

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

35

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 4th 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].

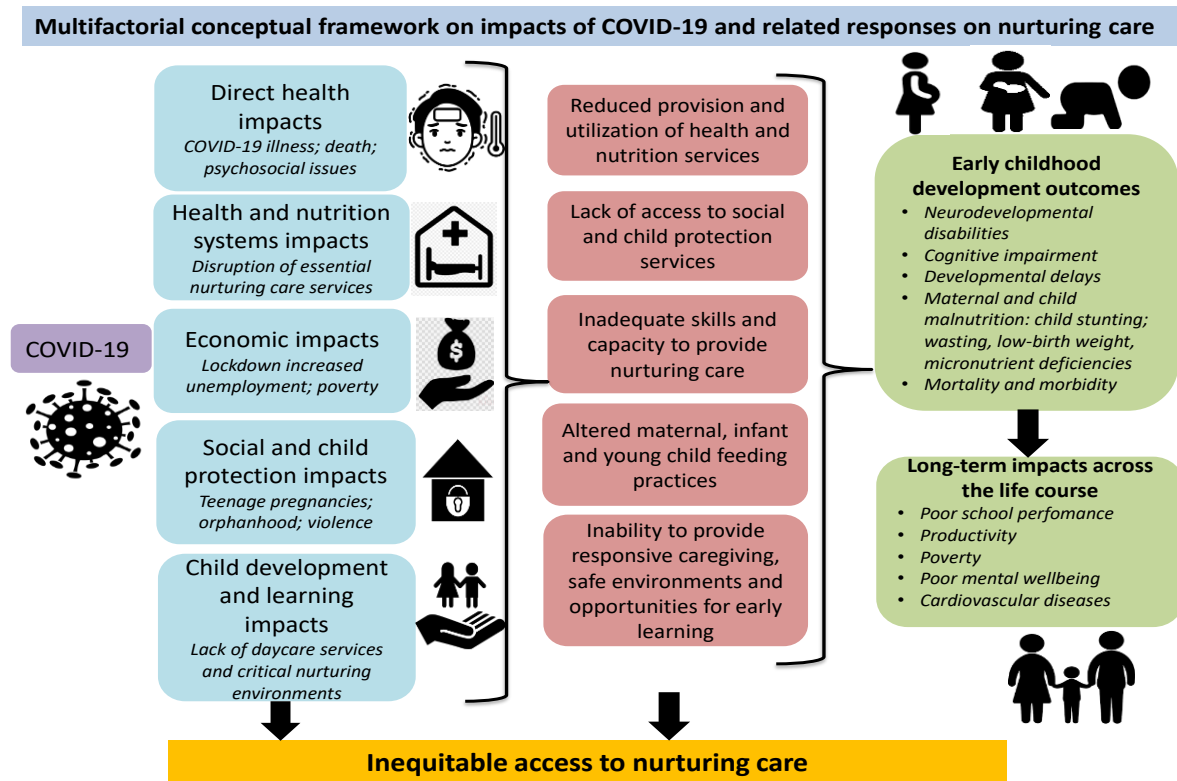
119 ECD-related outcomes such as cognitive impairment and developmental delays as well as long-
120 term impacts across the life course have not been tracked widely. Even where there are attempts to
121 focus on thriving and transforming, during epidemics and pandemics, the focus reverts to child
122 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

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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 27th 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 babycares 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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