ACTORS INFLUENCING THE EXPECTATIONS OF MUSLIM MOTHERS FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN MOMBASA DISTRICT

BY

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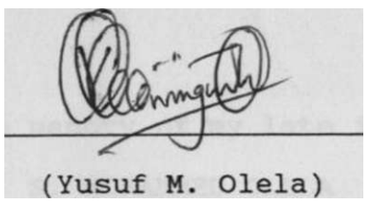
DECLARATION

This Thesis is my Original Work and it has not been Presented for a Degree in any other University



This Thesis has been Submitted for Examination with my Approval as the University Supervisor.

-A^AAaa^X

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my late father

S. MOHAMMED OLELA

In recognition of the strong foundation helaid for my education and because, for more than sixteen years, his dying words that "I want my children to acquire the highest education possible" have inspired me to hung on to education, sometimes under adverse circumstances when I could have given up.

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ABSTRACT

The major objective of the study was to investigate the relationship between selected social and economic factors of Muslim Mothers and expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment .The factors included current age, age at first marriage, level of formal educational attainment, pre-marital occupation and religious perceptions.

The study was carried out in Old Town Location during December 1992 through to April 1993.

A purposive sample of 62 mothers who had daughters responded to a semi-structured guestionnaire.Two key informants participated in indepth interviews.The key informants provided names of 12 women who provided additional information through focus group discussion. Their selection was based on long experience and participation in the community's socio-cultural and economic activities.In addition 23 women from the sample of 62 provided information on their life histories.Selection was based on age and educational background in addition to social status in the community.

Based on these findings the following recommendations were formulated:

(i) campaign programs are needed to emphasize the importance of formal education for girl. Such campaigns should be made in form of a series of exhortation at local (or personal level if they are to have an impact,

(ii) There is need to re-educate Muslim Women on religious tenets which might threaten the adoption of formal schooling for girls.Also there is need for regular consultations between religious leaders and the adherents.Information should further be relayed through women groups such as lelemama(a lobby group) and Vyama, (parties or organizations),

(iii) Positive role models are also needed.There is need for local female teachers and working girls to demonstrate that it is possible to get an education and employment and at the same time keep one's religious morals intact.

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C H A P T E R O N E

. 1 Introduction

There has been considerable increase in the participation of omen in formal education since independence (ROK 1989; Eshiwani 985) .Relatively though, the proportion of women participating in ormal education remains low compared to that of men. This is espite the fact that there is no inherent superiority of the male ex over the female sex in terms of intellectual capacity (Hunter ollege 1983; Walczak 1988). In general, this imbalance is Lttributed to the fact that women face multiple barriers in their >ursuit to acguire education. Past research focuses a great deal of ittention on the social, cultural, economic, political as well as itructural barriers which are assumed to account for the low participation of women in formal education. This approach, which is -ommon in the study of differential access to economic resources, Is based on the premise that women have particular stipulated duties which interfere with participation in formal education. The present study is concerned with examining factors that influence the expectations of Muslim mothers for their daughters' formal Schooling.

f.1.1 Background to the study

From a global perspective, parents are generally charged with :he responsibility of preparing their children to became self-reliant and responsible members of their society (Wilson 1978; Rosen 1989). In developing countries and with particular reference to sub-Saharan Africa, parental responsibility tends to be geared more to preparing children to play designated roles in their society based on gender (Levine 1970; World Bank 1988; Anderson 1988). Girls are basically trained for domestic duties while boys are prepared for duties outside the home (Sharpe 1977; Shapiro 1981; Hendry 1963; Robertson 1984; Oakley 1987). In Kenya, such stereotypical role assignment, is still rigidly structured in some societies (ROK and UNICEF 1984).Formal education is among other things, seen as a key to employment, power, prestige and wealth. These are more often associated with men rather than women (Tinker and Bremsen 1989; Gulto 1976; Smock 1981; Zeleza 1989). With the introduction of formal education in Kenya in the 1840s(Mutua 1975; Mambo 1980), the participation of girls has met relative success in some communities while in others, the response has been discouraging.

Since Kenya attained its independence in 1963, the participation of girls has overall increased (ROK 1989).

owever, disparities still exist in some areas. According to ROK nd UNICEF Report (1992), girls formed more than 50% in Central >rovince as compared to 46% and 29% in Coast and North Eastern >rovinces,respectively.The high rates of girls[7] participation in formal education in some parts of Kenya largely depends upon positive societal norms and values regarding the roles of women in society. It has been suggested that Muslim culture had made it difficult for Muslim girls to make headway in the education system (UNICEF 1989; ROK and UNICEF 1992). In order to find out what elements of Muslim culture actually influence expectations for girls' formal schooling, what follows is a broad description of the social, cultural, economic as well as political patterns upon which the Muslims' lifestyle is likely to be structured.

1.1.2 Historical Background

The term " Swahili" to which the Muslim Community at the Kenyan Coast is referred to is often used to identify people who have historically come together to form a complete political, economic and cultural unit (Salim 1978). Hino (1980) has given four attributes among others, which define the Swahili. First, is afro-asiatic racial characteristics responsible for the formation of Swahili Culture. Second, is value system and the formation of law based on Islamic faith

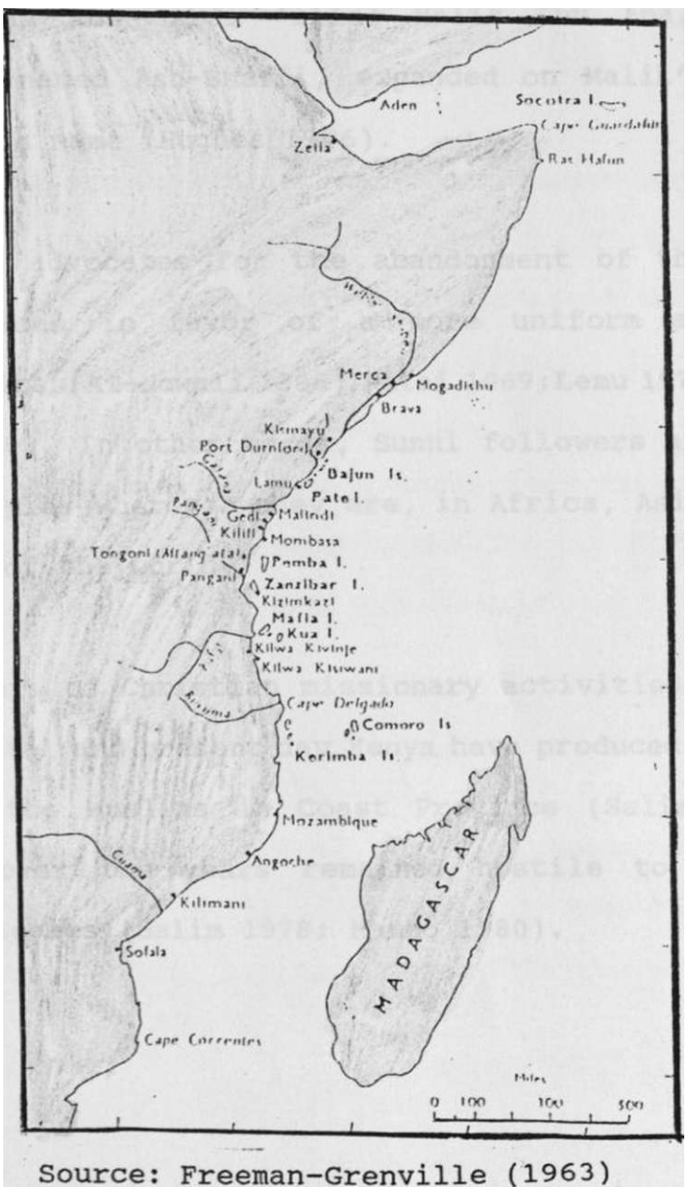
; internal element defining Swahili Culture. The third perception ; based on material culture such as art, dress, and alimentation. i.nally, they use Swahili language which remains as an integral ₃rt of Swahili culture. We can recognize today the existence of a oastal people who have these characteristics and can be onsidered as "genuine Swahili" (Hino 1980). The Swahili have kept hemselves both culturally and socially distinct from Mijiikenda, ndians, Arabs and non-Muslim immigrants with whom they share the :oast Province.

Nevertheless, since the group which is today referred to as :he "Swahili" was made up of people from diverse origins (e.g., 3antu Africans ,Arabs and to some extent Indians), we can argue along with Stroebel (1979) that the term "Swahili" should be used kith caution. This is because there are some people from amongst Bantu Africans, Arabs,and Indians who sometimes refer to themselves as the Swahili. Such clemency to Swahili ancestry, it has been noted by some authors (e.g., Salim 1979) to be a strategy to have them considered as indigenous Kenyans. However, they basically remain Arabs and Indians. Such groups should be considered as having contributed to the evolution of Swahili Culture. They do not individually constitute Swahili. To avoid any confusion, the label "Muslim" mothers is therefore used to identify the study population which belongs to a Swahili culture and has a Bantu origins.

1.1.3 Present Geographical Position of Muslim Community

The Muslim community today occupies the big part of the East s^frican Coast, stretching for a distant of about 1500 km, from Benadir Coast in Somalia in the north to as far south as northern Mozambigue, including islands such as Zanzibar. Pemba, the Comoros and the Seychelles (see map 1.1).

Map 1.1: The East African Coast



Source: Freeman-Grenville (1963)

.1.4 Religion and identity

The Swahili are supremely confident and devoted adherents of slamic faith. According to Mambo (1980), "...one almost never omes across a Swahili-speaker (Swahili) who does not profess slam. The majority, if not all, of the Swahili belong to Shafi .egal school of the Sunni sect or brotherhoood (Salim 1978) which las its stronghold along the East African Coast. This sect was rounded by Imman Abu 'Abdi 'illal Malik Ibu Ana. Later his principal pupil,named Ash-Shaffi, expanded on Malik's ideas and gave the sect his name (Hughes 1976).

Sunni Sect advocates for the abandonment of the local and sectoral practices in favor of a more uniform and orthodox religious practices(Al-Nowali 1986; Patai 1969;Lemu 1971;Horrie and Chippindale 1990). In other words, Sunni followers are guided by the same principles wherever they are, in Africa, Asia, Europe or any other part of the world.

Many years of Christian missionary activities in the pre-Colonial, Colonial and present day Kenya have produced virtually no convert among the Muslims in Coast Province (Salim 1978). The Muslims have over the years remained hostile to agnostic or atheistic ideologies (Salim 1978; Mambo 1980).

tditionally, they have an attachment towards Quranic iOOlSjMadrassa, where the young must undergo an intensive norization of the Quran and instruction in Islamic figh (law), j history. In addition, they have to learn sirah, which is sically the biography of the Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon m).

These teachings form the basis of the educational system iparted in the Madrassa. Devotion to teach children the Islamic lith is reckoned as one of the most important duties of Muslim irents.

Most Madrassa are co-educational and children are initiated ato them a year before being enrolled into the formal education ystem. Most Madrassa are located within or adjacent to mosgues and re established and patronized by individuals. In some cases adrassa may be run by a mosgue committee. Whatever the form of lanagement, attendants are charged a small fees to help run the Schools. The main reason for this token fee is to fulfil the "equirement in the Holy Quran that Quran must not be taught for profit.

Most of the Quranic schools still lack a comprehensive and Unified curriculum. The content of what is taught and the time ^aken in teaching it is still very much at the discretion of individual Ustaadh, Quranic teacher. There are no annual

tiinations in these institutions? students proceed to the next ge on the recommendation of their teachers.

Evidence from a number of studies at the Coast (e.g., Stroebel 9; Mambo 1980; Caplan 1975) suggest that attendance of girls at ise religious institutions is not emphasized upon by parents as as it is emphasized for boys. There is a tendency to withdraw rls after they have learnt the simple basics of saying their lyers. However, boys may proceed to learn and earn an honorable tie, **Al**-Hafidh, by memorizing the content of the Quran in its tirety. This is not the case with girls. This probably is because rls are not expected to hold any religious title or office.

The history of social, cultural, economic as well as •litical development of the Muslim community at the Coast is osely interwoven with the history of Islam in East Africa. Apart :on its purely religious function, Islam has for many generations mctioned in almost every sphere of their lives. This, to a large «tent, explains why Islam have been referred to as a "a way of ife" (Adams 1976; Sedghi 1976; Afshar 1987;).It is more lived han practiced.

[1] -1.5 Gender Relations in the Muslim Community at the Coast

Among the Swahili, gender is one of the most sensitive areas

social life (Stroebel 1979). Within the family, sexual asymmetry strictly observed in the category of father-daughter, mother- and sister-brother. Outside the home environment, this >rrmality is accomplished by purdah, i.e., cultural practices iich seclude men from women in an Islamic society. Among Muslims i the Coast Province, the type of purdah basically consists of average of various parts of the body like hands, legs and head, nis is meant to reinforce customs and beliefs relating to tiastity, fidelity and purity. In this regard, Stroebel has eported that:

> Women are excluded from public - that is sexually integrated non-domestic activities by purdah, the practice of veiling and seclusion of women (1979:74).

riiis practice is enjoined in the Quran, Surah 33 verse 53. At home *omen cover themselves with lesso or kanga and are obliged to wear :>urqa or bui bui, veil, when they have the occasion to go to public places like shopping expeditions or when visiting friends relatives. This is meant to prevent members of the opposite sex -rom gazing at their body shapes (Caplan 1975; Stroebel 1979). For ^he women themselves, it is supposed to give them a feeling of dignity or of being respected (Salim 1978). Only young girls are Exempted from such norms. However, in some families, mothers start veiiing their daughters as early as when they are four years.

Purdah practice and the ascribed role of men to provide women ^ith all their material needs, excludes women from most public

sitions of authority. For example, women are excluded from ,lding Islamic offices such as Kadhi(judge) or as Imam.Prayer ,ace in the most itself is compartmentalized to physically »parate men from women (Stroebel 1979). Where there is lack of irtition, women are automatically barred from such communal rayers. Evidently, a woman's place would be at home where her much alued iffan,(chastity) can be maintained. The Prophet Mohammed peace Be Upon Him) is guoted as saying that the best mosgues for omen are the "inner parts of their homes" (Afshar 1987:1-2). Women ire regarded as vulnerable members of the household in need of onstant surveillance and protection. Sometimes, the ability of 'omen to observe purdah varies with class. Families with high iconomic status tend to observe strict adherence to religious norms :oncerning women. On the contrary, women from poor families are Likely to observe purdah with less restrictions. Economic circumstances sometimes force women to work under circumstances that will not allow them to observe purdah.

However, men find themselves with wider latitude from which to fulfil their social , economitO , as well as political *~ieeds. They can freely attend prayers at the mosgue, visit social ^lubs and participate in political activities. Some women, though few, take part in welfare oriented associations operating within Mombasa Island. Agood example is lelemama. This is a lobby group Mostly involved in organizing dancing competitions and wedding ceremonies for their members and their relatives. Others include

s so-called vyama, literally, parties, often headed by a woman o receives money from members every month, and disburses it to em after some times. Vyama acts as a safe deposit and do not earn mbers any interest.

. 1.6 Economic Status

Overall, the traditional subsistence base for most Swahili at tie Coast was specializing in maritime endeavors such as operating erchant dhows and fishing (Salim 1978; Martin 1973). They also arvested and exported mangrove poles from the coastline to Middle a.st countries, e.g., Kuwait and Iraq (Martin 1973). These •ctivities were supplemented by subsistence output in copra, :oconuts and dry rice (Caplan 1975); and they kept goats and Poultry on their farms situated outside the towns (Silberman 1950). Some of them led from the Coast to interior commercial caravans to Mainly obtain ivory (Salim 1978; Stroebel 1979), which according to *ambo (1980), included slave trade. However, it is still questionable whether they took part in the selling of slaves. Other Writers like Stroebel (1979) think otherwise and we can argue along With her that Mombasa was a slave buying area.

Today, the Swahili community has lost control of much of "their old economic resources and Mombasa Island's economy is more "Under the control of other ethnic groups. Notable among these are

n-Muslim hinterland Africans who took to wage employment in ,mbasa, especially in the public sector. Most Muslim have been . ow in taking up formal employment.However, since independence in >63, this situation has been changing. As the Muslim community ₃ses much of its economic base, more opt to go to school (Salim 378;Stroebel 1979).

Despite these changes, their legendary reputation in trade nd craftsmanship, particularly tailoring, carpentry and retail rade, still persists.Other trades generally oriented towards the Leeds of their community, include butcheries, shop-keeping , -estaurants, groceries and clothing stores. These businesses are »mall, informal in nature and operate as family enterprises or kin business or enterprises organized by groups of friends. Their growth is meager and job creation is small to absorb members of the community looking for jobs. This has motivated the younger generations to acquire a good education to enter formal employment.

It is important to note that most of these business ventures mentioned above are run by men, Muslim women's economic activity is veil defined. Most of them are involved in unpaid household labour around their homes. As Peil has observed "...Muslims prefer to keep their women within the home out of contact with other men" (1975).

1.6 Historical Development of Women's Education at the ;oast

In general, there are two stages in the introduction of «3ucation at the Coast. The first stage was met by strong •esistance while the second stage was marked by gradual acceptance >f the new ideas, values and formal school.

Christian missionaries were responsible for opening up western type of schools along the Kenya Coast (Oliver 1952; heffield 1973; Mutua 1975; Stroebel 1979; Mambo 1980). There was n initial active opposition to missionary education among the Muslims (Mutua 1975; R0K and UNICEF 1991). This was because apart from introducing education, the missionaries also championed the abolition of slave trade and slavery (Mambo 1980:12). Most of the missionaries lost hope out of the realization that there was deep-tooted resistance among the Muslim community to this form of education (Sheffield 1973). Missionaries' area of action shifted inland (Mutua 1975:19) where they were received graciously by local leaders. Meanwhile, education at the Coast fell further behind most parts of the country.

The second phase of the introduction of education saw gradual acceptance. This was influenced by two factors. First,

utility was lessened by both time and necessity as the Muslims arted seeing the benefits of western education. Second, the feat of the Mazrui Rebellion in 1886 lessened the power of the ab leaders who were totally against western influence. This paved way for the introduction of some amount of education.

Despite this change, the speed at which Muslims adopted sstern education was extremely slow. The explanation often Ivanced for the persistence of negative attitude towards formal ducation revolves around one important factor - Islamic influence, tiere was grave suspicion amongst most Muslim parents of possible efilement of Muslim religious ethics and the inevitable impact his would have on religious norms adopted by children (Mutua 1975; [ambo 1980). Similarly, the western values that went along with Christianity would antagonize traditional customs and lead to their rejection by the younger generation. This was a major concern to parents, more particularly because formal education was targeted at foung children and adolescents who were likely to be more Vulnerable to external influence. Mutua's observation that: "it was feared that such an involvement would tear the children from their tribal ways of life" succinctly drives the point home. Muslim parents came to believe that missionary schools were designed to propagate the christian faith and not offer universal education. Conseguently, the parents put more emphasis on Quranic education V/hich was seen first, as a means of protecting Islamic virtues and second, as a means of preventing the infiltration of western values

-ito the social fabrics of the muslim community. It was argued that £ the guran was there to keep the basic morals intact then there as no need to burden the children with another form of education.

The Colonial government took over the control of most chools in 1925 (Mambo 1980). The aim of the Colonial government's ducational drive after the takeover was to prepare lower level ;ervants to take over the reins of the government. It had became ipparent that Kenya was moving towards independence and there was ieed to incorporate more African into positions of responsibility.

It was at this point that most Muslim parents began to express an open willingness to send their children to school. Education, however , was initially reserved for boys. For along time there was no tangible improvements in girls' education (Stroebel 1979). Even the Colonial government itself practiced this discrimination based on the fact that only male assistants were preferred in the civil service (Gulto 1979; Mutua 1975). Muslim parents were slow to see the values of teachings girls to read and write. The opposition to women's education was deeply rooted in vhat Muslim parents perceived as the proper role and conduct of women in an Islamic society. Education would affect women in some fundamental ways that were seen to be at odds with girls' subseguent life. First, pursuit of education necessitated giving a girl far more freedom to leave the confines of the home than was traditionally acceptable. This would present a challenge to control

»r her whereabouts and subsequent behavior. Some old respondents the present study reported that in some families, it was isidered shameful to send one's daughter to school. The low seracy level among the older respondents in the sample largely fleets the low esteem female education had in the past. And for me liberal parents who allowed their daughters to attend school, ey quickly withdrew them upon reaching puberty, as a way of eping them chaste. At puberty, girls were supposed to strictly •oid those areas where conditions presupposed public contact with ie opposite sex.

Second, pursuit of education would eguip girls with sading and witting skill. This would enable them to write and sceive letters from boyfriends, but which parents could not read s most of them were only literate in Arabic. Third, education ould expand the horizons of women so that they would seek ulfilment through activities outside the home. Such women might efuse to do housework and be more difficult to control. Further, in independent employment for a woman would also make her less lependent on her husband and therefore make her less subservient to iim. Fourth, education would also delay marriage past the age considered appropriate for ensuring the sexual purity of women. This was particularly crucial as they had to prove virginity on the wedding night. Therefore, a girl who went to school seriously compromised her chances of a good marriage.

Similarly, for other Muslim parents, girls were not encouraged pursue an education simply because they were considered pable of doing so. They argued that the girls would only be ened with intellectual work for which they were not well pped. Stroebel (1979:113) clearly illustrates this point when guotes Sheikh Abusuileiman Mazrui as saying :

> To try and strengthen Adam's rib (woman) is to run the risk of breaking it, and hurting yourself in doing so...It was created curved so that it might embrace in that curvature the happiness of the home where it truly belongs.

ertheless, Muslim boys who had enrolled in the Arab School esent day Khamis) emerged with a change of attitude with regard the type of women they needed as wives. It is reported that they ired wives with at least some minimum education (Stroebel : 113). The fear that Muslim men who graduated from schools Id begin to marry outside their community became one of the atest incentives for educating girls.

The pace of Muslim girls' education has increased since fnya attained independence in 1963 (Stroebel 1979). However, the oportion of Muslim girls attending school is still low (ROK and CEF 1991; 1992). In some districts of Coast Province, including mbasa, drop-out rates are said to be high (ROK, Development Plans r Mombasa and Lamu 1993). This suggests that some of the stacles that hindered Muslim girls' education in the past might ill be influential.

1.2. Problem Statement

Alot of effort has been made to eliminate gender disparity n school enrolment in Kenya. In primary education, the percentage f girls rose from 34% in 1963 to 49% in 1992 (ROK 1989, 1993).It ould appear that female participation in education is almost at ar with that of boys. However, these national figures disguise the act that enrolment rate not are evenly distributed across the ountry (Makau 1994). Whereas gender parity in primary school nrolment has been achieved in some areas (e.g., central Province istricts) , elsewhere there continues to be gender disparity (e.g., 11 districts of North Eastern Province, some districts of the Rift alley and Coast Provinces. Even within a district whose overall igures show high enrolment and near parity, pockets of nderenrolment of girls persists. The present study investigates he factors antecedent to low female enrolment in formal education n one low enrolment area in Mombasa district, Coast Province.

According to the 1989 Kenya Population Census (ROK 1994), lie proportion of males and females aged 6 – 1 4 who were in primary chools in four selected districts (including Mombasa) and the hole nation were as follows:

	Female	Male
Wajir	14.8%	24.2%
Mandera	15.0%	27.5%
Garissa	17.4%	28.9%
Mombasa	72.1%	74.6%
Kenya	75.7%	76.3%

These figures suggest that as compared to the three North Eastern Province districts which are predorminantly Muslim, Mombasa (with a large Muslim population) is close to national proportions, and is not characterized by a large gender disparity. This interpretation does not take into account the complex nature of Coastal urban society. Whereas the North Eastern Province population is predorminantly nomadic, Muslim and minimally differentiated along economic lines, coastal urban society is more mixed in terms of ethnicity and religious affiliation.

In Mombasa Island, there has emerged a predorminantly Muslim community, which lives in the densely populated centre of the Island (Old Town) and whose children, especially girls, are reported in several studies (see Gillette 1978; Stroebel 1979; Wamahiu 1990; ROK and UNICEF 1991; Mazrui 1993; Mohammed 1994) as Deing underenrolled in primary schools. It is this urban community tfhich is the target of the present study.

The studies sighted above highlight a number of factors which are thought to be responsible for female participation in education Ln Kenya's Muslim Communities. These factors include: (a) the -luslim socio-cultural environment which is often hypothesized as

Deing unfavorable to female participation in formal education; (b) Low educational attainment among Muslim adults which, in turn, influences children's aspiration and participation in formal education; and (c) generally deprived economic environment which is said to lead to parents' failure to pay for their children's education. Although these factors may influence female participation in formal education, our current knowledge of the issue is inadequate. First, some of the negative aspects of Muslim society seem to have developed into generalized stereotypes which »ay not stand up to rigorous scrutiny. Second, Muslim society, like any other, is not built on a few (and often implied, negative) factors. It has been observed, for example, by Rosen (1989) and Btamm (1984) that people's experiences, history, socio-cultural norms and beliefs, as well as economic circumstances under which ihey live influence their attitudes and expectations.

With strict sexual asymmetry in Muslim Community (Stroebel .979; Mambo 1980), the socialization of girls falls chiefly within rhe sphere of mothers (Mclleland 1961; Radin 1979; Tallman et 11.1983). The current study focused on Muslim mothers as the most -mportant source of influence of their daughters' participation in ~ormal education. It examines factors antecedent to Muslim mothers' expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment, ^he questions addressed included: How does the educational status >f Muslim mothers influence the expectations for their daughters' .evel of educational attainment? Do mothers' current age and age at

irst marriage affect the expectations for their daughters' level f educational attainment? Do mothers premarital occupation nfluence their expectations for their daughters' formal education, .nd do mothers' religious beliefs and practices affect their txpectations for their daughters' education.

t .3. Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study was to examine socio-.ultural and economic factors that influence the participation of "uslim girls in formal education.The focus was on individual iothers' characteristic both current and antecedent, that influence heir expectations for their daughters' level of education ttainment. Specifically, the study investigated:

(i) The relationship between mothers' level of educational attainment and the expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment;

(ii) the relationship between mothers' current age and the expectations for their daughters'level of educational attainment;

(iii) the relationship between mothers' age at first marriage and the expectations for their daughters'

level of educational attainment;

(iv) the relationship between mothers' premarital occupation and the expectations for their daughters' level of education attainment;

(v) the relationship between mothers' religious perception and the expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment.

1.4. Significance of the study

There is substantial literature on women's education in Kenya (e.g., Eshiwani 1984(a), 1985; Karugu 1986; Nguru 1980). However, 3ata that focus spefically of Muslim women is scanty. This is Respite the fact that the participation of coastal Muslims in general and in particular Muslim girls is among the lowest in the country. The present study was proposed out of the feeling that there is need for a systematic research to understand the social, cultural as well as economic constraints on Muslim girls' formal schooling in Coast Province. Further, even though the jnderepresentation of Muslim girls in formal schooling is part of -he larger issue of underepresentation of females in Kenya, there Ls an increasing realization that policies as formulated from ^ther groups many not apply to the Muslim Community at the Coast, this is in due regard to their unique socio-cultural and economic

actors based on distinctive Swahili culture. In order to come up Ith effective policies, the study of Muslim Women is necessary, he present study was designed to contribute towards this goal.The indings provide information to enable specific policy formulation t the local level, and insights regarding the appropriate measures or counselling Muslim girl and sensitizing their families and **Deal** leaders. Similarly, the findings form some guidelines for jslim religious leaders who are responsible for interpreting sssages from the Holy Quran on issues related to women and, in articular,women's formal education.

C H A P T E R T W O

2.1 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1.1. Religious Perceptions

Religious affiliation is important in influencing socioeconomic activities people participate in (Lenski 1963,1971). According to Tapper and Tapper (1987), religion teaches social conducts and attitudes by providing controls for what people do or do not do. Similar observation has been made by Rohrbough and Jessor (1975). Religious sex-role socialization literature suggests that socialization of males is primarily directed towards outside activities and social life(Anustrietsel 1978; Hammond 1987), while that of females is directed towards the performance of domestic activities. Women internalize and accept these religious values which became part of their behavior. They feel unworthy or inadequate when they fail to measure to them.

As earlier pointed out by Stroebel (1979), the Swahili have a tendency to view women as vulnerable members of the household in need of constant surveillance and protection from men, particularly, strangers. Such a protection is reinforced by limiting women's access to those activities that presuppose public

contact with the opposite sex (Lemu 1971; Sadawi 1980; Afshulur 1986). Women themselves are reluctant to participate in public activities for fear of violating religious ethics. As mothers, and charged with the responsibility of minding their daughters, they are likely to use all means at their disposal to ensure that their daughters do the same. To raise a daughter as a good Muslim is a duty which Muslim women take pride in (Maher 1974). And such a duty is supposed to earn a mother a'ajir (grace) or merit in heaven. To ensure that girls grow up as good Muslims, mothers are obliged to set a good example to them. They limit their daughters' contact with the public sphere as much as possible (Wiley and Wiley 1973; Stroebel 1979; ROK and UNICEF 1991, 1992). Conseguently, many Muslim women make themselves publicly invisible (Simmon 1976; Afshar 1987; Kozlowski 1989). This, as Falade (1963) has argued, makes public activities such as education attract only a small number of women.

In Kenya, Muslim culture is assumed to have a negative influence on the participation of Muslim girls in formal education (Stroebel 1979; ROK and UNICEF 1991,1992; Mambo 1980). Apart from the restrictions it imposes on women's access to the public domain (especially formal education and employment), Muslim culture also encourages early marriage which disrupts girls' education.

However, theoretical evidence on Islam, e.g., Pickthal (1961), Lemu (1971), Sadawi (1980), Afshulur (1986), Mohammed (1987) and

<ozlowski (1989), suggests that Islam's stand on the intellectual development of both sexes is explicitly positive. Education is sncouraged for every Muslim. Therefore, negative attitudes towards intellectual development of women has no foundation in the actual faith and practices of Islam (Sadawi 1980).Further, Mohammed (1987) notes that: "To blame Islam for our shortcomings is the fashion of today".

It is said that learning for both men and women was one of :he strongest pillars of Islam. The Holy Quran (Sura 5:11 and 96:3-5) considers knowledge acquisition as next to faith in importance, rhe Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) himself is quoted as saying that the desire for knowledge is a divine commandment for jvery Muslim (Hughes 1976:200). Al-Nowali (1986) argues that legative attitudes associated with Islam with regard to female education had stemmed from folk mores and prejudices based on pre-islamic Arabic cultures and individual cultural norms of various societies. These limit compliance with scriptual injunction that support intellectual pursuit for both men and women. Gilseman (1982 md Yemerev (1991) further suggest that unwarranted popularization >f some suggestive verses in the Holy Quran concerning the status >f women vis-a-vis men may have contributed to the current •tereotypes.

Although the studies reviewed above present less than inclusive evidence for the positive stand of Islam on women's

education, each of them acknowledges the fact that the misconception that Islam does not favor women's education exist. The present study was designed to investigate the extent and influence of Islam on mothers' expectations for their daughters' formal schooling.

Mothers exercise differential socialization technigues to male and female children. That situation is governed by the different roles children are expected to perform as adults (Chorodow 1976/Patterson 1977; Buvinic 1976; Rosen 1989). This differential treatment starts early in the life of the children (Epstein 1971; Richards 1972; Howe 1974; Artkinson 1987; North 1987; Oakley 1974,1987). The stereotypes are not random; they are tailor-made to prepare indivuals to perform 'appropriate' roles to their sex (Horner and Waish 1974; Graham 1978; Nguru 1980;Eshiwani 1985). Girls are assigned domestic duties that will preoccupy them as adults (Cowlishaw 1984; Oppong 1987; Hammond 1987; Mason 1988). On the other hand boys are assigned outside activities. For example, since the boys are expected to be breadwinners for future family units, they are encouraged to succeed in education which will enhance their earning capability (Radin 1976; Troll and Parron 1981; Stamm 1984;Brake 1985; Walczak 1988). In this regard, Best (1977:61) observed that:

> There is always a tacit assumption between parents and teacher and boys themselves that boys would some day be breadwinners and they must get a good start in life, that is, they must get a good education and good grades When they are young in order to ensure themselves of good jobs when they are older.

2.1.2 Educational attainment

The educational attainment of children largely reflects the degree of parental interest and commitment (Kohn 1977;Eshiwani 1982,1984(a), 1984(b), 1985; Rono 1986; Kathuri 1986; Makila 1986). Similarly, this will reflect the amount of encouragement and support given by parents (Sewell and Shah 1968; Kandell and Lesser 1969). Parental values and attitudes towards their children's education is influenced by their educational status (Kohn 1977; Alwin and Jackson 1982). Worldwide, many studies e.g., Gecas (1979, 1980), Kohn (1981) and Mason (1988), have documented a positive association between parents' level of education and expectations for their children' education. Schildkrout (1982) found that Muslim Hausa girls in Nigeria whose fathers had attended some formal education, considered education as an important investment. All of school-going age girls were in school. This evidence suggest a positive home emphasis on education is an important factor in encouraging female participation. In this regard, Sharma (1886) observes that mothers' education is particularly important:

> Her own school feeds that of her children, enables her to shift information relevant to their educational careers, to deal with teachers confidently to help her children with their homework and to monitor their progress.

:osby and Charter (1978) similarly found that parents who were •ducated seemed to place a high value on the education of children. Phey also perceived themselves as emphasizing these goals to their ;hildren. Contrary to this, however, parents who had no formal or Western education were likely to give less encouragement to their laughters' academic pursuits (Mehta 1970; Sewell and Hauser 1975; *0K and UNICEF 1992; Bronfebrener 1979).Unlike mothers with formal iducation, they may have little knowledge of educational jpportunities available for their daughters and also what their laughters might require to get a good education. Since education •ncourages independent thinking and action (Bronfebrener 1979:248), >arents exposed to it are likely to desire their children to be self-directed too. The contrary can be assumed to be true for >arents with no formal education. Unexposed to western education :hey are likely to give less encouragement to their daughters in :hat field. Instead they are more likely to give specific direction >n what girls should or should not do. Such domineering behavior lakes daughters dependent and perhaps more obedient and responsible >ut, unfortunately, it does not encourage them to set their own ;tandards of excellence and strive for them on their own.

Findings from other studies seems to contradict the foregoing Liscussion. For example, Kaye (1962) in a study in Ghana found that tothers without formal education encouraged the participation of heir daughters in formal school education. He observed that most lliterate mothers assigned domestic duties to their elder

aughters who were not in school in order to give those in school dequate time to study. By implication these findings indicate that .uch mothers would like their daughters to have what they .hemselves had missed. Eshiwani (1985) also had similar observation fith regard to some illiterate mothers in a study conducted in lenya. In addition, it has been argued that such mothers try to realize their frustrated ambitions by insisting that their laughters choose specific careers (Parikh and Gang 1984:10).

A number of studies have explored enrolment of females in the [enyan educational system (e.g., ROK and UNICEF 1991, 1992;Pala and Crystal 1975; Eshiwani 1984(a); Karugu 1986). The enrolment rates iave been related to, among other factors, parental level of sducation, occupation and students' career aspirations. Some of hese studies have given some attention to the low rates of enrolment of Muslim girls. However, there are gaps in the existing nowledge as to the exact nature of the relationship between the educational status of Muslim parents and their attitude towards heir daughters' education.This was one of the factors that otivated the present study.

The picture presented in some studies suggest that in some amilies there is a strong parental concern that discipline and upervision was not as tight in school as it was within the home, shiwani (1985) observed that there was prejudice against girls oing to school, especially by parents who feared that they would

ndulge in premarital sex and thus became pregnant as a result of heir being in company with the opposite sex. Parents were likely .o be less willing to entrust their daughters to schools that often :ept them away from home for a good part of the day. Similarly, in lome Muslim areas in Tanzania, Mbilinyi (1969) observes that some •arents fear for their daughters going to school because they light be molested by strange men on the way. This was particularly he case in areas where schools were far from home and girls had to lake long journeys to and from there. Other parents were against he idea of co-educational institutions (Mehta 1970; Stroebel 1979; :ahman 1976; Makila 1986; Fornea and Fornea 1987) from which girls ould pick what parents see as " bad habits".

The foregoing attitudes must be seen in association with the uslim rules that reguire separation of women from men as stated in he Quranic verse called Sura of Hiiab. The verse states thus: "And hen ye ask them(the Prophet's wives) for an article, ask them from ehind a curtain; that is purer for your hearts and for theirs" Quran Sura 34:54). The verse sanctions a barrier between men and omen, and as Afshulur(1986) has observed, "...the more stringent he separation and distance between the two (boys and girls), the ore pleasing and desirable it is in the light of Sharia (Islamic aw)".

Reasons for strict gender separation vary and sometimes are ontradictory.Evidence from available literature (for example,

iedghi 1976; Kozlowski 1989) suggest that in most Muslim immunities, women are considered vulnerable to male sexual idvances. Therefore, there is need, not only for their seclusion, >ut also for a constant surveillance on their movements. Evidence from other studies (e.g., Sadawi 1980; Afshulur 1986; Afshar 1987), however, give a different view behind the strict sexual segregation. For example, Afshulur (1986:74) argues that since men are thought to be eminently susceptible to female lures, society insists that men should be separated from women. Since strict separation is nearly impossible, this makes it imperative for women to wear veils in order to eradicate adultery and sodomy Furthermore, women's presence amongst men is said to undermine nen's better judgement (Afshulur 1986). In other words men cannot nake objective decisions in the presence of women. This point, in particular, is often presented metaphorically in many ways. For sxample, Fischer (1978:193-94) quotes Metaher (as early as 1353) as saying that men and women were like water and fire. If water is separated over fire, it heats until it boils and steams. However, If there is no separation, the water extinguishes the fire. Fire ind water in this case represents men and women, respectively.

It is, however, interesting to note that most Quranic ichools girls attend are co-educational institutions. Whereas parents feel safe for their daughters in these learning nstitutions, co-education in western educational institutions is iccepted reluctantly. Perhaps parents feel their daughters are safe

nder the watchful eye of the Ustaadh than under teachers in •estern educational institutions. However, because boys are given luch leeway, they tend to be active and show signs of independence 'rom an early age. They are allowed the liveliest peer-group ictivities, often full of vigorous playing, flirting and roaming ibout (Mayer 1970:xxvi). We can argue along with Mayer that such ictivities offer boys a competive spirit in line with what is leeded to succeed in an educational system. On the other hand, leer- group activities allowed girls are meant to encourage :onservatism and continued respect for ascribed roles. There is •ften little room for initiative and tolerance for deviations from conventional practices or norms (Rosen 1989:54). Part of the compliance to these norms is made possible by controlling a girl's pare time more closely (Brakes 1985). There is a reluctance to let rirls leave the confines of the home alone (Mbilinyi 1969; Sjostrom nd Sjostrom 1977; Stroebel 1979).

M.3 Age at first Marriage

With these constraints on women's movements, several studies e.g., United Nations 1967; Elam 1975; Eshiwani 1985; Olela 1991; ensen and Khasakhala 1993; ROK and UNICEF 1984, 1991, 1992) uggest that marriage is emphasized for women. In their study of uslim women in Egypt, Smock and Nadia (1975) noted that for most omen marriage was considered as important. Muslims have been

onsidered as a marrying people (ROK and UNICEF 1991; Nadia 1976) nd, according to Afshar (1987), marriage to Muslim women is seen s a religious duty, and those who marry are said to have performed wo-thirds of their religious duties. A mother takes great pains to repare her daughter(s) towards this end. Mehta (1970:17) has •bserved that for mothers: "...they hold their daughters only in :rust for their future husbands and once the girls are married :heir responsibility, if not their concern over them ends". The .mportance of marriage is perhaps seen in big wedding ceremonies rhich are celebrated with much enthusiasm and extravagance (Olela .991). For most patrilineal African societies, marriage is often ;tressed for girls largely from the view point of the benefits •arents hope to get in terms of bridewealth (Maleche 1961; Mbilinyi 969). Sometimes, the amount of bridewealth demanded for a girl's tand in marriage is determined by her level of educational ttainment. Eshiwani (1985) found that in some parts of Kenya, a iigh bridewealth for educated girls was a major factor that totivated parents to send their daughters to school. However,for he Muslim community at the coast , bridewealth for girls appears ot to be a compelling factor or even an overriding factor because t belongs to the bride herself and not to her parents (Caplan 1975 Stroebel 1979; Olela 1991). It might be suggested that since uslim parents do not benefit from a daughter's bridewealth, they ay see no reason in spending a lot of resources on her education.

The emphasis on being a wife first and foremost is likely to

lave a serious consequences for a girl's prospects in pursuing an education and in preparing for a career (Epstein 1971; Alexander and Reilly 1981; Oslo and Miller 1984; Eshiwani 1985). A girl may perceive going to school and passing an examination as unnecessary for her life as a wife and a mother. Since Muslim men are enjoined oy religion to take full responsibility of their wives' material needs (Abdullatti 1981), women may see mariage as something saving them from having to compete for a career. Sommerkon et al. (1970), have observed that such a perception is likely to weaken girls' determination and ambition to continue with their studies as they cannot see a strong connection between their married life and their schooling.

For some parents, the ideology that male children will be breadwinners for their families whereas female children will have to be taken care of at least in part by their husbands (Robbertson 1984) may weaken their motivation to educate girls. Similarly, there is an assumption among some parents that "...sons retain responsibility for their parents while daughters are incorporated into their husbands' families" (Eshiwani 1985) where much of the remuneration from their labour is spent. This assumption is frequently held by parents, despite the fact that some married women with economic ability do assist parents with full approval of their husbands. However, in as much as this assumption may be true or false, it influences the perception of parents on their daughters' formal education.

When confronted with economic constraints (like limited opportunities for schooling of their children) parents will generally favor the education of male children no matter how competent girls may be (Tinker and Bramsen 1975). Parents may see their daughters' education as less important relative to that of their sons. Daughters may be seen as wasting time in school when they should be concentrating on issues important to their married life. In other word, high education is not seen as adding to women's marriage worthiness (Mehta 1970), but instead informal education in female roles is considered sufficient for the purpose (Kim 1979:154). The resulting apathy is evident to the extent that girls 'bow out' of the education system (Forgarty et al. 1971:59). As Deble (1980:90) amply puts it "...many young girls jump directly from childhood to the role of a wife...". To them the real business of life is getting married and having a family (Haggart 1957:51).

An early marriage is preferred for Muslim girls. Therefore, when a girl reaches puberty, parents and relatives alike generally become concerned about the age at first marriage of their daughter. A number of studies suggest that there is a link between parental marital timing and the age at which they expect their children to marry (e.g., Kobrin and Waite 1984? Axinn and Thornton 1991; Alexander and Reiilly 1981; Howell 1980; Marini 1978; Waite and Spirtze 1983). Parents who married early will tend to expect an early marriage for their children (Mare and Winship 1991).

Age at first marriage to a large extent influence the level of •ducational attainment. Kiernan (1986) found that parents who narried early had the least education, a fact that consequently Influenced the level of education they expected their children to attain (Picou and Howard 1978; Waite and Moore 1979; Kerckhoff and Parron 1979; ROK and Unicef 1992; Kiernan and Sandra 1987). Early narriage disrupts a girl's schooling as marriage normally implies an end to one's participation in education. In her World Survey, Bluraberg (1989) found that out of the 38 development countries in her sample, education had the strongest effect on age at first marriage in Africa.

This was particularly the case in Sub-Saharan region. In a study of Digo society in Coast Province, Gillette (1978) found that compared to women who had married at 17 and above, the greatest majority of women who women who had married at the age of 16 and below had little or no formal education. Similarly, Jensen and Khasakhala (1993) attribute the small number of Muslim women with secondary education to the possibility that the age of graduation comes after the desired age at first marriage. In a similar vein, Tonsi (1988) points out that at upper primary school level, girls are expected to stay at home where they can be socialized into prospective traditional roles as wives and mothers. It is girls from this level (upper primary school) from which prides are chosen. This may also suggest that even if a girl qualifies for secondary school education after primary school

lational examination, she may not join a secondary school. This point supports the view by Gillette (1978) that very few Muslim fomen in Coast Province have received secondary education.

In many Muslim communities, girls are reguired to be virgins rhen they get married. This is evidenced by Kisara wanda or blood tained sheets on their wedding night. Mothers must, therefore, •rotect their daughters from any premarital sexual activities. This alls for a very strict supervision of their daughters. Hence, upon eaching puberty (when girls are likely to engage in premarital ex), parents closely control their daughters' movements all the ime (Brake 1985). In the past keeping them secluded from men was he best way of seeing that they remained virgins until the wedding ay (Fernea and Fernea 1987). Today, however, such rules may not be ossible in the light of the prevailing social settings. For some uslim parents, therefore, there is a tendency to withdraw girls rom school when they reach puberty (Parikh and Gang 1989). In her reoccupation to retain her daughter's virginity, a mother would go o any length to ensure this, whether it entails limiting her aughter's schooling or preventing her from attending altogether, here is an important point to note with regard to virginity hough. Although virginity is more often given a religious basis in ost Islamic communities, marriage to virgins is a non-Islamic ultural phenomenon. For example, out of the fourteen wives married o the prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) , only Asha was a virgin hile the rest were either divorced or widowed (Sadawi 1980).

Emphasis on virginity has come as a result of the need to aintain family honor. Even though both men and women are involved n upholding the honor of their family, each is required to express t differently. A man's honor to his family is sharaf, while that f a woman is ard. Ard is a private matter which often involves ne thing - a woman's sexual chastity. Sharaf, on the other hand, nvolves being generous and kind to others. Sharaf can be lost and einstated by respectively being either mean or unkind to others, r by increasing one's generosity and kindness. However, once elieved to be lost, ard cannot be regained regained (Fernea and ernea 1987). This in itself gives an insight into why women must e protected at all times. Once a girl has attained puberty and is till a virgin, she should be married off immediately to maintain er reputation and that of her family.

However, a 1991 study by ROK and UNICEF seems to ontradict the evidence that early marriage among Coastal Muslims inders girls' prolonged participation in education. In a study of re-school Muslim children in four Kenyan towns (including Mombasa) OK and UNICEF (1991) observed that age at first marriage ranged etween 14 and 24 years, with an average of 19. This implies that y the time most girls marry, they would have completed primary chool or even secondary. This contradiction in the current vidence forms part of the justification for including age at first arriage as a predictor of mothers' expectations for their aughter' level of educational attainment.

2.1.4 Premarital occupation

An increased participation of women in formal employment has been observed worldwide (e.g., Esptein 1971; King 1988; Oakley 1987) and in Kenya (Pala et al. 1978; Macharia 1985; Zeleza 1988). Despite this increase there is evidence to show that there are still many cultural barriers to women's full participation in employment (Simmons 1976). In many cultures, girls are still socialized to look up to men as providers and decision makers in •the family (Ghayur 1984). Girls are discouraged from getting high education that might enable them to participate effectively in formal employment.

It is also noteworthy that an increased participation of a woman in employment makes her relatively independent of her husband <Guer 1971). It is sometimes feared that such an independence might threaten the harmony of the family life (Mehta 1970; Stroebel 1979), particularly where a woman refuses to take orders from her husband.

There is a known association between education and labourforce participation (Bowen and Finegan 1969; Eshiwani 1985; King 1988).Most women fail to get employment because they lack formal education. Participation in formal employment creates and instills certain attitudes and expectations about the future of Dne's children (Rosen 1989). Parents who have or are in employment

may consider education as necessary in acquiring jobs and for the upward mobility within various job groups. This may influence expectations for children's future education and career prospects. Mothers with formal school education are likely to view the education of their daughters as useful for the attainment of better paying jobs.

In Kenya, the effect of parental occupational status on expectations for their daughters' formal education is well documented (Eshiwani 1984a: Nguru 1986). Possession of salaried employment enhances the holder's opportunities and, in turn, it is likely to influence interest in and commitment to the education of the holder's children. On the other hand, absence of salaried employment, particularly among the landless, accounts for low school enrolment in some areas (Sifuna 1990).

Overall, Kenyan Muslims are disadvantaged in terms of salaried employment because of high levels of illiteracy among them (Stoebel 1979; Mambo 1980; ROK and UNICEF 1991, 1992). For instance, in 1990 only 15% of the Mombasa labor force was in salaried employment as compared to 45% for the whole country (ROK and UNICEF 1991). Similarly, in his study of women in Mombasa, Orodho (1992) found that one of the most important constraints to womens's participation in employment was lack of formal education. Absence of salaried employment among Muslims has often been cited as an inhibiting factor to children's education (ROK and UNICEF

991 , 1992). Such a claim assumes that lack of salaried emplоment mong Muslims means lack of income from any other source which esult in poverty and therefore inability to afford to pay for .heir children's education. However, this assumption is >roblematic. It does not give adequate consideration to non-salaried employment. A fair proportion of the labor force in roastal towns such as Mombasa is in self-employment ROK and UNICEF 991). Further, Zeleza (1988) suggests that for most Kenyans, ncome from salaried employment may be lower than incomes from •elf-employment. This suggests that the foregoing argument about ack of financial means among coastal Muslims as a major barrier to aising school enrolment in the region is exaggerated. Possession •f financial means may be one of the necessary elements but it is n itself an insufficient condition for the prevalence or non-prevalence of high educational expectations among parents for their hildren's education.

In the present study, it was assumed that the relationship •etween employment and expectations for girls' education is not onfined to the ability to pay for educational cost. Rather focus as placed on the fact that salaried employment for women prior to arriage exposes them to wages independent of the family (Waite et 1. 1983) and socialize them into playing non-domestic chores Salaff 1988). Such exposure is likely to influence mothers' ttitude and hence expectations for their daughters. Mothers who ere employed either in public sector or in their own enterprises

rior to marriage are likely to appreciated these economic ctivities. They may also see occupations of this nature as crucial or their daughters (Hoffman 1974; Miller 1975), that will enable hem to earn money to help themselves and their parents. They may onsider it worthwhile to encourage their daughters to strive for ucrative employment. In a study of Malaysian women, Waite et al. 1983) found that mothers with premarital occupation or income- enerating activity had a relatively higher expectations for their aughters than was the case for mothers without such exposure. In n earlier study Boserup (1971) observed that, as opposed to nemployed, employed parents, and especially mothers, had 'liberal' deas and believed that women should engage in work and other ctivities outside the home.

.1.5 Current age

Most barriers that hindered women's participation in formal mployment have been eliminated (OECD 1979; Eshiwani 1985) and most =male children are getting better education than their mothers 3aladamu 1971). However, attitudinal lag, especially among some arents, still remains a major constraint to girls' full articipation in school education. Attitudinal lag represents slow nange in people's attitudes. This lag within some individuals in group may be attributed to age differences. Young people are more

-eceptive to new ideas and behavior than the old (Forner 1982, .984). This, according to Troll and Parron (1981), suggests a jrocess of historical change which generally starts with members of ;he younger generations. Some studies have integrated the effect >f chronological age on parental attitudes and aspirations for :heir children's future life. An individual's age is sometimes -elated to his or her dynamism (Forner 1984). Therefore, an nvestigation of individuals' behaviors in different age :ategories could give an insight into this dynamism. For instance, t can plausibly be suggested that attitudes and expectations .owards women's roles in society have been changing over enerations and with change in time (cf. Troll and Parron 1981). In >ther words forces of change are related to age system in what orner (1984:196) calls the "succession of cohorts". As one cohort ucceeds another, each will have lived through different times Forner 1984). Therefore, mothers of different age groups are ikely to vary in their values, attitudes, child rearing practices nd expectations for the future life of their children. Older •eople might still argue for better days and worse days after Torner 1984) or alternatively, they can exhibit the "world we have ost syndrome" (Leslette 1976:91). Such attitudes, if and where hey exist, may influence the way mothers socialize their daughters nd the expectations they have for them.

In contrast to the foregoing, there is a suggestion, that ometimes there are continuity and discontinuity between the past

and the present. Social change does not affect members of the same cohort in the same way. The relative influence of childhood experience may vary from one individual to the other. Similarly, cohorts are not only acted upon by cultural norms and value, but they can also react on those values and norms. In other words, individual "...can redefine patterns of behavior, reshape social institutions and alter attitudes and values" (Forner 1984:208). Similarly, it is also difficult to identify the influence of current age in peoples' attitudes in an urban setting like Mombasa (cf. Muddock and Campbell 1985), for the effect of current age is compounded by other factors correlated with it. Heyneinman (1977) found that in Uganda urban children had particular advantages in their education. Both parents and the children were exposed to mass media. In addition, better educational facilities and smployment opportunities among urban dwellers make education more attractive. This is what Gould (1972) meant when he said that in nodern urban areas, children are highly motivated to learn and have a more stimulating environment at home and about them, with the result that they are more likely to do better in school. We have sarlier in this work noted that even though the coastal Muslim community is basically urban, the enculturation process is still iighly formalized. This implies that current age may still have some effect on expectations for girls' participation in formal school. Caplan (1975) suggests that the Muslim community remains relatively conservative with regards to its social , cultural and economic practices.

1.2 Hypothesis

The following hypothesis were formulated and tested address the stated objectives of the study:

1. Mothers' level of educational attainment is positively associated with their expectations for their daughters' formal level of educational attainment.

2. Mothers' current age is negatively correlated with their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment.

3. Mothers' premarital occupation is positively correlated with their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment.

4. Mothers' age at first marriage is negatively correlated with their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment.

5. Mothers' religious beliefs are negatively associated with their expectations for their daughters' formal schooling.

.3 Theoretical Framework

.3.1 Socialization Theory

Socialization theory seeks to explain the systematic process hrough which social and cultural heritage is transmitted (Rosen 962; Tallman et al. 1983) in society. Such attitudes and behavior re acguired and shaped (at least in part) by early childhood xperience (Hunter College 1983). The theory views the transmission f information to an individual from childhood to adulthood as a equence of events on the the life cycle (Brim 1966; Mayer 1970; ilson 1971; Elder 1975). This process of conveying cultural norms rom one generation to the next is called socialization. The heory, which is basically sociological, tries to explain this rocess.

Socialization theory has proved a useful framework for nderstanding how individuals acquire certain attitudes and ehavior in society (Darwin and Weigert 1971; Wilson 1971; Herzog 968). This perspective treats individuals' attitudes, behavior and xpectations in life as dependent on the way they are brought up nd experiences they have gone through. In the present study, we nvestigate the influence of mothers' characteristics and xperiences on their expectations for their daughters' level of ducational attainment. Rosen (1962) has observed that individuals

earn standards of cultural norms and values from their parents nd society in general. These are internalized, so that when they re exposed to situations involving such standards, their actions re influenced by what was earlier learned. In her study in the :ocialization of housework, Oakley (1974) found that similar rhildhood experiences were recalled by mothers as influential in :he formulation of household attitudes.

The most important socializing agent is the family (Coleman 961; Kandel and Lesser 1972; Bengtston 1975). Here parental 'alues, attitude and expectations are important in influencing heir children's attitudes and behavior. Within the family, ocialization theorists suggest that there is likelihood for a hild of one sex to identify with the parent of similar sex. In •ther words, mothers will associate more with their daughters Rosen 1989; Tallman et al. 1983; Hunter College 1983; Oakley 1974) ust as sons will do with their fathers. Campbell (1969) and horodow (1976) observe that mothers' conduct and supervision of heir daughters play a major role in their daughters' attitude ormation. Similarly, within the family, religious norms and values nfluence the attitudes of individuals (North 1987). Some of the **eliefs** and values acquired from the family are subsequently einforced, modified or in some cases changed by subsequent ocialization (Whitbourne and Weinstock 1979; Artkinston 1987). For xample, the school, through its educational programs suppresses nd, sometimes, substitutes earlier (Coleman 1965; Oakley 1974)

xperiences. Socialization further continues into adulthood through ubseguent experiences like those present at one's place of work Artkinston 1987). This further influence one's attitudes and xpectations.

In the present study, we look at some guestions addressed by he theory. The theory provides the theoretical basis for the •valuation of the five hypotheses stated earlier.

Operationalization of the variables

The study utilizes five exploratory variables: The level f educational attainment, age at first marriage , current age, remarital occupation, and perception of Islam on women's formal ducation. The variables were measured against one dependent ariable as expectations for daughters' formal schooling. The ariables were operationalized in the following manner:

Formal Educational Expectations

his was the dependent variable. Respondents were assessed as aving high or low expectations on the basis of their responses to he guestion: "What is the highest level of education you would

ike your daughter(s) to attain in formal schools?". Responses to his question were scored 1 to 5 corresponding to "Primary", Secondary", "University","Not necessary", "Undecided".

.4.2 Level of Educational Attainment

evel of formal educational attainment is important because it enotes the extent to which one is exposed to formal educational pportunities available. This variable was solicited by asking others the question: "What was the highest level of formal ducational attainment did you complete?" It was operationalized by lassifying level of attainment into: "None", "1-4", "5-8" and 9+" .

.4.3 Age at First Marriage

ge at first marriage denotes the time one leaves the parents for o with a spouse.Age at first marriage was solicited by asking the espondents the question: "How old were you when you first got arried?" The answer to this question was recorded in years as a Dntinuous variable.

2.4.4 Current Age

This is the chronological age. Current age was referenced in years at the time of the study. Age was solicited by asking respondents the question: "How old will you be at the end of this year?" The answer to this question was recorded in years as a continuous variable.

2.4.5 Premarital Occupation

This was defined as economic activity one was engaged in prior to marriage. Premarital economic experience was solicited from the mothers by their response to the question: "What did you for a living prior to your marriage?". It was operationalized by classifying the respondents as to whether they belonged to the following categories: "Worked in own business" , "Worked around the home", or was "Employed by others". Mothers in the second category were considered not to have had premarital occupation.

2.4.6 Perceptions of Islam

This denotes concepts and ideas people have on Islam with regard to its position on women's formal education.Three related questions were used as indicators for mothers' perceptions on religious stand on women's education. These were as follows:

(i) "Some people say that Islam perpetuates male dominance in society while others say that it promotes equality of sexes. In you opinion, does Islam promote equality or inequality? This variable was operationalized by classifying the responses into "Promotes equality", " Promotes ineguality" and a third category "Do not know" was added to capture responses of those who were not sure of either one or the other.

(ii) The second guestion read: "What does Islam stipulate as the proper domain for women in an Islamic society such as yours?". The perceived domain was captured in "Private", "Public " , "Both public and Private" and "Do not know".

(iii) The third guestion, and one that measured mothers' perceptions directly read: "Would you say Islam favors the education of boys as opposed to that of girls?" A "yes" and "no" response was used to capture mothers' perceptions.

2.5 Definition of Terms Used

2.5.1 Values

This denotes shared cultural standards, for example, aesthetics, morals, attitudes and desire, that can be compared and judged. Those who share these standards view them as valid and should be used in valuing and evaluating people's actions.

2.5.2 Norms

Norms refer to average or most typical behavior, attitudes, opinions or perceptions found in a social group. They are standards shared by members of a social group to which all members are expected to conform. Conformity to these standards is reinforced by positive and negative sanctions.

2.5.3 Perceptions

Are experiences accumulated over time and have finally gained meaning or significance to an individual. The experiences are transformed into perceptions by developing concepts and ideas about them. One is said to perceive them.

2.5.4 Attitude

It is one's organization of psychological processes as inferred from his or her behavior with respect to some aspect of life as distinguish from others. Attitude represent residue from one's previous experiences with which he/she approaches subsequent situations. The residue, together with contemporary influences in such situations, determine one's behavior in it. Most attitudes are enduring. This is because residues are carried over from the past to new situations. However, attitudes may change. This may occur when an individual encounters with new situations.

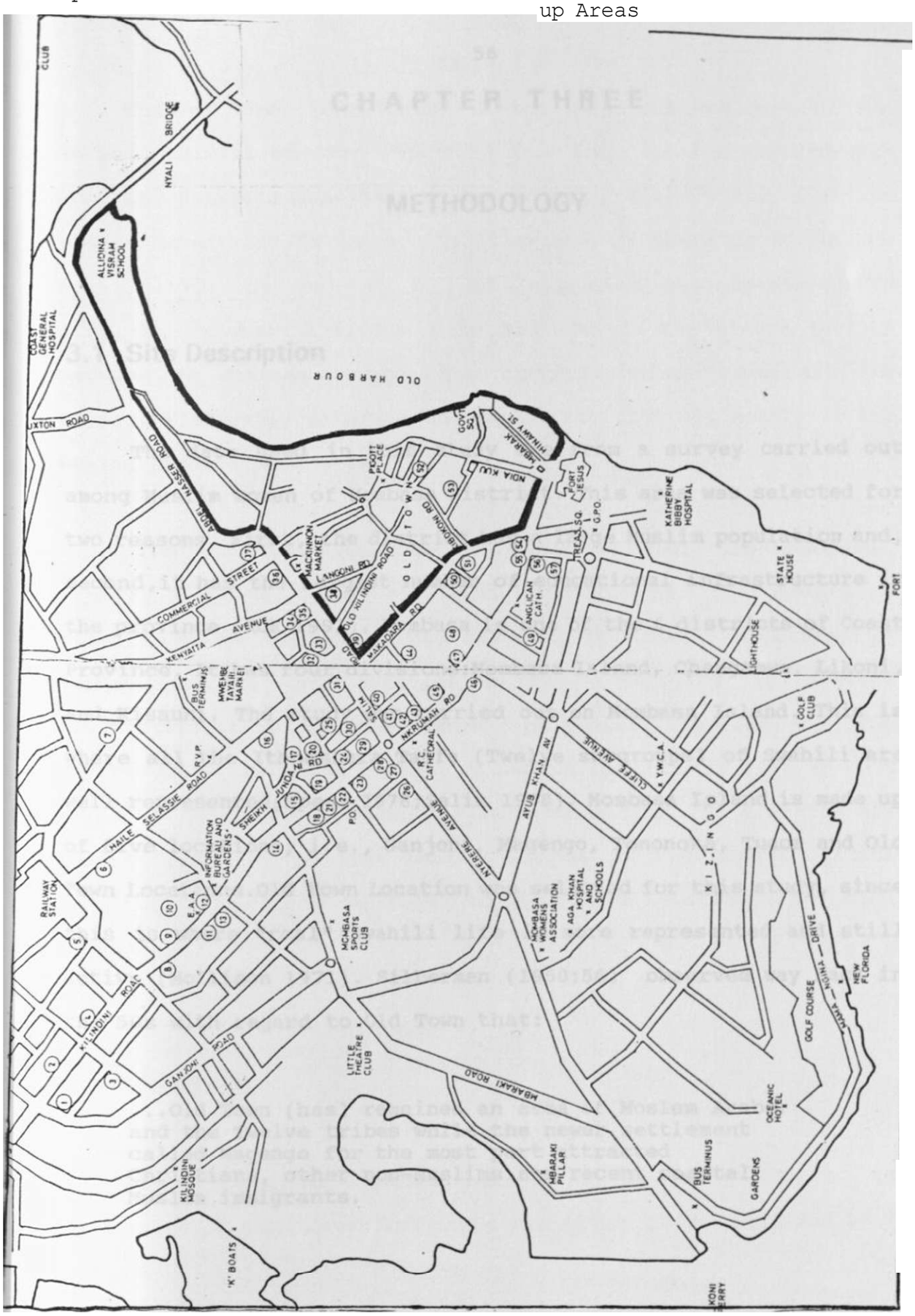
2.5.5 Influence

It denotes whatever it is that causes an individual (in any social situation) to deviate from a predicted path of behavior. Alternatively, it denotes "change in behavior of a person or group due to an anticipation of the response of others". In this sense, therefore, the term connotes gradual exertion of power and persuasion rather than any overt exercise of power connected with formal authority.

1.5.6 Expectations

t is a subjective state deriving from an individual's guality of ixperiences within specific situations. This state predisposes an ndividual to responding in a certain manner given the situation or >pportunity. In other words, the experiences in such a situation ietermine the adjustment of the individual to anticipate future experiences. Therefore, individuals are said to have certain sxpectations about those particular situations.

Map 3.1s Mombasa Island and its Built-up Areas



Source: Kenya's Coast: Illustrative Guide

C H A P T E R T H R E E

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Site Description

The data used in this study are from a survey carried out among Muslim women of Mombasa District. This area was selected for two reasons. First, the district has a large Muslim population and, second,it has the largest number of educational infrastructure in the province (ROK 1993). Mombasa is one of the 6 districts of Coast Province. It has four divisions:Mombasa Island, Changamwe, Likoni, and Kisauni. The study was carried out on Mombasa Island. This is where all the Ithnashara Taifa (Twelve subgroups) of Swahili are well represented(Spear 1978;Salim 1978). Mombasa Island is made up of five locations, i.e., Ganjoni, Magengo, Tononoka, Tudor and Old Town Locations.Old Town Location was selected for this study, since this is where "real" Swahili life is more represented and still active (Mollison 1971). Silberman (1950:56) observed way back in the 50s with regard to Old Town that:

> ...Old Town (has) remained an area of Moslem Arabs, and the Twelve tribes while the newer settlement called Magengo for the most part attracted Christians, other non-Muslims and recent coastal Muslim immigrants.

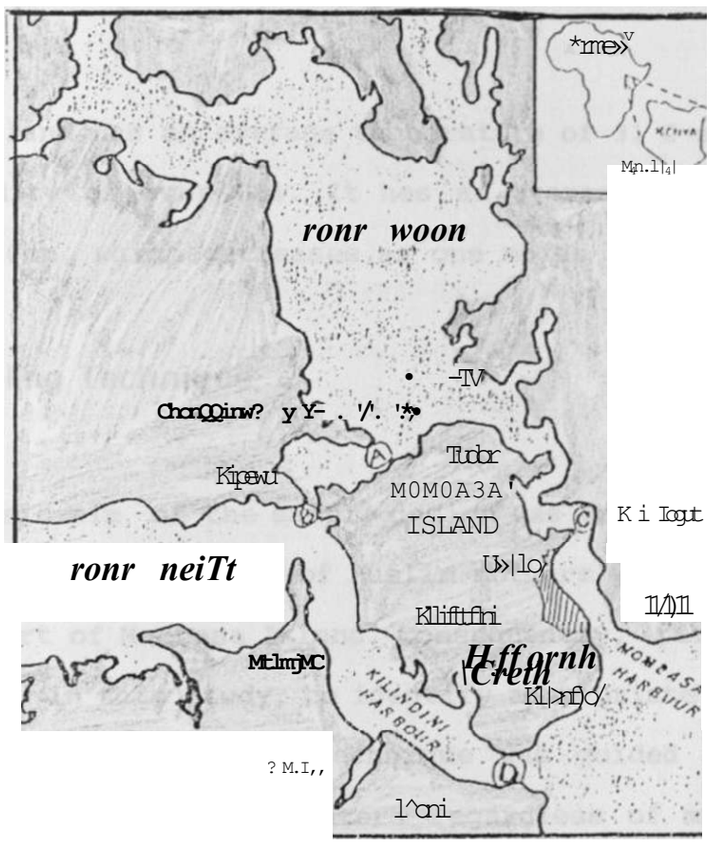
The old Town is situated in the north-eastern part of the Island. This is an area beginning from Fort Jesus along Nkurumah Road and Makadara Road towards the south, and along Digo Road and Abdel Nasser Road to the south. It extends at the site of the New Nyali Bridge area and back to Fort Jesus along the sea-shore (Map 3.2). As its name indicates, the Old Town is the oldest settled section of Mombasa Island. The current resident community is characteristically urbanite and Muslim. It consists mostly of the twelve Swahili subgroups.

The Old Town Location comprises of four sub-locations, namely, Madhbawa, Kuze, Forodhani, and Ngomeni. It consists of closely packed self-contained residential houses, separated by narrow streets and twisting alleys. According to Ghaidan (1975:xiii),it is for this reason that social life flows out from the streets, fostering a sense of community which is lost in most parts of the world. Though Ghaidan's observation is a little bit romanticized, it is true that closeness of the houses affords individuals living in separate houses, a close relationship to each other.

3.2 Topography

The 275 sq. km Mombasa Island is generally flat. It is sorrounded by deep water and it is connected to the mainland by

Map 3.2; Mombasa Island and its Connections to the Mainland



I Inrbours, Mainland Location; and Island Dlicrlcls of Mombasa

Source: Kindy (1972)

Key
A - Makupa Causeway ~
B - Kipevu Causeway
C - New Nyali Bridge
D - Likoni Ferry
E - Old Town

Key ***[////Moid*** Town

Makupa Causeway to the west, New Nyali Bridge to the north and Likoni Ferry to the south (Map 3.2.).

3.3 Climate

The Island has an average temperature of 31 C and a relatively high humidity of over 65%. It has an average annual rainfall of about 1,100mm, which decreases as one moves to the interior.

3.4 Sampling Technique

The basic aim of the sample design was to achieve a convenient sample from the population of Muslim mothers with daughters in the selected part of Mombasa Island. Consequently, purposive sampling was utilized in this study, to identify appropriate informants. The choice of this particular technigue was guided by the need to identify women who had daughters regardless of mothers' age and marital status. The sampling strategy involved two stages of selection. As an initial stage, a house-to-house survey was done to identify mothers who satisfied the citerior. A list of 280 eligible women (about seventy from each of the four sub-locations of Old Town) was compiled. This formed our universe. Seventy mothers, i.e. , 25 % of the mothers were randomly selected for the study from this universe. This sample was based one important . This was due to limited the financial resourcesat my disposal. Therefore, a

imple of seventy mothers was considered adequate for the lvestigation of the variables that were being considered, jwever, the analysis for this study focuses on 62 of the seventy others because eight mothers were dropped from the sample for jasons explained later.

After defining the sample size, one preliminary visit was made D each of the selected mothers. The visit served three main jrposes. First, it enabled the investigator to inform individual others in advance about their inclusion into the sample. Second, t enabled the investigator to reaffirm the willingness of selected others to participate and to ensure that they would be available or the interview. Lastly, the visits served as a basis for stablishing rapport with the would-be respondents before the dministration of the questionnaire.

.5 Data Collection

Four research instruments were used to collect data for the tudy.

-5.1 Questionnaire

A six -page guestionnaire was administered to the women from

December 1992 to April 1993. The questionnaire had atotal of forty-seven items (Appendix A). The questions were basically close-ended with some open-ended. Close-ended questions ensure a broad level of comparability amongst respondents. They also provided more efficiency and ease of handling at the coding stage. The questionnaire was administered by the investigator and it elicited a variety of information from mothers in line with the variables as earlier discussed in this study. The questions were translated from English into Kiswahili, the common and first language of the informants. Most of the questionnaire interviews were administered at the informants' own homes and lasted for an average of twenty-three minutes.

3.5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Another tool used to gather information was that of the semi-structured interviews. This was used to solicit for in-depth information on the subject matter of the study. An interview schedule was developed to guide and focus the interviews. The interview schedule contained items that covered issues of interest which either the questionnaire did not adequately cover or had initially been overlooked. The interviews were conducted in person in an informal conversation. The informal nature of the interview provided a greater flexibility and relaxed atmosphere for the respondents whereby, for example,questions were rephrased or new ones added as the situation demanded.

It was difficult to engage mothers in solitary conversation because of the close nature of the residential patterns; and often other household members were always around. Sometimes, men were present and their permission had to be secured in addition to asking them to move from the scene. The later was not always easy to achieve if suspicion was to be avoided. They were, however,politely asked to leave since their presence could have influenced the respondents' answers. In some cases, however, the respondents themselves refused to be interviewed unless a third person, mostly a woman, was present. This, however, was not without advantages. It not only helped to keep the respondents honest, but it also helped to crystalize consensus as those present agreed or disagreed with the respondents on certain issues.

Most of the interviews lasted for about forty-five minutes per mother and were recorded in their entirety on audiotapes. These were later replayed and transcribed in English. A tape-recorder proved useful in this exercise. It enabled the investigator to devote full attention to the interviews, thus, saving much field time that could have been used in writing down the responses directly on paper during the interviewing process.

3.5.3 Case History Technique

The third method used to gather data was the case history

technique. Participants were selected using the ' ordinary man'criterion (Plummer 1983). This approach is useful in selecting persons who are not outstanding in society in any social aspect. A total of twenty-three mothers who had not responded to the questions from the questionnaire or participated in the interviews were selected to narrate their life histories. Since the focus of the study was on factors influencing mothers' expectations for their daughters' formal schooling, it was imperative that mothers' stories of their education should be documented for analysis. A case history protocol (guide) provided guidelines which were designed to obtain data that would provide a basis of comparability among those giving their case histories. These were broad and flexible guidelines which allowed mothers adequate time to narrate their life histories in depth. The average time for each case history was onr and half hours. The case histories were collected in respondents' own homes on appointment. They were done in Kiswahili, tape-recorded and later replayed to make transcripts in English. This formed a set of data used in the final analysis. Some of the real words used by the respondents have been presented in quotations in chapter four as illustrative material in the discussion of some of the findings. A total of twenty-three case histories were collected.

3.5.4 Direct Observation

The other tool used to gather data for this study was direct

observation. This is a special data collecting technigue on non-verbal behavior. It was used to gather data on on-the-spot (spot sampling) activities that girls and their mothers were engaged in when they were encountered. In addition, the technique was used to observe the presence of education related materials like tables , bookshelves and books.

3.5.5 Focus Group Discussions

The last tool used, though only on two occasions,was focus group discussion. Small groups of informants (eight people) were selected amongst those who responded to the questionnaire and had shown a good knowledge of their community's current sociocultural, economic and educational issues. These were selected with the help of two key informants who had themselves been selected through their knowledge of socio-cultural set-up, as well as knowledge of various individuals in the area. In addition, they had been research assistants to both local and foreign researchers in the past. The discussion centred on salient issues identified during the study. Such issues included normative preference used in choosing which child (boy or girl) to allow to go to school in case of financial constraints, views on co-education and religious norms regarding women's participation in education and employment, among others. Acting as a discussant/moderator, the investigator used a prepared set of guestions on the above mentioned issues and invited responses from group members. As discussion went on, the

investigator recorded issues of interest to the study.

3.6 Obstacles to Data Gathering

The research took much longer than anticipated. A major problem resulted from the fact that the timing of the research coincided with the multi-party civic, parliamentary and presidential elections. Consequently, the political sensitivity prevalent at the time, initially aroused suspicion among some respondents regarding the research motives. Political campaigns to many people at the time were translated into money gifts. The moment we were seen interviewing an individual, others came thinking that we were giving out money. It had to be made clear to the informants that participation was entirely voluntary, and that it had nothing to do with politics or the government. As a result of these interruptions , the research was suspended for two weeks after the initial study had entered the fourth day. This was to allow for political campaigns and elections to take place and election euphoria to settle down.

A further delay was occasioned by the activities of the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) whose centre of political activities is in Old Town. Some respondents initially suspected the investigator of being a government spy. There was initial fear that

this attitude would lead to close doors to the study. Some respondents wanted to get an assurance that the investigator was not a spy. In some cases, it was necessary to produce my student's identity card to justify the research. The investigator went around this problem by having a resident assistant born and raised in Old Town. He was present during the entire research enterprise. His presence helped to legitimize the research.

The problem emanating from male dominance was observed. As noted in the background information, men wield more power and authority than women, both in the community in general and over their wives in particular. Some women were afraid to talk to the investigator without permission from their husbands. This was despite the fact that they had agreed on their own behalf (during the preliminary visits) that they would participate. The explanation given for the change of heat often took the form: "After I told him (husband) about my intention to participate, he insisted that he had to see you (the investigator) first, to discuss the research objectives before he could give his consent". Five women insisted that they had to get permission from their husbands. The problem of securing their husbands' permission proved difficult. Three of the women had their husbands working out all week except on weekends. For the remaining two, their husbands had outrightly refused them permission to take part. Some neighbors hinted that some husbands were very restrictive. Three other women could not be located. This brought the number of non-response to

eight. As a result, the sample size was reduced from the original figure of seventy to sixty-two. Despite these problems, the general response was, on the whole, positive at the rate of 89 per cent.

C H A P T E R F O U R

4.0 FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the study findings based on the five hypotheses which addressed specific objectives as outlined in chapter one.

4.1 Mothers' Level of Educational Attainment and its Influence on Expectations for their Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment.

It was predicted that mothers' level of educational attainment would be positively correlated with expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. The findings suggest a positive correlation between mothers' level of educational attainment and expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. This implies that there is a likelihood that mothers with higher education would have high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling as compared to mothers who had little or no education.

Cross-tabulations were made by employing mothers'level of educational attainment and expectations for teir daughters' formal schooling. This give a vivid picture of how mothers' expectations varied with their level of education. Results are indicated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Preference for Daughters' Formal Schooling by Mothers' Level of Educational Attainment.

Mothers' Education	Primary	Secondary University	Not Necessary	Undedid ed	Total
None	40.9% (9)	40.9% (9)	4.5% (1)	13.6% (3)	35.5% (22)
1 - 4	25.0% (1)	50.0% (2)	0% (0)	25.0% (1)	6.5% (4)
5 - 8	19.2% (5)	61.6% (16)	0% (0)	19.2% (5)	41.9% (26)
9+	20.0% (92)	50.0% (5)	0% (0)	30.0% (3)	16.1% (10)
TOTAL	27.4% (17)	51.6% (32)	1.6% (1)	19.4% (12)	100.0% (62)

More than half (51.6%) of the mothers had high expectations of secondary level and above, compared to only 27.4 %per who had expectations for primary education. The results suggest that the values of formal education were appreciated by Muslim mothers and that education is perceived as important to their daughters' future goals in life. About 62% of the mothers with '5-8' years of schooling expected their daughters to have secondary level of education and above, followed by those with nine years of schooling and above (50%), with 40.9 % per of those with no education having similar expectations. The data in Table 4.1 suggest that all mothers, irrespective of their level of educational attainment, had high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. The Table indicates that out of the mothers (27%) who expected their daughters to attain primary level of education, a large number (40.9%) was displayed by mothers who had no education atall.

Even though the hypothesis is supported, the trend with regard to high expectations was not consistent with prediction. The mixed pattern makes interpretation of the results more difficult. For example, it is surprising that mothers with no education exhibited high preference (40.9%) for secondary level and above. The result of focus group discussion and life histories together with answers to probes to questions in the guestionnaire, shed light on the reasons why mothers had high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. For example, in explaining why they expected their daughters to have secondary education and above, cures theme appeared much more predominantly. This was related to the necessity for daughters to get a good job with a high pay that will ensure them security in the uncertain future. It was agreeable among many of the mothers that good jobs available today can only be performed by those with a good education. For example, a 55 year old mother who was illiterate made the following observation:

> Because if she gets more education, it will give her a better opportunity to acquire knowledge to enable her get a job with high pay.

Further, a 45-year old mother, and similarly illiterate, observed that:

> Since life is difficult, the higher one goes, the better. One has a better chance of earning a higher salary.

A 29-year old form four leaver had this to add:

> Once she reads up to university, she can get a better job faster, and also has a better chance of getting a good salary. Low education has no benefit today.

From the above quotations, the three respondents seem to have rationalized the important role education will play in the lives of their daughters for the present. During this period of rapid socio-economic changes, the mothers saw education as eguipping their daughters with the necessary skills which will ensure them a place in the modern sector and the monetary rewards it has to offer.

The high preference exhibited by some mothers might also be interpreted to mean that some of them expected to realize in their daughters, some of their frustrated or unfulfilled childhood goals. It was clear from some of the case histories recorded that some of the mothers felt quite justifiably that the responsibility for their lack of education was their parents'. There was a feeling that had interest been taken in their education, they might have exerted themselves more to excel. The case of one respondent reflects this:

> Zuhra(not her real name) is aged 35, and a standard seven drop-out. She is a mother of three- two sons and a daughter. The highest level of education ever attained by a male member of her family was form four, while for a female was standard seven. Her mother did not attend any formal schooling and was never employed in any work. Her mother got married at an early age of 12. When she was growing up Zuhra's greatest ambition in life was to get a good education. However, when she was in standard seven, she was taken out of school by her mother. Her brothers were left to continue. According to her, she refused to do anything including her household chores as a sign of protest. She was soon married off to an old man, old enough to be her father. By the time this study was conducted, the man had been dead for a year, leaving her a young widow. She remembered that she cried because she could not be allowed to continue with her education and perhaps

> achieve her goal. Her aim after school had been to be able to work like other women. She remembered some of her classmates who had continued their education now led a better life than she did. Having received higher education, some had got jobs. Others left work after saving enough money from their salaries and had opened up their own businesses like shops, boutiques and hair saloons. She observed that if she were to relive her childhood, she would go back to school, and her aim would be to acquire more education so that she can work and help herself and the children (now that their father is dead).

Although, Zuhra was not able to complete her primary education, she had very high preference for her daughters' formal schooling. Her expectations can be attributed to the need to achieve in her daughter(s) what she herself was not able to get as a child.

In a rapidly changing world (both socially and economically) some respondents felt that it was nolonger easy to predict the skills that a daughter , or any child for that matter , will require to have in order to make a good living as an adult. However,it is certainly undisputed that whatever the skills pursued, education will no doubt be a very important background. This point is explicitly expressed by a 49-year old respondent who had four years of schooling:

> There is no aspect of life where education is not applicable, may it be at home or at place of work. It is because of this that education is important to women too as they live in the same world as men.

For some respondents, formal education was seen as important for its own sake. It enables women to do many things on their own.

The most frequently mentioned uses of formal education to women included: being able to find one's way in hospitals and on journeys. Similarly, possession of reading skills would eliminate the handicap of having to rely on others to read letters or doctor's instructions for them. Another mother, 36-years old and illiterate, caused us laughter when she insisted that formal education for her daughters will more than anything else help them to avoid their husbands cheating on them. She observed :

> If you just leave yourself like 'maziwa lala' (fermented milk), your husband will receive letters from girlfriends and when you ask him (about the letters), he will tell you that, oh I they are from workmates. You will never know the truth.

For mothers whose preference for their daughters' level of educational attainment was limited to primary school level, the overriding reason was the need to eliminate ignorance. Formal education was not seen in terms of future career attainment. A 24-year old mother who had no education and whose preference for her daughter(s) was limited to primary school education observed that:

> Kitumu cha muhimu ni kuondoa ujinga tu (What is important is just to remove ignorance)

For further insight into how mothers with different levels of education perceived their daughters' education, they were asked the question: "Who do you think benefits from a girl's education?". The response to this question was measured on a five-item scale which included "herself", "herself and family", "no benefit", "herself

and husband" and "undecided". This question was specifically intended to determine the end to which mothers' effort in educating their daughters was directed. The end results of girls'education, it was argued, may play an important role in determining the overall demand for girls' formal education. The findings are displayed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Percentage distribution of perceived benefits from girls' formal education.

Benefits of Girls' Formal Education	No	
Girls and Parents	27	43.5
Girls themselves	19	30.6
Girls and Husbands	10	16.1
No Benefit	5	8.1
Undecided	1	1.6

About 44% of the mothers studied felt that girls' formal education benefitted the girls themselves as well as their parents. Close to 31% thought it benefitted only the girls themselves, while 16.1% thought it benefitted the girls together with their husbands. Only 5 (8.1%) of the mothers felt that formal education had no benefit at all for their daughters. It comes as a surprise that 44% of the mothers considered formal education as being beneficial to their daughters and themselves as parents. It is surprising in view of the fact that available literature on Muslim community suggests that investiment in women's education is often considered as a waste. A girl would be married and so her education would benefit another family. Similarly, as indicated in the review of

literature, bridewealth for a Muslim bride belongs to the girls herself and her parents do not benefit from it. This should make education of a girl undesirable.

However, the present data points to the contrary. The data indicate that the majority of the mothers, irrespective of their educational status, tied their effort in educating their daughters to the kind of benefit they expected to get. This might have some negative implications on the effort to educate Muslim girls in this community. It might be argued that since the benefit of formal education is not tied to the girls themselves, it is likely to be viewed in subjective rather than objective terms.This might imply that should a mother, for some reasons, feel that her daughter's education was not important to her as a parent, then little effort might be made to advance it. It might be speculated that, this might explain why girls from wealthier families tend to have low levels of formal education.

Out of the 27 mothers who considered formal education as beneficial to their daughters and themselves, more than a half (51.8%) had no education, 37.0 % had '5-8' years of schooling , while only 2 (or 7.4%) had nine years of schooling and above. There is some support for the hypothesis in these figures. One interesting fact that emerges is that many of the mothers without formal education were less likely to consider education of their daughters as beneficial to their daughters themselves. A few mothers with secondary education held similar attitudes.

Qualitative data indicates that these category of mothers expected a return from their investment as expressed in the following two comments:

> She benefits together with me. She has a responsibility to take care of me since I will have gown old.

> Whatever she gets , she cannot deny us because we (parents) have given up all our pleasures to educate her. It will be her turn to help her parents who in any case will have grown old and need help in return.

On the other hand, out of the 19 mothers who reported that formal education was beneficial to the girls themselves, nearly 47% had '5-8' years of schooling as compared to 32% who had no formal education. Correspondingly, it might be suggested that mothers with formal school education are more likely than those without to have liberal attitudes with regard to formal education.

The extent to which some mothers encouraged their daughters to participate in formal education was sometimes influenced by the perceived intellectual disparity between boys and girls. Boys who are likely to be considered as intellectually superior. It was expected that the perception that boys were more intelligent than girls will be more prevalent among the uneducated mothers than educated mothers. Similarly, more mothers with formal school education are more likely than those without to ascribe poor performance of their daughters in school to lack of ability rather than effort. Our findings show that out of twenty-three mothers

interviewed, more than a half (or 65.2%) indicated that boys were superior in intelligence relative to girls. Only 8 (or 34.8%) reported that the two were the same. Girls were in no case mentioned as being more intelligent than boys.

A breakdown of the responses, further shows the influence of education on mothers' perceptions about their daughters' formal schooling. For example, out of the 15 mothers who reported that boys were superior in intelligence, nearly a half (46.6% or 7) had no education as compared to 6 (or 40.0%) who had '5-8' years of schooling. Only two mothers with nine years of schooling and **above** held similar beliefs. Judging from these figures, however, it may be suggested that possession of formal education has not significantly changed the outlook of mothers in the sample. There are probably more women who still wish women to be less intelligent than men. For example, some mothers thought that girls were less intelligent than boys because:

(i) Women have a heavy mind, while men have a lighter mind. Boys will understand something faster than girls. So, in most cases, boys are encouraged to get more education than girls.

(ii) ...they (boys) are keen on intellectual matters.

(iii) Men would take all their time to understand how something works. But a girl would try and if she is defeated, she would give up.

Among the eight respondents who reported that girls were just as intelligent as boys, five had nine years of schooling and and above while the remaining three had '5-8' years of schooling.

None of the respondents with no formal education held similar views.

To find out the extent to which girls' education was considered important for the future life of girls relative to that of boys, the respondents were asked an hypothetical question: " Assume that you were given just enough money to take only one child to school, either a boy of a girl, who would you choose to educate and why?". This question elicited a wide variety of responses as well as considerable hesitations in many cases. The majority of the informants, 17 (81.0%) out of the 23 mothers interviewed said they would send a male child to school. Out of the seventeen who favored educating male children, 41.0% had no education, 35.0% had '5-8' years of schooling while only 24.0% of those with nine years of schooling and above had similar preference. These findings suggest that educational status has some influence on the normative priority to educate boys and girls in situations of limited financial resources. Mothers who had little or no education were likely to favor the education of boys. When mothers were probed for reasons why they would prefer to educate a male child (under financial difficulties), a variety of reasons were given. These ranged from widespread cultural values favoring boys as heads of future household units, to lack of effort or perceived low intelligence on the part of girls. Some of these are captured in the following two responses:

> The reason why I would take a male child irst is Because Mwanamume ndiyo baba tunantegemea katika kila kitu (A man is the father, we depend on him for all our needs).

> ...I would prefer to take a male child to school. " Wavulana ndiyo muhimu" (Boys are the most important). Look here, I personally went to school and where have I ended up? In the kitchen. Education is much more important for a boy than a girl. This is because he will help me, himself and his family".

An indication may fairly be deduced from the above observations that for these mothers education of girls is perceived in terms of opportunity cost (value foregone) in educating a girl. Whereas girls could still be married and be taken care of by their husbands, boys who missed out on education have no bright future.

4.2 Mothers' Premarital Occupattion and its Influence on their Expectations for their Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment.

The second hypothesis stated: "Mothers' premarital work experience is positively correlated with their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment". The findings suggest a positive correlation between mothers' premarital work and expectations they have for their daughters' formal schooling. The hypothesis was upheld. This suggests that mothers who had work engagement prior to their marriage were more likely to have higher expectations for their daughters' formal schooling relative to those who had no such engagements.

A cross-classification analyzing the relationship between mothers' premarital work experience and expectations for their daughters' formal schooling was constructed. The result are summarized in Table 4.3 . The table gives a percentage breakdown of expectations for daughters' educational attainment by mothers engaged in three premarital work

Table 4.3: Mothers' Preference for Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment by Mothers' Premarital Work.

Mothers' Premarital Work	Primary	Secondary University	Not Necessary	Undecided	Total
Worked Around the Home	29.3% (12)	56.1% (23)	2.4% (1)	12.2% (5)	66.1% (41)
Worked in Own Business	20.0% (2)	50.0% (5)	0% (0)	30.0% (3)	16.1% (1)
Employed by others	27.3% (3)	45.5% (5)	0% (0)	27.3% (3)	17.7% (11)
Total	27.4% (17)	53.2% (33)	1.6% (1)	17.7% (11)	100.0% (62)

More than half (53.2%) of the respondents had high expectations for their daughters to attain at least a secondary level of education. Only 25% said that they expected their daughters to go far as primary level. One respondent reported that it was not necessary for her daughter(s) to acguire any formal education. Nearly, one-fifth (19.4%) of the respondents were undecided as to the expectations they had for their daughters' level of educational attainment. Further breakdown of the results

indicates that out of those who had high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling of secondary level and above, more than a half (56.1%) worked around the house, followed by 50.0 % of those who worked in their own business. About 46 % of those employed for cash had similar expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. On the other hand, a higher proportion of mothers who had no opportunity to work prior to marriage reported lower expectations of primary level relative to mothers in the other two premarital work categories. Thus, about 30% of the mothers of the mothers with premarital work engagement expected their daughters to attain primary level of education as compared to 27% of those who had been employed by others and 20% of those who worked in their own businesses.

Descriptive data suggest that an important relationship exits, mothers' premarital work and the expectations they displayed for their daughters' formal schooling. In order to understand this relationship, we must take into consideration mothers' interpretation of high levels of formal education. Probes into mothers' expectations asked them to attribute reason or reasons for their high or low expectations. The results are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Percentage Distribution of Reasons for Educational Expectations (N=53).

Reasons	No	%
High paid respected jobs	18	34.0
Remove Ignorance	8	15.1
To support Parents	11	20.1
To be a good mother	1	1.9
To support Family	3	5.9
Help herself/Be self-reliant	11	20.7
To help Country	1	1.9

The majority of the answers to this probe were given not only in relation to the socio-economic circumstances in which mothers expected their daughters to live, but more so to what they expected their daughters will require in such a life. It is evident that high education was regarded as useful largely for instrumental reasons. The three major areas of concern were to get high paying jobs (34.0%), to be able to support parents (21.0 %) and the need for a girl to be self-reliant in her future life (21.0%). Similarly, the interview data are replete with evidence of instrumental motive behind mothers' reported high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. For example, an observation made by a 36-year old mother whose premarital work was around the home highlight such motives, went as follows:

> In today's life , one can be married and then get divorced. So it is important for one to get an education in order to take care of oneself(in the event of divorce). I get problems after I was divorced since I do not have any education.

According to the respondent, education is perceived as an important tool in one's life. It acts as an insurance for women when marriage breaks up. It was reported in the review of literature that there is a provision in the Sharia (Islamic Law) that Muslim men must take care of their wives' material needs. This implies that it is not necessary for a Muslim woman to work in order to earn a living for the family. By implication, this might suggest that it is not necessary to acguire formal education and more particularly with employment in mind. However, it may be that, in keeping with the reported high divorce rate among the Coastal Muslim(ROK and UNICEF 1992;Stroebel 1979), many Muslim women have come to realize that without a proper education, it is extremely difficult for woman to support herself after divorce. A 36-year old divorcee elaborates further on the issue and the conseguences of a woman depending entirely on her husband for sustenance:

> Today, I would say that the most successful women in life is one who has a high education. Getting a rich husband to marry you is not important. What matters most is that you should have your own education. This is because, even
>
> if you are married to a rich husband atakusimanga (he will despise you) and throughout your life, you will never be happy. But if you have your own education, utasitika (you will be secure).

This respondent, just like the one above, appreciates the values of formal education for women today. She sees it as an important investment, one that a woman can resort to in the event of marriage dissolution. The picture we get from these respondents appear to indicate that formal education is perhaps considered more as an insurance against divorce rather than a utility or of absolute necessity in itself while marriage lasts. This might be a realistic appraisal of the way women's formal education is perceived in this community.

As mentioned earlier, Muslim men have a responsibility to take care of their wives' material needs. Therefore, the utility of formal education in marriage as perceived by Muslim women might be attributed to the notion that the social stratification in their commuunity holds men as sole breadwinner for the family. Hence, there is a tendency to view women's education in subjective rather than in objective terms. This is also implied in Table 4.3. Out of the 53 responses to a probe into expectations for girls' formal schooling, only three responses (or 5.7%) indicated that high education would enable girls to support their families. In the foregoing responses, however, the respondents clearly revealed that a woman's contribution was of absolute necessity in view of the present economic hardship most families were likely to face. The current rate of inflation add upto a situation that can often be insecure and uncertain. Thus, the mothers, studied felt that family expenses should be seen as a shared concern. Furthermore, two

incomes were far much better than one (irrespective of what a husband earned). If a woman had a job, she could supplement her husband's economic responsibility for the family. Observations from two of the three respondents illustrate this point:

> Today, it (employment) is important. It is important for women as well as men to cooperate in most tasks.
>
> ...education will help her later in life, especially if she is in problems. And she can also help her husband to run the house economically.

Still some mothers felt that woman have needs (more than is often realized) of their own which can only be satisfied through their monies. One such need, and one that was frequently mentioned, related to personal assistance extended to relatives, and particularly to parents. A woman could not expect her husband to take care of all her material needs and at the same time give her money to help her parents. It will be recalled that in Table 4.2, the main advantage perceived of girls' formal education by respondents was the benefit they (mothers) as parents together with the daughters hoped to get. Nearly, 44.0% (or 27) of the respondents subscribed to this. Similarly, mothers who reported that they would prefer to educate their daughters rather than their sons (given financial constraints), maintained that daughters were more likely than boys to became useful to their parents in old age. In other words, it was argued that when boys marry, they more often than not become preoccupied with their wives and children, thereby pushing their parents to the periphery of their

responsibility.

In a series of interviews and focus group discussions with respondents, more questions were included to help solicit for factors that mediated between Muslim women's formal education and their participation in gainful employment. It has also been mentioned earlier in the literature that there is a reluctance to allow Muslim women to work in public places, particularly in those areas in which circumstances might require contact with men. It a was suggested that this had a tendency to reduce formal education by Muslim women. As Abdullatti has observed, a man "...must discharge his responsibility to his wife cheerfully without reproach, injury or condescendence" (1981:177). On her part, a Muslim woman must be attentative to the comfort and well-being of her husband. This can be summed up in one Quranic injunction as :

> Men have authority over women because Allah had made the one superior to the other and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient (Careen, Sura IV - Women).

This implies that a man's employment (or economic viability) is important to marriage than might be the case with employment of a woman. It might be suggested that this arrangement excludes Muslim women from any productive activity geared towards family maintenance. Given that a person's position is society can be determined by the amount of his or her participation in controlling important economic resources , men are definitely considered to have higher status (both social, economic as well as

political) in society than women.A woman, it would seem, acquires particular status by virtue of her marriage to a man with particular status (social, economic or political). In other words, this resembles a situation Howell (1980:681) has observed where women indirectly attain status through marriage to men who are direct bearers of certain social, economic or political status in the community.

Therefore given the assumption that a woman's place is in the home, her social and economic status will subsequently be determined by the man she marries. One might suppose that as compared to formal education of their sons, mothers will have lower priority for the school education of their daughters. Consider the following comments given by some mothers in reply to a question as to whether they thought it was important for their daughters to acquire formal education:

> It is important for a man to fend for his wife. He is the one to get education and find work. A woman's place is in the kitchen.

> Men should be encouraged to get higher education and hence they will sitiri(uphold the respect of) women from exposure to the outside world.

The second observation touches on an important belief held by respondents. This is the notion that, it is important for a Muslim woman to maintain her decency by keeping away from access to public

sphere, where she is likely to come into contact with men. A 21-year old respondent elaborated on this issue thus:

> I do not think it is important for girls (women) to be employed. Let us take for instance that you are married, it is not good for you Kupigana Kumbo (elbow) with men in the name of looking for means of livelihood. That will be breaking the religious requirement.

A part from the need to uphold a woman's decency, the above observation further reinforces the notion that a man should shoulder full responsibility for the economic support of his family, and in dealing with the outside world. It is, as Haggart puts it, that a man "...remains the chief contact with the outside world, which puts money into the house" (1957:54). The idea of men's importance as participants in the labor force and consequently the breadwinners for the family reaches its strongest expression in a popular Swahili dictum that: "Mume ni kazi" (a husband is work), implying that no man deserves to be called a 'husband' unless he is either employed or engaged in some income-generating activity.

The tendency to excuse Muslim women from providing for the family may be having negative consequences for their participation in formal education and employment. They may not feel the need for self-reliance via formal education and employment. For example, one of the five mothers who were convinced that formal education would

not be necessary for their daughters (see Table 4.2) had this to say:

> ...because it (Islam) sees that a man need to work outside. For example, right now lam needed to take care of the children. Of what benefit will it (education) be to women.

As articulated by socialization theory, the above respondent appears to suggest that women have their own stipulated tasks for which formal education is not necessary. And, in order to make this arrangement workable, a married Muslim woman should be relieved of the necessity to earn a living for the family. Further, the present study points to the fact that this social situation made it hard for some respondents to find reason to work despite having acguired secondary education. For example, out of the eight mothers who had nine years of formal schooling and above,only two had ever been employed outside their homes. However, owing to this small number of those who have been employed outside their homes, not much can be said about this.

Similarly, an important connection was noted between formal education, employment and marriage.Slightly more than one-third of the 23 mothers interviewed, i.e., 9 or 39, considered marriage as more important in a woman's life than was both formal education and employment. One respondent, 31-years old, and whose premarital work was in the home described education in relation to marriage as follows:

> I can say that my personal ambition in life when I was growing up was not specifically focussed on anything special. Business of reading hard we (women) do not have. What we need more than anything else are husbands. This is important to women ili tusitirike,tikae majnmhani (so that we remain modest by staying at home).

With such an inclination among some of the respondents interviewed, it might be suggested that the motivation to find a good and financially able husband would be high. This was explicit in some of the responses to the question as to whether it was necessary for a girl to have a good education in order to mary a well educated man. One respondent, 45-years old and a homemaker, described her ambition as follows:

> During my childhood, my greatest ambition in life was to get myself a right young man to marry me $_{f}$ili niketi nisitirike (so that I stay modestly).

Another respondent in the course of the interview made fun of the issue when she commented that if a prospective husband came from Saudi Arabia and asked for her daughter's (who at the time of the study was in standard six) hand in marriage, she will waste no time in withdrawing her from school and marrying her off. It was gathered from the discussions that men from the community who had migrated to the Middle East for work were considered rich and desirable as husbands. Since their number is still small, they were in high demand. Even though cases of withdrawing girls from school to marry them off are on the decline ,some girls in the community still left school before or immediately after completing the first

eight years of primary education and quickly got married. In the course of gathering data for this study, no fewer than four cases were encountered where young girls who had just completed primary school in 1992 (and even before the results were out) were already due for marriage before the end of the year. The investigator had an opportunity to attend and witness one such wedding. This implies that there was no way the four girls could join a secondary school no matter how well they performed in their end of primary national examination. This might explain why there is a tendency to accept standard seven (now eight) as the end of Muslim girls' formal education which, as one respondent, 29-years old and a form four leaver observed:

> In our community, once a girl has reached standard eight, she considered as adequately educated.

It was further observed that some girls, upon the completion of their primary education (and could not marry immediately) were encouraged by their parents to join the many privately owned commercial training schools situated within and without the Island. The institutions offer girls an opportunity to begin perfecting in a given skill of their choice. The most common skill, and perhaps one that attracts so many girls, was mentioned as being tailoring. This is offered in form of short-term courses lasting upto a period of six months or more. The course is popularly known on Mombasa Island and its environs as Sinaa (from the trademark Singer for sewing machines). The course seems to serve not only as a

creative outlet for most Muslim girls leaving school but also as a way of helping them to make some money. It also appears to compensate for their not being able to continue with further education. One respondent told us that girls:

> Should just try their best, go to school, and when they fail, they can go to Singa or just get married.

We can only speculate for reasons why courses like tailoring have come to enjoy much popularity among Muslim women at the coast. This may relate to the fact that tailoring, unlike other professions, does not involve much public contact with men, because girls who graduate from tailoring schools specialize in women and children's wear.

The findings of the present study indicate that some mothers' perceptions regarding the future work prospects for their daughters are low. it was apparent that even those mothers who had high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling, the majority were skeptical about the latter's actual participation in the labor force. Girls' future prospects were considered temporary. Nearly a half (47.8%) of the twenty-three mothers interviewed belittled their daughters' employment as incidental. Such an employment was viewed with a private reservation, that this job or professionalism will not be a life long commitment, but one that may end with marriage. Similarly, nearly all mothers interviewed, however, recognized a delemma as far as formal education, employment and

marriage of their daughters was concerned. Whereas individual mothers believed that their daughters should get a good education, a good job and be economically self-reliant, they at the same time believed that it was necessary for their daughters to continue serving their husbands (and the society) in the traditional way. It was further learnt that even for a woman who may have been employed prior to marriage, she may be expected to leave her job and devote herself exclusively to household duties, unless compelled by circumstances to continue working. The range of circumstances that would make a woman to continue working quite wide. However, the most frequently mentioned circumstances included the necessity to boost family budget, ill health of a husband or any other limiting factors that might incapacitate him to continue providing for his wife and children. This was well captured in the response of a 35-year old mother:

> Today,it is important for a girl to get education and get work. But their going to work will depend on their husbands. If they are the type that want to take care of everything, then they will prevent them (their wives) from going, but if they are in need of assistance, then they will allow them to work.

This respondent, reveals one important issue, that although a woman may acquire good education in order to attain her goal of becoming employed, if her husband is self-centred or expects his wife to remain a housewife, then she will have to thwart her ambitions. A 27-year old mother had this to say in this regard:

> A woman will go to school, she will have all the degrees, but when she is married, her husband will tell her that hakuna kufanya kazi (there is no working for you), she
>
> cannot argue with him, and you as her mother cannot tell him to let work and get the fruits of her education.

This respondent, like the one above, appears to have rationalized the benefit to be achieved from a woman's education. She links formal education to employment. However, although she recognizes that a Muslim woman can participate in labor force, she realizes that participation is subject to the husband's approval. If a man is not facing economic hardships, he is likely to prevent his wife from working. This might suggest that an early marriage may cut short a promising career, especially in a community where early marriage is still the norm.

Based on this social setting, it can be argued that since the possibility of a woman participating in formal employment is subject to her husband's approval, formal schooling which is important for such an employment may be lowly valued. It may be seen as acquiring literacy rather than adequate education as an investment in direct occupational attainment. This might, in part explain why a majority of the respondents (66.1%) had left school after the seven years of schooling.Their parents may not have seen their effort in educating them as instrumental for their future career success. Malinowski (1943) creates a vivid picture between realism and wishful thinking when he writes:

> Realism is safer than wishful thinking and the school must face sguarely the end of the road on which it is leading the child and not impact hopes and illusions which are bound to be shattered (p.125).

Some mothers' expectations for their daughters' formal schooling appeared to be affected by the dwindling employment opportunities in the country where an educated girl either did not find a job or took too long to find one. In the past, it was argued, opportunities were many. But they have since decreased gradually, first, for standard seven (now eight) school leavers, then form four and form six leavers, and now even for university graduates. It was argued that some parents had taken their daughters to school, but they have gone back to the kitchen. To go to school, some mothers argued, and do 'nothing'with one's education was considered not only as painful, but also as wasteful. Mothers are likely to be less motivated to encourage their daughters to pursue formal education. This may be reinforced by the fact that girls in the neighborhood who have completed school but are unable to get work, may be a constant reminder to the mothers of what their daughters may face. A 22-year old form two drop-out in comparing her situation to that of her former classmates at a local secondary school had this to say:

> I have friends who continued with education to higher levels than I did. Some managed to complete form four. However, their lifestyle is not better than mine. In fact, most of them upto now have no jobs. I am better because Jalali(God) has given me Jahali (her husband), who had his own juice and icecream parlour. We now run our business.

Lamenting further about the situation, another respondent had this to add about her daughter(s):

> Mostly even when they get education, they do not get work. It is now three years since she left school. She will end up getting married.

The above observations suggest that there are some women whom experience has taught that a woman's formal education does not automatically translate into work.

This might in turn have considerable impact on the effort some mothers are likely to make in educating their daughters. Whatever expectations they might have for their daughters' formal schooling is less likely to be considered with employment (career) in mind.

4.3 The Influence of Mothers' Age at First Marriage on Expectations for their Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment.

The third hypothesis stated: "Mothers' age at first marriage is negatively correlated with their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment". Contrary to expectations, the findings suggest a positive relationship between mothers' age at first marriage and their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. The analysis into the relationship under discussion presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Mothers' Age at First Marriage by Expectations for Their Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment.

Age at First Marriage	Expectations				
	Primary	Secondary University	Not Necessary	Undecided	Total
10 - 14	33.3% (4)	58.3% (7)	0 (0%)	8.3% (1)	19.4% (12)
15 - 19	28.1% (9)	53.1% (17)	3.1% (1)	15.6% (5)	51.6% (32)
20 - 24	26.7% (4)	53.3% (8)	0% (0)	20.0% (3)	24.2% (15)
25+	0% (0)	25.0% (1)	25.0% (1)	25.0% (1)	4.8% (3)
Total	27.0% (17)	53.2% (33)	3.2% (2)	16.1% (10)	100% (62)

1

Slightly more than a half (53.2%) of the respondents had high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling of at least secondary level, followed by 27.0% for primary level of education. Only 2 (3.2%) of the respondents reported that formal education was not necessary for their daughters while 16.0% of the respondents were not sure about the expectations they had for their daughters' level of educational attainment. The results suggest that the majority of the mothers (irrespective of their age at first marriage) had high expectations for their daughters' educational attainment.

Further breakdown of the results indicates that out of the

53.0% of the respondents who expected their daughters to acquire secondary level of education and above, the highest proportion (58.3%) were mothers who married in the 10-14 age category, followed by 53.0% of those who married in the 15-19 age category. On the other hand, out of the 27.0 % of the respondents whose expectations was limited to primary school level, the highest proportion (33.3%) composed of those who married in the 10-14 age category, followed by 28% of those who married in the 25-19 age category. About 27.0% of those who married in the 20-24 age category held similar expectations. Consequently, the data have little support for the third hypothesis.

Possible explanation why the predicted relationship was not supported may be suggested, particularly from mothers' response to one other item that had bearing on marriage. This concerns the responsibility for marriage-mate selection. Mothers were asked the question: "Who do you should select a marriage partner for your daughter?" Response to this question was captured in the following categories "self", "parents", "relatives", and "others". This question was intended to solicit for information about the extent to which parents were involved in selecting marriage partners for their daughters. It has been suggested in the review of the literature that many Muslim parents still largely retained the decision on when and whom their daughters should marry (Stroebel 1979; ROK and UNICEF 1984, 1991). Therefore, with power to select marriage partners for Muslim girls residing with the parents, it

was expected that, going by the reported preference for early marriage (Sroebel 1979; Mambo 1980; ROK and UNICEF 1984, 1991), parents were still likely to determine the level of education their daughters attained. However, response to the above guestion give divergent results from the available evidence that parents have more power on deciding who their daughters should marry. The results are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Percentage Distribution on Selection for Daughters' Marriage Partners(N=62).

Selection	No	%
Self	31	50.0
Parents	23	37.1
Relatives	1	1.6%
Others	7	11.3

A half (31 or 50.0%) of the respondents reported that the decision concerning who their daughter(s) should marry, as a matter of principle rests with the girls themselves. However, it is interesting to note that more than a third (37.0%) were still in favor of retaining the power to select. The findings suggest that even though there was a sizeable number who were still conservative with regard to their daughters' marriage mate selection, a majority (50.0%) seem to be in favor of their daughters securing greater freedom for themselves in the choice of spouses. It might be suggested that the changing pattern from

largely parental selection (in the past) to the increased acceptance of selection made by the girls themselves today reflect the ongoing collapse of arranged marriage in the Muslim community. An important point to note here though, is that despite showing that there was acceptance to allow daughters' greater independence with regard to mate selection, many of the respondents were guick to attach one or two preconditions. The two most frequently mentioned preconditions were first, that they as parents have a responsibility to veto a proposed suitor if he was a non-Muslim. Second, any suitor who had some serious defect that provoked dislike would not be allowed to wed their daughter(s).

It might be concluded that the freedom Muslim girls have in selecting their own marriage partners might imply that a girl can marry when she is ready. By implication, this might have an effect on age at first marriage. The liberal attitude towards girls' selection can, to a large extent, be traced to the mothers' own mate selection.In other words, this is a change which appears to have began with the mothers themselves. For example, in response to the question as to who selected their marriage partners, more than a half (51.6%) of the respondents reported having made their own selection. This compares well with 50.0% who reported that they expected their daughters to make their own choice. Similarly, as compared to 45.0% of the respondents whose spouses had been selected for them by parents, only 37.0% expected to select marriage partners for their own daughters.

Therefore, from these figures, it is suggested that mothers' age at first marriage is less likely to influence the age at which they expect their daughters to get married. This explains why there was a positive relationship between mothers' age at first marriage and the expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. It is probable that expectations were given without reference to age at first marriage and, consequently, the failure to obtain the predicted nrgative relationship between mothers' age at first marriage and their expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment.

4.4 Mothers' Current Age and its Influence on their Expectations for their Daughters' Level of Educational Attainment.

The fourth hypothesis stated : "Mothers current age is negatively correlated with their expectaions for their daughters Level of educational attainment". The results indicated a negative association between mothers' current age and expectations for their laughters' formal education. This confirms our assumption. This implies that older mothers are more likely than younger mothers to lave lower expectations for their daughters' level of educational ittainment. Mothers' current age was cross-classified with their (xpectations. The cross-classification help to access expectations >f various intergenerational expectations of mothers. The relevant lata is presented in Table 4.7.

iucation and above, followed by 70.0% of the mothers in the20-i age category and 40.0% of the respondents in the 51-60 age itegory. Only one respondent in the 60+ age category held similar cpectations.

On the other hand, out of the 11.0% of the respondents who sported primary level of education preference for their daughters, lder mothers (from 41 years and above) were more likely than ounger mothers (40years and below) to hold such expectations, ince only a few respondents (11.0%) out of the entire sample eported primary level preference for their daughters, very little an be said about this group. Further, the data suggest that 22.2% f all the mothers aged 20 and below age category and 40.0% of hose aged 60+ were not certain in their expectations for their laughters ' formal schooling.

These findings suggest (in line with the prediction) that Jxpectations for daughters' level of educational attainment Jecreases with an increase in mothers' current age. This may be attributed to a number of factors. The probable explanation for this trend might be attributed to the influence of social, cultural as well as political changes. Time acts as a softener of the rigors of control over women and the roles they can perform. For axample, evidence available from studies (e.g., OECD 1979; ROK and 3NICEF 1984) suggest that the current sociocultural as well as sconomic changes have a tendency to influence the way people view •omen's roles and status in community. However, this change is more

ikely to affect or influence younger mothers more than the older les. This is because younger mothers are more likely to be »ceptive to social and economic changes more than the older 3thers. In other words, older mothers are more likely to have rown up under more conservative norms and values regarding roles nd place of women in Islamic community. Such norms and values ight continue to have a negative influence on their attitudes and xpectations for girls' formal schooling, thus low expectations.

During interviews with the 23 mothers and focus group liscussions with 12 others, mothers, and particularly those who /ere above the age of 40 years, related their childhood jxperience with matters concerning formal education to their laughters' present situation. The comparison presented a picture tfhere in the past mothers could not be allowed to sit in the same classroom as boys or share the same workplace. It was pointed out that such restrictions were not only necessary, but that they are largely responsible for turning them into the 'good' mothers they vere. These mothers, it might be suggested, are more likely to cling to the traditional value system that has served them well.

However, data indicate that not all older mothers had low expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. Some did express high expectations. As already identified in some Sf the available literature (e.g., Forner 1984; Muddock and -ampbell 1985), age might have less effect on attitudes of people

ving in an urban setting (like Mombasa). Urban life presents cio-economic situations or conditions that require modification cultural norms and values to keep up with the rapid changes to ich urban dwellers are subjected to. These changes may include anges in technology, emergence of jobs that require formal ucation or even interactions with members of other commuunities. k lere is ample evidence to the effect that mothers in the sample lought that their daughters should take advantages of formal lucation to improve their social and economic position. For rample, a 54-year old mother responding to the question as to lether formal education was important to women in Muslim Community sserved that:

> Initially during our time, education was not important but now it is important because of the kind of chhanges in life. Today, is Kurauka (waking up at dawn) for both men and women. Education is beneficial to both men and women.

This respondent expresses a willingness for change and eadiness to accept new values. In this regard, such an observation s helpful in understanding how and why even older mothers had high xpectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment, 'his contention is also supported by mothers' response to others nestions. For example, in the interviews, mothers were asked an ypothetical question: "If you were given an opportunity to go to chool now, would you accepts?" This question was aimed at ssessing how satisfied respondents (and particularly those ithout any formal education) felt about their schooling experience

or lack of it. This question provides an insight into how mothers (both young and old) presently view education, and the possibe influence thais might have for their expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. Over 75.0% of the 23 mothers (both young and old) accepted they would go back to school. When they were probed for reasons why they would want to get education (or more education) a variety of interesting reasons were given. These frequently indicated the need to improve one's education and perhaps specialize in a skill. For these mothers their lack of formal education was regrettable. It may be suggested that such mothers, despite lacking formal education themselves, are likely to support or emphasize it for their own daughters. For the remaining 25.0% of the mothers who declined they would accept an opportunity to go back to school, the most frequently mentioned reasons included being too old for school, inability of the brains to deal with intellectual matters (some even said their brains had 'rusted') and pressure from domestic chores. Some also reported that their hubands would not allow them to go.

A most noticeable effect of mothers' current age on their expectations for their daughters' formal schooling is reflected by their view on whether or not they helped their daughters with home work, and school- related activities in general, for it is through such interactions that mothers impress upon their daughters their attitudes towards education. The findings indicated that the majority (71.0%) of the mothers did not help their daughters with

•rework. Only 18 (29.0%) claimed to offer such help. Out of those respondents who did not offer help to their daughters, older jothers were more likely not to offer help as compared to younger Bothers. Several reasons can be suggested for the inability of lothers (especially the older ones) to help their daughters. They constituted the most illiterate in the sample. Out of the 22 (35.5%) of the mothers in the sample who had no formal education, a majority were mothers in their 40s and above. Naturally, being unable to read or write, they could not offer any help to their daughters with school work.

We have noted earlier in this study that some studies have indicated that peoples' curent age is likely to be insignificant in influencing their attitudes and values towards formal education. This view was considered important in this study because in Coast Province, most Muslim parents feared that formal education would teach their daughters foreign values that would turn them against traditional norms and values. Indeed, our findings from interviews and focus group discussions suggest that our urbanite Muslim community's attitudes and values were still persistently traditional. Nine (39.0%) of the 23 mothers interviewed reported that formal education had the potential to spoil Muslim girls. Out of this number, six were mothers aged 40 and above while the remaining were younger. This suggests that older mothers were more likely to feel that formal education was detrimental to their daughters. When mothers were probed further for reasons why they

thought formal education could spoil girls, one reason appears much ore predorminantly. This reflected the fact that mothers feared hat girls would come into contact with western ideas and values hat would make them reject customs that had served their mothers so so well in the past. Such sentiments are well echoed in the following response of a 54-year old mothers:

> Western education actually spoils girls. It makes them follow western cultures, like putting on short dresses, and trousers. And when they learn to speak English this becomes even worse. They stand with boys everywhere, they do not fear the old people. This is because they take themselves to be Europeans. And worse still if a Swahili girl is born and raised in a town like Nairobi, she will consider herself more advanced (modern). She will pretend not to know anything about the veil and Swahili customs.

Surpringly, some of these attitudes were shared (to a lesser extent) by relatively younger mothers well below the age of 30, and even some who have actually been to school. For example, a question es to whether or not formal education was beneficial to women in an Islamic society such as theirs, provided some interesting comments from some young mothers. For example, a 24-year old mother obseved that:

> ...you can toil, educate her (a girl), and then she gets married. You do not get any benefit from her education. Men when they are educated normally must get a job.

Similar sentiments were echoed by a 23-year old mother who noted that:

> Education is not important because at long last, a girl ends

: in the kitchen.

jcile rationalizing the importance of formal education from a liiigious point of view, a 19-year old respondent had this to add:

> Because formal education is worldly, if you attend this kind of education, you get lost. The best kind of education is Quranic.

I Such an observation guestions the theoretical supposition that **Mothers'** expectations will be negatively correlated with their irrent age. It may be suggested that even though the generation .rto which a woman is born has critical effect on the way in which :sr identity, attitudes and expectations in life are formulated, **there** may be a continuity in values from the past into the present. This may create a situation where old traditional values are practised alongside current ones (cf. Bengston 1975). What is not :lear, however, is why old traditional values are exhibited by some **Lounger** respondents. It is suggested that since some of the traditional beliefs about women and some of their roles appear to :raw their strength from the perceived principles of Islam (as is explicit in the last observation above by a 19-year old respondent), they have strong legitimacy. This might imply that such perceptions may probably take long to disappear from a Muslim **woman**'s life.

L5 The Influence of Mothers' Religious Beliefs on the hDectations for their Daughters' Educational Prospects.

The fifth hypothesis stated: "Mothers' perception of Islam on (.-sen's education is negatively correlated with their expectations I:r their daughters' level of educational attainment". It had been lasoned that mothers' perceptions of Islam regarding girls' formal l.tooling would be negatively associated with their expectations l::r their daughters' level of educational attainment. Those mothers Ioo perceived Islam as favouring education of boys to that of girls •ere expected to have low expectations for their daughters' level |:f educational attainment. Contrary to expectations a positive relationship was observed .The result does not lend support to the rypothesis. Mothers' perceptions of Islam regarding girls' formal r:hooling was cross-classified with their expectatiions for their daughters' formal schooling to enable us observe the distribution rf mothers' expectations according to their religious perceptions, le results are displayed in Table 4.8.

rirle 4.8: Mothers' Opinion of Islam by their Expectations for their Daughters' Level of Educational attainment.

I>Islam 1, Favours I Education || of Boys	Primary	Secondary University	Not Necessary	Unde- cided	Total
Yes	9.4% (13)	75.5% (24)	0% (0)	15.6% (5)	51.6% (32)
No	6.7% (2)	63.3% (19)	3.3% (1)	26.7% (8)	48.5% (30)
Total	8.1% (5)	54.8% (43)	1.6% (1)	21.0% (13)	100.0% (62)

There was little difference in the way mothers perceived I Islam with regard to women's formal schooling. Nearly 52.0% I perceived the religion to favour formal education for boys as I compared to 48.0% who perceived the religion to give support for I the education of both boys and girls. The results further indicate that expectations of the mothers were generally high, irrespective [of their perceptions of Islam with regard to girls' formal schooling. Thus, nearly 55.0%(or 43) of the mothers expected their daughters' to acquire secondary level of education and above. On the other hand, a comparable minority (8.1%) expected their daughters to go as far as primary level. A reasonable proportion (21.0%) of the respondents, however, remained undecided as to the expectations they had for their daughters' level of educational attainment. Only one respondent out of the entire sample considered formal education as unnecessary for her daughter(s).

i Further analysis indicates that out of the entire number thers who expected their daughters to have secondary level of tion and above, 75.0% were mothers who perceived Islam as **ing** the education of boys to that of girls. An egually high rtion (63.3%) of the mothers who perceived Islam as giving opportunity for the education of both boys and girls held irly high expectations. From these figures, it does not appear :he assumption that Islam did favour education of boys to that •Is does holds true within the study population.

These results are, however, guestionable particularly in *of* mothers' answer to two other related guestions. For e, mothers were asked the question: "What does Islam ate as the proper domain for women in an Islamic society such irs?". An overwhelming majority (74.0%) agreed that Islam ated the private domain for women as compared to only 5.0% 1 respondents who reported that Islam stipulated public . About 21.0% considered the religion as stipulating both 2 and public domains. These findings do not reflect the sd response of mothers, particularly in view of the answer to sstion that asked them whether they thought Islam favoured education for boys to that of girls. In this guestion, 52.0% Ld that it favoured boys to girls, while 48.0% said that it favoured both. Education is an activity that reguires women to move out of their homes and perform public activities. Therefore, it was expected that in the response to the guestion as to which domain

I-_rlic , private or both public and private) Islam stipulated for Islii women; most mothers would have said Islam stipulated public I -iir. in order to complete the picture. This produces an Ironsistency in their replies, where many (52.0%) said Islam l-vours formal education of boys to that of girls while similarly L:y(74.0%) said that the religion stipulate private domain for I -en. This inconsistency might be as a result of one factor. It is I Jcely that this issue was misunderstood by some respondents. This J ; particularly revealed in their responses to a probe asking them Ixy they thought that Islam did not favour education of boys to pat of girls. The response to this probe indicates that there was Likelihood that mothers interpreted the question as a comparison letween religious and western type of education. Consider the I allowing responses to the probe above:

> Westen education is very important, but that is as this world is concerned, but if one goes to heaven one will need a reliigous education.
>
> Islam actually favours a person to get first and foremost Islamic education. Then one can pursue the western kind of education. There is no inclination, both boys and girls are encouraged.
>
> All should get the same education, but most important is the fact that people should get more of religious education.

From the above responses, it is suggested that some respondents interpreted the question in a way that had little to do "'ith the original purpose, which was to find out whether Islam was perceived to favour formal education for more boys than girls.

However, the fact that a high proportion of mothers (74.0%) thought that Islam stipulated private domain for Muslim women in society might have serious consequences for mothers' expectations. In particular, this might have a negative influence on mothers' perceptions for their daughters' formal schooling, which in itself leads to public domain. There might be little enthusiasm in encouraging girls to involve themselves in public activities like formal education, particularly if mothers think that Islam requires women to remain private. It is, after all, difficult to go against very deeply ingrained attitudes which are sanctioned (or reinforced) by religion. Girls may be discouraged by their parents from getting a good (or high) education. There is evidence that the attitude held by some mothers, particularly those that discourage participation in activities outside their homes (like education) were explicitly considered by some respondents to be Islamic. This might serve to legitimize such attitudes. In response to a probe asking mothers to give reason or reasons why they thought Islam favoured the education of boys to that of girls, their replies were full of religious justification. Some of the most explicit observations include the followings:

> ...education leads to public lifestyle which women are not allowed or encouraged to take. A woman's place is in the home.

> ...it is believed that there is no benefit in a girl's education because they end up in the kitchen. Their benefit is in the kitchen.

> In islamic Sharia, actually women are not allowed or they do

not look presentable when they work in public areas.

...the religion does not allow women to work, they are only allowed to stay at home and take care of the home.

...a man should get more education. A woman is the caretaker of the home.

The above responses point to one important factor. This [relates to the fact that (based on Islam) some mothers in the paaple have rationalized the roles of both men and women. They Iappear to see themselves (and perhaps other women) in unregretable lionestic situation. In other words this domestic situation has became part of their life and symbol of womanhood. They appear to I.onsider it unnecessary to duplicate those tasks that are considered as a responsibility of men. Conseguently, this is likely Ito influence the expectations they have for their daughters' future Ilife, and in particular their formal schooling which is considered lis a key to an effective participation in formal employment.

In so far as Islam relates to the status of the women, it I allows the greater opportunity for self-develpoment and progress in I every sphere of life. A number of sayings to this effect have been I transmitted (A1 Nowali 1985) Such example has been given by I Pickthai . He quotes the Prophet as saying:

He who leaveth his home in search of knowledge walketh in the path of Allah(Pickthal 1961:12).

A question, therefore, arises as to why despite the positive outlook of Islam on women, a high proportion of respondents

L-ceived Islam as limiting Muslim women's activities. A
l urination of two factors might be suggested as contributing to
Ls negative attitude. First,as suggested in Chapter 1 , Muslim
Lrents emphasize learning of the Holy Quran for their children,
ps is a duty entrusted upon every Muslim parent. However,
I idence in a number of studies (e.g., Stroebel 1979; Mambo 1980;
l;shar 1986) suggest that girls are not likely to read the Quran to
l:gh levels as men. Whereas boys can continue attending Madrassa
l ;uranic schools) after puberty, girls are more likely to be
l.ithdrawn. Similarly, girls' attendance in these madrassa, unlike
pe attendance of boys , focuses more on learning a number of
brses of the Quran to enable them say their daily prayers. It
|::ght be suggested that, unlike boys, girls are less likely to
pguire enough knowledge of the Quran. This limited knowledge, it
lught be suggested, prevents them from understanding and fully
ppreciating their basic Islamic rights and obligations as laid
l-3wn in the Quran. This interpretations conforms to Saul's (1984)
finding among the Bantenga Muslim of Upper Volta where girls were
l-ot sent to receive Islamic education because they could not,
•ilike boys , become religious prefessionals. These sentiments were
klso echoed by some of the respondents in the present study. For
sample, one mother express her views on the matter in the
following way:

> They (men) hold all the posts in the religious hierarchy
>
> ...a woman cannot lead men in preyers, also in prayers

women pray behind men.

Second, it has been observed that religious leaders (who ire responsible for interpreting Hadith and Quranic Sharia may rcnsciously or unconsciously suppress the positive clauses of the 3oly Quran that encourage women to take part in all activities that light enrich their lives. These may include formal education and anployment. Unfortunately, both theoretical (e.g., A1 Nowali 1985; Afshar 1986; sadawi 1980) as well as empirical evidence (e.g., Snock and Nadia 1976; Saul 1984) suggest that Muslim women ±emselves have come to share in the belief that they are not illowed to participate in activities outside their homes. This Jolds good for the present sample as suggested by mothers' replies -o the guest ion which read in part: "In your opinion, do you think .'slam promotes gender eguality or inequality?". Nearly 65.0% of the respondents said that Islam promoted inequality as compared to 25.0% who thought otherwise. When mothers were probed for reasons toy they thought Islam promoted ineguality, several facts emerged, is shown in Table 4.9 below.

Ifale 4.9: Percentage Distribution of Response as to why Islam Promotes ineguality (N=4 2)

=asons	No	%
ftsn hold religious posts	9	21.0
Inordinate women to men	8	19.0
fen have priority in fcrrers	12	29.0
p are made responsible :: women	8	19.0
ren are weak	5	12.0

About 29.0% attributed their opinion to the fact that men pre given priority in several matters while 21.0% attributed it to pe fact that men were exclusively allowed to hold religious posts. "ere were as many respondents (19.0%) who thought that the pequality was due to women's subjugation to men as they were pose who considered men as being given the responsibility over Iomen. Only 12.0% attributed the ineguality to the fact that men |'-e physically stronger as compared to women. Some of the opinions (is expressed by the respondents were as follows.

> A man is given more priority than a woman. For example, a man is allowed up to four wives while a woman can keep only one man at a time.

> They (men) are considered first in everything. They get more inheritance and also have a say in religious matters.

> It is because men are free in the society and can stand and address people in public.
>
> Whenever there is a problem, women are not allowed to participate in defense.

From the above observations, it might be concluded that ^equality as perceived by mothers in the sample has a strong jligious justification. This fact may serve not only to legitimize omen's position, but also to discourage their participation in |-.:ose areas identified with men like formal employment, education Lid politics. Patai (1969) has observed that religion is a rundamental motivating force in our lives and by implication, close hssociation with religion, is more likely to depress desires and Expectations to take formal education seriously.

Similarly, descriptive data from interviews and focus group iiscussion indicate that some mothers were aware that Islam did support formal education for both boys and girls. In practice however, this was not always the case. This is because Islam as a religion is perceived as enshrining beliefs and attitudes that give pe range of roles they can perform. Pickthal guotes a verse in the ciiran that says:

> They (women) have all rights like those(of men) against them; though men are a degree above them. Allah is all knowing.

It is likely that such a verse and many others like it, send mixed signals to women. It is probable that such verses have been popularized and even used by some people to justify the low status

scribed to Muslim women, particularly with regard to formal hjucation, employment and politics. Some of the respondents in our haaple were aware of these stereotypes. The following two responses reflect this:

> You see men are favoured though not openly. Conditions imposes on women themselves inhibit their progress.
>
> The religious does not say anything on this matter (education) directly, but it is the conditions it has imposed on women that tell it all.

The above observations indicate that some respondents are aware of the fact that Islam infers a conservative position on issues relating to women. Evidence from available literature (e.g., hadawi 1980; Afshar 1986) further suggests that Islam encourages separate development for men and women. Theoretically, this would iaply that girls can participate in whatever activity men participate in as long as they are on their own. For instance, •omen could acquire as much formal education as they are able to acquire as long as they go to girls' school. Further after graduation, it suggested that they should practise on behalf of women. In other words, after graduation they get jobs in which they exclusively serve women (and children). This arrangement is **said** (e.g., by Sadawi 1980; Afshar 1986) to be in operation in most Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. And as can be recalled in the historical background to Muslim women's formal schooling in Coast Province (Chapter 1), one decisive factor that hindered the participation of Muslim girls in formal schooling

:er it had long been introduced) was the unconceiveable fact of Lang boys and girls in the class. It was feared that this could he it easy for girls to partipate in sexual activities before Lrriage.

According to ROK (1989), the situation with regrd to single *kx* school has not changed much in Kenya from the colonial period, re majority of primary schools (and to a lesser extent secondary r.ools) are run as mixed schools. To test the extent to which co-p-cation could still be influenting mothers' attitude and pectations (as was the case in the past) for their daughters' I:rnal schooling, they were asked the question: "Do you think co-p-catiion is (i) good or (ii) bad?" This question was followed by : probe asking the respondents to give reason or reasons for their nswers. The results indicate that co-education is much less avoured by those in the sample. Over 75.0% of the respondents pserved that the conditions and requirements of Islam made co-education far less suitable for their daughters. It might be psggested that girls who attend mixed schools are likely to be Withdrawn or have their schooling interrupted upon reaching puberty. This is because at puberty, it is very natural for girls to have a boyfriend and perhaps be initiated into sexual activity. It might be speculated that this, in part, explains why Muslim ?irls tend to terminate their schooling after primary education.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which rthers'characteristics, both current and antecedent, influence :eir expectations for their daughters' formal schooling. It was ssumed that, in line with socialization theory, that mothers rerate in an environment in which prevailing social, cultural as ell as economic factors and in particular those relating to -men's roles and status, influence their attitudes and •cpectations for their daughters' formal schooling. Similarly, jSrtain personal characteristics of the mothers and events in their lives modify these attitudess and expectations. Five key events in Ethers' lives, namely, their level of educational attainment, :xrent age , age at first marriage, premarital occupation, etc. —"d perceptions of Islam on women's formal education, were samined. These independent variables were considered in relation 'c one dependent variable, that is, expectations for the daughters' evel of educational attainment.

The findings of the study suggest that Muslim mothers generally hold more positive than negative attitudes towards •omen's formal education. Respondents, irrespective of their -ndividual characteristics, had high expectations for their

liters' level of educational attainment. The results presented 1-erally show support both for the theoretical perspective used I: three of the five hypotheses predicted by the study. The two l.-eptions were the relationship concerning mothers' expectations jr: their age at first marriage, on the one hand, and the klationship between their expectations and their perceptions of Llaa on women's formal education, on the other. Age at first Lrriage did not seem in general to be central in influencing [tiers' expectations. Today, there is freedom for Muslim girls to felect their own marriage partners. This means that, they can marry lenever they feel they are ready. Consequently, mothers' [pectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment l;re probably given without reference to age at which they expected peir daughters to get married.

In general, mothers' current age seemed to be the most iportant explanatory variable of mothers' expectations for their aughters' level of educational attainment. Premarital occupation *s **second** followed by mothers' level of educational attainment.

Even though the data indicates that three of the five •pothesized relationships were upheld, it is important to point -ut that the relationship tend to be weak. This implies that the studied mothers' characteristics did not have strong influence on their expectations. Several probable explanations may be advanced. It is possible that the analysis of this aspect of social life may

pc be as direct as was anticipated. It is likely that mothers' i?ectations might be overshadowed by the operation of more r.-erful variables not considered in the study. No attempt was made : statistically control (or eliminate) possible effect of the -jer variable likely to influence mothers' expectations for their sughters' level of educational attainment. It would be misleading, r.erefore, to conclude that any single characteristics of the ethers studied was a significant indicator of the actual factors jifluencing mothers' expectations of their daughters' level of riucational attainment. Furthermore, due to the purposive nature of :impling, it would not be possible to generalize these findings to ze entire Muslim population of women. Similarly, the small sample size, together with our analytical technigue, makes the results jllustrative (or tentative) rather than conclusive.

The results do, however, point to a number of important :bservations. First, they help to confirm the arguement that certain personal characteristics of the mothers rather than the ?eneral social, cultural as well as economic factors prevailing in the community as discussed in the literature (singly or in combination) influence their attitudes and expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. Second, the findings of the qualitative data (as generated by focus group discussions, interviews and case histories) give support to observation in the literature with regard to socio-enviromental factors, particularly those within the social and cultural realm, that militate against

omen's formal education at the Coast. A number of intriguing issues emerged. For example, mothers' expectations were generally high irrespective of their various socio-cultural background. The iigh expectations, it was learned, were generally expressed with a ronsideration of the present economic constraints in mind. High education was seen as inevitable in a rapidly changing world. Specifically, high education would enable Muslim girls to not only acquire high paying jobs which were necessary in the current economic hardship but also to act as security against widowhood and divorce, whose rate is reported to be high along the coast.

However, probe asking mothers to give reason or reasons for their high expectations suggested that mothers (both young and old) held certain beliefs about Muslim women's life that were Jnlikely to ensure actual pursuit of some of the expectations they lad for their daughters' level of educational attainment. Despite having high expectations for their daughters' formal schooling, I nothers expressed a feeling that high formal education may not be important for their daughters after all, because they would simply i>ecame housewives. Similarly, their daughters' finding gainful employment would depend on the willingness of their husbands. This belief, it might be suggested, is based on religion where, according to the Holy Quran, the husband is commanded to take care of his wife. A wife has no reason to work for the sustainance of the family. Under such circumstances, it may be concluded that formal education for girls is less likely to emphasized upon as

compared to that of boys.Thus, as long as the attitude that holds rcnen's fomal education with some reservation persists, the overall educational attainment of Muslim girls is likely to remain low.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings presented here, three recommendations can be offered. We have seen that , generally, nearly all the Bothers have high expectations for their daughters' level of educational attainment. However, there are certain overt or covert obstacles that appear to make the translation of these high expectations into action difficult or less desirable goals. On other words, some of their expectations may be abandoned without real effort to attain them. The following are recommended:

(i) There is need for compaign programmes that should encourage the sustainance of Muslim girls in formal education system. Such campaigns should be made in the form of a series of exhortatioons at local (or personal) level if they are to have a desired effect. Education will be beneficial to women under all circumstances.

(ii) Special efforts are necessary to overcome the seemingly negative religious perceptions on the education of Muslim

girls. There is need to re-educate Muslim women on the religious tenents which might be threatening the adoption and enhancement of formal education for Muslim women. In this goal, there is need for close consultation with Islamic religious leaders. Such consultations, it is believed would improve the likelihood of positive adjustment to girls formal schooling.

(iii) There is also need for positive role models. Educated Muslim girls should be encouraged to live and work in Mombasa. There should also be more emphasis on local female teachers. The combined effect of many local female teachers and working girls (or women) would demonstrate that good education leads to salaried employment. This, it is hoped, will make it socially and economically more acceptable to mothers to encourage their daughters to go to school and retain then there. If the role models uphold basis social as well as religious norms and values (like forms of dressing and conduct with the opposite sex) positive image of education is likely to emerge.

The future of Muslim girls' education is bright. Factors negatively influencing mothers' expectations as studied in this thesis can be expected to became less important in the future as the number of Muslim women increasingly take on education and

rsal employment.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The analysis in this thesis is smaller than one would have ir.ticipated given the existing literature. Explanatory factors gainst which mothers[7] expectations were predicted need to expanded, [his expansion might proceed along several lines. Research in a variety of other potential factors would further our understanding of the subject. These other potential explanatory variables may include focusing attention on family size, husbands' level of education and occupational status, marital status, and type of Hrital unions (whether monogamous or polygynous), career aspirations, family sex composition, gender preference and peer pressure, among others.In addition, non-domestic factors, such as the media, may be significant in influencing mothers' expectations. Future research should consider additional analytical procedures to control for the effect of confounding variables.

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APPENDIX A

TEXT OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO MUSLIM MOTHERS,

IN COAST PROVINCE

1.Area of study

2. Location

3. Sample No

4. Date

5. Time Start. . . . . .Time Stop

6. What is your marital status?

1 Single

2 Married

3 Divorced

4 Widowed

5 Separated

7. How many children do you have alive altogether?

8. What are their sexes (start with the eldest to the youngest in that order)?

1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10					
B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G

s. How long have you been living continously in this town?

1 Always

2 Visitor

:0. Just before you moved here, did you live in the countryside or in another town?

1 No,Have been here always.

2 Countryside

3 Another Town

4 Other (specify)

|ll. It is important to know your exact age. How old will you be at the end of this year?

12. Have you ever attended an adult literacy class?

1 Yes

2 No

13. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

1 None

2 1-4

3 5-8

9+

14. At what age does boys in this household start going to nursery school?

1 3yrs

2 4yrs

3 No Boys

15. At what age does girls in this household start going to nursery school?

1__3yrs

2—4yrs

3__No girls

16. At what age do boys in this household start going to Primary school?

1 6yrs

2 7yrs

3 No boys

17. At what age do girls in this household start going to primary school?

1 6yrs

2 7yrs

3 No girls

18. Can you read a letter or newspaper in any language, easily, with difficulty or not at all?

1 Easily

2 With Difficulty

3 Not at all

19. can you read the Quran?

1 Easily

2 With difficulty

3 Not at all

20. Do you think that education is beneficial to women in Muslim Community?

1 Yes

2 No

jl. Why?_

12. Does your husband have any other wives apart from you?

1 Yes

2 No

3 NA

23. Are you the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th wife? Please rank

24. What is the highest level of education would you like your daughter(s) to attain?

1 Primary

2 Secondary

3 University

4 Not necessary

5 Undecided

25.Why ?

26. Have you/do you help you daughter with homework?

1 Yes

2 No

27.Why ?

28. Who do you think benefits from a girl's formal education?

100

1 No Benefit

2 Herself

3 Herself and Husbsnd

4 Herself and parents

1:9. Why?.

[30. How old were you when you first got married?,

[31. Who selected your marriage partner?

1 Own choice

2 Parents

3 Relatives

4 Others(Specify)

32. Why?

33. Did you encounter any opposition?

1 Yes

2 No

34.Why?

35. Who do you think should select your daughter's marriage partner?

1 Herself

2 Parents

3 Relatives

4 Others(specify)

36. why?

37. What is your husband's occupation?

1 Self-employed

Describe

2 Employed by others for cash

Describe

38. What did you do for a living prior to your marriage?

1 Worked around the home

2 Worked away from home in own business

3 Worked away from home for cash

39. What do you(currently) do for a living?

1 Work around the home

2 Work away from home in own business

3 Work away from home for cash

40. Some people have been saying that Islam perpetuates male dorminance in society while others say it promotes eguality of the sexes.In your opinion, do you think that Islam promotes gender equalty or ineguality?

1__Promotes ineguality

2__Promotes ineguality

.Why?_____

2. What does Islam stipulate as the proper domain for women in an Islamic Society such as yours?

1 Private

2 Public

3 Both public and private

3. Would you say that Islam favors education of boys to that of girls?

1 Yes

2 No

44.Why?

PERSONAL OBSERVATION

46. General attitude towards education?

1 Carefree

2 Moderate

3 Keen

47. Attitude to questioning?

1 Reluctant

2 Deceptive

3__Open and Obliging

Legend

NA . . . . . Not Applicable

THE END