hostile assembly during the first term.</i></p> <p><i>As a result, there were impeachment attempts and constraints passing budgets in that, budgets were passed late for the first three years and in fact, for one year, the budget was passed just three months to the end of the financial year.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The solutions:</b></p> <p><i>-Negotiations about the budget with the professional sector and the Office of the Controller of Budget.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">&amp;</p> <p><i>- Implementing Chapter 6 of the Constitution and standing firm on its principles in lieu of giving in to pressure to allocate KES 1 billion to about 100 Members of County Assembly, thus leaving only KES 4 billion for the rest of the population of about 1 million citizens.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The challenge:</b></p> <p><i>-Insufficient Human Resource Capacity.</i></p> <p><i>As a result, there have been constraints in that the governor overworks because the law requires that locals are considered in recruitment but most locals lack the required skills and level of education.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The solution:</b></p> <p><i>The threefold blueprint of the governor's manifesto which comprises The Three E's, i.e., Education, Economy and Equity. In particular, Education is number one and everything else must depend on education because the more educated people are, the more highly skilled and highly educated locals there will be.</i></p>
<p><i>What would you rate as the greatest challenge you have ever faced in the exercise of your mandate? How did you handle it?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The challenge:</b></p> <p><i>Limited resources.</i></p> <p><i>As a result, there have been constraints in executing the gubernatorial mandate efficiently.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The solution:</b></p> <p><i>Using resources sparingly, coming up with funding proposals, outsourcing money to supplement the available funds, making do with the budget and finding ways to fill the gap after rolling over shortfalls in revenue.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The challenge:</b></p> <p><i>Decongesting the city.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>-The Solution:</b></p> <p><i>Sensitising people to see the long term constraint on security and access to capital brought by trading on the streets, in lieu of solely seeing the short term advantage.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">&amp;</p> <p><i>Creating an alternative by creating different markets for a healthier and improved trading environment.</i></p>

Table 1.21. Interview Data on Handling the Greatest Governance Challenge

II. In your capacity as governor, what was your immediate response to the COVID-19 pandemic?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p><i>-The first response was sensitising the people and getting them to know that this was not a joke but rather a very serious pandemic.</i></p> <p><i>This was done through mobilising the existing village committees which had 50,000 officials and sensitising them as far as issues related to COVID-19 were concerned, then deploying them to the existing 25,000 households to sensitise the people as well.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p><i>-The first response was summoning all local radio stations and decreeing that each and everyone must abide by the COVID-19 measures that had been issued by the national government.</i></p>
<p><i>In your capacity as governor, what was your immediate response to the COVID-19 pandemic?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p><i>-The first response was calming down the people and waiting for official confirmation and at the same time, straightening the information surrounding the pandemic in a bid to clarify fake news.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p><i>-The first response was creating a system of communication and interaction between the people and the county government with regard to issues surrounding COVID-19 and then creating facilities for emergency services (Eg. 7 ambulances which were considered moving hospitals) and making health supplies available.</i></p>

Table 1.22. Interview Data on the Immediate Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic



10. The virtue of *eudaimonia*; genuine ultimate happiness (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 38).

The question selected to seek to identify this virtue was as follows:

- i. On a scale of 0-10, how happy are you as you perform your mandate? What do you think is the reason for this level of happiness?

I. On a scale of 0-10, how happy are you as your perform your mandate? What do you think is the reason for this level of happiness?

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR KIBWANA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p><i>-This can be attributed to the feeling of fulfillment that comes with working with the people, being in the community and formulating and implementing policies to benefit the people, hence this level of maximum happiness.</i></p> <p><i>-This can also be attributed to loving the job without being pretentious about it, loving to work for the people and doing the very best to serve them as diligently as possible.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR LONYANGAPUO</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p><i>-This can be attributed to acknowledging the fact that when one is elected by the people, one accepts to love the people and serve the people and in this way, one finds maximum happiness and the people are in return happy.</i></p> <p><i>-The happiest people are found in West Pokot, according to a survey done one or two years ago, and this is because of there being a governor that leads them in believing in themselves instead of looking down upon themselves and considering themselves a minority group.</i></p>
<p><i>On a scale of 0-10, how happy are you as your perform your mandate? What do you think is the reason for this level of happiness?</i></p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR CHEPKWONY</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p><i>-This can be attributed to the fact that before deciding to be governor, there was prior knowledge about the boundaries and responsibilities that come with it. There may be a few variations between the expected and the reality but nonetheless, it was both a choice and interest hence the happiness in performing the mandate.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFESSOR NYONG'O</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">10.</p> <p><i>- This can be attributed to the fulfilment derived from serving the people and fulfilling the election manifesto.</i></p>

Table 1.23. Interview Data on the Happiness Derived from Governance

#### **4.1.2. Analysis of Primary Data**

Following primary data elicitation through one-on-one interviews with the four Professor Governors, the study embarked on an exploratory analysis wherein this data was analysed through the analytical lens of Plato's Philosopher Genius Model which, intrinsically, subsumes the key virtues of the Philosopher Genius as spelt out by Plato. To be specific, using this Model as the point of reference, the study scrutinised the extent to which the Professor Governors mirrored Plato's Philosopher Genius and inferences were drawn thereafter. On the whole, it is on the basis of these inferences that the hypotheses of this study were tested, the research problem addressed and the research questions responded to.

##### **1. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 1**

**{The virtue of *epistêmê*; the intellectual virtue of knowledge and the reverence for acquisition of knowledge}.**

At the outset, the study noted that the impelling force for climbing the academic ladder all the way to professorship was different for each of the four Professor Governors (Professor Kibwana, Professor Lonyangapuo, Professor Chepkwony and Professor Nyong'o). Notwithstanding these differences, the impetus was closely congruous for all four, and this impetus was a boundless zest for education and an unflagging interest in academia. Moreover, on a scale of 0-10, with 0 denoting no interest and 10 denoting unwavering interest, all four gave a rating of 10 with respect to their interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge even after becoming professors. In this way, therefore, they fitted into Plato's depiction of a Philosopher Genius owing to the fact that they were interested, not only in acquiring knowledge, but also in creating new knowledge. Equally, their Philosopher Genius traits were discernible for they remained both intellectually curious and deeply interested in acquisition of knowledge, even after ascending to the topmost of the academic ladder, and as Plato posits, the virtue of *epistêmê* is only discernible in those who have received rigorous philosophical education (McAleer, 2020, p. 110), for only true Philosopher Geniuses relish learning and knowledge acquisition (Singpurwalla, 2010, p. 883).

Furthermore, when asked to put a value on where they place educational attainment when appointing those who will serve in their governments, with 0 symbolising nowhere on the pyramid and 10 symbolising the summit of the pyramid, all four Professor Governors put a value of 10. For all four, the rationale behind this valuation revolved around the premium

they put on education, with Professor Lonyangapuo and Professor Kibwana laying particular stress on the importance of fusing academic considerations with moral and ethical considerations when making appointments. In the same vein, concerning how highly education should be ranked amongst the qualities of a leader, with 0 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, three of the four Professor Governors (Professor Lonyangapuo, Professor Chepkwony and Professor Nyong'o) ranked it at 10, citing the critical role it plays in leadership. Conversely, one Professor Governor, Professor Kibwana, ranked it at a 6, not because he did not acknowledge this critical role, but rather because, it was his conviction that good leadership demands an amalgam of education and moral and ethical virtues. Thus, overall, this ranking illustrated the Philosopher Genius nature of the four Professor Governors, for it was a marker of their interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge and a reflection of the virtue of *epistêmê* that Plato associates with Philosopher Geniuses (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59).

Lastly, in relation to their prime concern when formulating education policies in their respective counties, all their priorities were geared towards guaranteeing the right of education for all, and were centered on three main priority areas; providing financial resources in the form of bursaries and scholarships, providing material resources in the form of diverse educational infrastructure and providing human resources in the form of teachers and mentors, either within internship programmes, mentorship programmes or apprenticeship programmes. In so doing, the Professor Governors discharged their constitutional mandate of delivering education services for Early Childhood Education Development (ECDEs) and even went beyond this mandate to deliver additional services in other education sectors in their counties. Verily, therefore, the aptness of the Professor Governors in singling out what needed to be prioritised in the formulation of education policies, their commitment to proper policy implementation, and their willingness to provide education services beyond their constitutional mandate, was an attestation of their Philosopher Genius traits. This is owing to the fact that Plato contends that Philosopher Geniuses are an embodiment of knowledge and whenever they are not serving the Kallipolis, they dedicate their time to pondering and reflecting on the vast knowledge they acquire throughout their academic journeys and equally dedicate it to educating the younger generation of future Philosopher Geniuses (Visiliou, 2012, p. 11).

## 2. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 2

**{The virtue of *sophia*; intellectual curiosity, intellectual resourcefulness and intellectual excellence}.**

To begin with, as to how necessary they deemed the constitutional requirement of a degree as the minimum educational requirement for elective positions, with 0 as unnecessary and 10 as immensely necessary, the four Professor Governors offered differing value judgments. That notwithstanding, the rationale behind these value judgements was within a similar intellectual framework. In particular, Professor Nyong'o, Professor Kibwana and Professor Lonyangapuo gave ratings of 8, 10 and 10 respectively, and all three ratings were against the backdrop of how vitally important it is for elected leaders to have a bare minimum level of education, and all three were of the same opinion that in the present world, that minimum level is university level education. Further, all three acknowledged that there were arguably great leaders in the history of the country and the history of the world who were not educated, but pointed out that times had changed and the world had evolved and thus, as much as it is incontestable that leaders are born, education is a requisite for moulding and shaping them for the leadership setting of the present changed and evolved world. On his part, however, Professor Chepkwony gave a rating of 0, contending that this constitutional stipulation was a violation of human rights, and each eligible citizen should have the right seek an elective position, regardless of one's level of education. All the same, this argument was with a caveat, for he further elucidated that education remains indispensable in leadership, but in lieu of solely spearheading the implementation of this provision, the government should provide continuous education for all Kenyans so that eventually, it will not even be necessary to have such provisions since every Kenyan will be a holder of a university degree.

Further, with respect to the extent to which their academic backgrounds laid the groundwork for their governance careers, all four Professor Governors held the view that their academic backgrounds profoundly informed their approach to governance. Specifically, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being to no extent and 10 being to a great extent, Professor Nyong'o, Professor Chepkwony and Professor Lonyangapuo averred that the extent to which their academic backgrounds had set the scene for their job as governors was a 10. Although Professor Kibwana posited that it was a 6 for him, this was not because he supposed that his academic background had inconsiderably prepared him for a career in governance, but rather because, he was convinced that it is not solely education that equips one for governance, owing to the

fact that moral and ethical virtues play an integral role as well. In the same breath, as to whether there were given moments in which their academic areas of specialisation had been particularly valuable in their careers as governors, all four avowed that their academic areas of expertise had, at remarkable moments in the course of their governance, come in handy.

In general, therefore, all four Professor Governors passed the Philosopher Genius intellectual test of philosophical power, given the aptness of their arguments in favour of the necessity of education in leadership and governance. This is owing to the fact that Plato is of the view that when it comes to the suitability of an individual for governance, nature and nurture are intertwined. This means that, on one side of the coin, if an individual with a philosophical nature is not nurtured through education, (s)he will not become a Philosopher Genius. On the other side of the coin, if an individual is highly educated but lacks a philosophical nature and philosophical virtues, (s)he will not turn out to be a Philosopher Genius either. Plato thus submits that being a Philosopher Genius “is a matter of nature as well as nurture” (McAleer, 2020, p. 176). The Professor Governors were thus in tune with Platonic thought for they too, just like Plato, were of the conviction that as much as leaders are born, education shapes them.

Equally, all four demonstrated that they had adeptly drawn their academic knowledge and skills and mapped them onto governance, signalling that they were an embodiment of the intellectual resourcefulness of the Philosopher Genius. On the whole, then, this authenticated Plato’s views on the role education plays in moulding individuals into Philosopher Geniuses, particularly within the context of Plato’s Allegory of the Cave. In this Allegory, Plato explains, when in the cave, the cave dweller is in a delusional world, wherein none of what he sees is real. So much so that, when first attempts are made to liberate him, the world of light he is directed to seems to him more unreal than the dark and unreal world of the cave where all he sees are shadows (Heidegger, 1988/2002, p. 24). This is because at this point in time, although the outer surrounding of the man has changed and he is unshackled from his chains, his inner surrounding, that is, his soul, has not changed (Heidegger, 1988/2002, p. 28). He would thus need some form of tutelage so that he can gradually transition from seeing shadows, to seeing reflections and to finally seeing real objects (Heidegger, 1988/2002, p. 30). This tutelage is higher education, for it leads the individual to the light, or in the contemporary context, transforms the soul of the individual so that his or her dominant soul element becomes The Rational, and so that (s)he can instantiate intellectual resourcefulness, and this was indeed observable in the case of the Professor Governors.

### 3. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 3

{The virtue of *enkrateia*; temperance}.

To start with, as far as handling opposition was concerned, all four Professor Governors indicated that they handled it by employing temperance and the principles of democracy. Hence, the fact that they still exemplified the virtue of temperance, even in cases where the opposition was not necessarily constructive, went to show that they were models of discipline and hence archetypes of the Philosopher Genius, because Plato postulates that those who have received proper education that moulds them into Philosopher Geniuses embody *enkrateia*, for “philosophy is associated with temperance, gentleness and orderliness” (Rosen, 2005, p. 123). In addition, the fact that they customarily manifested *enkrateia* in the face of opposition meant that they were governed by the Rational element of the soul, the element in which temperance dwells, and not the Appetite element which is essentially intemperate, seeing that whenever met with opposition, they invariably weighed the situations so as to know what principles of temperance and democracy to employ. They thus, by dint of this, proved that they were Philosopher Geniuses, for it is Plato’s conviction that those governed by the Appetite are not capable of weighing all the factors in a situation and judging how best to respond to it and are thus not capable of being Philosopher Geniuses (Ganson, 2009, p. 182).

Furthermore, with regard to the degree to which being part of the political elite and being holders of powerful political offices had corrupted them, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 implying to no degree and 10 implying to the highest degree, the four Professor Governors stated that power had to no extent corrupted them, seeing that they were devoted to serving the interests of the people in lieu of their own personal interests. Therefore, their zealousness to be servants, and not masters, of the people was a pointer to their Philosopher Genius attributes. This was in light of Plato’s assertion that a Philosopher Genius must, of necessity, demonstrate *enkrateia*, which is the ability to control one’s desires and pleasures (Dorion, 2012, pp. 33, 38). Indeed, without the virtue of *enkrateia*, the Professor Governors would have assuredly been corrupted by power, for it is *enkrateia* that suppresses the Appetite element of the soul (Dorion, 2018, p. 163). Further, their ability to shun boastfulness and remain moderate regardless of the powerful offices they occupied went to show that their souls were Philosopher Genius souls for to Plato, a Philosopher Genius soul is moderate since the Spirited and the Appetite let the Rational govern, undisturbed (Wilburn, 2014, p. 65).

#### **4. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 4**

**{The virtue of *akeraiótita*; integrity}.**

Concerning their viewpoint on whether or not Chapter 6 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was necessary, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 as expendable and 10 as imperative, all four Professor Governors rated it at an absolute 10 and reiterated that it was indispensable to governance. Professor Kibwana and Professor Lonyangapuo further emphasised that it is such a crucial chapter of the constitution, so much so that, it should be embraced as the moral and ethical compass in all other spheres of society, be they low level or high level. Thus, on the whole, this high regard for the leadership and integrity chapter of the constitution testified to the Philosopher Genius traits of all four Professor Governors, for they held in high esteem integrity, morality and ethics in governance, and Plato's impression of a Philosopher Genius is indeed an individual who holds integrity in high esteem (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 81).

Along the same lines, with respect to whether there were any specific ventures through which they brought honour to the nation and promoted the integrity of the offices they held, all four Professor Governors cited varying deeds but all their deeds were centred on ascertaining people-based service delivery, fulfilling their manifestos, keeping their promises to the people, and also ensuring that their governance practices reflected ethical conduct. That being so, they reflected good character and an honourable nature, for they remained true to their campaign promises, and true to their oaths of office, and they equally practiced what they preached. This was hence in line with Plato's Philosopher Genius layout, for Plato posits that the Philosopher Genius is not only a lover but an ally of the truth, and is also an individual who hates falsehood above all else (Rosen, 2005, p. 3). It was also in line with Plato's inference that Philosopher Geniuses will, in all given instances, exemplify *akeraiótita* (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 187).



## 5. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 5

{The virtue of *dikaïosunê*; allegiance to the spirit of justice}.

In the first place, with reference to making certain of equity, equality and fairness in service delivery, all four Professor Governors posited that they all applied county-specific criteria to ensure that all regions within their respective counties had the same levels of development and had an equal budgetary allocation for development, without dispensing favours to their regions of origin and regions of residence. This was an indication that they were allies of truth and justice, as Philosopher Geniuses ought to be, for they saw to it that all people were treated impartially and that none of them was treated unjustly. The basis of this inference was Plato's insistence on the fact that it is those who possess philosophical knowledge (Philosopher Geniuses) that have both the ability and capacity to establish justice in the poleis they govern, by seeing to it that they serve the interests of all their citizens and not their own individual interests (Barker, 1960, p. 171). Furthermore, Plato is of the view that those who are Philosopher Geniuses desire to be just because their education makes it possible for them to suppress and contain the Spirited and Appetite elements of the soul and be governed by the Rational element that reveres justice (Vasiliou, 2008, p. 256), and this was evident in the Professor Governors.

Then, as far as role models in the realm of governance were concerned, the role models of the four Professor Governors were unique to each one of them. By and large, most of their role models are widely considered heroes, a few of them are moderately considered heroes and a small percentage of them are considered dictators. All the same, for all their role models, even those who are not necessarily regarded as heroes, the Professor Governors revered them solely for their good virtues, and not for their vices. In particular, these virtues were those tied to public service. The Professor Governors were thus Philosopher Genius exemplars, by virtue of the fact that the virtues they extolled in their role models were harmonious with the Philosopher Genius virtues of justice, fortitude and truth, and indeed, Plato points out that justice essentially entails service to humankind (Burnet, 1964, p. 218). Therefore, by admiring virtues related to public service in their role models in the field of politics and governance, the Professor Governors demonstrated their allegiance to the spirit of justice because to Plato, justice is when one does what one is best qualified to do and verily, service to humankind is part of what ideal governors and ideal Philosopher Geniuses should do and what they are best qualified to do given their level of education.

## 6. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 6

{The virtue of *aretê*; moral excellence and incorruptibility}.

When it came to measures put in place to address potential corruption, all four Professor Governors stated that they had effective and efficient systems to curb corruption and close corruption loopholes. Notably, Professor Lonyangapuo went further to propound a theorem that extended beyond curbing corruption to eradicating it altogether. In his view, focus needed to shift focus from forming numerous bodies that were ostensibly crusaders of corruption and instead turn to instilling virtues in those in positions of power and equally instilling in them work ethics drawn from African culture.

On a similar note, as to whether they had, at any point in time, been offered a bribe and how they handled the situation, Professor Nyong'o divulged that there was an instance in which he was offered a bribe but he turned it down, choosing integrity over unscrupulousness. The other three Professor Governors, on their part, stated that they had on no occasion been offered bribes, but asserted that they too would opt for rectitude in lieu of venality, were it to happen. Equally, on the question of whether or not they had ever been tempted to embezzle public funds, all four Professor Governors avowed that it had never been the case, for public funds belong to the public and governors are just but custodians of the funds. Thus, in their view, embezzling these funds would amount to political chicanery.

Generally, therefore, the aforementioned implies that all four Professor Governors demonstrated that they were neither governed by greed nor by the desire to benefit from the proceeds of corruption and were thus not governed by the Appetite element of the soul, for as Plato posits, the Appetite element of the soul has a tremendously high affinity for pleasure, and he hence equates it to "a brute animal concealed within the human form" (Lorenz, 2006, p. 2). Thus, given that the Professor Governors were not guided by appetite and pleasure, they were, indeed, Philosopher Geniuses exemplifications. This was in light of the fact that Plato distinguishes three types of virtue which are; slavish virtue, habituated virtue and philosophical virtue. Slavish virtue stems from being fearful of pain and desirous of pleasure, habituated virtue is that which is habitual and unconscious and thus does not emanate from knowledge, and lastly, philosophical virtue is that which stems from true wisdom and knowledge and is for this reason generally very pronounced in Philosopher Geniuses (Vasiliou, 2012, p. 9), as was proven by the Professor Governors.

## 7. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 7

### {The virtue of respect for women}.

As concerns the extent to which they agreed with Plato's assertion that women are eligible for the Philosopher Genius role, with the proviso that they are provided with the same nurture and education as men, all four Professor Governors concurred with Plato, without reservation. Thus, on a scale of 0-10, with 0 connoting complete discord and 10 connoting complete agreement, all four Professor Governors gave a 10 rating. This 10 rating, they stressed, was on account of the fact that women have equal rights, women are coequal participants in the development process and women have proved time and time again that they are as fit for the job as their male counterparts. In the judgement of the Professor Governors, therefore, men and women should be able to compete for positions of governance on an equal footing. Thus, overall, the standpoints of the four Professor Governors on respect for women accorded with those of Plato. This is because in *The Republic*, Plato makes the bold assertion that, in the Ideal State, women are not limited to the traditional role of being solely housewives, child bearers and the private property of men, owing to the fact that in this Ideal State, roles are assigned by the education system and thus, as long as women receive the same education as men, they qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses (Okin, 1979, p. 38).

Along the same lines, with regard to the place of women in society, all four Professor Governors held the view that women are not second class citizens and should thus not be treated as so. This is seeing that all four zealously advocated for gender parity particularly in the realm of governance, not only in the counties, but at the national level as well. Worth noting is that, beyond championing for the equality of the sexes, Professor Kibwana and Professor Chepkwony pointed out that for their two terms in office, at the helm of governance in their counties, men and women invariably had a fair slice of the cake, for in both instances, their deputy governors were women. This bore witness to their commitment to gender equality in governance, visibly inspired by Article 81 of The Constitution of Kenya 2010, an article whose overriding objective is reforming the political system by guaranteeing gender egalitarianism in governance (The Constitution of Kenya 2010, 2010, p. 50). In this way, therefore, these Professor Governors epitomised Plato's Philosopher Genius, because alongside men, Plato emphasises, is the rightful place of women in society, for women are equal to men and there should thus be no question as to whether they should be treated as such (Crossman, 1937, p. 193).

## **8. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 8**

**{The virtue of reverence for *nomos*; respect for the rule of law and for the institutions established by the law}.**

When asked if they would break the law were it in the interest of the people they governed, all four Professor Governors maintained that they would not, on grounds that the law is sacred and the law should be respected, for if the law can be broken at will, it ceases being law. Likewise, in the matter of whether they would address an election loss outside the law if the courts were to rule in favour of the opponent after an election petition, all four Professor Governors remarked that they would not go down that road and they would, on the contrary, respect the court ruling for the law is supreme. In this way, then, all four Professor Governors exhibited the Philosopher Genius virtue of one who is capable of preserving the law and being a guardian of the law. This is owing to the fact that Plato argues that through education, those who are Philosopher Geniuses are trained to suppress the irrational part of the soul that is naturally inclined to disobey the law and they, for that reason, obey the law and have reverence for *nomos*, unprompted and without reluctance (Brown, 2004, p. 287).

## 9. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 9

**{The virtue of *phronēsis*; discernment of what is best suited for the Polis}.**

On the subject of what they would rate as the most notable challenge they had ever faced in the exercise of their mandate, the four Professor Governors cited varying challenges that were very county-specific and in some cases, very specific to them as individuals. Nevertheless, what was similar in all four cases was that all four Professor Governors rose to the challenge and sought solutions that were in the interests of the overall welfare of their respective counties and the well-being of their people.

It is also worth noting that these solutions that they sought for their biggest governance challenges were in conformity with the county government laws and the County Government Act. This was thus a clear indication that they mirrored the Philosopher Genius, for to Plato, the state does not exist to serve its own interests but rather those of its citizens (Neu, 2012, p. 238). Therefore, the Philosopher Genius at no time does anything for his or her own good but rather, for public good. Hence, even when (s)he does anything for individual good, it is only because it is necessary to do so, for the ultimate good of all (Cooper, 1977, p. 157).

Likewise, still within the same context of addressing challenges, they all responded differently to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and each immediate response was unique to each governor, but broadly speaking, all their responses boiled down to providing proper information and the necessary resources, with the urgency and the thoroughness the outbreak demanded. Thus, given that these were tumultuous times, their responses were not only exemplary but meritorious, and this was therefore an indication that they possessed the Philosopher Genius attribute of *phronēsis* since they were indeed able to judge what was best for their respective poleis. This is in view of the fact that a true Philosopher Genius, Plato maintains, is able to discern right from wrong and is able to use his or her philosophical knowledge, not for individual good but for common good (Dorion, 2018, p. 163).

## **10. Analysis of Data Collected to Identify Virtue 10**

**{The virtue of *eudaimonia*; genuine ultimate happiness}.**

As regards the degree to which they were happy to perform their mandate, on a scale of 0-10, with 0 being equated to extreme unhappiness and 10 being equated to utmost happiness, all four Professor Governors gave a rating of 10. In all four instances, they attributed this happiness to the fulfillment that came with working for the people, serving the people and bettering the lives of the people. They thus, in this way, matched up to Plato's Philosopher Genius, for as Plato makes clear, only those who are truly virtuous and only those who are truly Philosopher Geniuses can achieve *eudaimonia*, which is essentially ultimate happiness (Bobonich, pp. 1, 6). Further, he holds that the law is a source of virtue and hence a source of happiness, because the law exists, not only to keep in check the conduct of the citizenry but also to inculcate virtues that ultimately bring happiness to the citizenry (Annas, 2017, p. 31).

## 4.2. Presentation and Analysis of Secondary Data on Professor-Governed Counties

### 4.2.1. Data Presentation of Key Points from Auditor General Reports

#### I. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports

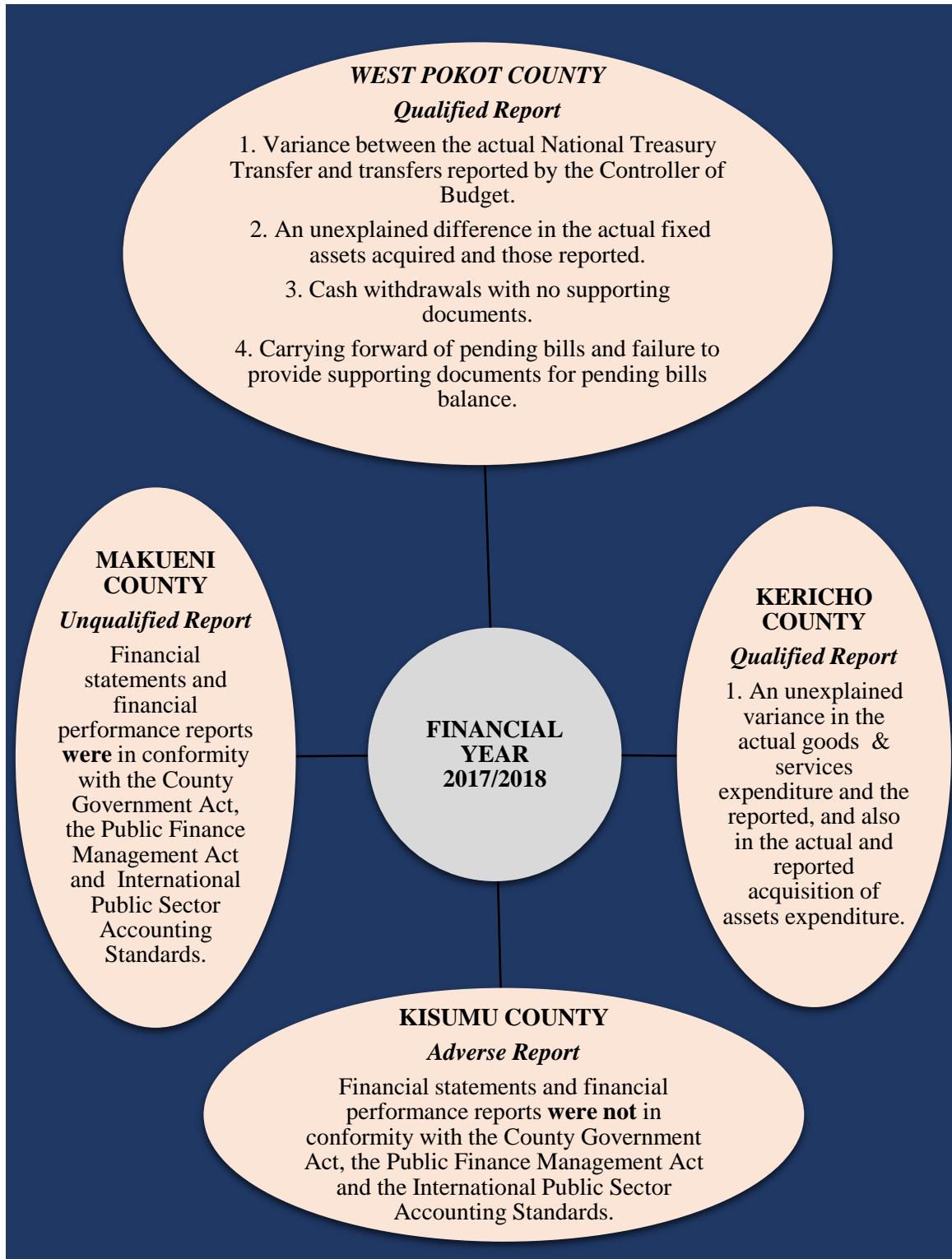


Figure 1.1. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports

## II. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports

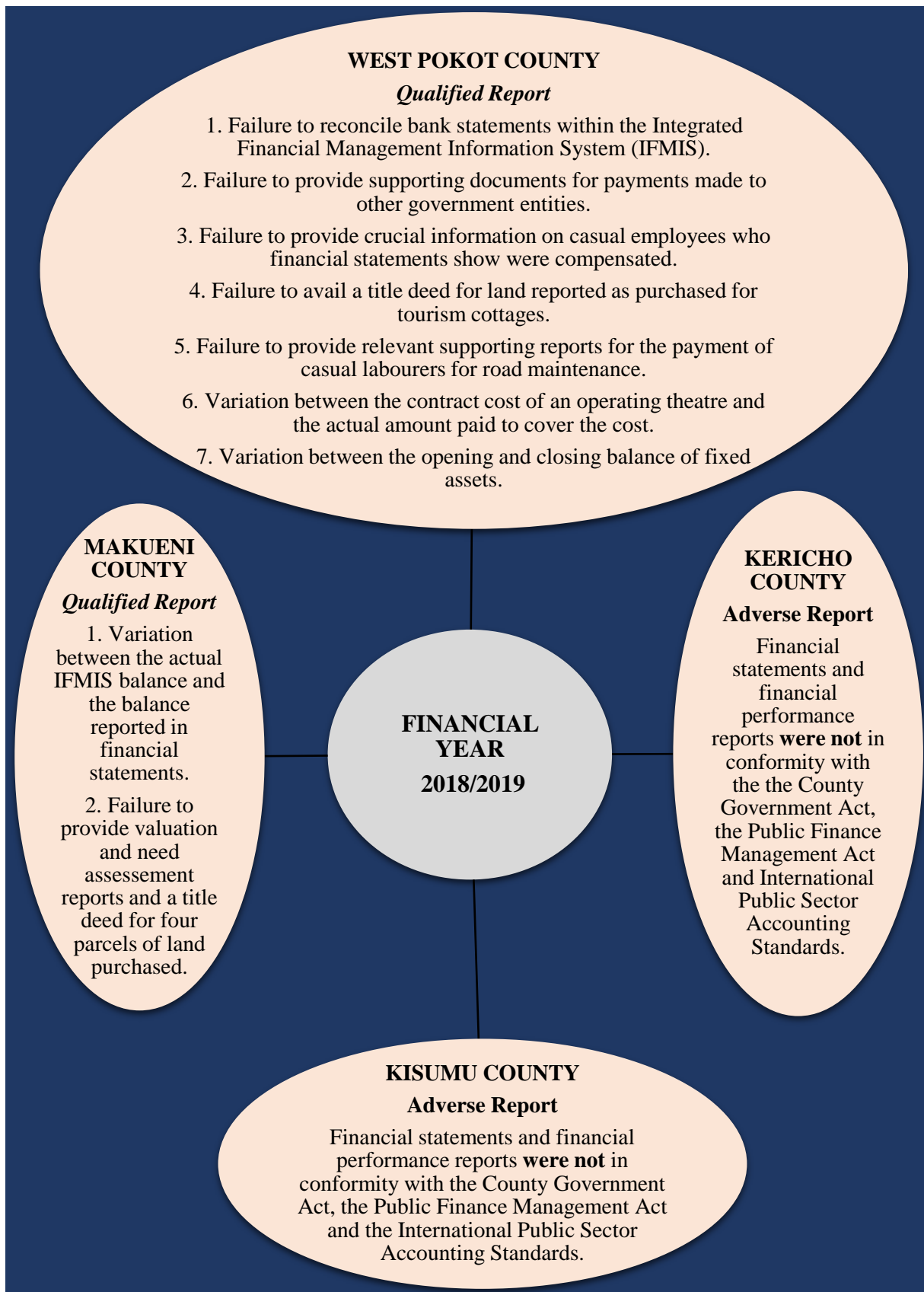


Figure 1.2. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports



### III. Key Points from the 2019-2020 Auditor General Reports

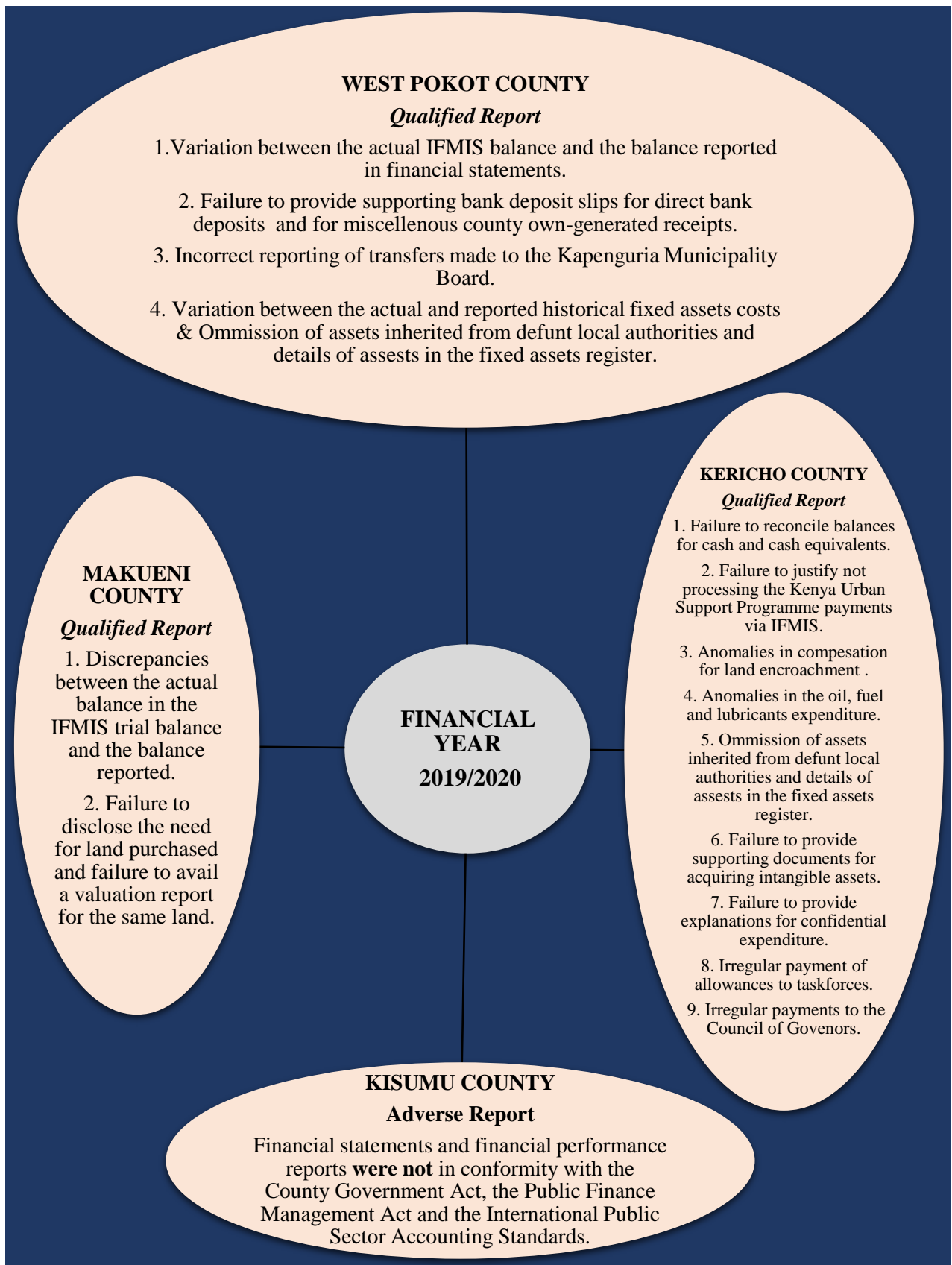


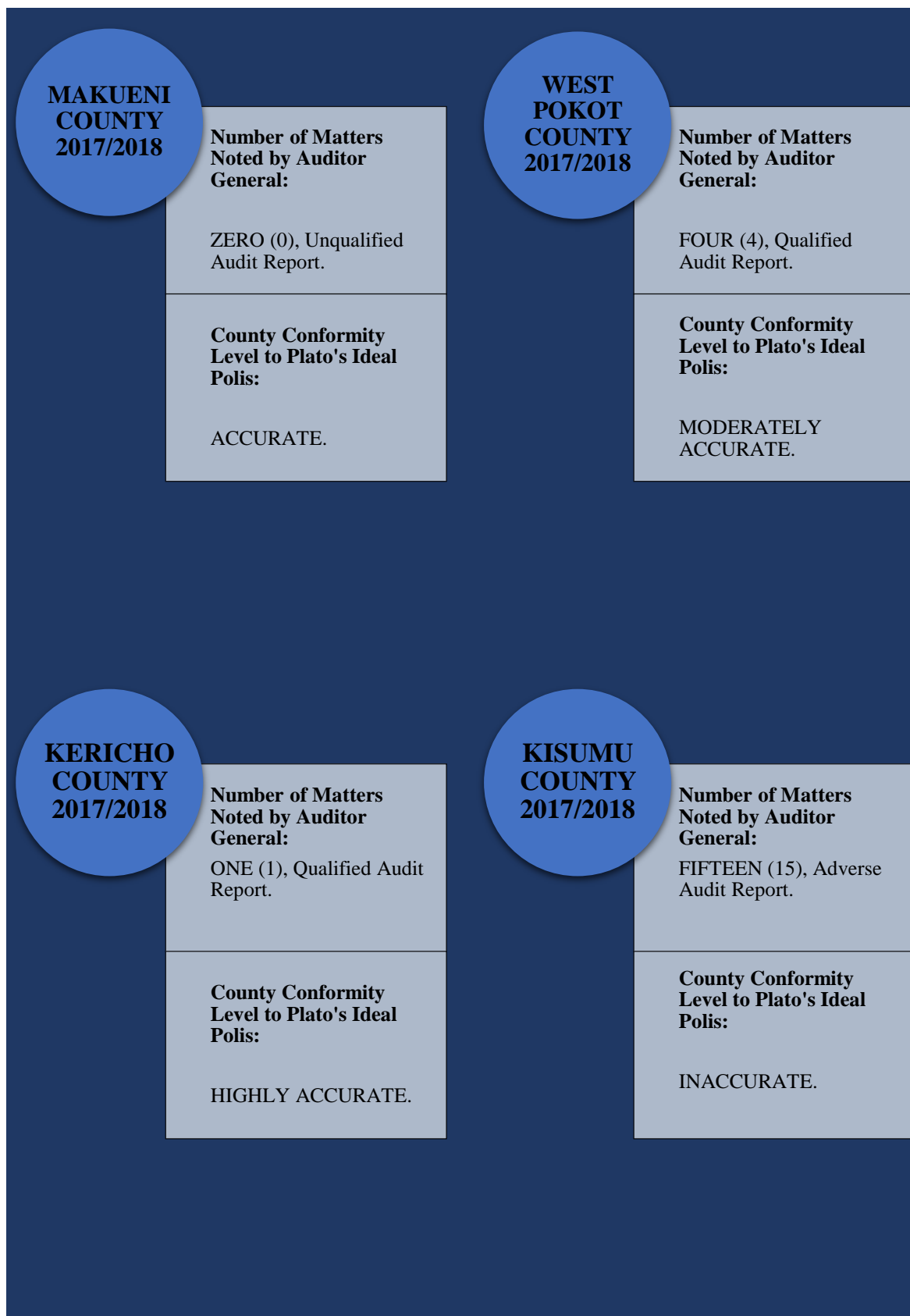
Figure 1.3. Key Points from the 2019/2020 Auditor General Reports

#### **4.2.2. Analysis of Auditor General Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**

To analyse the data elicited from the reports from the Office of the Auditor General on Professor-Governed counties, this study employed a 0-10 Likert Scale premised on the following assertions:

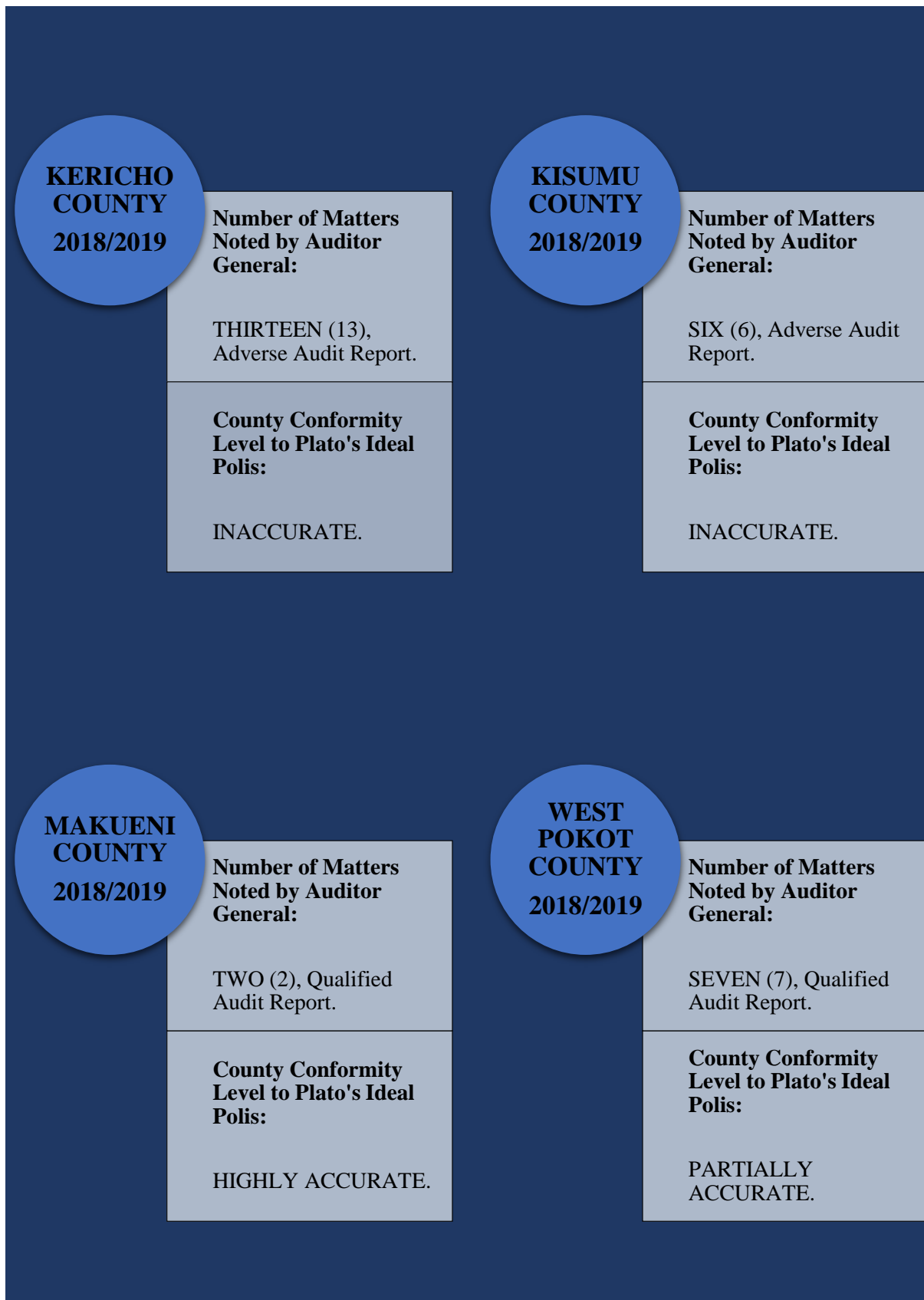
- i. If the Auditor General gave an unqualified report and noted no matters, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be fully confirmed in the county in question.
- ii. If 1-3 matters were noted by the Auditor General, in a qualified report, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a great extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- iii. If 4-6 matters were noted by the Auditor General, in a qualified report, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a moderate extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- iv. If 7-9 matters were noted by the Auditor General, in a qualified report, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a limited extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- v. If 10 or more matters were noted by the Auditor General or if the Auditor General gave either a disclaimer or adverse report, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could not be confirmed in the county in question.

**I. Analysis of the 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**



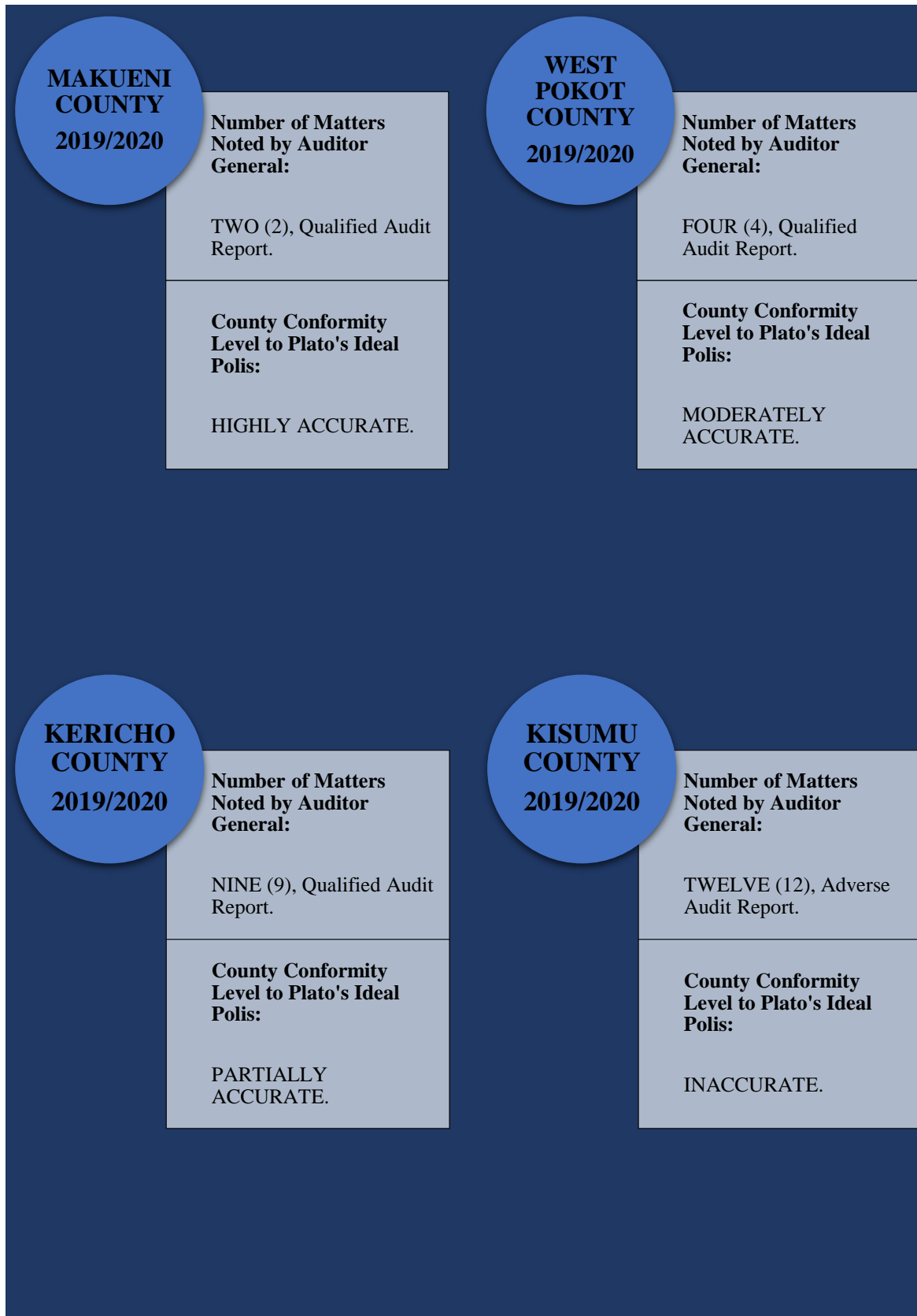
*Graphic 1.2. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2017/2018 Auditor General Reports*

## II. Analysis of 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports on Professor-Governed Counties



Graphic 1.3. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2018/2019 Auditor General Reports

### III. Analysis of 2019/2020 Auditor General Reports on Professor-Governed Counties



Graphic 1.4. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2019/2020 Auditor General Reports

### 4.2.3. Data Presentation of Key Points from Controller of Budget Reports

#### I. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports

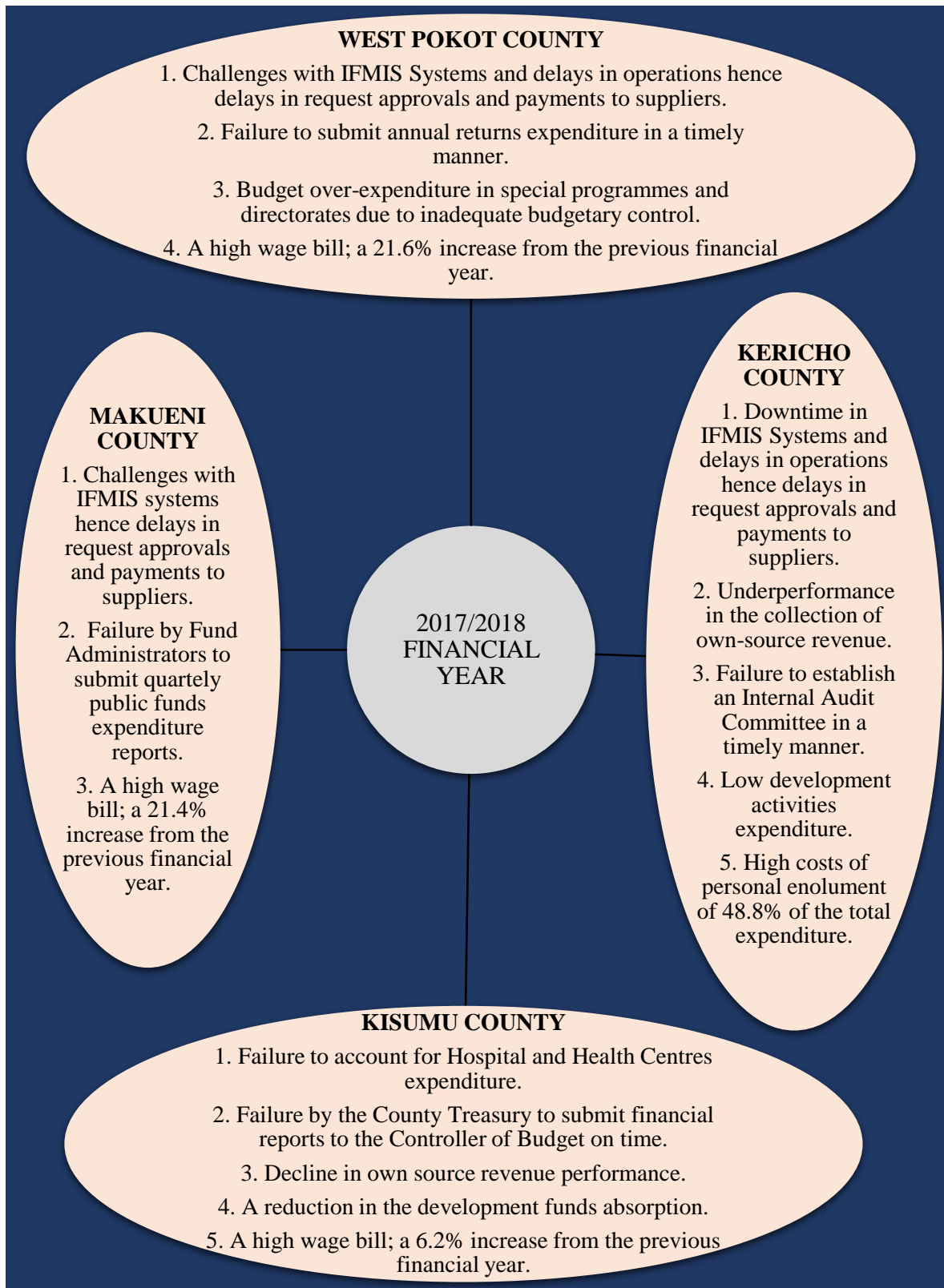


Figure 1.4. Key Points from the 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports

## II. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports

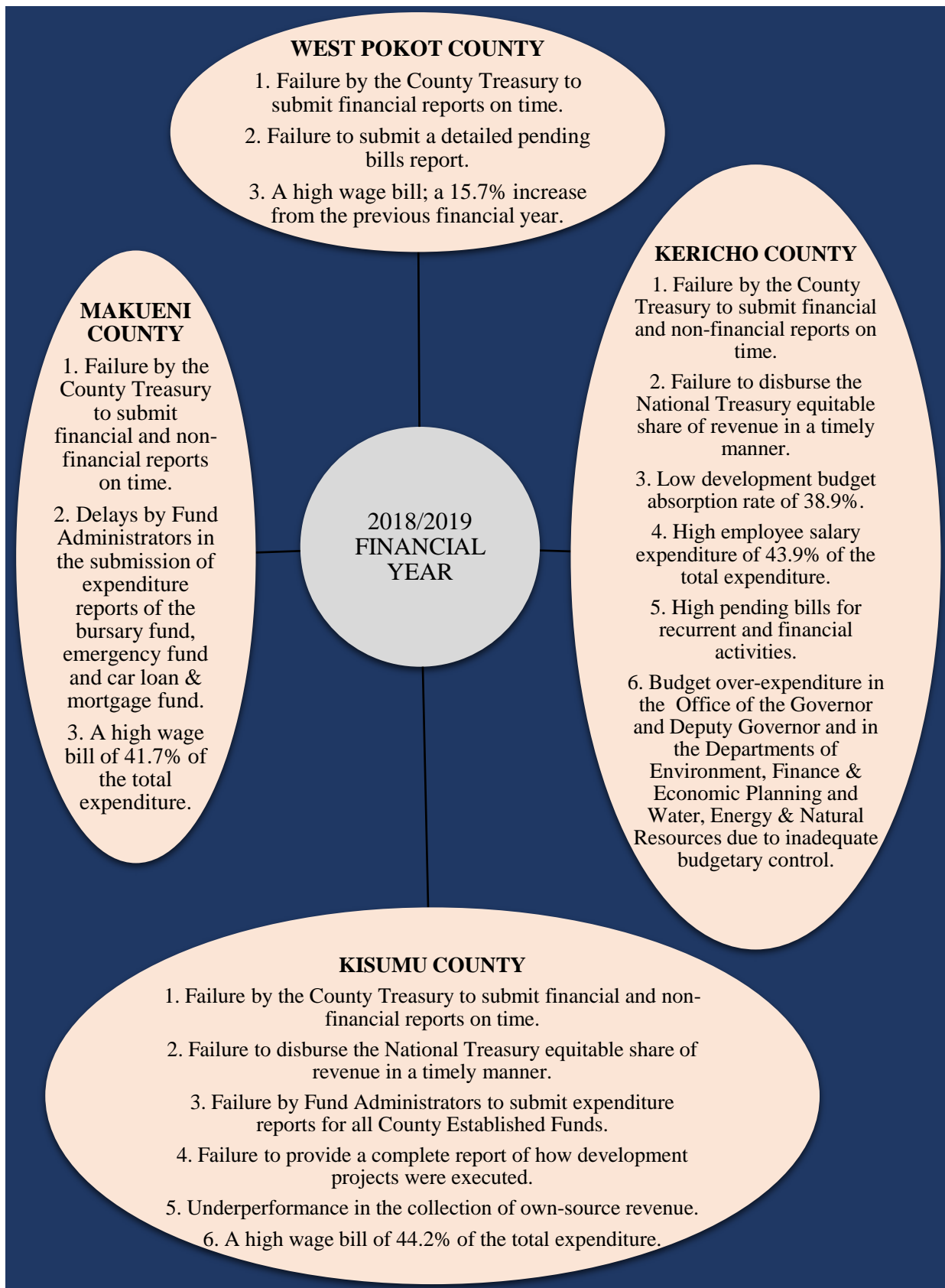


Figure 1.5. Key Points from the 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports

### III. Key Points from the 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports

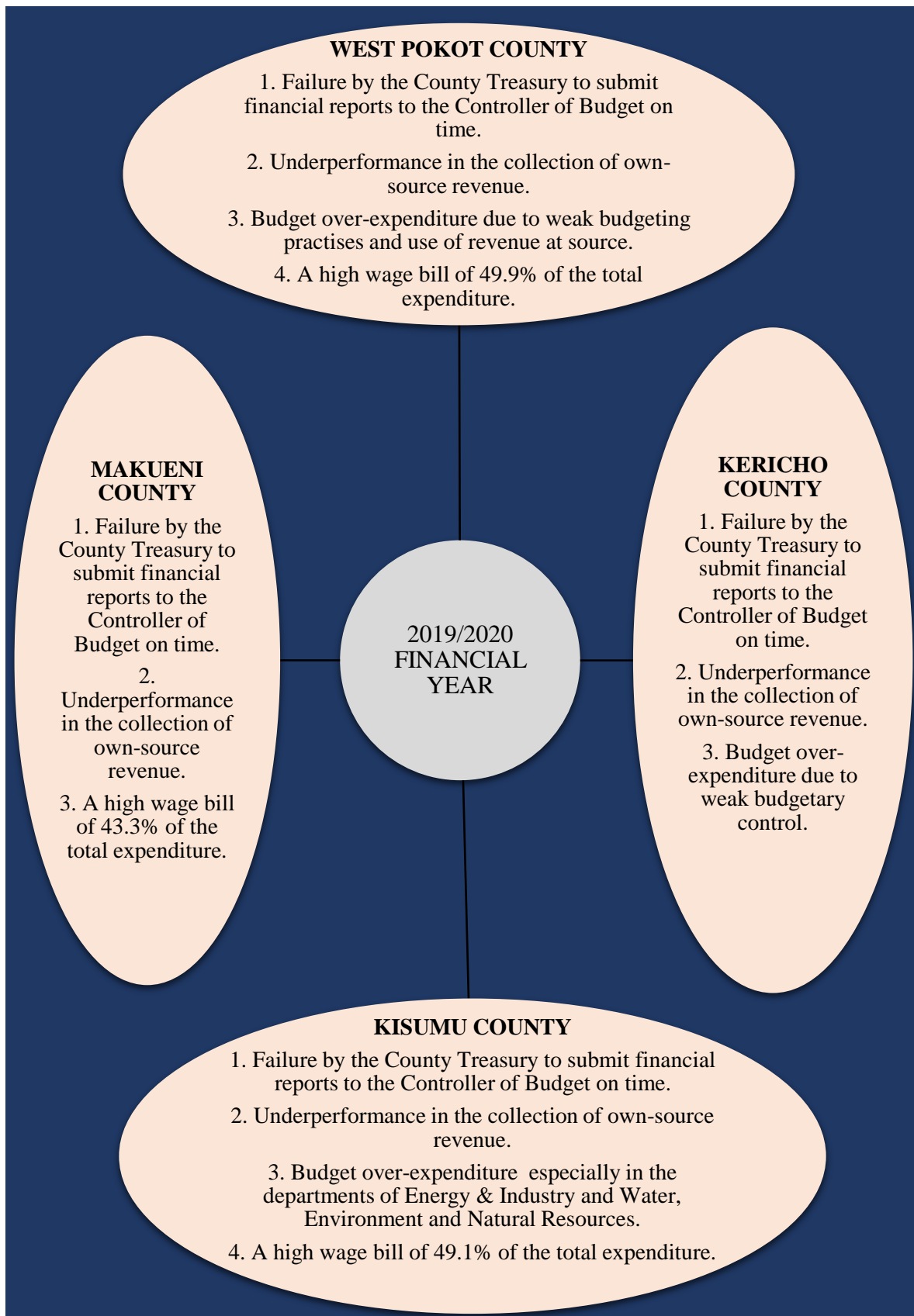


Figure 1.6. Key Points from the 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports



#### IV. Key Points from the 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports

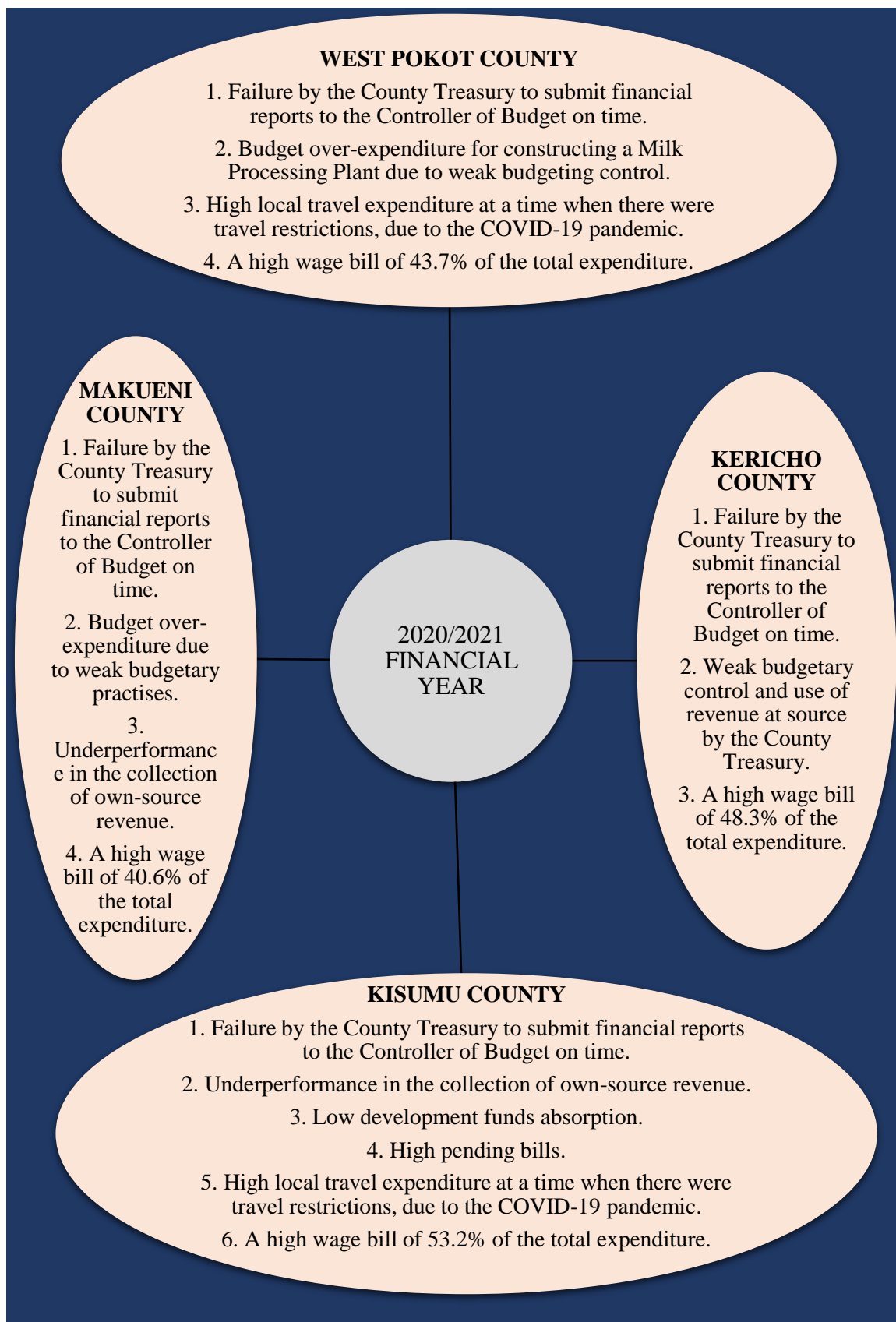


Figure 1.7. Key Points from the 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports

## V. Key Points from the 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports

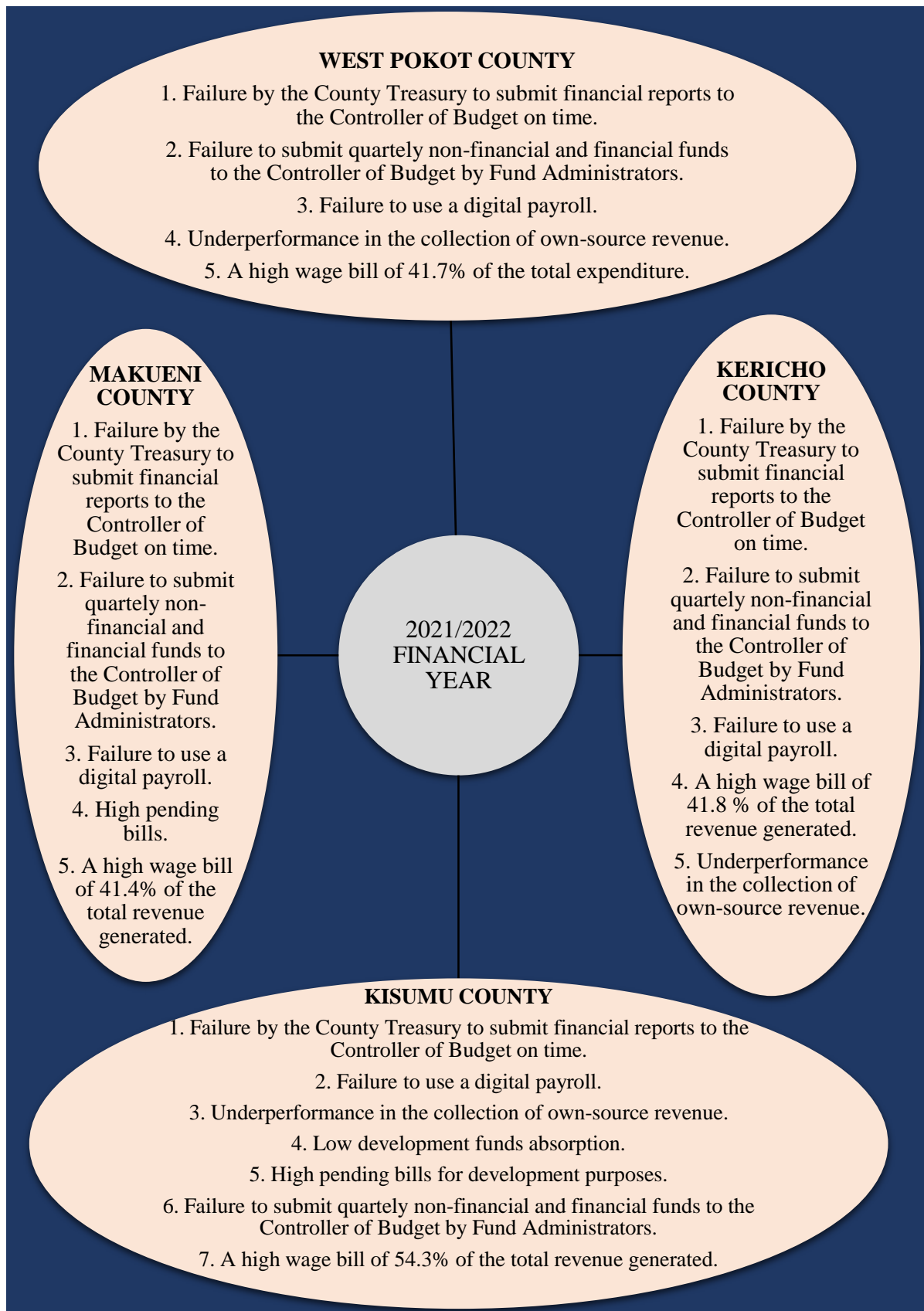


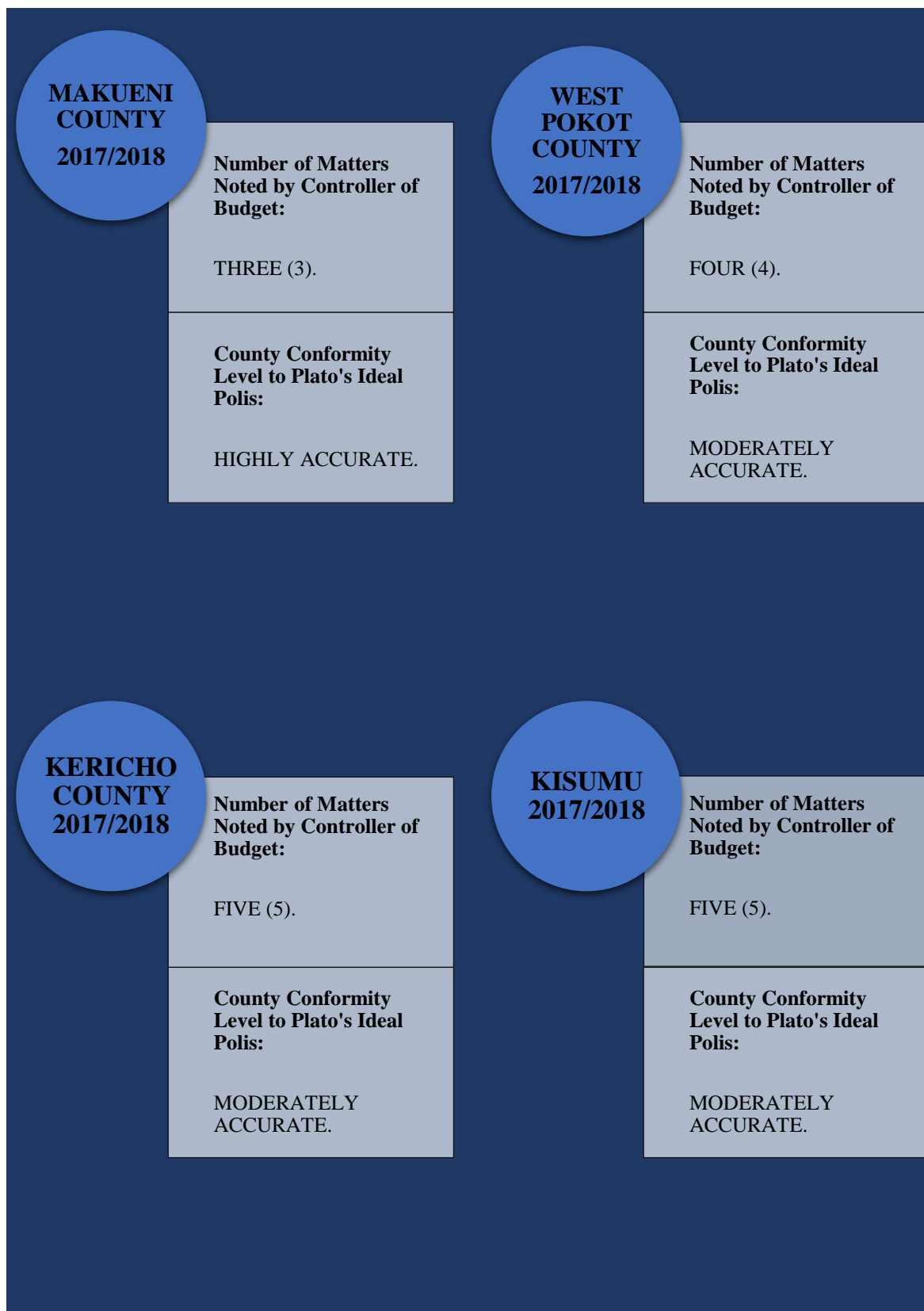
Figure 1.8. Key Points from the 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports

#### **4.2.4. Analysis of Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**

To analyse the data collected from the reports from the Office of the Controller of Budget on Professor-Governed Counties, this study employed a 0-10 Likert Scale premised on the following assertions:

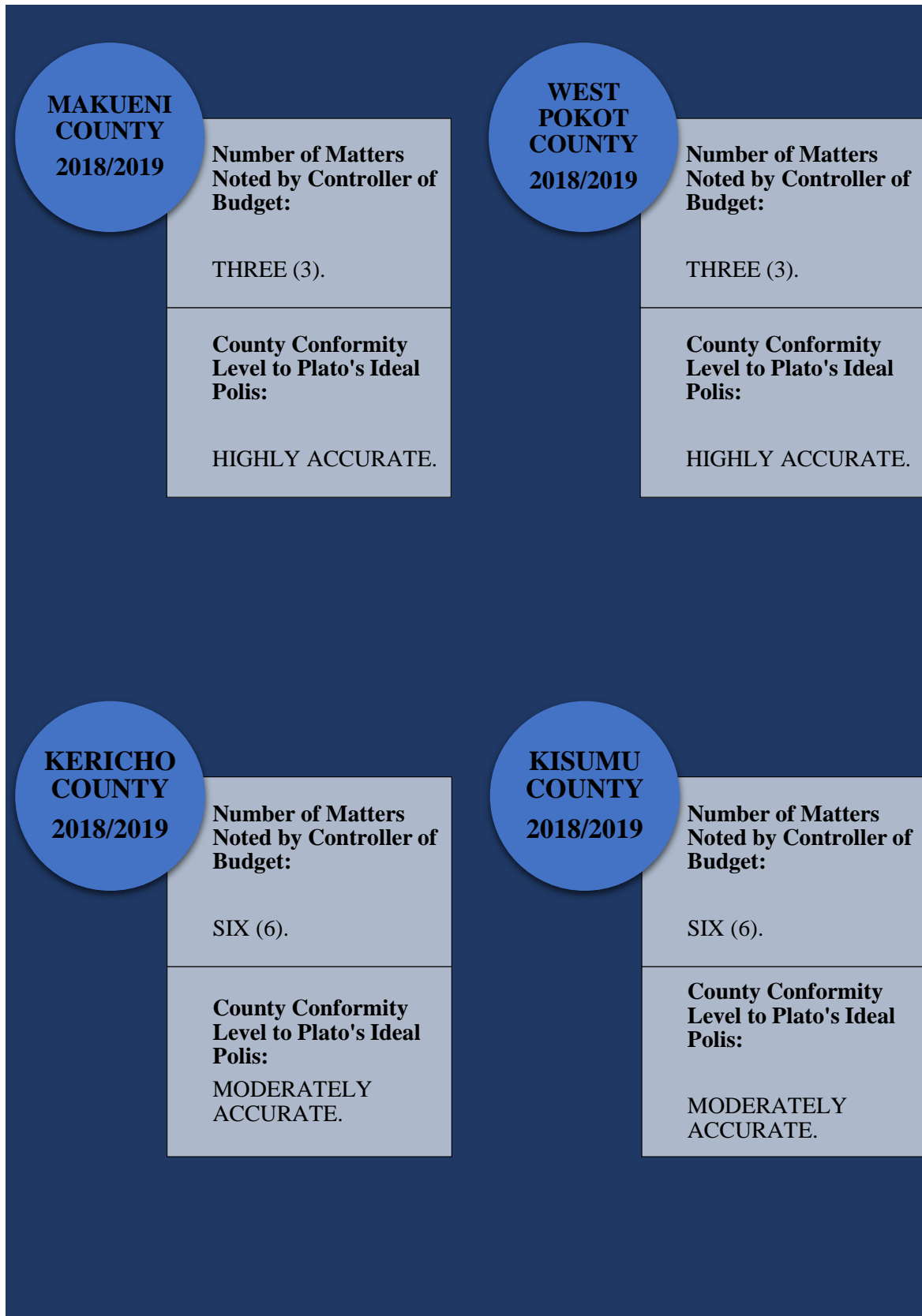
- i. If the Controller of Budget noted no matters, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be confirmed fully in the county in question.
- ii. If 1-3 matters were noted by the Controller of Budget, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a great extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- iii. If 4-6 matters were noted by the Controller of Budget, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a moderate extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- iv. If 7-9 matters were noted by the Controller of Budget, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could be, to a limited extent, confirmed in the county in question.
- v. If 10 or more matters were noted by the Controller of Budget, conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis could not be confirmed in the county in question.

**I. Analysis of 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**



*Graphic 1.5. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2017/2018 Controller of Budget Reports*

## II. Analysis of 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties



Graphic 1.6. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2018/2019 Controller of Budget Reports

### III. Analysis of 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties



Graphic 1.7. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2019/2020 Controller of Budget Reports

**IV. Analysis of 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**



*Graphic 1.8. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2020/2021 Controller of Budget Reports*

**V. Analysis of 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports on Professor-Governed Counties**



*Graphic 1.9. Graphic Representation of Analysis of 2021/2022 Controller of Budget Reports*



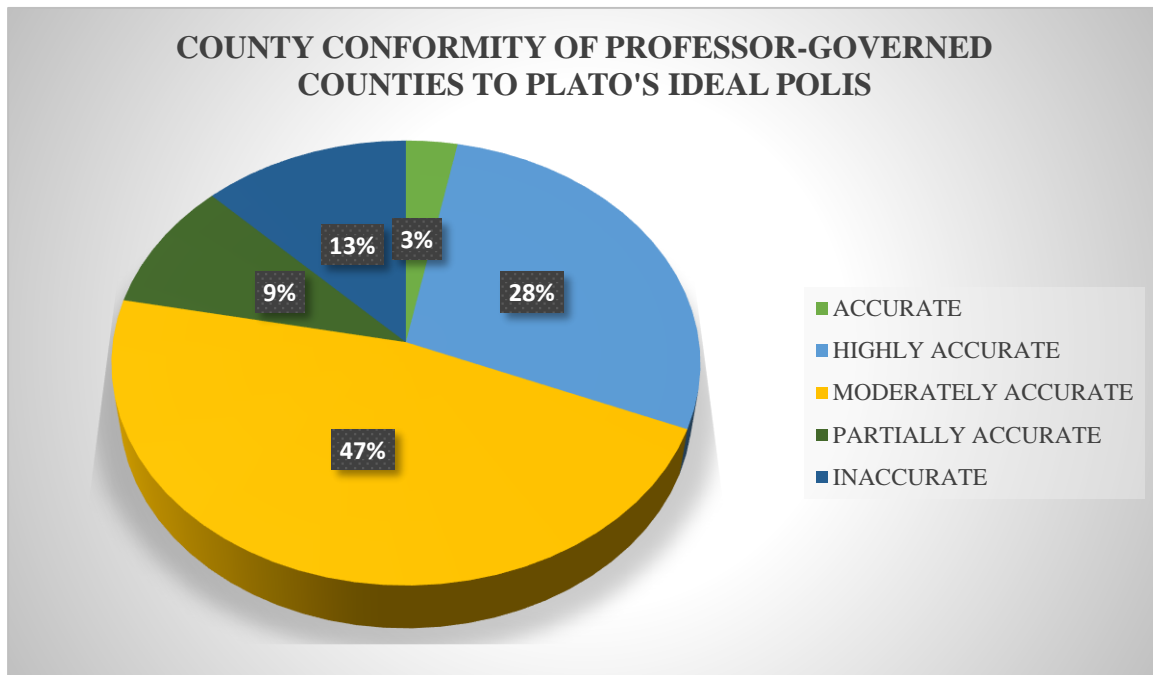
#### **4.2.5. Data Presentation and Analysis: A Summary**

By and large, this study adopted an exploratory stance and ventured to interrogate whether Plato's Concept of the Philosopher Genius bears on contemporary county governance in Kenya. More specifically, it purposed to ascertain whether Professors Governors in Kenya mirrored Plato's Philosopher Genius and whether professor-governed counties mirrored Plato's Ideal Polis. To this end, the study elicited data from both primary and secondary data sources, particularly one-on-one interviews with the four Professor Governors and non-opinion based reports on professor-governed counties, both from the Office of the Auditor General and the Office of the Controller of Budget.

On one side of the divide, as for the one-on-one interviews with the four Professor Governors, data was presented in form of tables for each of the questions posed, and data for each question was analysed individually but grouped based on the corresponding key attributes of the Philosopher Genius, as per Plato's Philosopher Genius Model because, in essence, the interviews sought to assess the existence or lack thereof of the chief attributes of the Philosopher Genius in the four Professor Governors. On the whole, from this analysis, the findings from each of the interviews were instructively similar for even when the responses of the Professor Governors to the interview questions were different, the prevailing idea was the same. Thus, overall, enough empirical evidence was adduced to attest that all four Professor Governors mirrored Plato's Philosopher Genius. Further, the findings attested that being a Philosopher Genius was as much about being highly educated as it was about virtue. It would thus not be far-fetched to infer that Plato's Philosopher Genius Model indeed lend itself as being the yardstick for ascertaining whether the four Professor Governors passed the Philosopher Genius litmus test.

On the other side of the divide, data from the non-opinion based reports on professor-governed counties was presented in form of figures and thereafter, a graphical representation of the analysis of this data was presented. In general, the study analysed data from 32 reports on professor-governed counties, 8 for each of the 4 counties, and in summary, the findings of this analysis were as follows; conformity to Plato's Ideal Polis was accurate in 1 instance, highly accurate in 9 instances, moderately accurate in 15 instances, partially accurate in 3 instances and inaccurate in 4 instances. Therefore, from this analysis, the correspondence of professor-governed counties to Plato's Ideal Polis was, albeit not wholly, confirmed to a significant extent. These findings thus amply demonstrated that perhaps, nowhere was the

impact of governance by Philosopher Geniuses more acutely felt than in professor-governed counties in Kenya. This was owing to the fact that although the four professor-governed counties did not accurately mirror the Ideal Polis in all instances, only in 13% of the instances was their correspondence to Plato's Ideal Polis inaccurate, as is shown in the pie chart below.



*Graphic 1.10. Graphic Representation of Conformity of Professor-Governed Counties to Plato's Ideal Polis*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

#### 5.1. Research Summary

By and large, this study endeavoured to substantively explicate the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya. In essence, it was premised on the assumptions of two republics, that is, The Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya. On one side of the divide, Plato, in his works, *The Republic*, makes the assumption that philosophy and governance are inextricably linked and that ideal governance can only be achieved if either philosophers govern or those who govern philosophise (Plato, c. 380 BC, p. 174). On the other side of the divide, the Republic of Kenya, through *The Constitution of Kenya 2010*, echoes Plato's assumption by stipulating that an undergraduate degree is the mandatory bare minimum educational requirement for a county governor (Election Act No. 24 of 2011, 2019, p. 17). It is on the basis of these assumptions that this study set its sight on finding out if Professor Governors in Kenya mirrored Plato's Philosopher Genius and if professor-governed counties mirrored Plato's Ideal Polis.

That being so, with a view to test the plausibility or lack thereof of these assumptions, the study anchored itself in a conceptual framework gleaned from Plato's concept of the Ideal Governor and the Ideal State. In this conceptual framework, the interlinked concepts formed the following main idea; an amalgam of Ideal Education and Ideal Trained Intelligence will bring to fruition the Ideal Governor (Philosopher Genius) and the Ideal Virtues for Governance. This merger will in turn usher in the Ideal Polis and Ideal Social Justice. Hinged on this conceptual framework, therefore, this study set out to test the hypotheses that there is a nexus between philosophy and governance and hence Professor Governors in Kenya mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius, and that there is a nexus between governance by the most highly educated and the establishment of an Ideal Polis and hence, professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis.

Nevertheless, this was not without first building a case for the necessity of conducting this research. To this end, the study first carried out both a review of empirical evidence and a review of existing theoretical literature on this subject of thought, with particular focus being on unwrapping Plato's Ideal State (The Kallipolis), and on the whole, the study distinguished, in meticulous detail, six peculiarities of the Kallipolis. To begin with, it features a ternary partition of the Soul and the City. The soul, on one end, comprises the Rational which

denotes wisdom, the Spirited which signifies courage and the Appetite which symbolises human desires. The city, on the other end, constitutes the Philosopher Genius, Auxiliary and Producing classes. Furthermore, the Kallipolis is founded on justice which is, fundamentally, social justice, appertaining to virtue and to each of the three parts of the Soul and City restricting itself to its designated role. Moreover, in the Kallipolis, education is not only foregrounded but idealised, for it plays the preponderant role of assigning roles in society, whereby, those with high level philosophical education are assigned the role of governance, those with military training are assigned the role of the Auxiliary, and those with neither are assigned the role of production. In addition, in the societal stratification of the Kallipolis, the accent is on the Philosopher Genius for (s)he is considered the touchstone of ideal governance and the prerequisite for establishing an Ideal Polis. Lastly, in the Kallipolis, the place of women in society is atypical to the reigning attitudes of Plato's epoch, and a fundamental departure from the long standing belief that women should be at the fringes for indeed, women in the Kallipolis qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses, granted that they receive the same nurture and education as their male compeers.

After unwrapping the Kallipolis, the study conducted a scrutiny of existing empirical and theoretical knowledge on Platonism and Governance, with the spotlight turned on the hallmarks of Plato's concept of governance. In essence, this scrutiny revealed that this concept embodies five forms of governance that must, of necessity, be explored hierarchically and in descending order, owing to the fact that they spring from each other, in the sense that, the paradigm shifts in the one at the apex give birth to the second one, and the cycle continues all the way to the fifth. Thus, at the apex is the Aristocracy which Plato deems to be the best form of governance, for it is rule by the best, rule awash with virtue and rule that is the archetype of a Kallipolis. Further, the Timocracy comes in second, by virtue of being the most acclaimed system of governance, although it lacks two cardinal features of the Kallipolis because the tripartite partition of the elements of the Soul and the City is not sharply defined, and also because virtue is supplanted by ambition, and it is hence rule by those ambitious for power. Moreover, the Oligarchy is in third place, on the basis that ambition for power is superseded by pursuit of wealth and it is hence rule by the wealthiest. Furthermore, in fourth position is the Democracy wherein pursuit of wealth is traded for the desire of liberty and governance is by lot, a peculiarity Plato abhors, so much so that he lays the blame for the death of Socrates' at democracy's door. Lastly, the Tyranny is fifth and worst, for it is laden with vice, savagery and sheer disregard for the rule of law.

Overall, therefore, based on these empirical and theoretical reviews, the study established that, on one hand, although the concept of ideal governance was not only well articulated but also underscored, there did not seem to be empirical evidence that operationalised this concept by either viewing Professor Governors through the lenses of Plato's Philosopher Genius or professor-governed counties through the lenses of Plato's Ideal Polis. On the other hand, the study noted that existing theoretical literature seemed not to capture four key perspectives. Specifically, it did not seem to proffer an explanation for how Plato's Analogy of the Soul and the City can be interpreted in the context of a modern day government and in particular, a county government. Furthermore, it was inadequate in elaborating on how Plato's concept of Ideal Justice fits into the contemporary polis, a setting in which justice is a miscellany of both social and legal justice. Moreover, it failed to narrow in on whether the modern system of education is veritably capable of assigning the Philosopher Genius role in society, as Plato propounded. In addition, it was lacking in explanations of how Plato's concept of governance fits into the modern governance milieu, a milieu wherein democracy is favoured over all other systems of governance. Hence, with these empirical and theoretical gaps in mind, the study proceeded to take its final step, the methodological step.

To wind up, therefore, at its concluding stage, the study adopted a double-pronged methodological approach and scrutinised both primary and secondary data. Primary data, on its part, was educed from one-on-one interviews with the four Professor Governors. To analyse this data, the study coined a Philosopher Genius Model and adopted it as its blueprint for taking on a methodological analysis. In particular, given that this model encapsulated the key Philosopher Genius virtues, as delineated by Plato, it was utilised as the measuring rod to ascertain whether the Professor Governors mirrored Plato's Philosopher Genius. Then, as for secondary data, it was fetched from non-opinion based reports on professor-governed counties. To analyse these reports, the study identified apposite yardsticks for measuring the extent to which these professor-governed counties mirrored Plato's Ideal Polis. Thus, on the whole, it is following this methodological excursion that the study gave credence to the hypotheses that Plato's Theory of the Philosopher Genius is central in county governance in Kenya and that Professor Governors are an accurate depiction of Plato's Philosopher Genius. Be that as it may, the study did not fully confirm that professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis, owing to the fact that although all four Professor Governors were a precise portrayal of Plato's Philosopher Genius, not all four professor-governed counties accurately mirrored Plato's Ideal Polis in all instances or to the same extent.

## **5.2. Research Findings, Inferences and Conclusions**

Following an in-depth inquiry into the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in contemporary county governance in Kenya, the study successfully achieved its tripartite research objectives which were; to ascertain whether Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius is central in county governance in Kenya, ascertain whether there is a nexus between philosophy and governance, and hence whether Professors Governors mirror Plato's Philosopher Genius, and ascertain whether there is a nexus between governance by the most highly educated and the establishment of an Ideal Polis, and hence whether professor-governed counties in Kenya mirror Plato's Ideal Polis. Accordingly, the fact that the research objectives were achieved betokens the research problem of the study was addressed, the research questions were responded to and the research hypotheses were confirmed. It is against this backdrop that inferences and conclusions were drawn from this study, on the basis of its key findings.

At the outset, this study concluded that Plato's Theory of the Philosopher Genius is indeed germane to the apprehension of contemporary county governance in Kenya. Thus, according to the findings of this study, the dynamics of contemporary county governance in Kenya can, in general terms, be explained and understood using Plato's Concept of the Philosopher Genius as the focal point. This denotes that despite the changes in time and place, Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius remains extant and the premises upon which it is grounded remain timeless. As such, the study inferred that the Platonic concept of the Philosopher Genius can indeed be cast on the mould of contemporary county governance in Kenya. Verily, ancient though it may be, Plato's Philosopher Genius Concept is neither obsolete nor inapt in the contemporary world of governance, and to hew Platonic principles of governance in contemporary county governance in Kenya would not be misguided.

Moreover, another conclusion that the study reached was that philosophy and governance are inextricably linked and that Plato was, without a doubt, right to postulate that governance by Philosopher Geniuses is the quintessence of Ideal Governance. This stemmed from the fact that the one-on-one interviews with the Professor Governors revealed that the very concept of ideal governance cannot be sufficiently comprehended, let alone operationalised, without proper and commensurate philosophical knowledge, which can only be obtained from formal higher education, and in the contemporary context, that higher level of education is university education. In essence, therefore, the study found that the manifestation of Philosopher Genius

virtues by the four Professor Governors could assuredly be ascribed to their vast philosophical and intellectual knowledge, and this was attributed to the fact that they had attained the highest possible academic attainment, professorship.

Additionally, this study found evidence that, albeit not absolute, there was a significant nexus between governance by Professor Governors and the establishment of Ideal Poleis. This nexus was therefore with a caveat because although all four Professor Governors fitted into Plato's Philosopher Genius Model wholly and satisfactorily, the same could not necessarily be said about how professor-governed counties conformed to Plato's Ideal Polis in some of the instances scrutinised by this study. This, nevertheless, does not call into question the plausibility of the assertions by both the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya that the conformity of counties governed by the most highly educated governors to Plato's Ideal Polis will, incontrovertibly, be right on the button. That would only have been the case if there was absolutely no nexus between governance by Professor Governors and the establishment of Ideal Poleis. Hence, seeing that there was a significant nexus, the study concluded that the assertions by both Republics were well founded, but in view of the caveat that had been identified in this nexus, the study ventured into unearthing the probable whys and wherefores of its existence.

To begin, the study pointed out that it can reasonably be argued that the failure of professor-governed counties to all definitively mirror Plato's Ideal Polis, governed by Philosopher Geniuses though they may be, is perhaps as a result of the incongruity between the nature of education during Plato's epoch and the nature of education in the contemporary age. The study therefrom came to the conclusion that this aforesaid discrepancy could undoubtedly not be attributed to low levels of education, seeing that the Professor Governors were the most highly educated governors. Equally, this discrepancy did not render education nugatory in the realm of governance, in view of the fact that the study had indeed ascertained that education plays an indispensable role. It thus appears to be the case that the disproportion lies in the nature of contemporary education in Kenya, and its inability to accurately mould into Plato's notion of the ideal education required for establishing an Ideal Polis.

In particular, even though the nature of education in contemporary Kenya is not fundamentally different from that of Plato's epoch, there exists one significant dissimilarity. Generally, as was the case in Plato's Ideal State, the Kallipolis, the Kenyan State guarantees education for all, through The Constitution of Kenya 2010, with no discrimination against the

sexes. Further, in Kenya, just like in the Kallipolis, this education starts from a tender age to adulthood and in the later stages, it comprises a wide array of disciplines that individually fit into different strata of society. These similarities notwithstanding, the dissimilarity is identifiable in the mismatch between the education curriculums of the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya. On one side of the divide, the education curriculum of Plato's Republic produces citizens who can fit into either three of the social strata, that is, the Philosopher Genius Class, the Military Class and the Producing Class. On the other side of the divide, the education curriculum of the Republic of Kenya is only structured to have specialised education to produce the Military and Producing Classes, with no specialised education to produce the Philosopher Genius Class. This lacuna thus seems to be one of the reasons why professor-governed counties did not, in certain instances, wholly mirror Plato's Ideal Polis, albeit being governed by the most highly educated governors.

Furthermore, this study drew the inference that another possible explication of why professor-governed counties did not, at all times, conclusively reflect the Platonic Kallipolis, in spite of all four Professor Governors being true Philosopher Geniuses, is because there is a disparity between the contemporary democratic political setting and the Platonic autocratic political setting. To be specific, unlike in an Autocracy, there are more political actors in a Democracy. For instance, there are policies that require the approval of county assemblies before they can be implemented. Equally, for all county projects, public participation is obligatory before they can be initiated. This goes to show that unlike Plato's autocratic context where governance was quite linear, governance in the Kenyan democratic context is much more complex. Thus, the complexities in the contemporary system of county governance in Kenya, glaringly absent in Plato's Ideal State, shed light on this aforementioned disparity. Nonetheless, this inference is not intended to advocate for a non-democratic system of governance that is devoid of public participation and checks and balances, but is rather intended to draw attention to a key shortcoming of the nature of the democratic system of governance in Kenyan counties. That is, its nature is such that it is possible for members of the public and Members of County Assembly (MCAs) to be incited to maliciously oppose the policies, projects and initiatives of their governors for political reasons, or even as a form of political blackmail on the part of MCAs.

By the same token, in the Platonic autocratic political milieu, governance in the Kallipolis is independent of any external political or governmental forces. The Kallipolis is thus a fully self-governing entity. In contrast, in the Kenyan modern day equivalents of the Kallipolis,



that is, the counties, governance is not a fully autonomous undertaking. This is owing to the fact that, although governance in Kenya is decentralised, the overall system of governance is interconnected. In particular, the findings from primary data demonstrated that County Assemblies have a bearing on county governance because MCAs are responsible for the regulatory oversight of governors and the approval of policies and budgets proposed by governors. Then, on their part, the findings from secondary data indicated that the national government impinges on county governance, especially in the sense that county governments are yet to achieve autarky and thus, preponderantly, depend on funding from the National Treasury. That being so, any political turbulence caused by the other parts of the interconnected system of governance, in particular, unwarranted and malevolent political opposition from MCAs, may provide a merited explanation of why, in certain instances, professor-governed counties were not a precise representation of Plato's Kallipolis.

As a final observation, In *The Republic*, Plato contends that the environment of governance within which Philosopher Geniuses govern may impede the establishment of an Ideal Polis. To illustrate this, he presents the metaphor of an excellent seed which is incapable of showcasing its excellence, for either it is not properly nourished, or not planted in the right place, or during the right season (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 194). Against this backdrop, it would be reasonable to posit that the environment of governance in the Kenyan state may be a contributing factor in the failure of professor-governed counties to, in particular cases, be a full reflection of Plato's Ideal Polis. To be specific, in the new decentralised system of governance, the Professor Governors inherited, from the centralised system of governance, governance structures that were formerly city councils, and these structures were far from ideal. Thus, considering the fact that devolution and decentralised governance are still novel concepts in the country, the overall system of governance would require a complete overhaul so as to set the stage for ideal governance and for the establishment of Ideal Poleis. This, however, should not be interpreted as propounding the narrative that there have been no efforts to overhaul the overall system of governance. Far from it. On the contrary, this study acknowledges that significant strides have been made in that direction and there have been notable political reforms thus far. All the same, although we have travelled quite a considerable and impressive distance on our journey from the dark ages, to the new age of social and political reforms, more is required to create the ideal environment for establishing Ideal Poleis in Kenyan counties.

### **5.3. Research Recommendations**

At the first instance, on the basis of the findings, inferences and conclusions drawn from the political inquiry into the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya, this study recommends that Plato's concept of the Ideal Polis not be adopted uncritically without being tailored-made, when seeking to apprehend governance phenomena in the contemporary governance context, pertinent though it may be. This is on account of the mismatch the study identified between the Platonic education curriculum in the Kallipolis and the contemporary education curriculum in the Kenyan state. In addition, this is in view of the prevailing governance variables in the democratic contemporary world within which Kenyan counties lie, variables that were non-existent in Plato's autocratic world. Of particular interest is the variable of a consultative approach to governance, seeing that a Philosopher Genius in Plato's Ideal Aristocracy was not bound by the restrictions that bind a Philosopher Genius in a contemporary Democracy, for the latter cannot make any unilateral decisions pertaining to governance. It is thus imperative to ensure that the adoption of this concept in the field of Modern Political Theory be, of necessity, context-based.

Then, the study cautions law makers and policy makers against over-emphasising university education without tethering it to virtue when setting the criteria for determining who is best suited to govern and who should be eligible to govern. This is informed by the fact that the study ascertained that although university education is a very crucial consideration when it comes to determining who is best suited to govern, it should not be regarded as a freestanding consideration. Thus, with regard the constitutional provision of an undergraduate degree being the bare minimum educational requirement for governors, law makers and policy makers should expand the scope of determining the criteria for governance, so that it goes beyond deliberating on this constitutional stipulation merely at face value, and instead includes other in-depth time-specific and context-specific considerations surrounding education, and how the said considerations accentuate the salience of the synergy between education and virtue in governance. This, however, ought not be construed as suggesting that the significance of university education in governance be undersold, for this study has proved that it is an axiomatic fact that in governance, education plays not just an ancillary, but an integral role. That being so, the constitutional stipulation of an undergraduate degree being the bare minimum educational requirement for elective positions is indeed instrumental and should at no point be relegated to a mere ornamental suggestion.

Furthermore, the study indeed deduced that the systems of education in the Republic of Plato and the Republic of Kenya are fundamentally congruous but an incongruity emerges when it comes to their curriculums. In essence, the Platonic curriculum guarantees both a well-ordered soul and a well-ordered society, each with three clear-cut parts, and this distinction of parts ultimately guarantees the well-being of the individual and that of society, since each part restricts itself to what it is best qualified for, in the best interests of both the soul and city. This aspect is conspicuously absent in the Kenyan curriculum. On this construal, therefore, this study bangs the drum for remodelling the educational curriculum in Kenya so that focus can be both on acquiring skills and knowledge for the advancement of the individual and the advancement of the nation into the bargain. The remodelled curriculum should thus be such that it ushers in an attitudinal change towards education, so that instead of focus being on solely getting an education that is fit for the job market and that serves the interests of the individual, focus will shift to getting an education not just for individual good, but also for common good and the good of the nation. Thus, in general terms, the study recommends that the education curriculum be remodelled in such a way that it adopts a philosophical dimension wherein education is paired up with the spirit of patriotism, civic duty and service to the nation, the ultimate goal being to achieve an Ideal State.

In similar fashion, this study proposes that policy makers explore the possibility of not only including, but making compulsory, courses on ethics and virtue in academic curriculums at all levels of education, the only difference being that these courses will be tailor-made to suit their respective levels. This will be pivotal in ensuring that virtues are continuously inculcated in each and every citizen, from a tender age to adulthood, hence making it more likely for the nation to produce leaders who are the epitome of the ideal virtues required for ideal leadership. In the same vein, drawing inspiration from Plato's Academy, policy makers should consider establishing a specialised Academy, where after obtaining basic university education, potential Philosopher Geniuses will be trained on ideal leadership virtues and the principles of ideal leadership. The training at this Academy should be guided, inter alia, by the constitution and in particular, Chapter 6 of the Constitution. Ultimately, these two ventures will be achingly instrumental in achieving the Plato-like ideal system of education which will subsequently set the scene for Plato-like ideal leadership, for it emerged from this study that it would be utterly wrong to suggest that virtue can be unanchored from ideal governance, and that the establishment of an Ideal Polis does not require an education system that incorporates specialised education for the Philosopher Genius class.

Additionally, as this study found convincing evidence that there is a nexus between philosophy and governance, it suffices to prescribe a paradigm shift in the debate on the necessity or lack thereof of the constitutional stipulation of an undergraduate degree being the minimum educational requirement for those seeking elective positions in Kenya. Hence, in lieu of this debate focusing on whether or not this constitutional stipulation is a necessity, it should now evolve into a more expansive conception, so that it can begin focusing on how best those governing can map their academic background onto governance, and equally begin focusing on how the *raison d'être* of this constitutional stipulation can be made more apparent. In the same vein, this debate should broaden its spectrum and delve into interrogating how best those governing can implement Chapter 6 of the Constitution, for it is evident from this study that virtue plays an indispensable role in governance and that being the case, there cannot be ideal governance without those governing being an embodiment of virtue. Thus, in general, this debate, so contentious and divisive in the Republic of Kenya, needs to be henceforth seen in a different light. This is owing to the fact that, as this study has exhibited, arguably, although true leaders, by nature, possess cardinal leadership qualities, the nurture of these leadership qualities is a prerequisite for ideal governance, and only education can provide this nurture.

Also worth noting is that, as is evident in Constitutional Petitions E229, E225, E226, E249 & 14 of 2021, E275 of 2022 and the June 2022 petition challenging Section 22(2), the debate on whether or not Section 22 of the Elections Act in Kenya is a desideratum, is no longer merely a social and political debate but also a judicial one, and these petitions can thus be seen as a prelude to wide-ranging legal battles surrounding this constitutional stipulation. For this reason, this study draws attention to the crucial role of the judiciary in the realisation of ideal county governance in Kenya. This is owing to the fact that judicial rulings on any aspect of county governance are not trivial but rather momentous decisions, for they have a direct and far-reaching impact on the fundamental social and political reforms intended by the new constitution, through the establishment of county governance in Kenya. Therefore, with regard to the educational prerequisites of those seeking to govern, the study recommends that judges presented with petitions surrounding this matter explore all the socio-political ramifications of making rulings that seem to denigrate the importance of education in governance and the extent to which such rulings constrain the path to socio-political reforms in Kenya, a path that had remained impassable before the promulgation of The Constitution of Kenya 2010.

Along the same lines, as the findings of this research have revealed, there is a strong interconnection between philosophy and governance and the makers of the constitution seem to have been fully cognisant of this, as is apparent in the provisions outlined in Section 22 of the Elections Act. The study thus appeals to members of the Kenyan judiciary to invariably and continually uphold and defend these constitutional provisions so as to ascertain that Kenya increasingly embraces a progressive political culture in lieu of the regressive political culture that existed before the coming into being of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, a culture wherein the indispensable attributes of those in leadership and governance positions were disregarded and taken no account of. This recommendation is particularly in view of the fact that this study noted that the position of county governor is a complex managerial position that equally involves managing billions of Kenyan shillings in the form of taxpayers' money. It would thus be an injustice, not only to the constitution, but also to taxpayers, to rule that this position does not require the educational requirement of an undergraduate degree, yet, the world has evolved and in the contemporary world, an undergraduate degree is the bare minimum educational requisite for any managerial position, let alone a crucial position such as county governor.

In closing, as the findings of this research revealed, governance in Kenya is an interconnected system and the makers of the constitution appear to have been au fait with this fact, going by the stipulation that the bare minimum educational requirement for all elective positions in Kenya is an undergraduate degree from a university recognised in Kenya. This study therefore implores the legislature and the judiciary to follow not only the letter, but the spirit of the law, and to hence not drift away from the rationale of the makers of the constitution. This is in view of the fact that the system of checks and balances in the Kenyan system of governance lies within the deep interconnectedness of all elective positions that form the system, from the lowest to the highest, and a defect in either of the parts of the system will impede the whole from being an ideal system of governance. Put succinctly, if a part of the system of governance comprises individuals who are ill-educated, they will underachieve and underperform in their mandate to maintain checks and balances on behalf of, and in the interest of the electorate, and also in the interest of the well-being of the state. Thus, Section 22 of the Elections Act ought not be applied selectively, for that would be tantamount to suggesting that it is acceptable to exercise oversight on complex matters of governance without the commensurate education to aptly comprehend the very subject matter of these very matters, and as this study has evinced, that would be a logical absurdity, to put it mildly.

#### **5.4. Suggestions for Further Research**

Overall, with an eye to elucidate the Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance in Kenya, this study engaged in an elaborate Political Philosophy venture that is seemingly among the first of its kind. Nevertheless, the successful completion of this philosophical venture should not be viewed autonomously but rather, as a part of a continuing intellectual odyssey into the Platonic concept of the Philosopher Genius and Plato's wider concept of ideal governance. It is within this intellectual framework that this study makes suggestions for further studies in this branch of Platonic knowledge.

To begin with, the study was national-level based and concentrated restrictively on Professor Governors and professor-governed counties in Kenya. Moving forward, therefore, it would be worthwhile to expand the study's scope and replicate this study either at the regional level or international level. On one end, at the regional level, other African countries with decentralised forms of government can be studied either holistically or in comparison to each. These could include Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Côte d'Ivoire, and Zimbabwe. On the other end, at the international level, county governance in different world regions can be researched on, be it independently or comparatively.

Further, it is indeed true that in this study, the educational level of the Professor Governors was considered solely in general terms and focus was only on the fact that they had attained professorship, which is the highest possible academic attainment. It would thus be useful to delve further and examine whether, in particular, the specific areas of academic specialisation of Professor Governors matter when it comes to the establishment of an Ideal Polis. In particular, it would be worth examining if Professor Governors trained in fields that are directly related to governance are better at establishing ideal poleis, compared to their counterparts who are trained in fields that are not directly related to governance. This would be integral in shaping the debate on the relevance of education in governance and enriching the existing knowledge on the nature and contents of the education that is best suited for governance.

Moreover, given that this study revealed that studying contemporary county governance in Kenya using Plato's Philosopher Genius Model as the point of departure was a path hitherto uncharted, this study urges supplementary academic research into Plato's Political Theory and its applicability in contemporary governance. Hence, besides Plato's concept of the Philosopher Genius, which was the principle focus of this study, it would be befitting to

explore other aspects of Plato's Political Theory so as to apprehend, more comprehensively, the dynamics of contemporary county governance in Kenya, a branch of governance that is still rather novel in the country. However, this does not preclude, and may indeed enhance, studies on other aspects of county governance. Ultimately, a significant contribution will be made to the body of knowledge that is Modern Political Theory and Modern Political Philosophy, and this would in consequence ameliorate the related academic discourse.

On a final note, evidently, this study was woven from the philosophical fabric of Plato's Political Theory and it quarried a wide array of philosophical knowledge on diverse aspects of this Political Theory. Whilst doing so, the study explored, though not extensively, virtue in the context of Plato's Political Theory, as this did not directly lie within the ambit of the study. On this premise, therefore, it would be of immense value to extensively interrogate the centrality of Platonic virtue in governance. This is owing to the fact that this study observed that Plato's Political Theory is greatly imbued with virtue. This observation is, on top of that, cemented by the appreciation of the fact that, so virtuous was Plato that one of the epitaphs on his final resting place read, "Here lies the god-like man Aristocles, eminent among men for temperance and the justice of his character. And he, if ever anyone, had the fullest meed of praise for wisdom, and was too great for envy" (Laertius, c. 150 AD, p. 315). It is on this note that this study draws to a close.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: FIELD RESEARCH AUTHORISATION LETTER



**University of Nairobi**  
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25/9/2021

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**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT FIELD RESEARCH**

This is to confirm that Georgina Wanjiru of Registration Number (C50/12639/2018) is a bonafide student in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi.

Georgina is pursuing a Degree in Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration. She is researching on, **"The Centrality of Plato's Philosopher Genius in Contemporary County Governance: Professor-Governed Counties in Kenya"**.

She has successfully completed the first part of her studies (Course work) and is hereby authorized to proceed to conduct Field Research. This shall enable the student to collect relevant data for her academic work.

It is against this background that the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi requests your assistance in enabling the student in collecting relevant academic data. The information obtained shall be used only for academic purposes.

The student is expected to abide by your regulations and the ethics that this exercise demands. In case of any clarification, please feel free to contact the undersigned. Thanking you for support.

Yours Sincerely,



Professor Fred Jonjo (PhD, Makerere)  
Chairman,  
Department of Political Science and Public Administration.  
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.



## APPENDIX II

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### **Key Virtues of the Philosopher Genius & Questions Seeking to Identify these Virtues**

##### **1. The virtue of *epistêmê*; the intellectual virtue of knowledge and the reverence for acquisition of knowledge (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 59).**

- i. Being a professor is the highest possible academic qualification one can attain. What was your impetus for working towards this academic qualification?
- ii. On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your interest in learning and acquisition of knowledge after becoming a professor? Could you kindly explain why?
- iii. On a scale of 0-10, where do you place educational attainment when appointing those who will serve in your government? Could you kindly explain why?
- iv. Of all the qualifications a leader should have, where would you place education on a scale of 0-10? Could you kindly explain why?
- v. What are your main priority areas when formulating education policies in your county? What informs this decision?

##### **2. The virtue of *sophia*; intellectual curiosity, intellectual resourcefulness and intellectual excellence (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 186).**

- i. The constitution stipulates that a first degree is a requirement for all elective positions, ranging from Member of County Assembly (MCA) to the President. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think this requirement is?
- ii. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think your academic background has prepared you for your job as governor? Could you kindly explain why?
- iii. Are there any given moments where your academic area of specialisation has been particularly valuable in your career as a governor? Could you kindly explain why?

##### **3. The virtue of *enkrateia*; temperance (Plato, c. 380 BC/ 1999, pp. 91, 189).**

- i. How do you handle opposition especially from groups or individuals who resort to insults and/or violence?
- ii. Being a governor comes with a lot of power and power has the potential to corrupt. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you think being a holder of this office has affected how you relate with ordinary people? Could you kindly explain why?

**4. The virtue of *akeraiótita*; integrity (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 81, 187).**

- i. On a scale of 0-10, how necessary do you think Chapter 6 of the constitution is? Kindly explain your position.
- ii. Are there any specific ways in which you bring honour to the nation and dignity to the office you hold and also promote confidence in the integrity of your office?

**5. The virtue of *dikaiosunê*; allegiance to the spirit of justice (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 189).**

- i. What do you do to ensure equity, equality and fairness in service delivery?
- ii. Who would you say is your role model in the field of politics and governance? Why this person?

**6. The virtue of *aretê*; moral excellence and incorruptibility (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 107).**

- i. Do you have measures in place to address potential corruption in your government? If so, what measures are these?
- ii. Have you ever been offered a bribe? If so, how did you handle that situation?
- iii. Have you ever been tempted to embezzle public funds? If so, why and how did you handle this situation? If not, what held you back?

**7. The virtue of respect for women (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 113).**

- i. Plato argues that women also qualify to be Philosopher Geniuses as long as they are provided with the same nurture and education as men. On a scale of 0-10, to what extent do you agree with this statement?

**8. The virtue of reverence for *nomos*; respect for the rule of law and for the institutions established by the law (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 109, 185).**

- ii. Would you break the law if it were in the interests of the people you govern?
- iii. If you were to lose an election unfairly then you address this in court and the court were to rule in favour of your opponent, would you seek to address this outside the law?

**9. The virtue of *phronēsis*; discernment of what is best suited for the Polis (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, pp. 88, 102).**

- i. What would you rate as the greatest challenge you have ever faced in the exercise of your mandate? How did you handle it?
- ii. In your capacity as governor, what was your immediate response to the COVID-19 pandemic?

**10. The virtue of *eudaimonia*; genuine ultimate happiness (Plato, c. 380 BC/1999, p. 38).**

- i. On a scale of 0-10, how happy are you as you perform your mandate? What do you think is the reason for this level of happiness?