#### **Journal of Negro Education**

The Situation and Roles of Women in Kenya: An Overview

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Source: The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 56, No. 3, Knowing the Other: A Look at

Education Internationally (Summer, 1987), pp. 422-434

Published by: Journal of Negro Education Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2295235

Accessed: 29/05/2013 05:10

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Education—some very moving stories. They talk about their experiences in the program and the work they are now doing. They also share their ideas about the part that adult education must play in the future of Kenya.

While the publication of this material is an educational advantage for the reader, it is also a professional privilege for the authors, who are anxious to publish but have little opportunity to do so. We are happy to share this experience with them. The reader will note that in most cases Kenyan word spellings/usage have been retained. The stories basically are printed in the authors' own words.

## THE SITUATION AND ROLES OF WOMEN IN KENYA: AN OVERVIEW

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Traditionally, the Kenyan women, like women in other African countries, performed roles of wife, mother, child-bearer, caretaker, and food provider. They were prepared for these roles through traditional education, which was

largely a practical education through which one lived by doing and observing. . . . The girl was taught good manners and learnt such tasks as cooking, tending children, fetching water, collecting firewood, doing garden work, cultivating, sowing, weeding and harvesting. . . . A few older women played some public roles as medicine women but the place of the woman was largely in the home. . . . The woman's role was essential to the wellbeing of the family. . . . They were respected and protected.¹

The majority of women in Kenya today grew up in their ethnic villages where they were bred in the traditions. This is an experience which gives the Kenyan woman her indigenous identity, of which many are proud. The introduction of school education during the colonial era (1885–1963) brought about change which was slow at first, but assumed far-reaching effects over the years. School education became recognized and accepted as the means of preparing the youth for both private and public roles in the modern Kenya; hence, although the women continued to perform the traditional roles, traditional education alone was no longer adequate or relevant preparation for the professional roles in the modern society. The crucial importance of school education to the woman in the modern society in Kenya is summed up well in the following statement:

Education gives the woman the knowledge, skills and the confidence to take care of herself in a competitive world. Moreover, her education contributes directly to the general improvement of health and living standards.

With improved female education, the various aspects of home management are handled better, facilitating a rise in the general living standards of the family. The required health methods of infant and child care are achieved faster with education of the mother.<sup>2</sup>

In looking at the present situation of women in Kenya, it is important to recognize that traditional roles and availability or lack of school education largely determine their current roles and situation.

This article discusses the situation and roles of women in Kenya. Five areas are addressed: (1) participation of women in education; (2) participation of women in the labour force, formal and informal sectors; (3) roles of women in the family, household, food production, and agriculture; (4) participation of women in community and self-help activities; and (5) the role of adult education and training.

#### Participation of Women in Education

To understand the delayed participation of women in education, it is necessary to look back to the preindependence era, when a very small proportion of women had access to formal education. This became one of the most basic limitations on women's progress.

The goal of education on the part of both Missions and Government during the colonial era was to provide literacy in the vernacular and/or Kiswahili³ on a very limited scale. One to five years of education was considered sufficient preparation to enable the few Africans who cooperated to take up subordinate leadership roles in the village, tribal society, or the church.

Most boys had access to classroom instruction. At that time, most families did not see the value of sending girls to school. School education did not seem relevant to the traditional roles of women. Introduction of formal education to Kenyan women on a very limited scale was spearheaded by mission groups who encouraged the formation of adult classes and later schools for girls in literacy, sewing, and child care. Missionaries saw this as a basis for modernization which was conducive to the spreading of Christianity.

It is, however, important to note that during the preindependence period, both men and women shared the deprivation of formal education. By 1963, the year of independence, "the majority of adults in Kenya, males and females, had not had opportunities for schooling. . . . The 1969 population census reveal[ed] that 80% of women as compared to 66% of men had not had any formal education."

#### **Women Without Formal Education**

In 1979, the overall proportion of women without formal education in Kenya was 57.4 percent. The proportion increased with age, as shown in Table I. The correlating female illiteracy rate was 62 percent,<sup>5</sup> indicating that women without formal education were also (except in special circumstances) illiterate. The first and foremost objective of adult education in Kenya at this level is to eradicate illiteracy. The literacy campaign received special impetus in 1978, following the Presidential directive to wipe out illiteracy. Reading programmes in Kiswahili, the vernacular languages, and English are reinforced, with postliteracy and continuing education programmes organized around the themes of family planning, health, good citizenry, and rural development. The Department of Adult Education in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services and various nongovernment organizations are the major providers of adult education for women with no formal education.

In 1980, about 400,000 Kenyans attended literacy classes, of whom 87 percent were women.<sup>6</sup> It is important to note, however, that the number of illiterate women has not yet decreased appreciably because of a combination of factors. When faced with time and work constraints, parents favour giving priority to the education of their children rather than to themselves. Some women are little motivated because of the lack of perceived relevance of literacy to their immediate socioeconomic needs. Development programmes which offer immediate economic benefits (e.g., incomegenerating projects) tend to be more attractive to women in this category. The Department of Adult Education is trying to integrate literacy classes with development, social, and income-generating activities in order to make the classes more purposeful to women's needs. A third factor is that many primary school dropouts are only

TABLE I	
Proportion of Kenyans with No Formal Education,	1979

Years of Age	Males (%)	Females (%)
5–14	32.3	34.1
15-24	14.8	29.3
25-34	23.7	55.0
35-44	38.4	<i>7</i> 4.9
45-54	54.8	84.7
55 and over	74.8	93.0
Total	45.0	57.4

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Population Census, vol. 1 (Nairobi, Kenya, 1979).

marginally literate and easily lapse back into illiteracy when they have no opportunity to continue using the skill.

### **Participation in Primary Education**

Since independence, the Kenyan Government has accorded the highest priority to the expansion of the educational system at all levels. By 1980, the proportion of Kenya's gross development production in educational expenditure was 70 percent as compared with 48 percent for Africa as a whole and 5.6 percent for the world.<sup>7</sup>

At independence, enrollment in the 6,058 primary schools was 891,553—less than 60 percent of the primary school-age population. Within twenty years (by 1982), the proportion of primary schoolage population enrolled was 92 percent, and the primary schools numbered 11,497.8

In 1963, girls accounted for 34 percent of primary school enrollment; by 1984, girls constituted 50.1 percent. These figures show that female enrollment ratios at the primary school level have moved toward parity with boys.

Although, today, the majority of Kenyan girls are assured of entering and completing primary school, there are some constraints. First, girls' primary school participation varies from region to region, with girls being most fully represented in the primary schools in urban areas and the comparatively better-developed provinces, but they remain underrepresented in primary schools in the least economically developed districts, notably the North Eastern Province districts. In these districts, economic factors combined with cultural beliefs that education is harmful to the women and that it destroys morals, traditional values, and norms have prevented girls from participating fully in primary education. These districts experience high illiteracy rates, especially among women.

Second, when confronted with constraints of limited resources and opportunities, parents generally favour boys. The abolition of school fees by stages between 1974 and 1980 in primary education has helped to minimize this problem.

Third, poor performance by females in primary school—especially in the rural areas—is attributed to a greater demand imposed on female children to assist with household chores, such as fetching water, collecting firewood, helping with the cooking, and caring for the young. This work interferes with schooling and depresses female performance; it also may lead to wastage due to some children's being withdrawn from school altogether.

Further, in districts of low economic opportunity, mentioned above, wastage is also attributed to early marriages which are planned by parents—a practice that is being discouraged by the Government

and is punishable in courts of law if discovered. In 1978, female wastage was estimated to be at least three times the male wastage rate in primary schools.

Fourth, continuing to high school involves completing the eight years of primary school and securing high scores on the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination (formerly the Cambridge Primary Examination) to merit a place in high school. Girls perform less well than boys in varying degrees. In 1975, approximately one-third of all girls who completed primary school (28,844) entered high school. In 1980, approximately 47,946 (or 41 percent of the total Form I intake—admissions to high school) entered high school. The gap between performance of girls and boys is not uniform in all regions.

It is evident that a vast number of females terminate their formal education at the primary school level. The new primary school curriculum that became effective in 1985 (which in addition to the conventional subjects—mathematics, science, English, history, and geography—now covers needlework and tailoring, home science, carpentry, arts and crafts, agriculture, music, and Kiswahili) succeeds in introducing girls to skills and knowledge more relevant to the socioeconomic system. Nonetheless, more focused preparation is required to enable them to participate effectively.

For females who do not continue to secondary education, adult education aims to create and expand educational and economic alternatives by assisting them to acquire specific knowledge and skills in animal husbandry, agriculture, nutrition, health practices, family planning, home management, and small business. These courses prepare them for roles of child-care and household management and improve their productivity in farming and supplementary types of economic activity in rural communities. At this level, the adult education providers include Government, university (College of Adult and Distance Education, specifically), and nongovernment organizations working through continuing education programmes and development, social, and income-generating projects.

### Participation in High School and University Education

Since independence, the Government has given priority to secondary, tertiary, and higher educational opportunities. At independence, girls accounted for 32 percent of Form I entrants to high school. The proportion rose to 35.9 percent in 1975 and 40.2 percent in 1980 of the total high-school intake, showing a rise in enrollment over the years; but the proportion for boys has continued to be comparatively larger. The relative shortage of high schools for girls

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compared to boys partly accounts for girls' low enrollment at the high-school level. For example, in 1968, there were 143 government secondary schools for boys, 61 for girls, and 28 mixed. <sup>11</sup> By 1974, the number of secondary schools had grown to 235 for boys, 82 for girls, and 47 mixed. <sup>12</sup>

Apart from the government-maintained and assisted schools, there are a few unaided schools. The last category includes schools owned by individuals and often run at a profit, schools operated by religious bodies, and *Harambee* schools, which are built and operated by local communities. Stemming from the postindependence emphasis on self-help, *Harambee* schools constitute the majority of the unaided schools. Due to limited resources, however, the quality of education in many *Harambee* schools is inferior and the fees are high, more than twice those in government-aided schools. Inability to secure places in the limited government-maintained girls' secondary schools on account of poor KCPE scores force many girls to enroll in *Harambee* schools, thus limiting their chances of continuing to higher levels of education and training.

Until 1989, when the new school curriculum is expected to be fully implemented, the prerequisite for enrolling at a university in Kenya is graduation from Form VI, the advanced high-school level, with the required minimum university entry scores in examinations. Fewer girls than boys enroll for the advanced-level education. For example, in 1970, of the total number of 5,013 girls who enrolled in Form I, only 21.7 percent continued to Form V in 1974; and of a total of 38,390 girls who enrolled in Form I in 1976, only 8.4 percent continued to Form V. It follows then that fewer women than men secure places in the universities. This is illustrated in the data on female undergraduates at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University between 1981 and 1985. In 1981–82, of 7,707 total enrollment, 29.6 percent were females; in 1983–84, of 7,328, 30.2 percent were females; and in 1984–85, of 7,132, 30.3 percent were females.

Apart from the shortage of high-school places and failure of many girls to secure places in the high schools, there are other constraints which contribute to low participation of girls in high-school education. Among these are the following: (1) The fees charged for enrolling in high school, especially in the unaided *Harambee* schools, often are higher than the income of an average family; this prevents a large number of the less affluent girls from entering and completing high school. (2) The performance of girls in schools which do not have boarding facilities is affected adversely due to the demand made on them to assist in household chores. (3) Teen-age pregnancies. (4) Many girls' schools offer predominantly arts rather than science subjects, thus creating an imbalance

**TABLE II**Percentage Distribution of Female Undergraduate Students by Academic Fields, 1981 to 1984

	Academic Year		
Field	1981–82	1982–83	1983-84
Education	47.0	46.7	42.7
Arts	20.8	18.6	17.2
Medical Science	9.2	9.3	9.9
Commerce	7.4	7.9	<b>7.</b> 5
Law	4.7	6.0	6.5
Agriculture	3.2	3.9	4.4
Science	5.0	4.4	3.9
Home Economics (B.Sc.)			4.0
<b>Building and Land Economics</b>	1.2	1.6	1.7
Architecture and Design	1.2	1.2	1.3
Engineering	0.3	0.4	0.4
Forestry	0	0	0.3

Source: Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology, Education Statistics Department, Nairobi, Kenya, 1985.

N's = Total enrollment: 7,707 in 1981–82; 7,328 in 1982–83; 7,132 in 1983–84. Total female enrollment: 2,283 in 1981–82; 2,212 in 1982–83; 2,160 in 1983–84.

which affects entrance to higher education, career, and professional training and job placement.

### PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Participation of women in the labour force is influenced by constraints discussed above pertaining to low educational attainment and sociocultural factors. Low education keeps many women in the bottom cadres of the labour force and in marginal roles of the economy. While women are entering the paid labour force (formal sector), in accordance with tradition they are still held responsible for all the housework and child-care functions.

#### The Formal Sector

The proportion of women in the formal sector (i.e., paid labour force) is relatively small. In 1964, only 12.2 percent of the formal sector force was female. Their representation rose to 14.8 percent in 1972 and 18.0 percent in 1982.<sup>13</sup>

Over half of Kenyan women working in wage employment are unskilled, casual workers in rural commercial agriculture or urban private sectors. Approximately one-third of the females who work in urban areas are in professional or white collar employment (a higher proportion than men), but the concentration is in teaching and secretarial work. Twenty-five percent of the females in wage

employment are primary or secondary school teachers. Secretarial work is the only major occupation group in which the majority of employees (91 percent in 1976<sup>14</sup>) were women. It is important to note, however, that women are now entering managerial and top administrative positions where they were previously excluded. In the technical field, women are concentrated in the health sector as nurses.

Women are underrepresented in middle-ranking occupation groups such as clerks, shop assistants, sales personnel, and cashiers. They are also underrepresented in subordinate positions such as messengers, drivers, and other skilled labour. These positions tend to favour males.

#### The Informal Sector

Approximately 30 percent of Kenyan women were engaged in the informal sector (self-employed) according to 1978 data.

In the urban areas, women are concentrated in retail trade involving the sale of food, drinks, tobacco, butcheries, furniture, textiles, clothing, and shoes. The rest are distributed in the following areas: manufacturing (tailoring and dressmaking); construction and transport; community; and social and personal services (such as hairdressing, restaurants, and bars). The relatively large opportunity available to women in the informal sector in urban areas may be due to the fact that men have alternative opportunities to hold salaried jobs in the formal sector.

In the rural areas, women are mainly engaged in family enterprises, especially farming activities on their own holdings (land). They are rarely found in the ranks of the self-employed. In this respect, it should be noted that,

Collection of data on employment . . . has not been easy. Also, the usual definition of work in the national accounts does not measure a large proportion of work done by women. The usual statistics therefore understate women's contribution to the economy. Services of housewives, domestic chores, child-rearing, etc., are not enumerated, unless they are performed by a hired domestic worker. Even in agricultural and rural development where the role of women is well recognized, the quantitative information at the micro level is hard to obtain. . . . Recent and consistent efforts by the Central Bureau of Statistics has started giving reliable data on which Government is now able to base policy decisions on this vital sector of the economy. <sup>15</sup>

## ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY: HOUSEHOLD, FOOD, AND AGRICULTURE

The traditional role of the Kenyan woman as mother and wife still holds, particularly in the rural areas where 87.5 percent of the women in Kenya live. But modernization as a consequence of eco-

nomic, social, and cultural changes initiated by colonialism and accelerated by independence has increased the scope and complexity of these responsibilities.

Traditionally, the men trained the boys and undertook other family chores such as caring for livestock, clearing the land, and bringing meat or fish home from hunting or fishing trips. In the modern economy, men take salaried jobs outside the home, thus shifting a greater share of the household chores to women. Traditionally mothers, grandmothers, and other women within the clan worked together and shared responsibilities, but modernization has encouraged the emergence of the nuclear family where these responsibilities largely rest on the mother in the household. Modern child-care practices and hygiene require additional time to perform the related tasks. For example, children must be taken to the health clinics for immunization and monitoring of growth. In many rural homes, a nutritious diet means running a kitchen garden and keeping poultry. Mothers are increasingly facing demands which exceed their time and energy.

In Kenya, the woman's role in agriculture and as the provider of food is closely linked to her household chores. Approximately 85 percent of females over seventeen years of age work regularly on the family holding compared to 54 percent of males. <sup>16</sup> The productive role of women in agriculture embraces both subsistence crops and cash crops for the market. Women's farm activities cover the entire agriculture cycle—including hoeing, planting, weeding, scaring birds and animal pests, and harvesting. They also keep poultry and care for livestock, activities which traditionally were for men. They process and prepare food for the family. The household and food production functions are really the backbone of the family upkeep, providing the basic daily needs.

Approximately a quarter of the rural small holdings in Kenya are headed by women. Some women are heads of small holding households temporarily because their husbands are away on salaried jobs; others are heads because they have lost their husbands through death, divorce, or separation. The households headed by the latter category of women are relatively poorer, with too many demands on mothers' time and labour, so that children are affected adversely with respect to education, health, nutrition, and clothing. In urban areas, households headed by single women in the low-income brackets suffer similar risks.

Younger women who are widowed, divorced, or separated generally remarry. This brings about additional resources through the husbands.

An important development in women's affairs is that of finding

ways and means to ease the women's burdens. The introduction of appropriate labour-saving technology has been found to be effective. For example, bringing piped water to the village means that many women no longer must carry water to their homes. An important long-term objective of the Government in the current Development Plan (1984–88) is to supply food and quality water "in close proximity to the population." Other examples include the improvement in the traditional cooking stove such that less firewood is used and the improvement of methods of processing and storing food to shorten the amount of time spent on grinding, pounding, and threshing. The development of appropriate technology which builds on existing indigenous materials and methods minimizes disruptive effects and dependency on extensive imported foreign devices.

## PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY AND SELF-HELP ACTIVITIES

Women make substantial contributions to local community development activities through self-help and "Harambee projects." It has been mentioned that the traditional practices where women helped each other in times of need (such as sickness, childbirth, funerals) and where they shared family responsibilities (such as training young persons, farming, and so forth) have to a large extent been disrupted by modernization. However, it is worth noting that the spirit of the long-standing tradition of joining together in mutual assistance has not been lost to the society altogether. It has been shifted to other productive aspects of society in the form of women's groups and self-help projects.

## Women's Groups

The number of Women's Groups in Kenya has continued to grow. In 1976, there were 4,300 groups with a registered membership of 156,892. By 1984, the number of groups had risen to 16,232, with a total registered membership of slightly over 630,000. Through self-help, these groups undertake a variety of community projects such as water schemes, cattle dips, fish ponds, social halls, health facilities, schools, feeder roads, and housing. Some run incomegenerating projects, e.g., small businesses in poultry, piggery, beekeeping, handcrafts, brickmaking, and retail trading (roofing materials, furniture, and utensils). Some form cooperatives.

The Government has demonstrated its recognition of the contribution made by women to development through these groups by providing technical and sometimes financial and material assistance through the Women's Bureau and Ministry of Culture and

Social Services. Nongovernment organizations, churches, and other donors also contribute large portions of technical financial assistance to these groups.

## **Education Through Participation**

Participation in the activities of Women's Groups—formal, informal, local, regional, or national—has been directly or indirectly educative to some women, and has facilitated personal growth and acquisition of useful social and public skills. The 'Group' also provides a basis for women's economic and social ventures.

The foregoing discussion shows that a larger proportion of Kenyan women are engaged in roles which afford them very limited resources. A woman in such a situation may be unable to raise enough capital single-handedly to start an income-generating project, but collective effort helps to realize capital and provides a sufficient base to obtain credit and technical support.

Participation in Women's Groups also provides opportunity for women to enter the public arena in the mainstream of national and economic activity, some of whom might not otherwise stand up under the pressures and dynamics of national organizations to reach such attainment. Other advantages of participating in Women's Groups include receiving a share of the income from the project; learning about children's education and nutrition, health services, and home improvement; developing skills associated with the project endeavour, such as poultry raising, bee keeping, handcrafts, accounting, budgeting, literacy, and project management and planning; learning about appropriate agricultural and animal husbandry techniques; assuming leadership roles; and building confidence in self.

## Participation in Nongovernment Organizations

There are currently in Kenya thirty-nine nongovernment women's organizations. Some of them have international affilations; others include professional associations, general purpose organizations, religious organizations, and cooperatives. The activities of these organizations are in the areas of health, social welfare, conservation of the environment, leadership training, and educational projects.

The participation of Kenyan women in these nongovernment organizations and the women's contributions to them demonstrate their awareness of, and active role in, issues and problems beyond their feminine roles and needs.

#### ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In the foregoing discussion, it is evident that in Kenya it is increasingly recognized that the education of women is of crucial importance to the development of the family and the nation—hence the Government's effort to provide girls with greater access to educational and training opportunities.

Adult education is, therefore, not advocated as an alternative to formal education and training, but as a powerful way to increase women's productivity and to build their confidence in themselves. The preceding discussion shows that a greater proportion of women than men occupy marginal roles in the economy and in the structures of society. Skills training programmes try to give priority to those who are already marginalized—providing them with and improving their marketable skills. Training programmes take into account the multiplicity of women's learning, training needs, and roles, although limited resources mean only limited training needs are especially addressed.

#### **CONCLUSION**

This article has discussed the situation and role of women in Kenya. For many years, education for girls held low priority; hence, a greater proportion of the adult women population today occupy marginal roles in the economy and structures of society and may perform traditional roles as well. It has been recognized that educating women is of crucial importance for the development of the individual woman, the family, and the nation; hence the efforts by the Government provide greater access to educational and training opportunities for girls. Adult education plays an essential supportive role which helps those who are already marginalized to improve their marketable skills.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Florida A. Karani, "A History of Maseno School, 1906–1962: Its Alumni and the Local Society" (Master's diss., University of Nairobi, 1974), pp. 20–21.

<sup>2</sup>Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya: Review and Evaluation of Progress; End of Dacade, Nairobi, July 1985 (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Kiswahili is the national language in Kenya, spoken by all tribes.

<sup>4</sup>Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Women in Kenya (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1978), p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>Republic of Kenya, "Literacy in Rural Kenya, 1980–81," *Social Perspectives*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1982). <sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Republic of Kenya, *Department of Adult Education Report* (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1985), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Republic of Kenya, *Development Plan*, 1984–1988, (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1983), p. 37.

9Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>11</sup>Republic of Kenya, Women in Kenya, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup>Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning and UNICEF, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya; Sec. 3, The Roles and Situation of Women (Nairobi: Man Graphics Limited, 1984), p. 67.

<sup>13</sup>Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup>Republic of Kenya, Women in Kenya, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup>Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup>A. C. Smock, "Women's Education and Roles in Kenya" (Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1981), p. 222. ■

## Narratives by Female Kenyan Adult Educators

# LINA TUNGO CHESARO—Educator in the Cooperative Movement

#### **BACKGROUND OF THE AUTHOR**

I was born on the 11th of November in 1947 in a small village in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. I come from a Christian home of the Tugen ethnic community, one of seven Kalenjin tribes of the Rift Valley Province. I am the third child of Mr. Samuel Rotich Kandagar and Mrs. Miriam Sote Rotich. I am the second-born girl of six sisters and seven brothers. In 1969 I married Mr. Julius Kipyegon Chesaro and now I am the mother of two sons and one daughter.

My home was in the Riwo New Sigewo village, in the Kabarak sub-location, in the Sacho location of the Baringo District in the Rift Valley Province. Let me explain the provincial administrative structure of our country. There are eight administrative provinces, each of which is headed by a Commissioner. Within these provinces there are 42 districts collectively, each headed by District Commissioners. The districts are divided into divisions, each of which is under the supervision of a District Officer. The divisions are divided