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The Gender Dimension of Democratization in Kenya: Some International Linkages

Maria Nzomo*

We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterise human relationships. In such a world, women's reproductive role will be redefined: child care will be shared by men, women and society as a whole. . . . We want a world where all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions.¹

The vision for Third World women so well captured by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) in the mid-1980s is one with which many African peoples, especially women, clearly identify at the beginning of the 1990s. Following three decades of postcolonial autocracy and poverty, both internal and external pressures have finally led to the crumbling of single-party regimes and the emergence of multiparty politics. For some countries, the long road toward democratization of politics and society has just begun. For others, civil strife and incumbent government resistance will make the situation uncertain. Nevertheless, the general mood among African citizenry is one of determination to replace dictatorial regimes with popularly and democratically elected governments. Popular struggles for democratization and development are everywhere the theme of conferences, seminars, workshops, and even street demonstrations.

In Kenya, the repeal in December 1991 of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution paved the way for the return to multiparty politics and opened the gates for popular participation in what is now viewed as

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the democratization process. Numerous interest and pressure groups have emerged, all demanding to have their concerns included in the new democratic agenda.

Women, more than any other interest group, have very strongly demanded that their voices be heard. They want gender-based interests to be mainstreamed into the new democratic agenda, and they want to participate on an equal footing with men in the democratization process. Women activists and scholars have, therefore, embarked on a massive campaign of political mobilization, conscientization, and sensitization of women (and men) on the linkage between gender equity, democracy, and development. In other words, the struggle against gender subordination is being linked with struggles against oppression based on national, class, and other identities.

The experience in Kenya shows that African women, regardless of their class or ethnic backgrounds, do not need much convincing about their subordinate status and the need to seize the opportunity presented by multiparty democracy to change that status. The demands that pervade the democratization discourse among Kenyan women include the following:

1. The universally accepted democratic ideals of democracy must be adhered to in practice, especially as regards the equality of women and men.
2. Women must be equal and effective participants with men at all levels of decisionmaking. The major issue, therefore, is to lobby, mobilize, and strategize for the election of gender-sensitive women in large enough numbers for all policymaking and implementing bodies.
3. Laws and practices that discriminate and oppress women must be changed, as they deny women their basic human rights on matters affecting, *inter alia*, family life, property ownership, and employment terms and conditions.
4. Development strategies must be fundamentally restructured to redress the existing feminization of poverty and the unfair division of labor that places increasingly heavier burdens of production and reproduction of society on women.

The Universalization of Democratic Ideals and Principles: Strategy for Women's Empowerment

Given the general resistance of the male-dominated Kenyan society to gender-based changes, women have found it necessary, as a matter

of strategy, to justify and legitimize some of their demands within a universal or international context. The case for gender-sensitive democratization depends to a large extent upon the ability to convince society that women's demands are well within the universally accepted basic ideals of equality, freedom, and social justice, and that these principles find support not only in the country's constitutional guarantees of equality of all before the law, but also in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Covenant on Human Rights (1976), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), and the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985). These universally accepted legal standards of equality of women and men give Kenyan women a strong and legitimate ground upon which to insist on equitable and effective participation and elimination of all forms of discrimination against them in the current democratization process. As a member of the United Nations and a signatory to these conventions, the Kenyan government has a responsibility to implement these ideals during the current multiparty democratic transition. Women are insisting that if the emerging political parties want women's support, they must design policy documents and manifestos that reflect gender-based concerns.

At the international level, Kenyan women are also lobbying for economic restructuring, especially in relation to the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Women see the deterioration in their economic status as something that is directly related to SAPs and, hence, this is yet another issue that calls for gender-sensitive restructuring during the democratization process.

The Marginalization of Women in Key Political and Public Decisionmaking Positions

Kenyan women argue that with or without the United Nations conventions and declarations on behalf of women, it goes without saying that full and effective participation is a responsibility of all citizens. Effective solutions to international, national, and local problems can best be achieved when citizens can exercise their equal human rights to participate fully in the decisionmaking process. Indeed, it is imperative that any society that claims to be just, democratic, representative, and progressive must, of necessity, ensure women's significant presence and participation in high-level public decision-making positions. Furthermore, it is now generally accepted that women constitute a key national resource; women have ideas, creative solutions,

and concern for cohesiveness of the social fabric that can help change the quality of life and society at large.²

Kenya's record of women's participation in politics and public decisionmaking has been pathetic by any standards. Between 1963 and 1969 there was not a single woman member of parliament. In 1969 the first woman was elected to the National Assembly and one more was nominated to sit in that august legislative body along with eleven male nominated members. Between 1969 and 1974, of the total elected members of parliament, women formed between 0.5 and 8 percent of the nominated members. Except for the period 1974 to 1979, when women's representation improved slightly, the general trend has been one of women's marginalization in political decisionmaking at the national level. As of 1991, of two hundred elected and nominated members of parliament, there were only two women elected members. Only one of these women sits on the front bench as an assistant minister for culture and social services, along with sixty-nine men assistant ministers. Moreover, the position of assistant minister is the highest position a woman has ever held in Kenya's national assembly, and there has never been more than one woman holding the post at any one time.

Within the ruling Kenyan African National Union (KANU) party hierarchy, women have had even more difficulty participating at the national executive level. One lone woman has, since 1989, held the position of director of women and youth affairs at the ruling party secretariat. One woman party branch chair was elected in early 1992. For the most part, women's status in the party hierarchy has consistently been relegated to that of the mere rank and file; or they have been officials of a powerless Women's Wing of KANU.

The presence of women in judicial and bureaucratic decisionmaking positions has been equally dismal. Most of the prominent women in those positions benefited from presidential patronage during the early 1980s. The first woman judge of the high court was appointed in 1982, the second in 1986, and the third in 1991. In 1983, two women were appointed to head public parastatal organizations and at least fifteen others were appointed in 1986. In the same year, President Moi appointed two women to senior diplomatic positions: one was Kenya's representative to the Nairobi-based United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), replacing another woman who had resigned from the post; the other was the first woman high commissioner in charge of Kenya's mission in Britain, and she was replaced by a man at the end of 1991 (and then appointed as the second woman permanent secretary in charge of foreign affairs and international cooperation). The first woman to be a permanent secretary was appointed to the

Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1987. In other critical public decisionmaking sectors, such as the trade union movement, women's representation in key positions has been minimal.

In the current transition to multiparty democracy in Kenya, a high premium has been placed on political empowerment as a means of achieving other goals associated with the advancement of the status of women. The argument is that if women are in key decisionmaking and policymaking capacities in large enough numbers, they can exert decisive influence to ensure the repeal of laws that discriminate against women. They can also participate in designing development policies that mainstream rather than marginalize and disempower women.

Since January 1992, women's lobby groups and organizations have been mobilizing and strategizing to ensure that in the forthcoming general, civic, and parliamentary elections slated for February 1993, women constitute a critical mass of at least 30–35 percent of the total legislative body. One basic strategy to achieve this goal is to sensitize and conscientize women, the majority of voters, on the power of the vote and the merit of casting votes for committed women rather than for men. The other related strategy is for women's pressure groups to encourage and build confidence in those women with the necessary political will and commitment to contest political office in the forthcoming multiparty civic and parliamentary elections. Nonpartisan women's pressure groups are already at work to provide moral and advisory support to women candidates in order to increase the latter's chances of being elected into political office. For example, in July 1992, the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW), which has been the main lobby group spearheading this electoral strategy, organized a national training workshop for women candidates, bringing together about sixty women who had already declared their intention to contest political office. Many more women candidates were expected to join these sixty before the end of 1992 in order to attain something close to a critical mass of women in the next parliament.³

The women of Kenya have endorsed Professor Wangari Maathai as the women's choice for a presidential candidate in the forthcoming elections.⁴ It is significant to note that in nominating Maathai, the women not only justified their choice on the grounds of her demonstrated leadership qualities nationally, but also because she has some international standing. If Maathai becomes president, Kenya will not be the first country in the world to have a woman president, but it will certainly make history in Africa. The effort to elect a woman president is an indication of the seriousness and ambition behind the Kenyan women's struggle for political empowerment, and it indicates their determination to impact international as well as national affairs.

Human Rights in the Democratization Process: The Gender Dimension

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by the creator with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of (Love)."⁵ This statement is noted in the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which further called upon UN member states who have signed and ratified the convention (and Kenya has), to incorporate its provisions into the national laws of the state parties and take "action to modify social and cultural patterns that perpetuate *discrimination*." Article I of this convention defines "discrimination against women" to mean:

Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

As already shown, women in this East African country are asserting their political rights to participate by invoking this and other universally accepted principles and conventions.

Women are also insisting that the definition of human rights be broadened to accommodate aspects that generally affect women alone. These gender-based human rights issues include freedom from all forms of physical and psychological violence against women, such as rape, sexual harassment, and wife battering, as well as the grossly unfair gender division of labor and various forms of sex discrimination in legal, employment, and ideological structures.

There is a local tragedy behind these demands. In July 1991, more than seventy girls were raped, nineteen girls were killed, and scores of others were injured by their male colleagues at the St. Kizito school in Kenya. This tragedy has become the most publicized case of violence against women in Kenya in recent years and has greatly helped to sensitize women to the need to put pressure on the Kenyan government and society to address the issue of violence against women.⁶

As a result, the level of awareness and women's determination to fight against this form of human rights violation has risen dramatically. Many more women are coming forward to expose and publicize incidents of rape, sexual harassment, battering, or other forms of

violence known to them. Local women's lobby groups have formed two antirape organizations to lobby for stiffer penalties for any violence against women and to assist victims of rape. These organizations want rape to be treated as a capital crime, punishable by life imprisonment.⁷ Some women have even suggested that all rapists be castrated.⁸

For the first time in Kenya's history, women are threatening that in the forthcoming parliamentary elections they will not vote for male politicians who are in the habit of using derogatory language against women. The Anita Hill versus Clarence Thomas sexual harassment case in the United States grabbed world headlines in 1991 and had an impact on Kenyan women, who have since become more sensitive even to subtle forms of sexual harassment that they previously treated lightly for fear of being ridiculed by the male-dominated society. Kenyan women now invoke the Anita Hill case to demand their right to be free of any form of physical or psychological assault. This, they argue, is a basic human right that must also be addressed in the democratic restructuring of Kenyan society.

Another international event that Kenyan women (and men) have noted in lobbying for democratic rights is the decision made in late 1991 by the Paris Club of major international donor agencies and states to freeze foreign aid to Kenya until the Moi government restored respect for basic human rights, good governance, and proper economic management. With the knowledge that the international community has been keenly watching the progress of the multiparty democratic transition in Kenya, even ordinary Kenyan women feel empowered to make demands that they previously would not have dared to make.

A good case in point is the hunger strike that mothers and their friends conducted in early 1992 for the release of their sons and the fifty-two other political prisoners in Kenyan jails. The hunger strikers had tried to obtain the release of these prisoners through the normal legal system and had failed. In March 1992, they turned the Uhuru Park "Freedom Corner" in Nairobi into a camp for women's oppositional politics. The government intervened in a most brutal and violent manner against the strikers, arguing that the hunger strike was a "potential threat to security in Nairobi," and that it had facilitated the violation of City Commission bylaws.⁹ All the local daily and weekly newspapers and magazines gave wide coverage to this case throughout March and April of 1992.¹⁰

The international press also picked up the story and the international diplomatic community expressed vexation at the excessive use of force and police brutality meted out to the mothers and their sympathizers, including Maathai. For several months concern for the hunger-striking mothers, in combination with public concern over the health of Maathai,

who had been beaten unconscious during the Uhuru Park police raid, caused considerable embarrassment for the Moi government. The official reaction from the US Department of State reflected this mood:

The US government is deeply concerned that after Kenya's multi-party democracy's promising start, freedoms are being violated. In an incident yesterday, the police forcefully dispersed peaceful demonstrators in Nairobi, who were calling for the release of political prisoners. We urge the government to take all appropriate actions to ensure the respect of key freedoms by preventing further violence and intimidation. . . . Failure to do so would jeopardize Kenya's commitment to multi-party democracy and to the democratization process.¹¹

Similar statements of protest came from other Western governments. The German government said in part:

We are saddened and deplore the inappropriate use of force against mothers, who demonstrated by means of a peaceful hunger strike for the release of their sons and relatives imprisoned for charges of a political nature. . . . These developments are not apt to strengthen international confidence in the political determination to follow the road opened with the repeal of Section (2A) and to hold genuinely free and fair elections.¹²

The excessive force used to disperse the demonstrating women also helped to harden the resolve of the hunger strikers and to increase local and international support for them. Forced to disperse from Uhuru Park, some women stripped naked in front of law enforcement agents as an act of defiance and as the most effective traditional method of cursing the Moi government.¹³ Although they were removed from Uhuru Park, most hunger strikers continued their vigil in the basement of an Anglican cathedral in Nairobi. Owing to local and international pressure generated by the mother's strike, some political prisoners have since been released. The most prominent ones, however, were still in prison in August 1992.

This case underscores the point that women in Kenya have learned to take advantage of available spaces and opportunities to bring national and international attention to their issues. All of this is part of a larger lobbying strategy in the democratic transition period. Women have been particularly adept at attracting the media to sensitize the public on gender issues and to highlight their women's agenda, and in this way these issues and voices have stayed alive throughout this time of struggle.

Defeminizing Poverty Through Domestic and International Democratic Restructuring

For more than a decade now, many countries of Africa have been attempting to comply with World Bank and International Monetary Fund SAPs. The SAPs emphasize economic liberalization; deregulation of prices, factors, and services; large-scale privatization of public enterprise; and cutbacks in government expenditure on social services and employment. The Bank and the Fund have remained adamant, despite increasing evidence to the contrary, that SAPs remain the only hope for recovery of the debt-ridden economies of Africa. Yet conditions in Africa deteriorated further to such an extent that the 1980s are now viewed as Africa's "lost decade."

SAPs do not yet address the power and property inequalities between men and women. Rather, they seem to reflect a dominant male ideology in the international political economy that ascribes to women a role subordinate to, but very supportive of, the male gender. All the World Bank's rhetoric about mobilizing women for social change translates into programs to protect and promote the interests of the rich and powerful, who are predominantly men. Indeed, the Bank as well as other bi- and multilateral agencies seem to take advantage of women's successful strategies for coping with the crisis—through endurance, perseverance, and ingenuity—to implement SAPs that hurt women more than men. Such policies have been legitimized by orthodox macroeconomic analyses that tend to ignore the pain of a gendered division of labor in society at large and in the household. They focus only on the gross national product, on imports and exports and the balance of payments, and on efficiency and productivity. The economy is defined principally in terms of formal sector goods and services, whereas the informal work of child care, gathering fuel and water, preparing and processing foods, house cleaning, nursing the sick, and other household tasks done by women are excluded. And yet the unpaid economic tasks performed by women ensure the reproduction and maintenance of human resources upon which the paid economy is based. Thus the austere adjustment policies rely on women working longer and harder for their families within the market and the household.

The tendency of SAPs to offload the work burden and other costs of adjustment on women has also been based on a rather dangerous assumption that women's labor is infinitely elastic. This is, in fact, not the case, as a breaking point may be reached and women's capacity to reproduce and maintain human resources may collapse under the burden of government cutbacks in social expenditures.

Since Kenya began implementing SAPs in the early 1980s, women have become more impoverished and marginalized in employment and in access to amenities such as health and shelter. Women's participation in political decisionmaking, which has always been minimal, has in fact declined during the SAP years of the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁴ Violence against women, including wife battering, rape, sexual harassment, and use of derogatory language toward women, has also been on the increase.

SAP-related deteriorations in health services have also affected women. There is a new practice in the public hospitals of having mothers-to-be share beds. Some women are then sent home prematurely after delivery in order to create space for others. Poor women increasingly choose to deliver their babies at home, despite the life-threatening complications that could arise, and some, hit by the high cost of drugs, have resorted to traditional medicinal herbs to cure various ailments.

Women were often placed in low-paying jobs in the past, but now the marginalization of women in the economy has increased.¹⁵ For example, only 20 percent of Kenyan women are employed in the formal sector. The rest are unemployed, are small-scale agriculturalists, or make a living in the ubiquitous informal sector, the melting pot for all who cannot find formal wage opportunities. As the economic crisis deepens and the formal job market shrinks, increasing numbers of women are turning to the informal economy to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. Their activities in the sector are mostly unlicensed and, for that reason, are illegal and subject to government harassment.¹⁶ Moreover, the informal economy is viewed as a sphere of unnecessary competition for the formal commercial sector, and this factor contributes to assaults on it. The increasing precariousness of incomes from informal work has resulted in the further impoverishment and the marginalization of already poor women.¹⁷ At the same time, the government has stepped up its efforts to demolish urban shanty-type shelters as the economic crisis and SAP implementations have deepened, and this has affected poor women and their children.

In the past, many Kenyan women suffered quietly without questioning the cause of their impoverishment and decline in social and economic status. Now women's lobbyists and activists are speaking loudly against this deterioration in women's status and are targeting SAPs as one of the major causes. The few women who understand SAPs are teaching other women and the society at large about the negative impact of these policies on women.¹⁸ Women have already called for the rejection of the orthodox SAPs as basically undemocratic. They recommend that humane and gender-sensitive programs be designed and that the

burden and costs of any future adjustment be borne equally by both men and women.

At another level, however, women (and even men) in Kenya maintain the position that democratization of the international political economy is also a necessity if domestic efforts at economic restructuring are to succeed. The international capitalist market, dominated by the major Western countries and multinational corporations, buys cheap African primary commodities and sells manufactured goods to Africa at exorbitant prices. The current debt crisis plaguing Africa has been fueled and worsened by the diminishing returns for primary commodities trade. Women, as the major producers of both subsistence and commodity products in a predominantly agricultural economy, are directly affected by international commodity trading. If Western donors are serious about democratization, there is a compelling case for them to initiate economic reform of the international system. This would significantly arrest the deteriorating socioeconomic status of women in Kenya.

The point to be underscored is that if the democratization process now under way in Kenya is to be meaningful and have any long-term value, appropriate action must be taken to defeminize poverty through domestic and international democratic restructuring. This argument is in line with the more universal position taken by the Ottawa Declaration on Women and Structural Adjustment, which noted:

SAPs cannot be sustained, development will be limited and the costs of adjustment will continue to be borne disproportionately by women unless such policies and programmes fully integrate measures to ensure gender equity, greater concern for basic human needs and protection of the physical environment. Adjustment programmes must be designed to ensure a more equitable sharing between women and men not only of the programme cost but also of the rewards and benefits accruing. It is only in this way that women's active participation and wide ranging contributions to the economy—too often unrecognized because of being unpaid—can be brought into the process.¹⁹

In the democratization struggles now taking place in Kenya and other African countries, women must actively participate to challenge the status quo and push for changes in policies that impact them negatively, such as the SAPs. Women must particularly struggle to ensure that they attain adequate political and public decisionmaking representation by committed women and gender-sensitive men in the envisaged democratic arrangement. This is the only way women can

be assured of influencing future national development policies and programs. It is also the most effective way of ensuring that discriminatory laws against women are repealed or removed from statute books altogether. Women policymakers would have a good opportunity to lobby for gender-sensitive policies in all fields of development. Such women can, for example, lobby for the creation of public support services to facilitate and reduce women's unpaid labor and to reform the social structures that create gender inequities in access to resources and participation in key decisionmaking positions.

In all of this, the real challenge for Kenya and Africa as a whole is genuine democratization of the political economy and society. Africa needs democratic political structures from the grassroots to the national level, so as to generate the necessary consensus and active involvement of the people in the development process. If Africa is to survive the 1990s, then it must take urgent steps to open up the political process in order to accommodate many opinions, tolerate differences, and accept consensus, as well as to ensure the effective participation of all the people. This is the only way to ensure popular mobilization and the willingness of people to accept the pains of change and reform.

Orthodox SAPs have no place in this new democratic agenda, as they have not only been oppressive to women and other disadvantaged groups, but have tended to promote political authoritarianism and militarization. Moreover, SAPs are so antipeople and so unpopular that only authoritarian regimes may be able to implement and sustain them in the future. The international community has a responsibility to support the democratization struggles taking place in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa, and demonstrate goodwill by democratizing the international economic system to facilitate the sustainability of emerging political economies.

Notes

1. G. Sen and C. Grown, *Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987) pp. 80–81.

2. Maria Nzomo, "Women in Politics and Public Decision Making in Kenya," paper presented at UN Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Women in Public Life, Vienna, Austria, May 22–24, 1991. Revised version presented at the AAWORD Workshop, Nairobi, Kenya, August 31, 1991. Appears also in U. Himmelstrand et al., eds., *In Search of New Paradigms for the Study of African Development* (London: James Curry, 1993).

3. *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), July 12, 1992; *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), July 18, 1992; *Standard* (Nairobi), July 12, 1992.

4. *Sunday Standard* (Nairobi), July 19, 1992; *Sunday Times* (Nairobi), July 19, 1992.
5. *Nairobi Law Monthly*, no. 40 (January 1992): 34.
6. *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), July 15, 1991; *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), July 17, 1991. See also *Standard* (Nairobi), July 21, 1992, pp. 14–15.
7. *Standard* (Nairobi), August 19, 1992.
8. Some young women are also resisting forced marriages, which still prevail in certain Kenyan communities.
9. For more details, see *Standard* (Nairobi), March 5, 1992; *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), March 5, 1992; *Weekly Review* (Nairobi), March 6, 1992, pp. 3–7; *Society* (Nairobi), March 23, 1992, p. 9.
10. See also Kiraitu Murungi, “The Freedom of Expression, Association and Assembly and the Politics of Non-violent Action,” paper presented at the International Court of Justice Kenya Section Seminar on Freedom of Expression, Association and Assembly, Mombasa, Kenya, May 6–9, 1992.
11. As reported in *Society* (Nairobi), March 9, 1992, p. 24.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
14. Maria Nzomo, “The Impact of the Women’s Decade on Policies, Programmes and Empowerment of Women in Kenya,” *Issue 17*, no. 2 (1989): 9–17; “Policy Impacts on Women and the Environment,” in S. Khasiani, ed., *African Women as Environmental Managers* (Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991); B. Midamba, “The United Nations Decade: Political Empowerment or Increased Marginalisation for Kenyan Women? *Africa Today*; Republic of Kenya, *Women of Kenya: Review and Evaluation of Progress* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1985), p. 42.
15. T. Zeleza, “The Global Dimensions of Africa’s Crisis: Debts, Structural Adjustment and Workers,” unpublished paper, 1988, p. 60.
16. W. V. Mitullah, “Hawking as a Survival Strategy for the Urban Poor of Nairobi: The Case of Women,” paper presented at the Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Conference on Sustainable Development with Women: Gender Relations, Development and Change, Nairobi, November 22–December 2, 1989.
17. Republic of Kenya, *Women of Kenya*, note 14, pp. 12, 16.
18. At least two national seminars have been held in 1992 in Kenya on the impact of structural adjustment on women. These seminars have been given wide media coverage. See, for example, *Daily Nation*, March 16, 1992, and Maria Nzomo, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Women,” keynote address for the National Seminar on the Effects of Structural Adjustment Policies on Women in Kenya, Nyeri, Kenya, March 4–7, 1992.
19. From the Ottawa Declaration on Women and Structural Adjustment, submitted by the Third Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women’s Affairs, Ottawa, Canada, October 9–12, 1990, p. 1.