

1 *Review*

## 2 **Re-orienting nurturing care for early childhood 3 development during the COVID-19 pandemic in 4 Kenya: A review**

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17 **Abstract:** In Kenya, millions of children have limited access to nurturing care. With the COVID-19  
18 pandemic, it is anticipated that vulnerable children will bear the biggest brunt of the direct and  
19 indirect impacts of the pandemic. This review aimed to deepen understanding of the effects of  
20 COVID-19 on nurturing care from conception to four years of age, a period where the care of  
21 children is often delivered through caregivers or other informal platforms. The review has drawn  
22 upon the empirical evidence from previous pandemics and epidemics, and anecdotal and emerging  
23 evidence from the ongoing COVID-19 crisis. Multifactorial impacts fall into five key domains: direct  
24 health; health and nutrition systems, economic, social and child protection, and child development  
25 and early learning. The review proposes program and policy strategies to guide the re-orientation  
26 of nurturing care, prevent the detrimental effects associated with deteriorating nurturing care  
27 environments, and support the optimal development of the youngest and most vulnerable children.  
28 These include the provision of cash transfers and essential supplies for vulnerable households, and  
29 strengthening of community-based platforms for nurturing care. Further research on COVID-19 and  
30 the ability of children's ecology to provide nurturing care is needed, as is further testing of new  
31 ideas.

32 **Keywords:** COVID-19; Impacts; Nurturing Care; Early Childhood Development (ECD); Maternal;  
33 Newborn; and Child Health; Child Growth Development; Early Brain Development; Vulnerable  
34 Children and Families

### 36 **1. Introduction**

37 The COVID-19 infection is spreading in unprecedented ways and has a significant impact on  
38 nurturing care and early childhood development outcomes. Currently, there are over eighteen  
39 million COVID-19 confirmed cases globally, Kenya recording over 20,000 cases as of 4<sup>th</sup> August 2020.  
40 Kenya reported her first case of COVID-19 on March 13 2020 [1]. On March 15 2020, the government  
41 ordered a lockdown, including the closure of all schools within the Republic of Kenya. While these  
42 restrictions, such as closures of educational institutions, stay at home directives and cessation of social  
43 gatherings have the potential to curb the spread of the infection, they have been detrimental to the  
44 very fabric that defines the social interaction norms in the Kenyan context. The COVID-19 pandemic

45 and the associated responses have posed unique challenges to all sectors, including those  
46 implementing Nurturing Care for Early Childhood Development (NCfECD)[2].

47 This review paper looks at the current impacts of COVID-19 on nurturing care in Kenya, with  
48 relevance to the sub-Saharan African region, focusing on the period of conception to 4 years of age.  
49 The care of these children is often delivered through caregivers or other informal platforms as there  
50 is no guiding national policy for children below four years. Through a conceptual framework, the  
51 paper elucidates how nurturing care for the youngest Kenyans is being threatened. We reflect on how  
52 to re-orient and support nurturing care during and after the pandemic period, including a myriad of  
53 measures and strategies that key stakeholders in Kenya can adopt to reduce these threats to young  
54 children's ability to survive, thrive and transform their societies.

## 55 **2. Nurturing Care Framework (NCF)**

56 Nurturing care refers to environments created by parents or caregivers and public policies,  
57 programs and services, that guarantee children's health, adequate nutrition, safety and security  
58 (protection), opportunities for early learning all provided by responsive caregivers [3]. In May 2018,  
59 WHO member states adopted the Nurturing Care Framework (NCF), which provides the evidence-  
60 based blueprint to support the attainment of holistic growth and development of children through  
61 inter-sectoral collaboration [3]. Although ECD covers children aged 0-8 years, the NCF centers on the  
62 foundational period from pregnancy to three (3) years [3]. Provision of nurturing care during this  
63 period is vital as the science shows that the period from pregnancy to age 3 is the most critical for  
64 brain development [3]. Approximately 80% of a baby's brain formation occurs during this window  
65 [4].

66 The NCF is situated within an ecological framework of an enabling environment which includes:  
67 caregivers' capabilities; empowered communities; supportive services; and enabling policies [3]. It is  
68 well-recognized that an adverse environment impairs ECD, with both short and long-term impacts.  
69 In low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), close to 250 million children below five years were  
70 already at risk of sub-optimal development prior to the COVID-19 pandemic due to extreme poverty  
71 [5].

## 72 **3. Kenyan context**

73 In Kenya, the proportion of the population living below the poverty datum line of US\$1.90 per  
74 day [6] was 36% with an estimated 50% of the urban population, residing in informal settlements [7].  
75 An estimated one million (30%) of Nairobi's children live in informal urban settlements with poor  
76 infrastructure and limited access to education and health services as well as nurturing care [3,7]. In  
77 Kenya 19% of under five children have stunted growth [6]. The prevalence of stunting in informal  
78 urban settlements stands at 26.3% [8] which is similar to the national prevalence of 26.2% (Global  
79 Nutrition Report, 2020). Further, the HIV prevalence among children in Kenya is estimated at 7% [9].  
80 Children from the most vulnerable groups, such as those living in informal urban settlements and  
81 affected by HIV and AIDS, are also most likely to lack consistent stimulation, proper nutrition and  
82 nurturing care.

83 Public sector childcare or early learning services are limited for children below 4 years. Further,  
84 there is no policy and legal framework to guide the services provided by the private sector for these  
85 children and their families. With the COVID-19 pandemic, it is anticipated that children will bear the  
86 biggest brunt of the direct and indirect impacts of the pandemic, especially those in LMICs such as  
87 Kenya where many children are already at risk of not achieving their full potential. Therefore, there  
88 is a need to mitigate the impact of COVID-19 by prioritizing programs and policies that support the  
89 continuum of ECD [10].

90 Anecdotal evidence in Kenya shows that the COVID-19 pandemic is contributing to  
91 deteriorating optimal environments that threaten children's early development and has direct health  
92 impacts on caregivers and children [11-13]. Strategies are required to prioritize a range of ECD  
93 interventions during the COVID-19 pandemic, to support caregivers so that they can meet the needs

94 of their young children. ECD goes beyond improving child survival to enabling children to reach  
95 their full-potential through cognitive, socio-emotional and physical development. Failure to  
96 prioritize NCfECD will lead to a future pandemic where children who are presently most vulnerable,  
97 will have significant deficits on their health, wellbeing and productivity.

98 **4. Evidence from previous pandemics**

99 Previous pandemics have had long term negative impacts over multiple generations. The  
100 development of children who were exposed to the Asian influenza pandemic in 1957, while in utero,  
101 was hampered with evidence of poor cognitive development [14]. The 1918 Spanish flu was reported  
102 to lower educational attainment for those individuals whose mothers had potential in utero exposure  
103 [15]. In Japan, primary school children born between 1919 to 1929 were shorter than those in  
104 surrounding cohorts [16]. The timing of the prenatal exposure to influenza was also reported to have  
105 had worse consequences in those who were exposed in early gestational 0 to 8 weeks, as it was  
106 associated with delayed psychomotor development at 6 months of age [17]. In fact, it has been  
107 established that the Spanish flu had negative outcomes in later life for those who were exposed in  
108 utero in several countries such as the US [18], Brazil [19], Switzerland [20], and Taiwan [21]. In a  
109 narrative review of infants and children with congenital Zika virus, Epilepsy and motor  
110 abnormalities were noted [22]. Wearing masks to prevent the transmission of SARS also negatively  
111 impacted communication between children and adults, and was also threatening to children who  
112 had been sexually abused [23]. The HIV pandemic had a negative impact on child growth and  
113 development. Globally and in sub-Saharan Africa including in Kenya, young children affected by  
114 HIV particularly those who are HIV-infected, have a high risk of mental health problems,  
115 neurocognitive deficiencies, developmental delay, and poor nutrition outcomes [24-28]. The HIV  
116 pandemic generated a lot of lessons related to ECD. However, for a very long time, ECD was  
117 associated with child survival only, without a strong focus on promoting thriving and transforming  
118 [29].

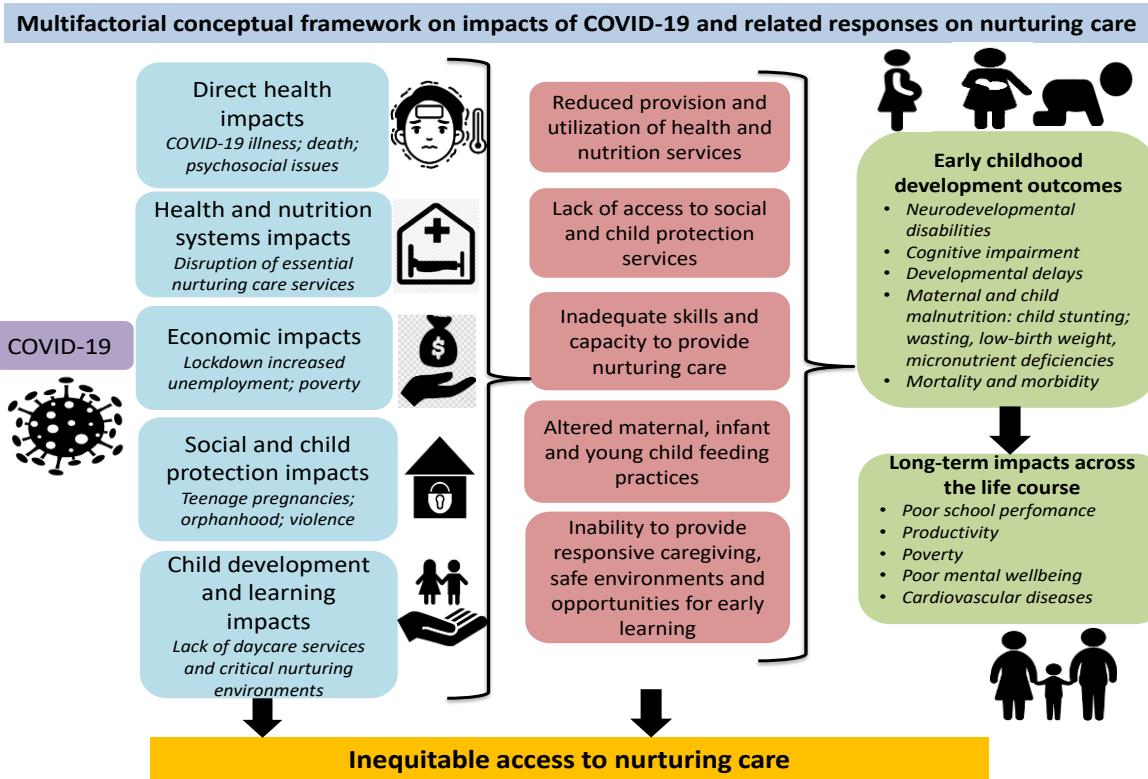
119 ECD-related outcomes such as cognitive impairment and developmental delays as well as long-  
120 term impacts across the life course have not been tracked widely. Even where there are attempts to  
121 focus on thriving and transforming, during epidemics and pandemics, the focus reverts to child  
122 survival. Despite the frequency of epidemics, there is a scarcity of research on holistic ECD outcomes  
123 in the sub-Saharan Africa context. Where research in sub-Saharan Africa exists, it has focused on  
124 other types of emergencies such as conflict and refugee crises [30].

125 **5. Impacts of COVID-19 on nurturing care**

126 *5.1. Conceptual framework on the impacts of COVID-19 and control measures on nurturing care*

127 There are several far-reaching, interlinked direct and indirect impacts of the COVID-19  
128 pandemic and associated control measures on nurturing care and related ECD outcomes including  
129 children's cognitive, physical, language, motor, and social and emotional development (Figure 1).  
130 These include: direct physical and mental health impacts resulting in illness and/or death from  
131 COVID-19 infection, and severe stress leading to deterioration of mental health and well-being. With  
132 deaths increasing, many children are becoming orphaned or experiencing greater adversity. COVID-  
133 19 has also affected access to health and nutrition systems including routine immunizations. Social  
134 impacts include increased teenage pregnancies and a rise in gender based violence, all with a bearing  
135 on ECD outcomes. They also include lack of social and child protection services to support parents  
136 and primary caregivers. Further, child development and learning impacts including lack of access to  
137 institutional based childcare services and critical nurturing environments, have become more severe  
138 during this period, affecting the learning that children need during the most critical period of brain  
139 development. Finally, the economic impacts have a direct interplay with all other impacts, and have  
140 contributed to increased stress among caregivers and children. In some places it has resulted in food

141 insecurity, thereby also influencing children's physical health. All these impacts have short-term  
 142 consequences that will translate into long-term changes in children's life trajectories.



143

144 **Figure 1.** Authors' conceptualization of the impacts of COVID-19 on nurturing care.

145 5.2. Direct health impacts of COVID-19

146 5.2.1. Impacts on children's health

147 COVID-19 is an evolving pandemic, and despite the worldwide spread, the effects of COVID-19  
 148 on pregnancy, childbirth in addition to newborns and toddlers are not well-established and the  
 149 evidence is mixed. Recent experience suggests there is a low risk of intrauterine infection by vertical  
 150 transmission in women with COVID-19 disease [31-33], although the first case of vertical  
 151 transmission was recorded in July 2020 in India [34]. A systematic review by Zimmermann & Curtis  
 152 (2020) [35] on COVID-19 in children, pregnancy and neonates reported fetal distress in 30% of  
 153 pregnancies, with 37% of women having preterm deliveries. Neonatal complications including  
 154 respiratory distress or pneumonia (18%), disseminated intravascular coagulation (3%), asphyxia (2%)  
 155 and two perinatal deaths were also reported.

156 The epidemiological and pathophysiology of COVID-19 in children remains unclear. Evidence  
 157 from China [36], Italy [37], Netherlands and UK [38] indicate that children represent less than 5% of  
 158 diagnosed COVID-19 cases. However, children under one year and those with comorbidities such as  
 159 asthma are more likely to be hospitalized [39]. Although COVID-19 in children seems to have mild  
 160 symptoms, there is a high prevalence of pneumonia associated with COVID-19 in children at 53%  
 161 ([40]). Majority of children have less severe symptoms, and thus less likely to be tested, leading to an  
 162 underestimate of child infections. Indeed, studies confirm that severe illness and mortality from  
 163 COVID-19 is rare in children [41]. However, there are emerging concerns of a novel severe Kawasaki-  
 164 like disease in children related to COVID-19 that may represent a post-COVID infectious syndrome  
 165 [38]. In a systematic review, children were found less likely to be the main drivers of the pandemic  
 166 compared to adults who get severe disease [41]. In Kenya the reported cases of young children testing

167 positive for the Coronavirus are low, 9% of reported cases as of 27<sup>th</sup> July were children aged 0-9 years  
168 with a 2% case fatality rate [42].

169 Although children do not account for the majority of cases, they are likely to face the most  
170 substantial impact of the COVID-19 pandemic [43]. Consequently, a focus on children and especially  
171 the youngest, is vital not only due to the impact that they may face during the current crisis, but also  
172 because the negative impact has the potential of persisting across their lives in many years to come.

### 173 5.2.2. Psychosocial impacts on caregivers and children

174 There is also heightened stress and psychosocial difficulties among parents and caregivers, that  
175 threaten the provision of optimal nurturing care environments which children need to achieve their  
176 potential [12]. Worry, stress, and being anxious have been reported among 75% of Kenyans due to  
177 COVID-19 [44]. The school and day care closure, job losses, economic uncertainty, inability to afford  
178 food and lack of access to essential services have resulted in increased stress and anxiety among  
179 caregivers. Some level of stress is normal and can even be beneficial when it's positive stress, but  
180 when it's elevated, constant and adds to existing adverse conditions, it can become toxic [45]. Toxic  
181 stress can have long term impacts on a person's hormones thereby affecting a child's brain  
182 architecture, physiological and chemical makeup, and overall development over a lifetime that may  
183 never be fully reversed [45].

184 The Ministry of Health in Kenya developed a comprehensive guide for health workers on Mental  
185 Health and Psychosocial Support during the COVID19 pandemic, to cover the needs of the  
186 population and people on treatment for COVID -19 [46]. However, it is not clear if this has been  
187 widely disseminated and the extent to which various population segments are benefitting from the  
188 guidance. Access to material and psychosocial support, caregivers' and families' ability to cope with  
189 the pandemic and its consequences may be limited, and they may not be able to provide effective  
190 nurturing care [10,47]. When children experience trauma, experience adversity and lose secure  
191 attachment and bonding due to deficiencies in responsive caregiving, they experience stress which  
192 has negative impacts on their health, wellbeing and lifelong learning, including a higher risk for  
193 developing a variety of cognitive, behavioral and emotional difficulties later in life [45].

### 194 5.3. *Indirect health impacts*

#### 195 Health and nutrition systems impact

196 Aside from the direct health impacts on the physical and mental health and wellbeing of  
197 children, caregivers and families, COVID-19 has also affected health systems and disrupted access to  
198 routine nurturing care services. COVID-19 has placed a strain on the overstretched health care  
199 systems, a key entry point for nurturing care, and disrupted the delivery of vaccination of children  
200 under five years due to supply chain and human resource constraints [48]. The weak health systems  
201 in LMICs such as Kenya, are vulnerable to the spread and impact of COVID-19, having witnessed  
202 service disruptions and lack of preparedness in the face of the crisis. The basic tenets of the right to  
203 health are being tested. Public health expenditure as a percentage to GDP is deficient in the region  
204 and Kenya stands at 5.7%, far below the recommended 15% per the Abuja Declaration [49]. The  
205 country already had a shortage and mal-distribution of health workers, but with COVID-19, the  
206 disparities in access to healthcare between the rich and the poor in urban areas as well as between  
207 the rural and urban divide, are widening.

208 Though most nurturing care interventions in Kenya begin at birth, maternal pre-conception  
209 health and wellbeing influences child development. Intrauterine growth restriction has been linked  
210 to adverse outcomes including prematurity, low birth weight, stunting, anemia, neurodevelopmental  
211 conditions, stillbirths and child mortality [50,51]. Evidence from LMICs shows that reproductive,  
212 maternal, newborn and child health interventions including iodine, iron and folate supplementation  
213 during pre-conception have had a significant impact on children's cognitive, physical and socio-  
214 emotional wellbeing [52]. The uptake of pre-conception care in Kenya is very low since over 40% of

215 the pregnancies in the country are unintended [53]. Noteworthy, the majority of the unintended  
216 pregnancies occur in young girls who take time to acknowledge their pregnancies. This leads to delay  
217 of the initiation of the first antenatal visit and in some instances non-uptake of antenatal services  
218 throughout the pregnancy [54]. In a context where COVID-19 has led to an increase in the number of  
219 teenage pregnancies as well as a disruption in routine care, the net effect will be delays and low  
220 uptake of antenatal services. Consequently, there may be an increased risk of infant and maternal  
221 morbidity and mortality. The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted maternal and child health and  
222 nutrition including, antenatal, skilled delivery and postnatal services in addition to immunizations,  
223 health education and promotion, all resulting in a reversal of the previous gains made in reducing  
224 maternal and neonatal mortality [55].

225 The reduced accessibility of essential maternal and child health and nutrition services is  
226 worsening ECD outcomes and further exacerbating disparities among vulnerable households such  
227 as those living in informal urban settlements. The pandemic threatens the continuity of critical and  
228 essential services for expectant women, newborns, children under five years including those with  
229 disabilities and developmental delays. The reluctance of parents to visit clinics due to fear of infection  
230 with COVID-19 may also interrupt immunization and other child health programs [56]. The social  
231 distancing, lockdown and curfew measures have led to decreased utilization of maternal health  
232 services. Pregnant women experience challenges in accessing health and nutrition services, which  
233 has been worsened by the COVID-19 crisis. For example, lack of transport during lockdown and  
234 curfews, and fear of visiting the health facilities dreading COVID-19 infection [57]. Maternal and child  
235 malnutrition, including micronutrient deficiencies and child stunting are expected to increase [58].

236 Mothers and children need access to key essential nutrition actions and services so that they are  
237 well-nourished pre-conceptually, intrapartum and during lactation. Further, they also need services  
238 to diagnose and address micronutrient deficiencies through iron and folic acid (IFA)  
239 supplementation to prevent neuro-developmental disabilities in children [59]. However, anecdotal  
240 reports confirm reduced utilization of maternal and child health services in Kenya, worsened by  
241 infection of some health workers leading to the suspension of maternal services [60]. Likewise, in  
242 Sierra Leone and Liberia, the Ebola crisis exacerbated the poor health outcomes within the weak  
243 health systems [61,62]. Liberia and Guinea experienced a sharp decline of more than 25% in the  
244 monthly number of children vaccinated against measles in 2014 and 2015 due to the Ebola outbreak  
245 as compared to the previous years [63]. The indirect effects of Ebola on maternal and child health  
246 were believed to be greater than the direct consequences [62]. Antenatal care, family planning, facility  
247 delivery and postnatal care were adversely affected leading to an increase in maternal neonatal, and  
248 stillbirth deaths in 2014-2015 [61].

#### 249 5.4. Economic impacts

##### 250 Losses in income and increased poverty levels

251 The economic well-being of a family affects a child's ECD outcomes because it affects the child's  
252 ability to be in a safe and protective home and access health services and programs and nutritious  
253 foods, that cost money. Children growing up in vulnerable households, face even greater challenges  
254 to thrive given the pandemic and existing adversities [64]. The directives to reduce transmission  
255 through social distancing, hand washing, self-isolation and self-quarantine for 14 days for those  
256 exposed to the virus, may be unattainable for informal settlement residents who have space  
257 limitations, limited access to water, sanitizers and masks. Families who were already vulnerable prior  
258 to the pandemic have been pushed to dire circumstances with losses in income and are unable to  
259 afford basic necessities, while others juggle work and childcare among other responsibilities. Stay at  
260 home orders and lockdowns are unlikely to be followed through as quest for food and basic  
261 commodities is necessary [65].

262 The economic impacts of the pandemic are anticipated to have far-reaching consequences on  
263 long-term health and wellbeing of the population compared to the direct health impacts [66]. There

264 is a downward trend in the Kenyan economy marked by job losses, inconsistent food supply and an  
265 increase in stress levels among adults and children [67]. The pandemic has caused a severe  
266 unemployment crisis in Kenya, with at least one million people having lost their jobs or been placed  
267 on indefinite unpaid as of June in both the formal and informal sectors [68]. There was a marked  
268 decline in labor-force participation from 75% in 2019 to 57% in April 2020, and women are the most  
269 affected with a participation rate of 49% compared to men at 65.3% [69]. The government has  
270 introduced various fiscal policy and income support measures such as tax waivers, reduction in taxes  
271 for all micro, small and medium enterprises, COVID-19 emergency fund and earmarked funds for  
272 social protection in the form of cash transfers [66]. However, the number of vulnerable families  
273 continues to increase as the pandemic persists.

274 Families living in informal settlements live in overcrowded areas, lack basic housing, water and  
275 sanitation which make them vulnerable to disease outbreaks despite having the knowledge of  
276 COVID-19 measures [65,70]. Contact tracing has shown local transmission of COVID-19 to rise as  
277 community transmission becomes a significant driver, especially where more people are living in a  
278 big family leading to increase in deaths [71]. This can be related to the respiratory viral transmission  
279 of COVID-19 through direct contact in the households where space is inadequate and social  
280 distancing impossible. Families also continue to experience other non-COVID-19 related health  
281 challenges coupled with movement restrictions, placing caregivers of children at greater risk of  
282 morbidity and mortality. As the situation continues to unfold and countries adopt this 'new normal'  
283 the potential negative impact of the prevailing situation on unborn and young children cannot be  
284 ignored [57]. Holistic child development requires a stimulating, safe environment, social interaction,  
285 education opportunities and adequate nutrition, all of which have been affected in one way or  
286 another[57]. The resultant economic impacts of COVID-19 have been felt at household level with  
287 ripple negative impacts on nurturing care.

## 288 5.5. Social and Child Protection impacts

### 289 5.5.1. Increase in abuse, neglect, and violence

290 There has also been increased risk of abuse, neglect and violence against children of all ages [72]  
291 and domestic violence in Kenya [73,74]. Children with developmental delays and disabilities are very  
292 vulnerable and, are often subjected to stigma and various forms of neglect and abuse [75]. Stress and  
293 anxiety among children are also likely due to disrupted routines. Routines are critical to enabling  
294 children to thrive in supportive environments in the home, childcare and early learning centers. All  
295 these circumstances, mean that children in LMICs such as Kenya are at risk of faltering outcomes as  
296 caregivers find it challenging to provide their children with the nurturing care they need during this  
297 pandemic. Children need a safe, secure and loving environment, yet these stressful experiences in  
298 early life increase the risk of developmental delays and non-communicable disease in later life [3,10].  
299 Therefore, to promote safety and security, families and children need to live in safe environments,  
300 where children experience supportive discipline and do not experience neglect or violence.  
301 Responsive caregiving ensures sensitivity to children's cues, thus promoting play and stimulation for  
302 early learning, though day-to-day activities as well as caregiver-child interactions that are enjoyable  
303 [76,77].

304 It is plausible that with the lockdown and restrictions on movement, caregivers and families may  
305 have limited access to child protection services and programs. Where the services are present, they  
306 may experience difficulties reaching and providing care to vulnerable children. The closure of  
307 babycare may have implications for child protection as the children are not being looked after by  
308 caregivers who offer an environment with some level of safety and security. Due to the ongoing crisis,  
309 children may also be locked up and restricted from exploring their environments or playing with  
310 other children due to fears of infection. Without access to social protection, caregivers facing  
311 heightened vulnerability due to loss of income, may lack the safety-nets to provide for and protect  
312 children.

## 313 5.5.2. Orphanhood

314 In cases where caregivers succumb to direct COVID-19 infection or due to the indirect health  
315 impacts of COVID-19, children are orphaned. This affects children's access to basic needs and  
316 nurturing care [78]. The experience of bereavement itself is a form of adversity, and could lead to  
317 emotional and psychological trauma, and induce fear and a sense of helplessness in children without  
318 positive coping mechanisms [79]. Orphaned and vulnerable children have an increased risk of being  
319 neglected, harmed, exploited and they may experience gender-based violence, including early  
320 marriage. They also miss out on opportunities for play, a crucial aspect of child development and  
321 early learning. In Kenya, there is weak oversight of services to support orphaned and vulnerable  
322 children. Traditionally children would go live with other relatives and in general family-based care  
323 is preferred to institutional care where there are reports of abuse, neglect and exploitation [80].  
324 However, with COVID-19 putting increasing food insecurity and economic hardships of families,  
325 orphaned and vulnerable children may not be supported in these families without the provision of  
326 safety nets.

## 327 5.5.3. Teenage pregnancies in the pandemic and the implications for nurturing care

328 High teenage pregnancy is not new in Kenya. Data from the Demographic and Health Surveys  
329 show that almost 2 out of 10 girls between the ages of 15 and 19 are reported to be pregnant or already  
330 had a child [81,82]. This trend has been fairly consistent for more than two decades with little change  
331 in prevalence between 1993 and 2014. Nevertheless, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the trend of  
332 teenage pregnancy is already showing signs of being more severe as a result of prolonged school  
333 closure, sexual violence and declining economic situation in Kenya [83]. This trend is dire as girls  
334 from poor families across the country are engaging in transactional sex to get money for buying  
335 sanitary pads and food [83,84]. Globally, it is predicted that due to the harsh economic times, the  
336 number of girls involved in survival sex will increase [85]. Previously girls were able to access free  
337 sanitary towels through their schools, however, this is no longer the case since schools were closed  
338 following the COVID-19 crisis [86].

339 Teenage pregnancy presents significant health consequences to both mother and the newborn.  
340 Complications of pregnancy and childbirth are the leading cause of death among girls aged 15-19  
341 years globally [87]. The risks are even higher for girls below the age of 16 years. Pregnant adolescents  
342 face a higher risk of eclampsia, endometritis and puerperal infections than women aged 20-24 years  
343 [88]. In addition, adolescent births are more likely to result in preterm births, low birth weight and  
344 newborns with severe congenital conditions. Furthermore, teenage pregnancy is a major contributor  
345 to a never ending cycle of ill-health and poverty [87].

346 The impact of teenage pregnancy includes loss of education opportunities, early marriages, and  
347 economic disempowerment [83,89]. Studies have shown that most teenage pregnancies occur among  
348 teenagers from deprived backgrounds [81,90]. Therefore, all these factors result in the  
349 intergenerational transmission of poverty from the teen mothers to their children with poor ECD  
350 outcomes. The situation is bound to get worse with the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, cases of  
351 gender-based violence, in particular, child and early marriages are also on the rise [83,91,92]. It is well  
352 understood that children of teenage mothers tend to have poor ECD outcomes. The children have  
353 lower IQ, lower academic achievement, and are at a greater risk of repeating a grade. They are also  
354 at a greater risk of perinatal death and having a fatal accident before age one [93,94]. The Ministry of  
355 Education announced that all schools within the territory of the Republic of Kenya shall remain  
356 closed until January 2021[95]. This announcement is worrisome given the increasing cases of teenage  
357 pregnancy during the extended period of schools' closure[96].

358 5.6. *Child development and learning impacts*

359 The closure of daycares and pre-primary classes, which includes children up to four years, has  
360 affected children's access to early learning: building their brains in a safe and stimulating

361 environment and developing their social and emotional skills, while their parents work. Children  
362 learn best through play and interaction with peers; with daycares and other early learning centers  
363 being closed, many children are not able to receive these critical inputs. These centers are also  
364 important sites for immunizations, meals and psychosocial support, all of which are being disrupted  
365 due to COVID-19 [97].

366 Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya, along with the rising urban population and the need  
367 for parents to find informal work, there was a growing demand for childcare and early learning  
368 services. High unemployment and literacy rates of parents, and the absence of extended family  
369 support and public amenities and the prohibitive cost of quality childcare services, led families to  
370 rely on informal childcare centers as they sought employment. There was a proliferation of relatively  
371 low-cost, non-regulated and informal privately owned childcare centers for children aged three years  
372 and below, commonly referred to as 'babycare' with at least 2,700 of them in Nairobi [98]. These  
373 informal babycare are often home-based or faith-based and lack the minimum standards, expertise  
374 and infrastructure required to support children to attain their developmental potentials. Some of  
375 these have poor lighting, are crowded with children sleeping most of the time, lacking play and  
376 stimulation and are served nutrient-poor or deficient foods. This large number is exacerbated by the  
377 lack of policy and legal framework to guide the services they provide for children below four years  
378 and their families. The 2006 National ECD Policy Framework of 2006 was not implemented due to  
379 operational issues [99].

380 Numerous conversations among stakeholders continue on the state of ECD for children below  
381 the age of four. With the Nurturing Care Framework adopted in Kenya, the focus on children below  
382 four years is taking center stage alongside with the prioritization of program and services to meet  
383 their needs. While nascent, at the beginning of COVID-19, there had been considerable traction. With  
384 the pandemic, these gains are threatened as policy makers' focus and funds have been diverted to  
385 physical health that includes preventing and treating those with COVID-19, rather than considering  
386 all aspects of child development. For middle and upper class families, they can hire childcare or early  
387 learning support, but this is out of reach for poor families.

## 388 6. Policy and program strategies to re-orient nurturing care

389 During the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond, the Kenyan government and other ECD  
390 stakeholders interested in ensuring the youngest of children in the country are able to survive, thrive  
391 and continue on a positive life trajectory, can re-orient nurturing care. This is possible through  
392 utilizing the lens of direct health, health and nutrition systems, economic, social and protection and  
393 child development and early learning. Children's needs are inter-related and holistic and so supports  
394 need to be such. Kenya has a number of policies and systems in place to bolster nurturing care during  
395 the COVID-19 pandemic, but as is the case with many countries around the world, they are not fully  
396 financed and operational.

### 397 6.1. Direct health and, health and nutrition system supports

398 Actions to mitigate the negative impact on Maternal Newborn, Child and Adolescent Health  
399 need to be addressed by borrowing, developing, and implementing strategies utilized in previous  
400 epidemics and pandemics. This will guarantee continuity of care and evade a rise in maternal and  
401 newborn morbidity and mortality. Support to caregivers and families would enable them to nurture  
402 their young children through a multi-sectoral approach that builds on existing programs [100].

403 It is crucial to examine existing evidence on the direct effects of COVID-19 on maternal and  
404 newborn care and develop programs that target easy access to maternal and newborn health services  
405 warranting safety for mothers, children and the health professionals following the guidelines. This  
406 could include increased bottom-up community health education and promotion strategies on the  
407 current COVID-19 guidelines, utilizing a multi-sectoral approach through establishment of  
408 partnerships with community gatekeepers to teach mothers and caregivers. These strategies should  
409 be designed to be evidence-based and culturally appropriate, leading to holistic well-being for

410 caregivers. Particularly, families and caregivers of children with developmental delays and  
411 disabilities, require targeted support that meets their needs during the ongoing crisis, enabling them  
412 to practice responsive caregiving through ensuring child safety and security[47]. These children and  
413 those who are orphaned, should be prioritized for social protection interventions implemented by  
414 both the government and development agencies. This support could include some or a combination  
415 of the following: cash transfers, food packs, mobile health and nutrition services, as well as regular  
416 support and monitoring by child protection teams.

417 Creatively delivering parenting education focused on enhancing caregiver capacities to become  
418 more responsive, promote maternal and child health and wellbeing, as well as adequate nutrition  
419 services will be at the core of driving nurturing care, and hence improving ECD outcomes. Critical  
420 and essential health and nutrition, as well as other social services, can be delivered and sustained  
421 during the pandemic period with adherence to adequate infection prevention and control measures.  
422 Further, health education and promotion in addition to continuous engagement and referrals of  
423 caregivers and families, through community health structures, is crucial.

424 Innovative culturally acceptable strategies that transcend the existing pandemic barriers with a  
425 strong emphasis on strengthening community-based reproductive, maternal, newborn, child and  
426 adolescent health services, are required. These services include family planning services, maternal  
427 nutrition such as promoting the uptake of Iron and Folic Acid supplements, antenatal care, seeking  
428 skilled delivery and post-natal services as well as essential nutrition services to support infant and  
429 young child feeding, routine growth monitoring as well as counselling, through Baby Friendly  
430 Community Initiatives. These should be further complemented with adequate transport to a health  
431 facility during curfew or lockdown situations. In some settings, health services are being taken to  
432 families in remote locations especially those through mobile vans or clinics, thereby enabling greater  
433 and equitable nurturing care support for the youngest of children, during the COVID-19 crisis  
434 [101,102]. Essential new-born care should be an area of sustained focus: early initiation and  
435 assessment for exclusive breastfeeding, addressing danger signs for referrals and timely linkages to  
436 health services. Mothers and caregivers also need timely referrals and access to services for treatment  
437 of maternal and child undernutrition. Integrated community case management of common  
438 childhood diseases, in particular malaria, diarrhea, pneumonia and malnutrition should not be  
439 neglected.

440 Mental health, often overlooked, has risen to the consciousness of policy makers and donors.  
441 This pandemic provides an opportunity to take the innovations and expand mental health/psycho-  
442 social services throughout Kenya. All people, young and old, are facing mental and emotional  
443 difficulties. Caregivers juggling full-time jobs, caring for others such as the elderly and children at  
444 home, are feeling especially overwhelmed. Development agencies are supporting families' mental  
445 health and psycho-social wellbeing where possible, by establishing phone helplines to increase access  
446 to free professional mental health support. Referral systems are also being established through these  
447 helplines and this need to be expanded and accessible. Simple tips and exercises, relevant for young  
448 and old, are being broadcast on TV, radio, social media (Facebook or WhatsApp) and through short  
449 videos.

450 The design and utilization of mHealth can lead to improved ECD outcomes. In particular, the  
451 use of telehealth consultations where possible, with health professional, can also help to minimize  
452 hospital visits. Efforts should be made to scale up provision of nurturing care through integration  
453 into their health systems, by adopting the mNurturingCare app in clinical encounters and at the  
454 community level [103]. In addition, partnerships with the local communities are important to increase  
455 engagement and dialogue on the measures for supporting nurturing, through heightened  
456 communication with health professionals who can offer prompt identification of complications and  
457 provide appropriate referrals.

458 *6.2. Economic supports*

459 As COVID-19 is negatively affecting the economic situation of many families in Kenya,  
460 especially those who work in the informal sector and/or were already in precarious economic  
461 situations prior to the outbreak, innovative approaches such as cash transfers are necessary. In  
462 various emergencies around the world and in Kenya, conditional and unconditional cash transfer  
463 programs have provided an economic safety-net and positively impacted health during difficult  
464 periods such as the one we face [104-106]. Although the government has instituted social protection  
465 schemes in the form of cash transfers to cushion vulnerable families, the need is greater. More  
466 investments are required particularly programs that support those who were previously working in  
467 the informal sector and have lost incomes. This can be achieved through re-allocation of funds to  
468 social protection to increase the resources available for cash transfers and food supplies to mitigate  
469 the socio-economic impacts including addressing food insecurity[58,66]. These measures should be  
470 accompanied with the introduction of functional community mechanisms for identifying vulnerable  
471 households and children who lack access to basics such as food, water, shelter and health care, and  
472 provide targeted support. Social safety nets for vulnerable families during this pandemic enable them  
473 to provide the nurturing care to promote resilience among children despite the stressors surrounding  
474 them.

475 *6.3. Social and Child Protection supports*

476 It is clear that many social and child protection services targeted at children and adolescents in  
477 Kenya such as meals, sanitary pads among others, have largely been delivered through childcare and  
478 school platforms; with school closures this avenue is not viable. There is need to build and leverage  
479 community level program and policy supports, targeting children at risk of abuse and neglect, and  
480 adolescents at risk of early pregnancy to ameliorate the negative effects of the pandemic such as poor  
481 nurturing care environments and transactional sex for food and pads among adolescent girls that  
482 lead to poor child development outcomes. Mitigation strategies should focus on safety nets for poor  
483 families, in addition to identifying and supporting vulnerable children and adolescents within these  
484 families. Urgent strategies are required to protect young children and girls from the increased gender-  
485 based violence during the pandemic period. These strategies include; improved access to  
486 psychosocial support services through community agents or call-in centers to reduce caregiver stress,  
487 expansion of social and child protection services such as family tracing and reunification of separated  
488 or orphaned children, increased delivery of reproductive health services through mobile  
489 reproductive health services and telemedicine in remote communities.

490 For orphaned children, evidence indicates that family-based care is better for young children  
491 than institutional care[80] .The landmark longitudinal study of Romania's orphans led by the  
492 Bucharest Early Intervention Project showed that brain development can be severely affected when  
493 orphaned children are in institutional care without nurturing care [107]. The study indicates that this  
494 effect can last over a person's lifetime. Key stakeholders therefore should find safe and protective  
495 homes for orphaned children with other relatives and ensure they benefit from social and child  
496 protection services. This could also include conditional and unconditional cash transfers to help  
497 relatives of orphaned children that want to take care of them in supportive family environments.

498 Other critical community outreach strategies are also required to address the poor nurturing  
499 care environments and rising transactional sex, in partnership with nurses and community workers.  
500 These include expanding community outreach for nurturing care skills among caregivers and  
501 increasing access to sexual and reproductive health and rights education, as well as distribution of  
502 sanitary pads and contraceptives among adolescent girls. These strategies must be accompanied by  
503 facility and community-based youth friendly reproductive health services. Special attention needs to  
504 be given to the children of young teen mothers through social protection schemes to ensure that their  
505 children can achieve the highest developmental potential, during this period.

506 *6.4. Child development, and learning supports*

507 Children and their primary caregivers/parents need social and educational supports to ensure  
508 socio-emotional well-being, safety and security from violence and harm and opportunities to boost  
509 young children's brain development. Children are separated from peers, extended family members  
510 such as grandparents and are unable to attend early learning centers, day cares, and crowded areas.  
511 Some children, just by being home, are exposed to domestic violence; early evidence points to an  
512 increase in such cases as stress levels of families' increase [72]. Concerted efforts including awareness  
513 raising are necessary to reduce violence against children. Some innovations are being tested in this  
514 area by development agencies. For instance, use of TV, radio, pre-made videos and social media to  
515 support early childhood educators and teachers, and family members with simple ways to support  
516 young children's learning and development at home.

517 Parents and caregivers are the most important support structure for young children and their  
518 ability to nurture adequately while remaining physically and mentally healthy is critical. Parents and  
519 caregivers should therefore become a critical target audience for ECD stakeholders in Kenya and the  
520 region, ensuring that nurturing care becomes a family-centered and whole society approach. With  
521 the additional burdens being placed on parents and caregivers, they need to prioritize their physical  
522 and mental health. Strategies suggested above in the section on health and health systems supports  
523 can be crucial. Additionally, parents and caregivers also need practical tools and guidance to enable  
524 them to provide early nurturing care in the home environment, particularly providing opportunities  
525 for early learning as well as increasing community-led sanitation and nutrition programs. This  
526 includes strategies on how to regularly interact and communicate with children, and provide them  
527 with age-appropriate play and learning resources at home, using locally available, low -cost or  
528 household materials easily found in their surrounding environment.

529 For those children who may have been attending baby cares that have been closed due to the  
530 crisis, the caregivers need practical support to provide quality early learning in the home  
531 environment. Linkages with child and social protection actors should be strengthened to promote  
532 nurturing care, as parents have now taken over childcare and schooling in the home, while balancing  
533 dual roles of work and managing the household. In the critical early years, young children need at  
534 least one loving and trusted adult to feel secure, grow and develop holistically. In this period of  
535 adversity, children need nurturing relationships with caregivers and families to provide a buffer to  
536 counterbalance the hardships [10].

## 537 7. Conclusion

538 COVID-19 is still ravaging Kenya and most of the world. There is still a lot to learn about what  
539 can work and what cannot. Little research is currently published on how to support nurturing care  
540 for children under 4 years in the wake of such a pandemic especially in Africa. While the impacts of  
541 the pandemic on the lives of young Kenyan children and their families have been severe, and  
542 evidence around further impacts is coming to light, there are opportunities to learn from other  
543 pandemics and emergencies and "*build back better*". This paper took stock of what we currently know  
544 about the impacts of COVID-19 on nurturing care for the youngest Kenyans, but it is just the tip of  
545 the iceberg. Further research and investigation on the youngest children and the ability of children's  
546 ecology to provide nurturing care is needed as is further testing of new ideas. Additional evidence  
547 could light the way forward for Kenya and similar settings, to ensure its youngest citizens can reach  
548 their full developmental potential.

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