THE CIVIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE
NAIROBI FEMALE ELITES IN KENYA

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This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, the Nairobi female elite's political and civic functions and participation have been observed so as to determine their role in Kenyan society. The female elite in Nairobi included females in political office, organisational leadership and top-level business, police and professions.

In Chapter I, the historical background is presented by observing the women's role in traditional and colonial African society. Chapter II follows with a presentation of paradigms of sexual stratification, based on biological, ecological, ideological, socio-economic and political dimensions, that are particularly applicable to the African and the Kenyan experience in particular. In Chapter III, the theories related to this thesis have been observed by surveying the enormous body of literature on the phenomena of economic and political development.

In Chapter IV, the methodology for this thesis -- the hypotheses relating to the empirical data; the data collection procedures -- interview and questionnaire; the scales utilized -- prestige, consciousness, political cynicism, power differential and organisational authority; and the statistics used -- frequency distributions, and cross-tabulations have been elaborated upon. In Chapter V this methodology facilitated a clear
understanding of the presentation of the empirical data which has been used to present the socio-political dimensions of the Kenyan female elite. Chapter VI deals with the data from interviews, meetings and the Kenyan mass media. This has been used to present the perceptions of the female elite's civic, political and social role in Kenyan society.

The concluding chapter includes a summary of the findings; recommendations for scholars, researchers, policy makers and for future research; the dilemma of female leadership within the Kenyan socio-political context; a summary of the perceptions of the Kenyan female elite; and an evaluation of the female elite's power.
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INTRODUCTION

The role and status of women in society is increasingly coming under the focus of academic investigation. In this respect, the participation of women in the political life of the Third World is, on the one hand, an area of study which has attracted some attention, but, on the other hand, it is a field that has not been made the subject of rigorous academic research and analysis. Even in the West, there is a dearth of rigorous, definitive studies concerning the role of women in the political arena. Thus, whereas this new interest in the status and role of women has added some volume to the literature on the subject, there are many areas that have been relatively neglected. One of the areas of neglect -- the civic and political participation of women in Kenya -- is the subject of this study. Included in this introduction will be a brief review of the following: 1) a justification of the choice of the topic; 2) a synopsis of the theoretical framework or model for this topic; 3) a presentation of the research methodology and the hypotheses for this study; and 4) a brief resume on the sequence of the Chapters making up this dissertation.

The impetus for this research into the nature
of the female political and civic elite stems from three considerations. First, few attempts have been made to analyse the role of women elites in Africa; second, the study of elites provides a workable research strategy for understanding the role of women in the political process of Third World countries; and third, there exists a need to propose paradigms which suggest a set of questions that should be asked whenever the role of women in the Third World is being examined -- especially in terms of participation at top levels. The Kenyan female elite's political and civic functions will be observed to define their role in Kenyan society. The Kenyan female elite will include females in political office, organisational leadership and top-level business and professional women.

There is a small number of studies that would contribute to a theoretical framework for studying elite women in the Third World. Among them, three may be mentioned here. Jeane Kirkpatrick's book, Political Woman, is particularly useful in explaining the paucity of females in the political arena. Kirkpatrick hypothesises that there are four constraints that inhibit women's pursuit and exercise of power. These are physiological constraints, cultural constraints, role constraints and male conspiracy.² The appli-
cability of Kirkpatrick's hypothesis to the case of Kenya women will be examined.

Another work available is Elsa M. Chaney's study of female political elites in Peru and Chile.³ Chaney's elite Latin American woman sees her role in politics as the "supermadre." Female elites are described by Luis Hernandez Parker, one of Chile's leading political writers, as the "untiring 'aunts', valiant and tender." Whilst men are preoccupied with problems as abstract as constitutional reforms, women are fighting for kindergartens, for drinking water in the 'settlement', and for day-care centres.⁴

Thus, there is a very specific role that the woman plays in the political process. Her limits are defined in terms of her role as mother. Chaney remarks that the:

... two apparently universal features of women's involvement in public life (are) her (and society's) tendency to view the feminine contribution as an extrapolation of her motherhood role to the arena of politics; and the lack of a firm commitment to public concerns.⁵

It seems that, whether consciously or otherwise, there remain many supporters of the old theory of 'imbecillitas sexus' -- women's incapacity.⁶ It would be interesting to observe any commonalities between the role of Kenyan female elites and that of the Chilean and Peruvian female elites.
Another study, by Kay Boals, presents a theoretical model of studying the dialectic between culturally dominant and culturally oppressed groups. In applying her model to the case of male/female relations in Algeria, Boals proposes a framework for the study of the politics of cultural liberation in which she postulates six types of consciousness. They are traditional consciousness, traditionalist consciousness, reformist consciousness, assimilationist consciousness, revolutionary consciousness and modernizing consciousness. Each type of consciousness marks a stage in the progression of cultural liberation. The six stages provide an excellent means for categorizing the evolving female elite in Kenya; and Boals' framework provides a useful model for the ultimate research design.

The above studies will be used to investigate the evolving pattern of the woman's role in Kenya's political and civic life and to bring into focus the factors that continue to inhibit this role. The questions that need to be asked are: 1) Is the Kenyan female making a major contribution to the development of Kenyan society? 2) Is the female elite being held back by certain cultural, role, or socio-political constraints? 3) What type of socio-political attitudes does the female elite have, and how do these attitudes
affect their contribution to the Kenyan nation? The operationalisation of these questions will become clear when the hypotheses and research methodology are presented.

The research methodology for this study has to be perceived in the context of the field. The female elite in Kenya can be categorised into many sections. However, one may quickly observe core groups. These core groups often overlap. In other words, the political elite is also seen as the civic elite; the civic elite and the political elite are also part of the business elite; and so on. For the purpose of this study, the following four groups are presented as the units of analysis.

a) Women in political office -- this includes political office attained by both election and appointment.

b) Women in organisations -- this includes women who are leaders of women's organisations -- especially organisations that play a leading role such as the National Council of Women in Kenya and the Maendeleo ya Wanawake. In turn, each organisation can be seen as a unit of analysis.

c) Women in business and professions -- this includes women who have their own business, those that are employed in business and those women that are
employed in a professional category such as lawyer, civil servant, professor, etc.

d) Police women -- this category is restricted to top ranked police women only.

In this study, the relative inaccessibility of the subject population (the female elite in Kenya) complicated the data collection. For example, when the researcher tried to get hold of Margaret Kenyatta, it took some four months of persistent calling and sitting outside her office to get one interview with her. Besides interviews, data was gathered by passing out a questionnaire, attending women's organisations' meetings and from local papers and women's magazines.

The data gathered for this study were used to test the hypotheses based on the following areas of concern:

a) organisational differences;
b) socio-political characteristics of the individual;
c) the political socialisation of the individual;
d) the political attitudes of the individual;
e) ethnic affiliation; and
f) power differential in relation to occupations.

So far in this introduction a synopsis of the theoretical framework, the methodology and hypotheses for this study have been presented. What remains is a resume of each chapter so that one can have an understanding
of the way in which this dissertation has been organised.

In Chapter I, the historical background will be presented by observing the African women's role in traditional and colonial society. The multi-faceted and important role that women played in traditional Africa will be elaborated upon. This will be followed by an explanation of how the imposition of colonial rule stunted the participation of women in African society. An understanding of the significance of both local tradition and the colonial impact will be useful background to the understanding of the development of elites in Kenya.

Chapter II will include a presentation of the theoretical framework for this dissertation. First the terms 'role' and 'status' will be defined. This will be followed by an historical perspective on sexual stratification. Changes in the way humankind has come to terms with the biological, ideological, ecological, socio-economic and political dimensions of sexual stratification will be analysed. Particular regard will be given to paradigms applicable to the African, and especially Kenyan, experience.

In Chapter III the enormous body of literature on the phenomena of economic and political development will be surveyed. It will be noted how the various
highly esteemed theories on development take into account the role and status of women in society and the incorporation of women into the proposed models of development. Linked to this are the various theories regarding modernisation — seen as a normative, and not merely a mechanistic, process. As societies exert their energies towards achieving development, the role and status of women will be seen to be affected. In this regard, the imperatives of underdevelopment will be analysed. Against an overall amelioration for women there has to be set the (hopefully) short-term loss of jobs, an increased dependency on the male, and other deprivations resulting from mechanisation and urbanisation.

A survey of the literature on economic development and women will lead us into a discussion of women and political development. Political participation of women in the African as well as the Third World context will be outlined. Special attention will be paid to the constraints on female political participation. Consideration will also be given to one of the most significant public activities of women — civic participation. This will be followed by literature dealing with elites, male as well as females, in political and civic life. Special attention will be paid to the disparate circumstances that have
affected the elites here being investigated. In this regard, the significance of both local tradition and the colonial impact, which were referred to earlier, will need to be examined. The significance of another factor will also be considered, and that is the rapidly changing nature of the political, social, and economic life of Kenya -- as well as other Third World nations. The effect of these processes on the evolution of elites needs careful analysis.

The research methodology for this dissertation will be dealt with in Chapter IV. The significance of Nairobi as a research site along with the procedures for the selection of respondents and data collection will be elaborated upon. Hypotheses relating to the empirical data will be presented in detail. The techniques of analysis -- the scales and statistics -- used to test the hypotheses will be explained in detail. This explanation will facilitate an understanding of the empirical data which will be evaluated in Chapter V.

The empirical data from the questionnaires will be used to present the socio-political dimensions of the Kenyan female elite. The chapter will be divided into the following categories: 1) the social background of the female elite; 2) the inter-organisational differences of the women's organisations; 3) the socio-
political characteristics of the individual -- family relations, level of trust, and consciousness level;  
4) the political socialisation of the female elite;  
5) the political attitudes of the female elite; 6) the female elite's ethnic affiliation; and 7) the female elite's attitudes in relation to their level of power.

The data from interviews, meetings and the Kenyan mass media will be evaluated in Chapter VI. Specifically this chapter will deal with the perceptions of the female elite's civic, political and social roles. First of all, an analysis of the origin, structure, function and activities of the main women's organisations -- National Council of Women in Kenya, Maendeleo ya Wanawake, and the Women's Bureau -- will be scrutinised. This background will facilitate an understanding of the female elite's perceptions about the role and function of women's organisations. Second, the female elite's role in politics and government will be evaluated. Profiles of females in high-ranking political positions will be dealt with. This will be followed by an analysis of the opportunities for women in government and politics and an indication of how the elite perceives its role in regard to political participation. Third, the female's image as presented in the mass media will be observed. Particularly, how the women's organisations' activity
is reported in the newspapers and magazines will be presented. How do the women utilise the mass media? What purposes are served by the organisations' magazines? And, how does the mass media, especially women's magazines, depict females? This will not only give us an indication of how the mass media presents the female role, but also what the Kenyan society perceives to be the female role.

The concluding chapter will: 1) evaluate the female elite's civic and political functions; 2) assess the socio-economic and socio-political environment of Kenya and its impact on women's role; 3) analyse the female elite's power and its function as facilitator of socio-political change; 4) project the future of women in Kenya; and 5) present the limitations of this research, especially in regard to the need for additional research. It is hoped that, besides contributing suitable paradigms to the field of female elite research, this study will furnish some insights useful to Kenyan women's organisations, to the Women's Bureau set up by the government and to others — especially women, some of whom have expressed an eager interest in the findings. This would then fulfil the underlying purpose of this study: a) to examine the factors responsible for the current role and status of Kenyan women and b) to indicate how the
role of Kenyan women in the public eye can take a more positive direction.
NOTES -- INTRODUCTION


4. ibid., p. 104.

5. ibid., p. 105.


CHAPTER I
WOMEN IN PRE-INDEPENDENT AFRICA

Much of the earlier literature on the status and role of women in pre-independent Africa was written by Europeans. Unfortunately, among the early investigations, one rarely finds a study which is not tainted by male bias and colonial prejudice. The writings of explorers, colonisers, missionaries, and anthropologists reveal the biased observations of European males; they conducted their studies, moreover, with considerable ethnocentrism, wearing the blinkers of Western culture, often scrutinising African people in the light of Western cultural values.

Considering the limited role and status of Western females in the earlier portion of the Twentieth Century, it is no wonder that most Western male observers totally ignored or played down the role of women in African cultures. Paul Mercier has pithily captured the picture of African women drawn by the early scholars:

Woman is almost a slave, she has no rights, she is overburdened by her heavy tasks, she is exploited by man and bought by him.

The attitude of the coloniser is further represented by the following comment a French administrator made about African women:
The greater number of indigenous societies reserve for women a place which is clearly inferior, approaching that of a domestic animal.\textsuperscript{2}

Indeed, many colonisers -- both administrators and missionaries -- believed that they were going to 'liberate' the African woman.\textsuperscript{3} This idea clearly reflects their lack of understanding of the workings of the African socio-economic institutions. These were the very institutions they planned to dissolve in their zealouslyness to 'free' African women. In effect, the impact of the coloniser, native law, and Christianity was often responsible for denigrating, and often degrading, the status of African women.

The distorting and trivialising of African women's role by early European writers was not solely their fault. Much of their information about African women's social activities, economic and political roles, perceptions about males, rituals, and women's organisations was gathered from male informants. As Denis Paulme points out:

\ldots ethnographic research has almost always been carried out with the help of, and among, the male part of the population, the picture that has emerged has to a large extent been the image which the men, and the men alone, have of their society.\textsuperscript{4}

The pre-conceived ideas of the Western investigators, that males would be the most informed about
the activities of not only their own sex, but also of females, had a biasing effect upon their findings. This bias was of great consequence because the African traditional world was a divided world, and males were not totally informed about the women's activities. Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay in their book, *Women in Africa*, give Evans-Pritchard's *Man and Woman Among the Azande* as an example of a study "which presents a picture of women based on oral data recorded by African male assistants, from male informants, all compiled by a European male." It is clear that many of these studies suffer from the "Rosenthal effect," which states that the expectations of the investigators influence the outcome of their research. With respect to this particular literature, one strongly suspects that European male attitudes towards women had a distorting effect upon the data. One obvious problem that was caused by this selective perception was the reduction of the African woman's role to that of wife, mother, or lover; and later, in the modern urban sector, to that of prostitute.

Adelaide Hill, at the 1961 annual UNESCO conference, contradicts and reproves those who have made superficial observations of traditional African society in describing the African woman as "dominated"
and "inarticulate." She elaborates thus:

Although her world was a narrow one, her authority and status within that world was unquestioned. Among such widely separated peoples as the Tuaregs of the Sahara desert, the Somalis of the United Somali Republic, the Mende of the Sierra Leone, the Sogan of the Sudan and the Voltaic Republic, and the Ibo and Yoruba of the Federation of Nigeria, there is ample evidence that the position of women in the society was one of influence and status. 

1. Women in Traditional African Society

In presenting the traditional role of women in Africa one has to screen carefully the sources of information. Some studies, especially the more recent ones, present a more balanced picture of male/female roles in African society. These studies point out some positive facets of women's roles in African society, such as a certain amount of equality, independence, and even power in some instances. For a proper perspective, therefore, it is necessary to view the role of women in African society in relation to that of women in traditional societies generally. The traditional role of African women, one finds, had some significant attributes that are often rare, even non-existent, in traditional Asian and European societies. As Mercier suggests, "... who knows whether the first European feminists would not have been satisfied ... to have the rights which the women of Benin had?"
The role of African women in traditional Africa may best be outlined in three functional categories: social, economic, and political. It should be understood, however, that these categories are not exclusive, since they overlap. The material will be presented, it should be noted, in the customary ethnographic present tense.

a. The Social Setting - The Divided World

One of the most significant features of the traditional African society is its polarisation into what is female and what is male. In almost every aspect of society, males and females are separate. Polly Hill describes the life of Hausa women, for example, whose adoption of Islam had led to their lives becoming both secluded and inferior:

The secluded women sit, or work, in their courtyards all day, except when obliged to take refuge in their sleeping huts, owing to rain. There they process foodstuffs, cook, trade and mind their children. Very little companionship is offered by their husbands, who eat separately, rest and receive visitors in their entrance huts, and who spend most of the evenings chatting with other men. It is the women's lot to rely on the company of their co-wives, their children and any other women and children who reside with them.9

The Hausa women, in turn, think very lowly of the women belonging to their nomadic neighbours, the Bororo (Fulani WoDaaBe). The Hausa women call the Bororo women "bush bitches" and find them inhuman,
anti-social, and independent. However, Marguerite Dupire describes the Bororo women as being in a similar situation as the Hausa women in terms of their relationship with husbands and males. The only difference is that Hausa women are secluded and Bororo women are not.

Since division of labor separates the sexes, husband and wife each pursue their separate tasks during the day. The husband eats with the men of the camp, his wife with the women and children, and each goes his or her separate way to the well or the market. 10

The division into a male and female world begins very early. The socialisation of the female child is by the mother and other female kin, and for the male it is the father and other male kin. This schism is further intensified by the development of male and female age-set groups at puberty which form the basis for the disparate male and female initiation ceremonies. The girl's initiation ceremonies are conducted by women; her counsellors and her teachers are female. Whereas, the boy's role models and training come from males. 11 Usually, the girl's education is oriented toward domestic roles -- how to be a good wife, mother, and cook; while, the boy's education involves the public domain -- how to be a good warrior, athlete, and aggressor. Societies where this dichotomy in training is overly emphasised suffer more from the
problems of stereotyped male and female roles. With the institution of marriage, the divided world of the sexes is even further exaggerated. The wives usually have their separate hut or dwelling. In patrilineal societies where a woman leaves her home and joins her husband, she often remains a stranger to his family; her affiliation and loyalty continues to be with her family.

The strength and weight of their original ties counterbalance and limit the power of the marriage. In this sense, there exists no 'potestas familia' as with the Romans. The rights of the family head, of a husband regarding his wife or wives, are always offset by the rights of the father, brother or other male representative of her lineage.

In matrilineal societies, the division is very pronounced because the wife's brother has great authority over the children. Often the food produced is cultivated on land which is assigned to the woman from her kin. Thus the link between husband and wife is not very strong. Polygamy further weakens the link between the man and the woman. Even though having several wives is prestigious and can lead to the prosperity of the male (greater food production), it can work against him, too. Co-wives have often been known to conspire against a husband who is not fulfilling his duties. The relationship amongst co-wives is not always congenial, especially if the
husband plays favourites. However, considering the work women do in African society, first wives often help with the payment of bridewealth for a second wife, so that their workload may be reduced. Hilde Thurnwald elaborates on polygamy in East Africa thus:

The family association of such a group of co-wives with their husband cannot be oriented from the angle of European individualism. The presence of reciprocal aid between the co-wives in the plantations, in nursing and educating children, in the daily household routine, etc., if one is handicapped by physical or mental indisposition, is a big socialising factor. Polygamy as such is not a certain indication of the well being of a wife but must be related to the degree that her personal strives and drives can be satisfied within the family to which she is linked, and to the valuations her society concedes to her individual position.16

The divided worlds of the husband and wife deviate tremendously from Western ideals of conjugal relationships. Thus, the African woman's lot aroused pity and sympathy from early Western observers. They could never fathom the idea of the African women being supportive of polygamy and its accompanying social institutions. Whereas the primary relationship for the Europeans is derived from the institution of marriage, for the Africans the kinship group provides the foundation for the most meaningful relationships. J. F. Holleman, in his article, "The Changing Roles of African Women," describes the importance of the kinship group in these words:
The life of an individual man, woman, or child is wrapped up in an intricately woven, carefully balanced and very widespread fabric of kinship relations. In this web of kinship, as Professor Fortes calls it, a person's social position is more or less nicely balanced between relatives that are superior and subordinate.\textsuperscript{17}

The perpetuation of the kin group is the foremost goal; and the need for ample progeny is given as a reason for polygamy. It is not surprising, then, that motherhood acquires enormous significance. Often a marriage is not consolidated until the first child is born. Also a woman gains increased status after becoming a mother. The Chagga grandmother conveys the girl's restricted role in telling her "You are wanted for children and the work of your arms."\textsuperscript{18}

The emphasis on procreation is reinforced by the fact that often the last instalment of the bridewealth is paid after the birth of the first child. Thus, one of the major functions of bridewealth is to secure descendants for the kin group.\textsuperscript{19} Without its full payment a man cannot claim the children that he fathers. It is also a form of compensation for the loss of productivity of the female to her biological family. Most significantly, the bridewealth is not only a social contract between two kin groups, but also represents a social control mechanism for marriage. However, it is not something that makes a woman an item of sale and thus a piece of property.
On the contrary, it gives her great security and status. It also ensures good behaviour on the husband's part, in terms of any mistreatment of his wife which may lead to the woman leaving him and returning to reside with her kin. As Agblemagnon states it:

A woman, when she marries, although she will live in her husband's family, still continues to belong to her own kin group, which is for her an immediate refuge should she leave her husband's house for one reason or another, and in particular, if she is ill treated.20

Often the husband will send expensive presents to lure her back and gain her forgiveness. If her reasons for leaving are justifiable, the husband not only loses his wife but also the bridewealth that he gave for her. On the other hand, if a woman is not justified in leaving her husband, her kin may have to pay back the bridewealth.

The fact that bridewealth is a social contract binding two kin groups leads the kin group to try to sort out the differences between husband and wife. This is especially true in patriarchal societies where the bridewealth is high, as well as in pastoral societies where the accumulation of cattle and other stock is of great social significance. In some pastoral societies, the female's kin may even coerce her into returning if they are asked to return the bridewealth.21 In most instances, divorce is a
privilege that is readily available in most African societies. One can call it a privilege because, in comparison to other Third World societies, women had no channels of getting out of a bad marriage. This problem was especially prevalent in India and China, where a man could leave or divorce his wife, but for a woman to return to her kin was an abomination. As Agblemagnon stresses, an African woman,

... may even carry her protest to the point of divorce and no one, not even the chief, can force her to return to her former husband's domicile. In fact there is no social machinery which can make her do anything that she regards as contrary to her interests and feelings.22

In terms of social clout, divorce was usually the last means available to a woman. Often she resorted to other means; and African society provided women with many situations in which she could reprimand the husband for bad behaviour. Robert Edgerton and Francis Conant, in their article, "Kilapat: The 'Shaming Party' among the Pokot of East Africa," describe a classic case of women having a social and political control mechanism which is used to apprehend misbehaving males. Any wronged woman can call on this 'court' to lay fines on a man. The women use 'kilapat' to shame a misbehaving man. Kilapat is especially significant for women because:
Pokot marital relations are characterized by a high degree of antagonism between husband and wife. Women . . . lack membership in enduring associations such as those enjoyed by males (age grades, stock associations) from which they might receive assistance or refuge.23

Thus Kilapat is the only resort for women to express authority and resolve social problems that affect them. The authors describe Kilapat as:

a penultimate weapon of considerable ferocity and effectiveness, reflecting the genius of Pokot culture for the controlled expression of violence in sexual relations and alleviation of marital antagonism.24

Another unique situation in African society that gave an outlet for women to exercise their power and strength is what has been called woman-marriage.25 Woman-marriage is the taking of a wife by a woman of wealth to maximize her benefits in society. Woman-marriage may take place due to any of the following conditions. It normally occurs in societies where:

(1) bridewealth is an important factor in getting a wife; (2) women are able to inherit wealth (Lovedu);
(3) there is the need for an heir to the house (Zulu);
(4) barren women are allowed to amass wealth (Nuer);
(5) women accumulate wealth by earning (Igbo);
(6) there is a need for women to get labourers (Dahomey); and (7) there is a need to raise a male heir.26 Woman-marriage is not deviant behaviour, even though it is not a very common occurrence. Its
significance lies in giving women a chance to improve "their respective, societal framework." As in male to female marriage, woman-marriage does not emphasise sexuality but procreation and an increase in prestige and wealth. Often a male lover is acquired for the wife. However, the children do not belong to the lover but to the household. Woman-marriage serves a diversity of purposes. In the main it provides "female options in male-dominated ideology." In summation, it is clear that the African woman's social role in traditional society was a far cry from the way in which it was presented by the early European observers. Undoubtedly, African societies were male dominated, but this domination was not absolute. Women had a part to play and the society provided women with many chances to gain personal benefits, status, and prestige, without having to step outside the social norms of their particular society.

b. Economic Role: Farmers and Traders

Early anthropologists have often neglected to observe the significance of the African women's economic role. As mentioned earlier, they attached so much significance to her functions as a mother that they often ignored her other contributions. The woman
in the traditional African setting is not only a child-
rear but is often responsible for providing the
food. As P. M. Kaberry points out:

... it is clear that the function of a woman
as a mother and giver of food tend to be so
identified or so fused in African thought that
it is difficult to separate them in analysis.
A mother will always provide her children with
food, and a woman who feeds a non-relative may
be addressed as 'mother'.

Women provide food for their families not only
in terms of processing it, but in growing it as well.
Indeed, there may be some correlation between women's
economic role and their social status in African
traditional society. Their role in food production
and food distribution is unsurpassed in the world. Of
interest here is whether their economic role does, in
effect, improve their status in African society.
Thus, we have to analyse the economic role of women
in traditional Africa not only in terms of its nature
but also in terms of its significance. The following
questions need to be addressed. First, what is the
economic role of African women and is its importance
recognised by the society? Secondly, how does the
African land tenure system affect women? Thirdly,
do women control the crops that they grow and the
income that is derived from the selling of these
crops? And, fourthly, what is the significance of
this economic role for their status in society?
In observing women's role in traditional African economic systems, one of the most striking features is the division of labour between the sexes. There is a clear distinction made between men's work and women's work. This rigidity lends itself to sex-role stratification. As mentioned above, women's work involves growing and distributing food. In fact, women in several African societies are totally responsible for growing the food.

In articles written in 1928 and 1932 reports were given of the predominance of female farmers in hoe cultures. More recently, works such as Ester Boserup's book, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, document women's important function as food producers. Boserup states, "Africa is the region of female farming 'par excellence'. In many African tribes nearly all the tasks connected with food production continue to be left to women." Men's involvement in food production usually takes place when a particular farm area no longer produces optimal crops, and men are needed to clear new fields. Nonetheless, it is clear that, in African agriculture, women are the predominant food producers. This predominance is reflected in the following map, which was prepared by Baumann in 1930.
The map shows a preponderance of female farming in the Congo Basin, South East and East Africa and some parts of West Africa. This map clearly reveals the importance of women in subsistence farming in pre-colonial times. Their role as the main food producers did not dramatically change till the introduction of cash crops, as we shall see later. It should be noted here that women continued to contribute to agriculture even when subsistence farming patterns came to be overshadowed by cash crop agriculture. Table 1 shows the
<table>
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<th>Country in which sample villages are located</th>
<th>Percentage of women in family labour force in agriculture</th>
<th>Average hours worked per week on own farm:</th>
<th>Percentage of work in farm performed by:</th>
<th>hired labour of both sexes</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by active female family members</td>
<td>by active male family members</td>
<td>female hours as per cent of male hours</td>
<td>active female family members</td>
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<td>Senegal</td>
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<td>Gambiaa</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Africa A</td>
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<td>Central Africa B</td>
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<td>Central Africa C</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville) A</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>160</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville) B</td>
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<td>193</td>
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<td>Congo (Brazzaville) C</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>114</td>
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<td>Uganda G</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>87</td>
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*The two samples refer to the same village in the years 1949 and 1962 respectively.
The A sample refers to a village where traditional methods were applied, the B sample to a village where improved techniques were used.
In the C - G samples respectively 31, 11, 14, 14, 9 per cent of the work was done by children who were not classified by sex.
continued high level of participation in agriculture by women in the majority of African societies. The two exceptions are Dahomey and Nigeria where the regions studied concentrated on growing a cash crop -- cocoa. However, the working hours of the men in Dahomey and Nigeria are no more than the average for African males, because they hired labourers to work on their cocoa farms.34

In elaborating on the above Table, Boserup states that:

The joint result of women's high rate of participation in agricultural work and their generally long working hours was that women, in nearly all the cases recorded, were found to do more than half of the agricultural work; in some cases they were found to do around 70 per cent and in one case nearly 80 per cent of the total. Thus, the available quantitative information about work input by sex seems to indicate that even today village production in Africa south of the Sahara continues to be predominantly female farming. This is all the more remarkable since none of the districts shown in the table is characterised by an agriculture devoted exclusively to subsistence production.35

The nature of women's agriculture is obvious -- they hoe the ground, plant the seeds, weed the fields, and harvest the crops. The literature indicates that African women do perform a crucial economic role that is given due recognition by members of their society. African thought reflects the relationship between the fertility of women and the fertility of the land. Often, in African ideology the representation of
fertility is a female — e.g., Ani, the Igbo Goddess of fertility. In some societies women conduct or participate in fertility rites. The rituals, on the one hand, were to increase productivity and, on the other hand, they were to give women strength to work on their farms. Kaberry thus describes one such ritual among the Bamenda of the Cameroons:

The association between the fertility of women as childbearers, their agricultural role, and the fertility of the land would seem to be implicit in much of the ritual. In Nsau the "Yesum" or "Mother of the Farm" assists the lineage head in the sacrifices to God after the harvest of finger millet. Again, one of the Queen Mother bears the special title of Yewon, Mother of the Country and acts as High Priestess. In the annual sacrifices performed at Kovikem she carries the "Basket of the Country" and the "Hoe of the Country" and assists the Fon, the High Priest, and Ndzendzef in the rites believed to ensure the fertility of the land and the women and the well being of all Nsau.

It is surprising that women are such an integral part of the fertility rituals, when it is the males who are generally responsible for the conduct of ritual ceremonies. Undoubtedly, it is the women's participation in the food production that gives them the privilege to partake in the fertility rites. This participation certainly helps to enhance the female's status. Indeed, her role as food producer and child bearer gives her a certain air of divinity — as a male councillor of the Bamenda said, "Women are like God."
Another unique feature of some African cultures that affects women's agricultural role is the African land tenure system. According to this system, land is not owned by individual men or women. Plots are usually allocated for growing food either by heads of lineages (village councils) or chiefs. Several alternatives are available to men and women for obtaining land to grow crops. Women sometimes have more alternatives than men because they can gain land from both the husband's family and their own lineage. Consequently, women in African farming areas have been able to usufruct larger tracts of land than men. This gives them an added source of power, especially when it comes to giving another person the right to usufruct.

... a woman as a member of her lineage enjoys all the advantages of a man in respect to rights of usufruct throughout her span of life ... as a wife or daughter, she assumes full responsibility for the management of her farms and, in practice, she is free to lend sections to her kin and friends. Thus, land tenure often meant that both men and women had the right over the land they were assigned to cultivate.39

Perhaps the most significant aspect of women's economic life is their control over the food they grow. This was especially true of societies where land was acquired from the maternal lineage. Often they would use this land to grow surplus crops for sale in markets.40 Women also produced some handicraft,
processed foods, and pottery to gain additional income. Thus, their role as food distributors or market women included commodities other than food. The art of trading was taught to the daughters by the mothers. In traditional African society there was a wide range of trading activity. Examples of female traders range from the 'signares' of the Senegambia area, who gained great affluence, prestige, and power by trading with Europeans as early as the 15th century, to the Ibo women, whose marketing activities were closely related to their ability to control their food surplus.\(^{41}\)

A possible explanation for some of the rural markets being predominantly female is that in pre-colonial times the threat of warfare led to men staying close to the village. Women were more mobile because they enjoyed a certain amount of immunity from being attacked.\(^{42}\) This mobility, along with the right to accumulate their own private funds, gave the women an opportunity to be independent.

So far, our description of women's economic role in society has been limited to the African scene. We should now examine the role of African women in relation to other women in the world. Clearly, there is no other area in the world where female farming is so dominant. One factor that may explain this is that as agricultural societies move from the hoe to the
plough, males take over the farming. This characteristic is prevalent in Asian and Middle Eastern societies as well as the African societies that moved from hoe culture to plough culture. Thus we note that as this change occurs societies become less egalitarian; and even though women often continue to provide the labour on the farms, they lose their control over food production. They probably work just as hard, but the new circumstances -- economic and social -- give the control and authority of food production to the male. As Margaret Mead points out in her book, Male and Female, "The home shared by a man or men and female partners, into which men bring the food and women prepare it, is the basic common picture the world over." This statement, one needs to point out, does not hold true in African societies. African women do bring home the food. Unlike their Asian, and in many cases Western, counterparts, they make a real contribution to the income of the family. It is this very contribution that helps African women to achieve status in their society. The more recent research on the effect of women's earnings on their status points out that there is a direct correlation between the contribution a woman makes to the family income and her status.

As mentioned above, the African woman also plays a role in food distribution. This adds to her indepen-
dence and also gives her a role in the public domain. Indeed, by becoming a distributor of food or a trader the African woman has entered what in most societies is the man's world. The public domain in traditional Asian and Middle Eastern societies is normally out of bounds for women. In fact, female traders are an uncommon sight in Asian markets, and especially in Middle Eastern markets, where even the buyers are male. Thus, in comparison with other Third World women, African women seem to gain status from their economic role for they are not confined and contained and thus limited to the private domain of the household.

However, one has to bear in mind certain discrepancies. For example, in some African societies with highly developed class systems, the crops that men grow have more value than women's crops and the products men sell in the market are a more lucrative trade than the products women sell. As P. Sanday points out, "women's contribution to production is a 'necessary' but not 'sufficient' condition for the development of female status." One notes that these discrepancies in the economic role of African women are generally visible in societies that were highly stratified. African traditional societies are represented
by a variety of social organisations. Where the social organisation is more stratified, one notes that the society has a more complex ecological adaptation with greater emphasis on surplus. The contrast in social organisation is provided by the classless, egalitarian, simple ecological adaptations and the feudalistic, class societies of the African kingdoms. Complex ecological adaptations and related socio-economic factors have a detrimental effect on egalitarianism and sexual equality in African societies. This point will be discussed in greater detail when the theoretical perspective for this study is presented in the next chapter. The impact of class formation and social stratification on sexual stratification is significant, in the African scene, as well as universally, because of its inherent effect on the female's economic as well as her social and political status.

So far the social and economic role of women in traditional Africa has been presented. What remains to be discussed is the political channels as well as the limitation that African women confronted in their political activities in pre-colonial Africa. The political role of women in traditional Africa will be observed to identify the differences in two types of female leadership -- one based on ascription and the
other based on achievement. While the former is prevalent in the state societies and their neighbouring areas, the latter is generally found in the less stratified societies. The range of the female political leadership is represented by the title of the next section -- the queen-mother epitomising the ascriptive leadership and the female organisations representing the achievement-oriented leadership.

c. The Political Setting: From Queen-Mother to Female Organisations

An analysis of the power and authority exercised by African women in traditional society is hampered by a dearth of material. Early investigations paid scant attention to the political role of African women. As Annie Lebeuf points out, Westerners prejudged the manner in which political activities were shared by males and females in Africa because:

By a habit of thought deeply rooted in the Western mind, women are relegated to the sphere of domestic tasks and private life, and men alone are considered equal to the task of shouldering the burden of public affairs.⁴⁸

Undoubtedly, in most African societies, which are usually patriarchal, political power is largely vested in the males. This is all that Westerners saw in the political structure of African societies: The males dominate and rule; therefore they were the ones
who had all the political power. This was a little superficial. As Kamene Okonjo points out,

Seeing this outwardly patriarchal framework many observers concluded that the position of women in these societies was totally subordinate; as the result of their misconceptions, they produced a distorted picture of the "oppressive" African man and the "deprived" African woman.

African women had many institutions in which they exercised authority and political power. The role of women in the political organisation of the society can be viewed in two categories. One is the state society, with its classes and centralised political authority; and the other is the acephalous, or stateless, society, where the political machinery is decentralised. One can use the two categories to distinguish between two types of female elite leadership — elite women by ascription and elite women by achievement. The first category — elite women by ascription — seems to predominate in African state societies, where women held political office by virtue of the fact that they were queen-mothers, sisters of kings, and wives of chiefs. Indeed, in the majority of cases they exercised considerable political power. Sometimes, these women had their own domain, revenue systems, and separate courts; — with all the political offices similar to those held by the male king or ruler. Rather than trying to
elaborate on the specific political functions of these women, it is perhaps more useful to present examples of some of these women and how they fulfilled their role and function.

An excellent example of the female elite by ascription is that of Madam Yoko, who was the ruler of the Kpa Mende Confederacy. Carol Hoffer's article on Madam Yoko illustrates how "Mende women -- especially if they were born of chiefly lineage, have intelligence, charm, and strength of character -- can use this womanliness in a positive way to achieve significant political power." Yoko came to power by making the right marriages; and eventually, when her last warrior husband died, according to his wishes, she succeeded him. Yoko had already proved herself as an exceptional political strategist in utilising whatever means were available to both Mende males and females in striving for political power. She was not only a shrewd politician but used her femaleness to her advantage. Through Sande, the female association, she had girls initiated and married into families that were needed as political allies. Hoffer suggests that another reason why females had greater facility in gaining support from male chiefs was because "Mende women have particular advantages in being bearers of children and nurturing
figures: the lingering affection that adults feel for women as supportive figures has a political dimension. Thus Yoko's womanhood was of political advantage to her in reaching her people. She even manipulated the British colonisers to get territories for her that she had difficulty in gaining. "She engaged in discreet little wars enlarging the area under her direct control until she was the effective ruler of all the Kpa Mende." 

At the time of Madam Yoko's rule, sixteen percent of the Mende chiefdoms were ruled by women. Madam Yoko's means of gaining power were often practiced by other women also; but, as was mentioned above, these women were mostly of chiefly lineage. Thus, their association with political activity occurred early, often in their childhood. A study of women in politics the world over illustrates that the majority of women who have political power are related to families or lineages exercising political power. The major avenue for women to gain power in state systems, thus, come through their family or lineage. The significance of growing up in a political atmosphere seems to hold true in this instance. Daughters, wives, and other relatives of leaders and politicians seem to take to leadership position with ease. Being nurtured in families of
prominence and watching political activity during one's formative years seems to help women become part of the political process. However, the Mende female chiefs were leaders in their own right and not pawns of the male political structure.

Another known case of African women exercising supreme political power is that of the Lovedu of the northwestern Transvaal. The background to this situation is that the last king of the Lovedu, Mugoda, committed incest with his daughter, Mujaji I, and later, according to his wishes, she succeeded him. Mujaji I was succeeded by her daughter. The most salient feature about the queens of Lovedu was that they were considered to possess supernatural abilities, including the power to "make rain." (Hence E. J. Krige and J. D. Krige's description of the Lovedu queens as "rain queens.") They describe a unique method that the rain-queen used to gain alliances. She would obtain prominent women from the surrounding chiefdoms and marry them to males in her kingdom. Often the children from these marriages were considered to be her children, the mothers being deemed to be the queen's "wives." Here is another example of the "woman marriage" that was mentioned above. The queen's efforts to acquire "wives" not only enhanced her prestige by giving her a large number of children but also helped to increase her network of alliances with
the chiefdoms involved — and with her "wives'" mates. The Lovedu rain-queens also had all the political and judicial powers that were vested in the kings. They often assigned women to political positions; furthermore, the reputation of the Lovedu queens actually led to the incidence of female rulers among some of the surrounding minor tribes. 55

The Lovedu queens and Madam Yoko were in a unique situation. In African state societies the sovereign power was rarely assigned to women. The more common situation was to have women of royal lineage sharing, sometimes equally, political power with the male ruler. This practice of joint sovereignty was found among many African peoples. Some of these are the Baganda, Ankole, Akan, Donga, Lunda, Swazi, and Bamileke. 56 In all instances, it was one or two females of the royal lineage who shared the power with the king. Normally it was the mother, queen, or the sister; in other instances it could be an aunt, a cousin, or other females of the royal lineage. Among the above-mentioned tribes, it was very common for these women to have their own residences, property, court, and court officials. They were not pawns of the ruler for they often did not come under the king's domain. They functioned in judicial and administrative matters, collected taxes, and performed sacred rites. The lack of segregation between political and
religious functions gave these women prominence when they took part in rituals. By performing the sacred rituals, they gained certain political prerogatives. In some cases, as among the Donga and the Swazi, the female elite by ascription presided over the women's societies which gave them tremendous influence over the local population. Among the Bamileke and the Bemba the queen-mother, in addition to her political authority, had sexual freedom; it was very common for her to have consorts around the court. Very often the prerogatives that came with the powerful position of these women were not accorded to any of the men in these societies — with the exception of the king.\(^{57}\)

The position of these elite women was beneficial to other women of the tribe. They often appointed women as officials in their courts and sometimes at local levels. An example of this is seen among the Tipa of southwest Tanzania, where the queen-mother assisted the king in giving judgement in all cases. Similarly, at the local level, the Chief, who was elected by the elders, unlike the other officers of the court, chose among the female elders a female magistrate called the "Wakwufatila."

... Wakwufatila whose special function was to hear and adjudicate cases of alleged breach of public order by both men and women, ... had the power to impose heavy fines on offenders.\(^{58}\)

This female elite by ascription was not only significant
in terms of the political power that it held, but also for the ramifications this position of power had in terms of providing situations for other women's participation in the political processes of their society. It is important to note that female elite by ascription is more common in societies that are highly stratified. It appears that as societies become less egalitarian, the chances of their leadership being chosen on the basis of ability are somewhat reduced.

Indeed, the distinction between elite women by ascription and elite women by achievement lies in the fact that the former were directly related to the women belonging to a royal or chiefly lineage, whereas in the latter case they were chosen either for their achievement, age, oratory, or other exceptional qualities. The elite women by achievement usually came from societies that have been described as dual-sex systems. The basis of this dual-sex system is that each sex had its own political organisation; this was carried out to the extent of having separate leaders for men and women. In Nigeria, this type of female leadership was represented by the "Omu" of the Ibo and the "Iyalode" of the Yoruba. The Omu was a titled woman, presiding over a cabinet and enjoying titular designations, much as her male counterpart -- the Obi. The functions of the Omu and of the Obi were complementary, not conflictual. The
Onvu represented and served the female population in mediating their various problems. Omu was also in charge of the community market and the institution of title-taking for women. The Iyalode of the Yoruba was a female leader of the women's association who took care of mutual interest, organisation of markets, and any other problems related to women. The Iyalode was an important figure and was often consulted by political authorities. The Iyalode of Ibadan, for example, was a member of the Council of State until 1914.

A more common illustration of the dual-sex system is represented by the male/female organisations of age-sets, initiation, or other ritual characteristics. These women's organisations were known for often taking the initiative in their particular society's political processes. As mentioned earlier, Madam Yoko used the female initiation association, the Sande, to increase her political gains. The use made of associations and societies by political candidates to enhance their power was a common practice in traditional Africa. These age-set or initiatory associations occasionally functioned as jural bodies, often bringing to book male offenders. However, the main function of these associations was non-jural. This fact makes them akin
to related institutions among the Kikuyu. As Lambert points out, Kikuyu women, too, administer women's rituals, initiations, training of girls for womanhood, and the discipline and regulation of girls and women; they also tackle agricultural problems -- such as land use, paucity of rainfall, and the proper management of food crops. In age-set societies, women who were past the child-rearing age gained the proper management of respect as elders and often became the educators for the young female. These age-set women's organisations paralleled, and in fact complemented, the male organisations.

Age-set and initiatory associations did not very often become involved in policing or passing judgment on males. This was a common practice but was usually carried out by the gathering of a women's group not necessarily related to the age-set association. Among the Pokot of East Africa, women act both as a police force and a 'department of justice' for taking care of male misbehaviour, especially in marital matters. Pokot women sanctioned the men by gathering together, insulting the male, and enforcing a fine on him. The shaming party was known a 'Kilapat.' Shirley Ardner in her book, *Perceiving Women*, presents examples of several African societies, including the
Kikuyu of Meru, and the Kom of the Cameroons, where women gather together to gain strength in seeking reprisals against men who may have insulted them. She suggests that this "collective strength has invariably been successful." Furthermore, "this militant body symbolism not only insulted the men but through it gave women pride in being female."63

The purpose of the gathering of these women's groups is usually to redress any wrongs done by males against women. They in effect regulate the social relations between males and females and their authority can rarely be defied by either the offenders, his clan, or the male political organisations.

An excellent example of jural activities by women is the Barabaig of Tanzania. George Klima's study of the Barabaig points out that:

Women, collectively and individually, hold certain rights, which I would designate as jus feminarum, the infringement of which leads to a spontaneous reaction from the women of the neighbourhood in which the delict occurred. The legal status of Barabaig women is reflected in the jural institution of girgwaged gademg, 'council of women,' a moot composed of neighbourhood women who collectively act and deliberate as a judicial body, adjudicate and enforce their own decisions.64

Klima reports that in all the cases of the 'women's council' he had never heard of the offender not recognising the jural authority of the females.
Whatever judgement the 'women's council' passed, it was accepted and the fines, which could include cattle, were paid in full. In a rare case when a man refused to comply with the decision of the 'women's council', the council retaliated by destroying his Kraal fence and sending his wives to their father's house. They also put a curse on him and mourned to symbolise his death. It took a whole year of pleading by the offenders' relatives to make the 'women's council' reconsider their action. The offender had to pay a heavy fine including two black bulls before being reinstated in his society. Klima suggests that:

The jural authority of the women's council... also functions to preserve the relatively high social and legal status of Barabaig women, as is evident in the fact that the women's council is convened only when a delict has been committed by a man against a woman. It is not convened to pass judgment on women, nor is there any traditional jural body which is empowered to impose a cattle fine on women, even though women possess cattle universally, and in sufficient numbers to warrant their inclusion in a system of sanctions.

In observing the political role of women in precolonial Africa, one can see why Western observers ignored or underestimated women's political activity. The external political machinery of African societies was very often male-oriented, male-dominated, and excluded females. However, from the above review
it is clear that a close look at the inner workings of African societies reveals women's considerable socio-political role. Their activities were often complementary, even if not equal, to those of the males. Indeed, the African traditional systems show women not only to be politically active but also independent and self-reliant; and indeed the same holds true in the realm of economics and general social life.

One would expect that, in the light of the social, economic and political background of African women, they would encounter no inordinate problems in continuing their role into the modern period. As Lebeuf points out, "there are no historical grounds for explaining the present lack of interest in political matters so often found among African women as being the heritage of the past." One of the factors that may shed some light on the change in African women's political as well as social and economic role in modern times is the impact of colonialism. This will be examined in the section that follows.

2. Effects of Colonialism on the Traditional Status of African Women

Many Africanists have expounded on the phenomenai
impact of colonisation on the lives of Africans.  

In all the writings, the disruption of the African social organisation, economic functioning and political institutions is clearly portrayed. The imposition of the colonial system was often sudden and ruthless, with little consideration given to the value of the traditional institutions. In Lebeuf's words, the earlier forms of African organisation were:

Profoundly altered for the worse, and have rapidly been reduced to the level upon which they no longer answer the needs they were designed to fulfil and the demands which are made on them. Women have suffered from this even more than men, for having had their role in earlier forms of organisation, they now find themselves systematically excluded from any participation in the new setup which has been hastily formulated by the intruding colonial powers.

- The colonial powers did not envision this as a problem. As far as they were concerned, African women had no rights. The colonisers were going to liberate them from their miserable lives. Indeed, Westerners came to Africa with preconceived ideas about the role of women. It is doubtful that their preconceived ideas were in any way shaped by John Stuart Mill in his essay on the Subjugation of Women, or, for that matter, by the liberal and egalitarian ideas about women's emancipation that were coming out of the very powerful suffragists movement in the West. The colonisers' prejudice about women's role came from
the Victorian concept of women's place being at home, where she was well protected and provided for by the husband. The African women shattered this image. The usual concept drawn was that she was a beast of burden, a slave to her husband, a labourer, chattel, exploited, oppressed and held in low esteem. Paulme suggests that behind this kind of judgment of the African woman, "there lurks a hidden assumption that any divergence from the Western ideal necessarily implies a lower status for women." The African woman's hard work, her contribution to her family, kinship, and society, were not seen as giving her status and independence but as making her life one of drudgery. Interestingly enough, Evans-Pritchard states that non-Western women in "primitive" society "have never heard of social equality." Surely the early Western feminists would have been very happy with the kind of freedom and independence that women had in these so called 'primitive' societies.

The colonial administrator was only one edge of the twin-edged sword of colonialism. The missionaries were the other edge. Their problems were often related to the difficulty they had in accepting the so called "pagan" practices of the African. In alleviating "the white man's burden," and accomplish-
ing the "mission civilistrice," they were quick to join hands with colonial administrators in destroying the African culture and the many institutions that gave women a certain status and role. Although the missionaries had a greater impact than the administrators in some areas and vice versa, we have to keep in mind the fact that often there was collaboration between the two in implementing the changes that they saw as "good" for the Africans and especially for the women. To gain a clear understanding of the effects of colonialism on the status and role of women in traditional Africa it would help to divide the study into the following areas: kinship and family, education, economic effects, political effects and finally the activity of African women against the colonisers.

a. Kinship and Marriage

The kin group was seriously affected by the impact of colonialism. The social organisation on which the kinship system was based crumbled as one and all traditional institutions were affected. The missionaries who had arrived in Africa long before the administrators were initially responsible for the breakdown of African culture. As the Africans were lured to the church the delicately balanced
kinship relationship broke down. The authority of the kin group for the converts was no longer the lineage head, the first wife or other elders, but it was the Priest or the Minister and ultimately the father figure -- God himself. The role of the African woman among the missionaries was limited to being a spectator; there were no priestesses or goddesses; all of the female rituals or ties that had given women a special status in traditional Africa also disappeared. With every African custom that the missionaries attacked, they caused confusion and conflict in the Africans' mind. Each and every custom was an integral part of the whole web of culture.

One of the main objectives of both missionaries and administrators was to eradicate the practice of polygamy and bridewealth (or "purchasing a wife" as it was popularly but erroneously thought). The World Missionary Conference in 1910 termed polygamy "one of the gross evils of heathen societies which, like habitual murder and slavery, must at all costs be ended."75 A missionary as late as 1959, remarked:

The main and pertinent barriers to the freedom of the African women were polygamy and its utilitarian adjunct, the bride-price. From amongst a vast welter of pagan customs, these two stand out as the greatest obstacles to the dignity of woman.76
Undoubtedly, polygamous practices enhanced the prestige and wealth of a male. The women all grew food and each additional wife was an economic asset. However, every additional wife also meant that the burden of the other wife or wives was reduced. Considering the level of technology another pair of hands lightened the burden tremendously. As Boutillier's study of Ivory Coast women reveals, 85% of the women in this society preferred to live in polygamous rather than monogamous households because of domestic and economic advantages. Monogamy also meant more responsibility for the individual African women in bearing and rearing children.

The missionaries considered that monogamy would liberate the African women. Unfortunately it did not even do as much as reduce her social burdens. Monogamy was a prerequisite for conversion to Christianity and males would often have to give up all but one of their wives. Thurnwald describes the fate of the abandoned Chagga wives:

> The children usually remain with the father. Those women mostly return to their families and sometimes find another husband. When they become Christians, the mission takes charge of them as labourers. Sometimes however they fall into prostitution.

She also shows how an increase in the percentage of girls
becoming Christian leads to their inability in finding husbands and thus having to join pagan polygamous households. The other alternative was to go to the towns and find jobs which were not abundant. Thus many had to resort to prostitution. It is interesting that Christianity, in trying to relieve the moral dilemma of polygamy, created another moral dilemma — prostitution. Of course there are other explanations for women turning to prostitution, especially in towns. But it is well-known that prostitution was virtually non-existent in traditional African society.

Thurnwald suggests that one of the harms done by polygamy is that: "venereal infection when acquired is transmitted to a number of wives. Hence it spreads in polygamous communities with that rapidity so often observed." Of course, she totally fails to mention the fact that venereal disease was unknown in Africa before the arrival of the white man.

Another custom that was grossly misunderstood was bridewealth. Again, it was a custom unknown to Westerners therefore, it was misinterpreted as buying a wife. The missionaries, blinded by their ethnocentric zeal to convert and destroy pagan practices
ignored or failed to observe the positive effects of bridewealth on women. A missionary explained bridewealth in the following terms:

In practically all African tribes the buying of wives and the buying of cattle are synonymous: both in an African's eyes were merely forms of wealth. According to the standards of polygamy, the married African girl had no rights whatever. Her children did not belong to her. She had no right to any property. She was owned, but did not own. Such briefly is the deplorable status of the African woman in pagan African society at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is obvious that this missionary, as well as many others, were rather uninformed about African land tenure, the significance of bridewealth and the rights of African women. One such right -- the right to divorce -- was also drastically changed by Christianity. The traditional reasons for divorce lost their meaning in Christian marriage especially if the couple lived in towns. A divorced Christian townswoman would prefer to stay in town and eke out a living through odd jobs or prostitution, rather than return to her relatives in the countryside.

The colonial administrator helped the missionaries by passing laws to enforce Western ideas of marriage on the African. The colonisers, Marlene Dobkin points out:
...took the institution of marriage which had been regulated by tradition and made a statutory institution of it, hoping to endow the African woman in some way with a new status -- relieve her of the disabilities and obligations that were incompatible with the standards of 'civil society.' The institution of marriage was removed from the nexus of social relations in which it had previously functioned and was isolated by judicial tampering...the impact of disparate value systems, reflected in systems of jurisprudence, could only lead to unpleasant ends. The very nature of social groups changed as a result of the clash, with the individual losing his psychological support in the extended family and more and more dependent upon himself.8

Women confronted with the new form of marriage, became dependent on their husbands. Van Allen suggests that it is modernisation that makes the woman more dependent on males.83 This dependency is developed among educated Christian men and women, who in trying to be more acceptable to the Europeans, imitated their behaviour and dress. "Often the imitation was unconscious, simply because the model was there. Europeans had, in fact, become a 'reference group' for patterns of behaviour among those Africans who came in contact with them."84 Unfortunately, whereas, the African male's imitation of the Westerner was advantageous in gaining employment and generally helped him in his contact with the European, the woman's Westernisation actually reduced her position from the one she had in traditional
society. Audrey Chapman Smock describes the situation in Ghana, but it is also applicable to other parts of Africa.

Men of the elite encouraged their wives to dress in European style and to act like Victorian ladies; and since Victorian ladies had more limited economic and social roles than did Ghanaian women, such imitation could only have affected adversely the place of these women in Ghanaian society. Thus African women not only lost their traditional status but did not gain very much from the whole process of Westernisation and modernisation. Indeed, modernisation meant dependence, because the husbands began to provide for them. Women's traditional function as providers of food for their family came to an end and thus their status was reduced. The African women in towns were not able to gain employment because the colonial private sector did not employ women. Also, the lack of emphasis on women's education further curtailed the role and status of the African woman in the colonial society.

b. Education

One of the most effective tools of change that the colonisers brought to the colonies was their form of education. Missionaries were most effective in bringing Western education to Africa. However, in
doing this they created a situation which led to further inequity between the sexes that has persisted up to the post-independence era. Very often the African parents were blamed for not sending their daughters to school because they needed them at home for domestic work. As Herskovits states:

From the earliest days, it was everywhere easier to induce parents to send their sons to school than their daughters. In this case the cultural patterns governing the position of women in society, particularly the marriage customs, were controlling factors. This does not mean that the commonly enunciated formula that women have a low status in African societies that they are drudges who work while the men take their leisure, is valid. Rather the traditional restrictions of women to tasks that center about the home and the rearing of children, universal in all human experience, plus codes regulating the sexual behaviour of young women, checked the relative mobility of girls, and thus in various ways influenced the degree of readiness to accept cultural change for the respective sexes. 86

Herskovits makes the whole problem sound so simplistic with his rather superficial explanation of why women did not go to school. First of all, even though African women did perform all the house work and rear the children, they had tremendous mobility and made major contribution in terms of food-growing and marketing. Secondly, it was not the "universal in human experience" that women have
to rear children and work at home, but their
greater contribution in terms of food-producing
and marketing that hindered their going to school.
Women's function in African society made their
work very time-consuming and tiresome. It was the
opposite for men. Typically, females were very
early introduced to the laborious and time-consuming
domestic chores while the younger males were given
tasks which were not as time-consuming. Hence,
the relative abundance of leisure time at the dis­
posal of young African males made them the obvious
candidates for formal, Western education. Their
absence from their homes was not as disruptive as
would be the case if their female counterparts would
be away.

Thirdly, Herskovits does not allude to the
fact that the colonial system gave men further en­
couragement to get an education by providing employm­
ment only for males. The colonisers' language was
crucial even to gain employment as a messenger or a
clerk. As McCall states:

Men have been able to avail themselves of
these new jobs to a far larger extent than
women because boys earlier got a start in
education, and schooling is indispensable
for a clerk, a storekeeper in a European
firm, or for a lawyer or a medical doctor.
McCall seems to suggest that it was the boys' education which led to their employment. However, we have to consider the fact that it was the very inducement of work provided by colonialism that helped parents push for their sons' education rather than their daughters' education. Nizar Motani's study of this subject, on colonial Uganda, confirms this belief.

The missionaries felt that women should be educated. However, this was not to enable women to gain employment or better their farming and trading techniques, but to ensure their becoming good Christian wives and mothers. The Christian males had to be provided with Christian wives, for marrying a pagan was below their dignity. By converting the women they provided a further incentive for the males to remain monogamous. The function of the female was no longer to farm, but to be a domesticated, hygienic mother. Thus there was not only heavy emphasis on Christian learning but domestic science and hygiene. Along with the good clean puritanical morals came the ideas of good clean living.

The emphasis on domestic science and hygiene was further perpetuated in secular schools set up by the government. This led to another disparity between
male/female roles. Women were encouraged to be nurses rather than doctors; and teachers rather than lawyers. Western, job-related stereotypes of female occupations were further perpetuated by colonial education.\(^9\)

It is interesting to note here that although missionaries harped on the need to provide education for females, even after Africans had recognised the absolute need for education for both male and female children, there was a huge disparity between the number of male and female mission schools. Thus, even when the women wanted schooling, the lack of schools meant that they could not gain an education. This was also true of the secular schools, which were set up by the colonial government.

As Leith-Ross points out, colonisers rarely paid any attention to the problems of female education:

If we turn to girls education, there is more to be said and to be done. It is profoundly disappointing that the Government (colonial) has not created the post of a woman Director of Women's Education in a country (Nigeria) where women play so great a part but one of which the average white man necessarily knows almost nothing.\(^1\)

Leith-Ross was very influential in colonial circles but her suggestions to colonial government were not heeded.
c. Economic Effects

The colonial administration and missionaries, in trying to educate the colonised, harmed women most by limiting their career and employment possibilities, and thus their economic functions in the modern African sector. In relation to women's significant traditional farming and trading roles, women suffered major economic setbacks. Kaberry, in her pioneer work on female agriculturalists, saw the need to give women jobs related to agriculture:

...there should, I think, be some attempt to provide career for African women in the Department of Agriculture. I am of course aware that there is a pressing demand for teachers, midwives and nurses; but the problem of improving the standard of living is so closely bound up with the improvement of agriculture that there is a strong case for training some Bamenda women either as agricultural instructors in the Department of Education or as Assistants in the Department of Agriculture.92

Kaberry's words fell on deaf ears and in spite of the fact that African women still produce the majority of food in Africa, their representation in agriculture programmes and training is negligible. It has meant that African women today, more likely than men, will farm by old methods and techniques which often means poorer yields. As Boserup suggests that the "change from traditional to modern methods of farming tends to enhance men's
prestige at the expense of women's by widening the
gap in their levels of knowledge and training."93

The lack of agricultural training for women
was only one of the problems related to women's
economic role. Another dramatic diminution of
women's agricultural role was brought about by the
new laws that the colonial government imposed in
relation to land ownership. It was mentioned
earlier94 that sale of land in traditional African
society was unknown or uncommon. The right to cult-
ivate crops on a certain piece of land was passed
to children by various methods: in patrilineal
society from the father to the son and in matri-
lineal from mother to daughter. In some instances,
women could give, to whomsoever they wished, the
right to farm on their land — as among the Bamenda.95

The colonial administrators, by changing the laws of
the land, not only gained great advantages for them-
selves but for the male Africans. According to
practices 'back home,' Europeans initiated land
reforms by assigning the husband or the chief
the sole ownership of the land. An example of this
is a regulation enforcing the idea of "one man,
one plot" in South Africa. The fact that every
women also had her own plot was irrelevant.
This new regulation meant that a man's wife or wives would lose their plot and have to work on the husband's plot. Thus, women were eliminated as independent cultivators.

The land available for women's farming was further reduced by the colonisers' administrative policy of "indirect rule." This type of administration used traditional African leaders as the agents of the colonisers. The headman or chief was vested with power and authority which often conflicted with his traditional functions. For example, it was mentioned earlier that often the authority over land was vested in the chief or council of elders. This merely meant that they had the right to assign land that was not claimed for cultivation, and to settle other disputes over land usage. However, the colonial administration gave these leaders the authority to sell this land. The basic purpose of the colonisers was to make land available for sale to the white farmers. The colonisers thus bought land which in the traditional setting was inalienable.

As was mentioned above, the land was being bought for white settlers. These white farmers wanted this land for growing cash crops which were to be sold to Europe. The cultivation of cash crops often re-
quired large tracts of land which reduced the land available for growing food. Thus a certain amount of pressure was created on the land and women were most vulnerable because, often, their rights of land tenure were dependent on the availability of land. For example, among the Bamenda, women owned the crops but not the land. They had full authority over the cultivation of the land. This right would be lost if the land was to become scarce as men could very well sell the land and women would not have any legitimate claim over that land.\textsuperscript{97}

The introduction of cash crops caused other discrepancies between male/female roles. The colonisers set up a structure of taxation that forced men out of the subsistence economy to join the plantations or mines so that they could pay the taxes. This was a deliberate policy of the colonisers because initially men did not want to leave their farms. Often, this meant that women were left to take care of all the subsistent farming.

In some areas Africans were allowed to grow cash crops but, as was seen with cocoa farming in Ghana and Dahomey, cash crops were grown mostly by men. In Uganda, women initially started to grow cotton but soon the men took over. As an English
director of agriculture put it in 1923, "cotton growing could not be left to women and old people." 98 Ten years later "most of the men were growing cotton and coffee and importing hired labour to do most of the work." 99

Another economic activity of women that suffered due to colonialism was trade. With the land being transferred to cash crops and men taking off for the plantations and mines, women become solely responsible for food production and their food surpluses decreased. Consequently, their trading activities also suffered. In some instances, women were allowed to trade in cash crops which somewhat compensated for the decrease in food surpluses. 100 The general decline in food production meant the reduced availability of food for feeding the family and kin. Thus, growing cash crops had serious repercussions in unsettling the subsistence farming and could, to a certain degree, account for the malnourishment of villagers in some parts of Africa today.

Women's trade further deteriorated with the settlements of European traders and other minorities, such as the Asians, in East Africa. The European traders, especially the early ones, automatically assumed that the men were responsible for the trade and carried out their transactions with the men. In
Ghana, where women had a long-standing trading role, the European traders as well as the missionaries and colonial administrators insisted on trading with men. Smock points out that this practice "conferred advantages on the men involved, and communicated the unsuitability of women for conducting affairs of substance." Thus women were excluded from trading in certain commodities especially the more expensive European goods. However, the West African woman continued to retain her strong hold on trade. And even if her trade was largely in cheaper goods including cooked and raw food, she continued to dominate the West African market. In East Africa, the market women not only faced competition from other men but immigrant men, such as the Arabs and Asians. Both the Arabs and the Asians were at an advantage due to their involvement in the monetary economy. This explains why the colonial administration of the city of Nairobi gave African women only twenty percent of the hawkers' licences that were issued. Small wonder that a major proportion of criminal acts committed by women in Nairobi were based on illegal hawking.

Some writers present the colonial encounter as being extremely positive for female traders. They maintain that women's trading opportunities increased
with European encounter — Lystad suggests that cash crops have strengthened women's economic position in marketing;\(^{104}\) McCall mentions that Europeans gave occupational opportunities to educated African men, thus making the market the domain of the women;\(^{105}\) and Ottenberg points out that the major economic change for Afikpo women was due to the British occupation.\(^{106}\) However, what is crucial to note here is that even though some markets continued to grow, their growth did not represent an increased contribution to the national economic activities. As Sidney Mintz points out:

...the percentage of total economic activity represented by market place trade is declining. ...it is conceivable that the expansion of economic opportunities within the internal market system can occur in ways and at rates that lag far behind the growth of other economic opportunities in the same society.\(^{107}\)

In other words, the impact of the increase in the number of African female traders becomes insignificant in comparison to better economic opportunities that have been made available to men. It is interesting to note that even illiterate men are employed in the more lucrative industrial jobs more readily than women.

All in all, it is clear that the economic functions of women became degraded and they lost some of their original prerogatives. What is even more unfortunate
is, that the Europeans created new situations whereby women became further disadvantaged. Women were often left behind in the traditional sectors of the economy, whereas the men were exposed to the industrial sector and availed themselves of opportunities that were out of bounds for women.

Likewise, when we turn to the political sphere, we are confronted with similar problems — the reduction of women's traditional political status, the imposition of new regulations, and the lack of accessibility to political channels of power.

d. Political Effects

In terms of the effect of colonialism on the political role and status of women in Africa, there are two areas of concern. On the one hand, one has to observe the reaction of women to the reduction in their status and role and more generally their participation in the anti-colonial struggle.

The examination of women's role in the traditional African societies gave us an indication of African women's participation in the political organisation and other related political activities. With the advent and consolidation of the colonial administration, Lebeuf points out, that women were systematically excluded from the new political system:
Completely swept aside by this new development, they found that both the material and the psychological bases upon which their authority had rested had crumbled, and that gradually their privileges were disappearing.108

The first blow to women's political participation came when Europeans ignored women in introducing their new administration. This was especially true in the British colonies, where the policy of indirect rule did not recognise the female rulers or organisations as significant. To simplify their administration they sought the Chief, the Council of elders or the King, to confer new authority on. This practice more or less sentenced women to political death. Their positions, especially in the dual-sex system, became meaningless. The colonisers dealt with the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, for he was the sole ruler. The Queen Sister had no function in the colonial government; likewise they disregarded the role of the 'omu' and her cabinet in Nigeria. Okonjo elaborates on the omu's decline:

On the Western side of the Niger, where monarchical organisations made indirect rule relatively easy for the British to establish, the only monarch the British recognised was the male monarch, the 'obi.' He alone received a paycheck. His female counterpart, the 'omu,' was relegated to the background, where her only role was to serve as intermediary between the 'obi' and the women of the town.109

It is ironical that the British were ignoring the role
of the 'omu' at a time when they were under the rule of a female -- Queen Victoria.

The women's political decline also affected the areas where women were the sole possessors of authority. Along the Mende of Sierra Leone a 1914 listing of paramount chiefs indicated that 15% of Mende chiefdoms were ruled by women. This was reduced to only 9% by 1970. Although some female chiefs manipulated the British and were accepted by them, the overall effect of colonialism led to the reduction of women ruling Mende chiefdoms. The colonisers' preconceived ideas that the public domain was reserved for men was a major factor in their lack of acceptance of female authority and female rulers.

With the advent of colonial rule and the creation of "native courts," the traditional judicial functions carried out by men and women became defunct. Women's remaining socio-political roles were virtually liquidated by the missionaries bent upon eradicating "tribalism" and introducing "civilised" ways.

Legally, several writers have pointed out that women were better treated and protected by the traditional laws than the colonial 'native' laws. "Native laws" were the creation of the Europeans based on their knowledge of the tribal laws. Their
interpretations of and amendments to these laws were often wrong and hurt the people that they were supposed to protect. "Native Law" was enforced through the "Native Courts," which were often presided over by European Administrators. A. J. Simmons shows how "native laws" were supposed to improve the tribal life of the female by giving her such rights as consent for marriage, transfer of children and widow rights. She states:

These are changes inspired by the reformer anxious to rescue women from subjugation, but there are other modifications that bear the imprint of a juristic concept drawn from the individualistic society of the West and imposed on the very different kinship and economic pattern of the tribe. It is something of a paradox that under the Westernised version of tribal law, women's rights have been whittled down in important respects. Under Native Law women are treated as perpetual minors.

Women reacted to their declining position by protesting vigorously and at times violently.

e. Activity of African Women against the Colonisers

One of the better known examples of such a protest was the Ibo 'Women's War' or what the colonisers have euphemistically called the Aba Riots. The Women's War took place at the end of 1929 when the colonial administration had just succeeded in conducting a census of males and their property and started direct taxation. The colonial
mentality deemed it necessary for the colonised to pay for being ruled. The direct taxation came as a surprise because the fact that the census was being conducted for taxation was kept a secret. When another census was initiated and it began to count women and their property, the women immediately assumed that they were going to be taxed. In spite of the District Officers' assurances, who incidentally had earlier on lied to the men, they continued to fear that the census meant taxation. Hence, they responded by organising themselves as soon as the census began. A palm leaf symbolising trouble was circulated. This was tantamount to a campaign to rally support against the hated census. Over ten thousand women gathered to go to Aba: they attacked and looted trading stores, and released prisoners from the local jail. Later, they began attacking all the symbols of colonialism -- burning native courts and the offices of the Warrant Chiefs, the local African appointees of the colonial administration. Finally the women marched to the District Commissioner's offices and even after his assurance they did not end their war. The irate Ibo female protestors were finally stopped by gun-firing male soldiers.

Predictably and typically, the British Home
Office dispatched two Commissions of inquiry to investigate this unexpected outburst of female fury in "dark" tropical Africa. The Commissioners insisted on calling it a riot with mobs and "crowds in a state of frenzy." Actually, these riots occurred due to a defect in colonial government, and their magnitude was ignored. Apparently, to the British, only men make soldiers and for a real war at least spears must be used. Stick-wielding, charcoal smeared, "mini-skirted," semi-naked African females could not wage war. They could only release their emotions in a frenzied public display.

Thus the significance of the Women's War was downplayed by the colonisers. However, in terms of its militancy against the colonisers it represents one of the most significant reactions against colonial authority, masterfully planned and organised on the basis of traditional practices. The significance of Women's War also lies in the fact that it was not only a war against taxation but also against the general oppressive nature of colonialism. Margery Perham quotes a few of the women's complaints that were reported by the Native Court members:

They said they would go to Owerrinta to demolish the Native Court; they did not want the Native Court to hear cases any longer and that all white men should go
to their country so that the land in this area might remain as it was many years ago before the advent of the white man. A string of reckless complaints was uttered by women witnesses before the commission, "We said that we thought that white men came to bring peace to the land." "Our main grievance is that we are not so happy as we were before," and again, "our grievance is that the land is changed - we are all dying."

These complaints represent not only the bitterness of the women in terms of the deterioration of their role but also represent the desire of the African people to get rid of the colonisers. Thus the women were giving expression to the anti-white, anti-colonial fervour which was later incorporated in to the African people's nationalistic struggle. Perham maintains that the women's complaints were wild and reckless. However, when one considers these statements in the perspective of the colonial encounter and its actual infringements upon, and destruction of, the African culture, these complaints seem to be very incisive in their perceptions of the reality.

Robert Ritzenthaler studies another women's revolt which took place in the British Cameroon in 1959. The Kon women revolted because of a rumour that the British were going to sell their land to the much hated Ibos. Farming being their main occupation, the land was crucial to their very existence.
Over two thousand women gathered, marched into town and burnt down the marketplace. Most significantly, the women gathered as a political force and came up with several resolutions. These included the eradication of foreign institutions, such as schools and courts, and the expulsion of all foreigners including members of other tribes and Europeans. Ritzenthaler describes how the unrest among the Kon women spread to neighbouring tribes. The recognition of the adverse colonial influence and the need to get rid of this influence was clearly understood by these women.119

Another reaction of the African women against European colonial attempts to bring them under their control is represented by women's demonstrations against the 'pass' law in South Africa. Helen Joseph describes the attempts made by the municipalities of the Free State to issue passes to women in 1913.120 These oppressive passes had already been issued to men, and women had observed the lack of mobility that was created by these passes. The police were known to arrest and detain men found without their passes, or found in unauthorised locations, or after permitted times. When, in 1913, the first attempt was made to issue passes to women, it failed. The women refused
to buy or carry their monthly passes. They also refused to pay the fines imposed on them for their refusal to carry the passes. At this point the government retracted and the women had won their war against passes. In 1952 the government began new attempts to introduce passes for women. This led to the protest of two thousand women in Pretoria in 1955. In 1956, in an historic and unparalleled demonstration, twenty thousand women from all over the country gathered at the office of the Native Commissioner to denounce and oppose the passes. When the government continued to force women to carry passes, thousands of women gathered and burnt their passes; and hundreds were arrested.

The women's resistance to the 'pass' laws of South Africa was an important weapon against its racist policy of 'apartheid.' Their strong feelings against this oppressive system were clearly demonstrated in their ability to organise themselves and confront one of the most rigid colonial governments in Africa -- South Africa.

The Algerian woman has also been heralded for her brave role in the Algerian war especially in light of the traditional restraints on her mobility. Another movement where the women's role was of great
consequence was the Mau Mau revolt of the Kikuyu in Kenya. C.J.M. Alport's discussion of the Mau Mau, though a white man's analysis of the situation after the revolution, still gives us some insight into the women's role in it:

It was alleged that they were one of the main influences in the continuation of activities of the major gangs in the field; they acted as food-carriers, and assisted in the oath ceremonies. It was suggested that the reason was mystical; that the Kikuyu women had always had two main interests in life -- the bearing of children and the tilling of the ground -- and the mysticism in Mau Mau, the blood and soil which were used in the oath ceremony, represents the connection between those two functions and made a special appeal to the women. In so far as it was based upon a wish for additional land, and the women were interested in possessing land because it was their contribution to the maintenance of the family, Mau Mau appealed to the women.¹²²

The colonisers also described Kikuyu women who joined the Mau Mau as "Stupid Stooges" who followed the men blindly. The colonisers' explanations for women joining the Mau Mau were far-fetched, absurd, and indicative of their own desperation. They said that the Kikuyu female was a mindless unthinking person. Indeed, the colonisers' reasons for welfare for women were sparked off by a desire to keep women out of the Mau Mau:

The authorities are taking what they believe to be a sound and logical attitude toward the question of women's welfare. For
centuries, they say, the Kikuyu woman has been little more than a child-producing beast of burden. She has had a heavy load of work, while her husband has had little to do but sit around and waste his idle hours in gossip. Idle gossip invariably leads to politics, hence it became one of the contributory factors to the Kikuyu uprising.

When the Emergency broke out, the Mau Mau gangs quickly found that women could be useful to them. Many of the women, who had for so long been denied any voice in tribal matters, jumped at the chance to help. It was their way of feeling important, of achieving prestige and some measure of equality with their menfolk.124

In the more recent writings on the Mau Mau movement, women's role is rarely elaborated upon. Women provided the infra-structure of the movement and without this the Mau Mau could not have survived for long. Some post-independent writers have attempted to record women's role in the liberation movement. Research problems related to colonial archives and the sources of oral history, have led to difficulty in acquiring data on women's role in the Mau Mau movement and generally in the anti-colonial struggle in Kenya.

Micere Mugo's work on the role of women in the struggle for freedom in Kenya bemoans the lack of emphasis on this role.125 Her research concludes that women were on occasion the victims (as they are in all wars) of violence. On the other hand they were also the initiators of the
struggle against land alienation. Mugo's detailed study of a Kikuyu woman, who was a scout-cum-spy for the freedom fighters and lost one leg in an encounter with the home-guard, is a poignant story. The bitterness felt by this woman for not receiving the sweet fruits of independence is justifiable.\textsuperscript{126}

Kenyan women's role in the anti-colonial movement was represented by the effort of women working alone as well as in groups. Women like Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru who was shot when she led a group of women to move into the police lines which were placed around the police station where the Kenyan nationalist leader Harry Thuku was being held. Job Machuchu describes the scene:

Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru (from Weithaga in Location 10 of Fort Hall District) leapt to her feet, pulled her dress right up over her shoulders and shouted to the men: "You take my dress and give me your trousers. You men are cowards. What are you waiting for? Our leader is in there. Let's get him." The hundreds of women trilled their ngemi in approbation and from that moment on trouble was probably inevitable. Mary and others pushed on until the bayonets of the rifles were pricking at their throats, and then the firing started. Mary was one of the first to die.\textsuperscript{127}

Another Kenyan woman who should be placed among the nationalist leaders is Me Katilili, a Giriama woman, who led her people to fight the British colonisers and administrators. Micere Mugo
describes Me Katilili's work as a freedom fighter:

...Me Katilili was the most influential force behind the war of resistance, called by the colonialists "The Giriama uprising." She walked for distances from compound to compound agitating the people to rebel against colonial oppression and worked relentlessly to create solidarity among Giriama resisters by oathing them with pledges of loyalty to one another...

At the oathing ceremony, the patriots swore to defy the payment of the colonial-instituted hut tax and to refuse forced labour. They swore never to betray one another to the colonialists and their collaborators while swearing to do away with enemy elements. They swore that no colonial settler would occupy Giriamaland.

Me Katilili used to address huge crowds at the oathing ceremonies, castigating British colonialists and calling them cowards who had been known to run away from their enemies in battles. She said that united, the Giriama could drive them out. Fired by her words, a lot of those who had taken the oath set colonial administrative posts on fire, attacking colonial agents. The colonial administration responded by sending down almost the entire Kenya Rifles to the coast to "quell the uprising."

Betrayed by collaborators, Me Katilili was arrested and deported to Kisiiland with one of the patriotic elders. After a few months in detention there, Me Katilili and the old man cut through the prison bars and escaped. For months the British colonial administration was on the track for the escaped prisoners, combing the countryside from Kisiiland to Giriamaland without results. They had branded Me Katilili a dangerous witch who controlled and sought to mislead the Giriama people through witchcraft.128

Me Katilili was caught a second time and was sent to a heavy security prison. It is interesting to note that the British bureaucratic efficiency at record
keeping suddenly faltered; for after the second arrest Me Katili's name suddenly disappeared from colonial records. Such record-keeping makes one wonder if there were more women who had actively participated in the anti-colonial struggle and remain unknown.

In the preceding section, several examples of militant reactions on the part of African women adversely affected by colonialism have been considered. They ought to be seen as proto-nationalistic movements. Like their male counterparts, whether led by a Harry Thuku in Kenya or under the aegis of the Young Baganda Association in Uganda, these females clearly saw colonialism as the chief cause of their steadily deteriorating position. Their protest did not stop at just ventilation of grievances. Among the remedies they suggested was a revision, if not a dismantling, of the oppressive colonial system. Despite their fairly considerable role in proto-nationalistic and nationalistic struggles, the women's overall position in society continued to decline even in the post-independence period. It is plausible that the women may have reacted against the colonisers partly because the colonial system reinforced male authority at the expense of female rights.

The African's eventual acceptance of the
changes implemented by colonialism was inevitable. The imposition of Western standards slowly disintegrated women's specific channels of clout, economic control, social status and authority. Westernisation -- including Western dress, Western education, and Western etiquette, and most importantly being male became the criteria for acceptability in the power structure. The loin-clothed, 'wild', illiterate, militant women had no chance in the modern sectors. This is not to say that women did not adapt, but their adaptation to Westernisation made their position even more vulnerable. Westernisation often meant an adherence to Victorian values of the European coloniser. While the Victorian values of the European behaviour seemed relatively freeing to the constrained and confined women of India, China and the Middle East, their impact was most harmful on the independent women of Africa. Evidently, the Victorian "civilising mission" to Africa, which among other things, had hoped to liberate the African woman from "tribal slavery" and elevate her to a status of a human being, actually deprived her of previous precious traditional rights and reduced her to a subordinate role in colonial and post colonial African society.
CHAPTER I -- NOTES


19. ibid.


24. ibid., p. 418.

25. Some of the major studies about woman-marriage are: E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family Among the Nuer, Rhodes Livingstone Institute Papers, No. II, 1945; Evans-Pritchard, Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); E. J. Krige,

28. ibid.
34. Boserup, op. cit., p. 25. She produced this table from several sample studies on women's agricultural role in Africa.
38. ibid., p. 150.


45. Phoebe F. Ottenberg, op. cit., p. 207.


51. ibid., p. 186.
52. ibid.
53. ibid., p. 173.
55. ibid., p. 185.
57. ibid.
64. George Klima, "Jural Relations Between the Sexes Among the Barabaig (Tanzania)," Africa, xxxvi, 1 (1964), 12.
65. ibid., p. 18.
66. ibid., p. 19.
67. Lebeuf, op. cit., p. 33.
68. A few of these works are: Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press,

69. Lebeuf, op. cit., p. 94.


71. Paulme, op. cit., p. 4.

72. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 52.

73. For collaboration between administrators and missionaries, see Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans, 1952), pp. 151-246.


77. J. L. Boutillier, Bongouanou Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1960), p. 120. Also see, Maquet, Africanity, op. cit., pp. 67-74, for a good discussion on polygamy.

78. Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 181.

79. Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 182.

80. ibid., p. 184.


89. The following novels by Chinua Achebe touch on the problem of scarcity of "educated" wives: Chinua Achebe, No Longer at Ease (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1969), and Man of the People (New York: Collins, 1966). It is interesting that older politicians and others including Jomo Kenyatta had 'traditional' wives, yet took on "official" educated wives. Thus, the attempt of the missionaries to keep Africans monogamous was not successful.

90. These were especially harmful, considering the lack of these stereotypes in traditional African societies.


93. Boserup, op. cit., p. 56.

94. See section on Economic Role: Farmers and Traders in Chapter I.


104. Lystad, op. cit., p. 196.


108. Lebeuf, op. cit., p. 94.


111. Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 156; H. J. Simmons, op. cit., p. 79-87.

112. Simmons, op. cit., p. 80.

113. Simmons, op. cit., p. 81.


117. Van Allen, op. cit., pp. 73-74.


128. Mugo, "Me Katilili"; *op. cit.* p. 27

129. *ibid.*
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

General works on women reveal the wide use of concepts such as the 'status' and the 'role' of women. In spite of the centrality of these two concepts in the research on women in society, only cursory reference is made to the definitions of these concepts. The theoretical definitions of 'status' and 'role' have been agreed upon and substantially presented in social science literature, but the operational definitions cannot be clarified as easily because of the dearth of paradigms, especially in relation to observing women's roles and status in society.¹

The purpose of this chapter is to first of all present 'status' and 'role' -- both theoretically and operationally. Secondly, the status and role of women will be observed historically. This will be presented from an anthropological perspective -- focusing on cultures, ecological adaptations and cultural ideologies. Thirdly, this chapter will include an appraisal of women's status and role in the historical socio-economic framework, with special reference to sexual stratification. Fourthly, women's status and role will be observed in terms of recent theories of development and
modernisation. Lastly, and most significantly, the criteria for women's political status and role will be determined. The political role and status will be analysed under the following categories: women and the private/public domains; women and the vote; women's political participation in relation to the socialist and the capitalist ideologies; women's civic participation; and, women and the study of elites.

1. Status

As mentioned above, status is a term freely used in writing about women. In terms of its theoretical definition, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists have dealt with the term extensively. Status is not the same as position, even though the two terms have sometimes been used interchangeably. Marwin E. Shaw points out the distinction between the two:

When one identifies a person's position in the group, one is at the same time identifying his relative standing with respect to such dimensions as power, leadership, and attractiveness. Status, on the other hand, refers to the evaluation of that position. It is the rank accorded the position by group members -- the prestige of the position.2

Shaw is suggesting that status deals with perception from within (by others) of the relative value of a position identified by "one." It seems that "one" is from "without"; however, it could also be from within. From Shaw's work and that of others, it is clear that
status arises from the prestige, power, esteem, money, and love that is endowed upon an individual by the members of her/his group. The important factor is that status represents the attitude of the group, clan, or society towards an individual's place in a specific social structure.

Ralph Linton's definition of statuses as: "the polar positions . . . in patterns of reciprocal behaviour," has been strongly criticised because he goes on to define status as 'rights' and 'duties' by which individuals could be categorised.\(^3\)

Ward H. Goodenough criticises Linton and others for making status and position synonymous:

All writers who do not treat status as synonymous with social rank do much the same thing, including Merton in his important refinement of Linton's formulation. All alike treat a social category together with its attached rights and duties as an indivisible unit of analysis, which they label a 'status' or 'position' in a social relationship.\(^4\)

Thus position and status are distinct categories; the term 'position' refers to a person's place in the social structure and 'status' refers to the group members' evaluation of that position.\(^5\)

Linton and others such as Davis make further distinctions in status by dividing it into 'ascribed status' and 'achieved status.' Ascribed status is related to the age, sex, clan and kinship of the indi-
individual. The individuals neither have control over this type of status, nor are they responsible for it. Thus, they cannot either be blamed or merited for it. On the other hand, achieved status is linked with the personal ability and accomplishment of the individual. It is dependent on what an individual achieves or fails to accomplish. Shaw argues that when the distinction is made between ascribed versus achieved status: "it is clear that status is being used in essentially the same way that we have used the term 'position' although prestige rank is also implied."6

One can argue that, indeed, prestige rank is involved in achieved and ascribed positions, because we tend to evaluate them differently. In most cultures achieved positions are valued more than ascribed positions. Therefore, an achieved position has greater status than an ascribed position. This is particularly noticeable in male/female socialisation into adulthood. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, in a pioneer anthropological work on women, *Women, Culture, and Society*, argues that:

Whatever pain is in fact associated with female socialization, most cultures assume that it is relatively easy for a young girl to become a woman; people in most societies seem to take that process for granted. A man's experience lacks this continuity; he may be wrenched from the domestic sphere in which he spent his earliest years, by means of a series of rituals or initiations that teach him to distrust or despise the
world of his mother, to seek his manhood outside the home. A woman becomes a woman by following in her mother's footsteps, whereas there must be a break in a man's experience. For a boy to become an adult, he must prove himself -- his masculinity -- among his peers. And although all boys may succeed in reaching manhood, cultures treat this development as something that each individual has achieved.7

Thus the very nature of male/female socialisation into adulthood predestines a higher status for males.

When ethnographers give women high status, it usually reflects the high respect and reverence in which the women are held in their own cultures. Judith K. Brown suggests that depending on the cultures, high status may be inferred due to deferential treatment or on the basis of a position of economic or political power.8 Keeping the above in mind, Peggy R. Sanday defines female status "in terms of (1) the degree to which females have authority and/or power in the domestic and/or public domain; and (2) the degree to which females are accorded deferential treatment and are respected and revered in the domestic and/or public domains."9 In analysing the above definition of status, one has to keep in mind the fact that the ranking of female status is made in a similar frame of reference to that of male status. Often the same criteria are used to present male and female status. Buvinic elaborates:
women's status can be defined as the ranking, in terms of prestige, power, or esteem, accorded to the position of 'women' in comparison with, or relative to, the ranking -- also in terms of prestige, power, or esteem -- given to the position of 'men'. This immediately raises two crucial questions that must be answered if our goal is to go beyond simple generalizations to meaningful research questions and fruitful policy directives: if women's status is a value judgment that ranks the position of women relative to (and thus differentiated from) the position of men, which social indicators should be used to establish this ranking? And who should make this value judgment?  

To operationalise status or for an empirical study of status, there is a need to present measures and indicators of women's status. Aggregate data on women's involvement in the economic, social, and political functions of society are one way to measure women's status. Proportions of males and females in employment, education and political institutions are used to determine female status. Analysis based on such data has limited use in cross-cultural studies. For example, comparing statistics on female employment, education and political participation in the Middle East with those from Sub-Saharan Africa will indicate that African women have higher proportions represented in every field. Does this indicate that African women have higher status than Middle Eastern women? Helen Ware points out the problem related to using employment to measure women's status. She states that in some African societies, labour force participation of
women is not a sexist issue because they have alternative sources of child care and household help through the extended family. Of course Ware is only dealing with child care. Surely the fact that all occupational fields are not open to women is a sexist issue.

The use of education as an indication of female status also has limitations. First of all, developing nations have a high rate of illiteracy. Buvinic points out that:

... measures of status based on education would assign different social rankings only to those few members of the population who are literate, while the illiterate majority would be lumped together in one single category and given only one ranking (low status).

Secondly, to observe the ratio of males to females in education will not be useful if the statistics do not also reveal the ratio of males and females in the different curricula, and the different levels males and females achieve in the educational system. And thirdly, statistics on male/female education are not very meaningful without information as to the opportunities education opens to each sex.

Another commonly used indicator of women's status is aggregate data on political and legal rights and political participation. Constitutions and laws of nations have been presented to show how equal/unequal women are in their societies. These studies have been
supported with statistics on female voters and women's memberships in legislative and executive governmental bodies. These observations should also be used cautiously, for legal documents may not accurately describe reality, and occupancy of political office makes possible, but does not guarantee, the presence of significant power for women.

The existence of problems with the above indicators does not mean that these indicators are defunct; it is only implied that they have to be used in juxtaposition with other analyses. The limitation of the previously discussed indicators have led researchers to look for new approaches to observing the status of women. Sanday selected four dimensions for coding female status in the public domain. They are:

I. Female material control. Females have the ability to act effectively on, to allocate, or to dispose of, things -- land, produce, crafts, etc. -- beyond the domestic unit.

II. Demand for female produce. Female produce has a recognized value either internally -- beyond the localized family unit -- or in an external market.

III. Female political participation. Females, even if only through a few token representatives, may express opinions in a regular, official procedure and may influence policy affecting people beyond the domestic unit.

IV. Female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests. Females group together in some regular way to protect or represent their interests, and are recognized and effectual in this activity.
A further difficulty one needs to address is the factor of cultural bias which significantly complicates the selection of the indicators to be used in defining the status of women. For example, in studying African women, Westerners, by and large, use indicators found meaningful in the Western context and neglect to consult with the group being researched as to whether its members consider these to be the indicators of prestige. Variation in the extent to which modern technology is present creates risks of potential error. Just because a rural African woman uses a hoe to cultivate her field, she is not on that basis automatically inferior to the Russian woman who uses a tractor. Analysis of each, within their own social contexts, may show them to be of relatively equal status. And, further analysis may show that both have higher status than the rural woman in the United States who is barred by cultural constraints from significant participation in agriculture.

Another example is cited by Buvinic on research concerning women professionals that illustrates the above point. She indicates that in Poland, Argentina, Peru and Chile there is a high proportion of women in law and medicine because these countries view the two professions as 'feminine'. In comparison, the U.S. has a very low proportion of females in law and medicine.
This, however, is not an indication that the status granted to Argentinian women is higher than of their American counterparts. One has to take into account the way each society rates these professions.14

In conclusion, the approach to research on status has to be contextual. It has to be conducted with a deep and clear understanding of the group or culture under observation. Often researchers have used measures of status that are formulated with a Western bias and are inapplicable to developing countries. Analytical tools have to relate to the dynamic processes of cultural change and diffusion of Third World societies. This is not to say that Western conceptual tools are totally inapplicable to Non-Western World research. It merely means that they have to be used discreetly within the reference and specificity of the cultures being observed. As Achola Pala states:

Like the educational systems inherited from the colonial days, the research industry has continued to use the African environment as a testing ground for ideas and hypotheses the locus of which is to be found in Paris, London, New York, or Amsterdam.15

Pala feels that research is often conducted because of what is the fashionable topic for research in Western metropolis. This further affects research, for often these Western research centers will provide funding for only special types of research projects, namely
those that are 'popular'.\textsuperscript{16} One solution is to have local scholars do research in their own geographical areas. Pala concludes that African scholars, and especially women, must bring their knowledge to bear by presenting an African perspective on women's prospects and problems in local societies.\textsuperscript{17}

2. \textbf{Role}

Role is described by Linton as "the dynamic aspect of status."\textsuperscript{18} In other words, it is the active part of status. Role is, in effect, the actions performed by an individual due to her/his position in society as well as the expectations by the society of the individual. Nancy Birdsall limits the definition of role to 'expectations' by defining it as "the expected behaviour associated with a particular social position."\textsuperscript{19} Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon L. Allen present a very elaborate and complete version of role theory.\textsuperscript{20} This review they present deals with various factors of role. The two most important ones are role enactments and role expectations. Role enactments are the actions of the individual in a society, and a single individual may be involved in many role enactments, especially in complex societies. Sarbin and Allen suggest that role enactment has to be viewed in terms of the following questions: (1) Has the
individual taken the correct role with regard to her/his ecology? (2) Does the role enactment meet "with normative standards which serve as valuational criteria for the observers . . . to be evaluated as good or bad?" (3) Does the enactment legitimise the position of the incumbent?21

On the other hand, role expectations are described as:

a cognitive concept, the content of which consists of beliefs, expectancies, subjective probabilities, and so on. The units of social structure are positions or statuses (in specialized contexts, jobs and offices). These units are defined in terms of actions and qualities expected of the person who at any time occupies the position.22

Thus, role is very closely linked to the social structure of society. Role has become exceedingly significant in the face of dramatic changes not only in the social structure, but also in the ideology and technology of society. Both role enactments and expectations are changing every day. Feminists are denouncing the reality that the nurturant role is the only significant role women currently have. However, role expectations do not change as quickly as role enactments. Thus, we see women performing both the expected role of nurturer and participating in the modern world economies especially in urban centres. This causes problems such as role conflict. The multiple female roles -- mother, housewife, wife, and
employee have to be allocated sufficient time so that social life can run smoothly. This in itself is a mammoth task. Several studies have reflected on the dilemma the multiplicity of roles holds for women.23

In the African context, role is further complicated by the transitional nature of those societies which are no longer completely traditional nor yet totally modern. Mbilinyi discusses the African women's role by presenting the following identity relationships that are part of the traditional world:

- . . . mother/first son (alter); first wife/husband;
- second wife/first wife; grandmother/grandchild;
- female trader/consumer; female cultivator/female cultivator; female elder/female initiate. One woman may include in her repertoire of possible social identities all the above relationships and more. In some of them the woman may be 'subservient', in others she is definitely 'the authority'. In defining any one social identity it becomes necessary to consider (1) who 'alter' is, and (2) the situational context. 24

The above relationships, combined with the roles created by the modern world such as housewife or worker, add to the multiple roles females hold. Thus, for the African woman the multiplicity of roles is made more complex by the interaction of tradition and the transition to modernity.

For research purposes role can be operationalised within the following framework:

(1) Which behavioral areas show the most discrepancy between actions and expectations or between actions and social norms? That is, which
role enactments are undergoing greatest change? (2) Who are those women whose actions deviate the most from expectations or norms? (3) What is the source of a given role conflict? Is it a value judgment felt by the women themselves (actions versus expectations), or is it imposed by society (actions versus norms)? (4) How do these women avoid or solve role strain or conflict? What enables contradictory actions and expectations (or norms) to coexist? 

Equality for women means dramatic changes in Third World cultures. The above framework is a useful guide for research. If researchers can substantially and genuinely answer these questions, they can make a major contribution to the programmes being set up to bring equality to women of the Third World. In the following section role and status will be observed in the historical context.

3. Historical Perspective on Sexual Stratification

One of the consequences of the women's liberation movement in the West has been the proliferation of literature on the status and role of women. The abundance of literature on the historical explanation of the role and status of women does not mean that clear-cut theoretical perspectives have emerged. On the contrary, the literature shows little consensus on the how and why of the role and status of women. The lack of consensus and dearth of paradigms are partially responsible for researchers using the attitude-laden terms 'role' and 'status' without clearly defining
them. The previously mentioned operational and theoretical definitions of 'role' and 'status' will be helpful in the following analysis of sexual stratification.

As described previously status is the power, esteem, reward, and prestige that is ascribed to an individual by the group. When the channels to achieve prestige, power, esteem, and reward are systematically closed to one group and open to another, a hierarchy of the groups comes into existence. This is usually termed as social stratification. In societies where the channels of power, prestige, esteem, and reward are exclusively for males of certain groups, or not accessible to females, the society can be described as both socially and sexually stratified. Alice Schlegel elaborates:

... when there are sets of statuses and roles that are characteristically accompanied by greater rewards, prestige, or power than others, and when movement between one set into another is restricted, inequality exists.27

Since there is a lack of consensus among the theorists of sexual stratification, one has to use an eclectic approach; that is, draw upon the various theories as they apply to explaining the observed phenomena. Also, sexual stratification theories will be presented with an effort to determine the 'indicators' of sexual inequality in a society. The theories
that deal with sexual stratification can be categorised as follows: biological, ideological, ecological, socio-economic, and political.

a. **Biological**

In terms of human biology some writers seem to suggest that "biology is destiny." In other words, the biological difference between males and females are the determinants of sexual subordination universally. These theories can be divided into two areas -- one emphasising the female child-bearing role as a determinant of subordination and the other presenting the aggressive male behaviour or "brute force" as being responsible for the subjugation of women.

Some authors have suggested that aggressive behaviour is innate in males. Pierre L. Van den Berghe states:

> Males are much more aggressive than women. Yes, say the cultural determinists, but that is only because they are taught to be. True, in many cultures males are indeed taught to be aggressive, but this is mere reinforcement of their inborn predispositions.

Perhaps wife-beating, a practice common throughout the world, has its origins in this biological explanation of male aggressiveness. Randall Collins explains sexual inequality in terms of the human males' greater size (brute force), giving them the physical ability to coerce females. Collins' argument infers that
women are controlled by the physical power of men universally. This theory has been refuted by studies on human and primate societies where male physical size or strength are not used to control women. Thus, male physical size is not the crucial variable for the subjugation of females. Economic, social, and political control has a greater part to play in determining inequality between the sexes than male-female physiology. For example, it is the strong economic role of !Kung women in their society, that checks male subjugation of females by physical strength.

Lionel Tiger, Robin Fox and Desmond Morris also use biology as the basis for male power and strength. These writers suggest that sexual inequality prevails because human attitudes and behaviour are based on instincts which have developed from early human society. The male power over women is represented by the males' instinctive desire to bond with males (as in the big hunts among our ancestors) and exclude women from the political structure, which is the seat of power and control. Steven Goldberg also uses biology to explain sexual inequality. He feels that sexual equality is not feasible because the hormonal differences between males and females mitigates such equality. The lack of evidence to support such theories has called them into question.
The nature of femaleness in terms of child-bearing, with its consequent restriction of female activity and functions, has greater relevance for a biological explanation of sexual stratification. Child-bearing is one function that exclusively belongs to the females. The nature of human gestation, breast-feeding, and other child rearing needs has led to women's role being affected by their biology. Thus, the expressions 'biology is destiny' and 'nature and nurture'.\(^{35}\) One of the theories on sexual stratification is that child-bearing leads to female immobility, thus making the inner or the domestic domain the female's, and the exterior or the public domain the male's world.\(^ {36}\) Ethnographic data reveals that female tasks are usually those that are performed close to home.\(^ {37}\) This view will be elaborated in the discussion of the predominance of females in hunting/gathering and horticultural societies, where herding or hunting meant walking for long distances -- an activity incompatible for lactating, or pregnant females.

Child-bearing and rearing has been correlated with the subjugation of women. Nancy Chadrow argues that the mother's rearing leads to the boy's desire to break away so as to be socialised into the male role. In this process he rejects feminine traits as inferior. Thus, the female figure also becomes inferior.\(^ {38}\)
Chadrow's explanation of female subjugation due to motherhood can be questioned on the grounds that many societies show reverence and high respect for motherhood. Sherry Ortner presents a similar view to that of Chadrow. Ortner suggests that it is the association of the female reproductive function with nature that is responsible for their subjugation, and their being kept out of societal functions. Ideological forces or mythology can be used here to explain this closeness of female reproductivity with nature. The specific relevance of mythology and ideology will be discussed subsequently.

The child-bearing function and more significantly the human baby's dependence on breast-feeding and parental care does not mean that motherhood is an inborn trait among females. As Margaret Mead states:

We have assumed that because it is convenient for a mother to wish to care for her child, this is a trait with which women have been more generously endowed by a carefully teleological process of evolution. We have assumed that because men have hunted, an activity requiring enterprise, bravery, and initiative, they have been endowed with these useful attitudes as part of their sex-temperament.

Mead's classical work — *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* — refutes the whole concept of inherent traits leading to sexual stratification. Her presentation of contradictory sexual traits among the Arapesh and Mundugumor clearly presents a case for
cultural conditioning. In the following sections we will closely observe the cultural aspects that determine the nature of female/male stratification in a given society.

b. Ideological

In the literature on the historical explanation of women's role and status one notes a weakness -- very little work has been done on the impact of ideology. While the classical or "great tradition" ideologies have been pored over to illuminate the status and role of women, little has been written to present the impact on females of the "little tradition." Wherever classical ideologies -- Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism exist, we note a lower status for women. Of course, classical religions are found in complex agrarian societies where female status is low. By inference then, one may suggest that female status will be higher in areas where non-classical ideologies prevail. The purpose here is not to compare and contrast the role and status of women in the 'great tradition' cultures with that of those in the 'little tradition'. The main objective here is to analyse the cultural ideologies of non-Islamic African societies, especially those of East African societies, so as to observe their impact, if any, on sexual stratification.
The task is not a simple one. As Mazrui points out, "The relevance of culture for ideological attitudes continued to be important, but it also remained difficult to measure to any degree of certainty." Chazan's brilliant attempt to explain present day politics in Nigeria and Ghana by using the myth and tradition of pre-colonial cultures is a step towards studying "African political processes in African terms." In regard to using ideology as a framework for the analysis of female role and status, Pala succinctly points out that:

... the wider social implication of any ideology embodying contradictory tendencies for women is reflected in the vesting of women with symbolic power to manipulate a whole range of ritual impurities and anomalies recognized and feared by all members of the society including women themselves. While these symbolic indicators may underlie the community's fear of an oblique power by women they concurrently provide real power levers for women to utilize in asserting their autonomy and humanity. The existence of symbolic power and its actual or potential use served to counteract the tendency of male domination articulated in genealogies, myths of creation, and formal political and economic institutions.

The myths and rituals in traditional African society need to be analysed to observe their impact on the modern day image of the African female.

At the centre of African ideological systems are the myths of origin. These myths provide the linkage of the human with the cosmology. In most instances African myths of origin relate tribal descent from a creator, a person, who is usually male. Among the Luo
the etymological explanation depicts 'Nyasaye' as the originator of life. Nyasaye is epitomised as a male. However, Ocholla-Ayayo suggests that since Nyasaye means womb or uterus, and is referred to as a maker and moulder -- "in the idiom of pottery or basketry which are female activities among the Luo," it has "in the Luo religious context strong bisexual connotations." The reference to Nyasaye as the "father," "he," and generally a paternal figure, makes one wonder if the bisexuality of the Luo creator is indeed a reality.47

The Akamba also see their cosmogony in a male creator. The first person among the Akamba was the man Yunga Muamba. Muthiani describes him as the "sole giant" of the Akamba who:

... lived on the mountains alone for a long time entertaining himself with his gigantic drums. When he got too old he mysteriously bore the first of several Akamba, who kept multiplying according to his order until now.48

A more spectacular myth of origin and one which includes females is that of the Kikuyu people. Kenyatta gives an elaborate version of this myth in his book -- Facing Mount Kenya.49 The Mogai (the Divider of the Universe) called the founder of the tribe -- Gikuyu -- and gave him the beautiful country and a wife. Gikuyu named his wife Moombi -- creator or moulder. Gikuyu and Moombi had nine daughters and Gikuyu bemoaned the fact that he did not have a male heir.
When he asked Mogai's help, he was told not to despair and was asked to make some sacrifices which would help to bring him nine young men to marry his daughters. The nine men arrived and married Gikuyu's daughters and lived together. This group of families was called Mbari ya Moombi -- Moombi's family group, which was named in honour of their mother Moombi.

With the death of Moombi and Kikuyu, the nine daughters inherited all the property. As the families grew the nine daughters formed separate clans. Under this matriarchal rule the group became large and was called Moombi's tribe. However, the matriarchy did not last. Kenyatta's description of the myth explains the change of system to a patriarchy:

It is said that while holding superior position in the community, the women became domineering and ruthless fighters. They also practised polyandry. And, through sexual jealousy, many men were put to death for committing adultery or other minor offences. Besides the capital punishment, the men were subjected to all kinds of humiliation and injustice.

Men were indignant at the way in which the women treated them, and in their indignation they planned to revolt against the ruthless women's administration of justice. But as the women were physically stronger than the men of that time, and also better fighters, it was decided that the best time for a successful revolt would be during the time when the majority of women, especially their leaders, were in pregnancy.

The men planned and succeeded in impregnating the women on an appointed day and six months later "organized into groups and finally carried out the revolt
without much resistance." Polyandry was brought to an end and polygamy was established. They also changed the name of the tribe from Moombi to Gikuyu, but did not change the clan names because the women threatened not to bear their children.

The Kikuyu myth of origin has several repercussions for male/female relationships and perceptions. On one hand the fact that women were strong and controlled the men reveals the fear and distrust males have of females and the potential control women can exert over men (in refusing to have children). On the other hand it reveals the high place given to the female because she is the creator of life (Moombi). Another feature in this myth is the separateness of the male from the female. This polarity in myth is also based on a confrontational relationship between males and females rather than a conciliatory relationship.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, gives us some further insights into how these male and female mythical relationships have developed in present day Kenya. Two of his writings -- "Mugomo" and "Minutes of Glory" reveal the continued emphasis on the female's child bearing role, distrust and antagonism between males and females, male obsession with gaining wealth and lack of female solidarity. The impact of the ideological system on
the roles of males and females is not easy to observe. However, Ngugi's work seems to reiterate some of the mythical values in the conceptualisation of male and female relations in Kenya today.

There are other types of myths that have an impact on male/female relations. Women and men are both involved in witchcraft and sorcery; however, women, more often than men, are attributed with powers that can bring negative rather than positive results. Muthiani points out that "witches in Akamba society were usually women, just as sorcerers were usually men. The art of witches was known as a bad medicine capable of working against an individual as destructively as directed by its specialist."54 Another example is that common to the Lenge and the Luo. Female power is seen to have negative connotations despite the control women have over production of food and the rituals related to fertility.55 It is notable in these instances that women have some ritualistic authority but do not have any great political role in society.

For example, among the Luo the depiction of the virtues of leadership makes no reference at all to females. Ocholla-Ayayo describes leadership merits for men -- some of which are achievement oriented whereas some are by ascription. Some of the ascriptive norms were mythologically based and excluded women.56
Thus patriarchy, combined with mythological constructs of leadership qualities, excludes female participation in leadership positions. This may be a traditional norm but it can be used to explain the continued reluctance of females to join politics and for the resistance of males to the incorporation of women in the political process.

It was mentioned earlier that the high regard for females as child bearers and food producers gave them some distinction and honoured role especially in the rituals related to fertility. Sanday's cross-cultural study shows that a high correlation exists between the female contribution to subsistence and the percentage of deities who are female in a society. She suggests that the female contribution to subsistence may be the reason for their being idealised in myth. She states:

A belief system emphasizing maternity and fertility as sacred may function to legitimize female status that develops because of ecological and economic factors. There is ample evidence in the ethno­graphic material, discussed above, that a change in female status is associated with a change in the productive system.57

Among the Kipsigis for example, women are mythologically related to having discovered farming. Peristiany reports that according to a myth among the Kipsigis, women discovered grain growing in elephant dung during a time when food was scarce and their
cattle were dying in a drought. When the women found the plants to be sweet tasting, they began planting the grain. The myth continues to show that this breakthrough by women led the Kipsigis to be stronger than their neighbouring tribes.\textsuperscript{58}

A common African belief that affects female status is the taboo on females eating certain meats or parts of the animal. Muthiani describes the "practice of extreme stratification" in relation to the eating of an animal:

\begin{verbatim}
Females shalt not eat neck parts,  
Lest the calves they milked all die;  
They shalt not eat the lower leg part,  
For they are for boys as grazers,  
They need the legs as cattle travelers;  
Head parts shalt be for males, men especially  
For they shalt be the head of the family;  
Females never shalt eat the tongue,  
For if they did the curse shalt be the worst drear,  
And drear shalt not be for the mare (a female);  
They shalt not eat the omasum (third stomach),  
The curse for this shalt be a bad temper,  
And only the stallion (men) shalt have a temper;  
Other part shall there be,  
That other members shalt never eat,  
Our common belief shalt always debar  
Any of us until he crosses the social barrier.\textsuperscript{59}
\end{verbatim}

O'Laughlin describes a similar situation among another ethnic group in Tchad -- the Mbum Kpau. She states:

The prohibition of goat and chicken to women is not important in everyday life, for both animals are usually killed and consumed only on special occasions. Yet such culturally special contexts, the prohibition serves to distinguish sexual differences and sexual ranking. When food is
prepared for a hoeing party, for example, a chicken dish is usually served to the men while the women are given fish and greens, even though during the hoeing men and women work together in a single group. Although senior women as well as men may be sacrificers, only men may consume the major sacrifices consisting of chicken and goat. The chicken and goat prohibition therefore serves both to recognize implicitly and to define explicitly the subordination of women.60

One notes how a belief system can be used to create a stratified society on the basis of what type of food a person may eat. Role and status evolve out of this type of belief system. Although the impact of beliefs on male and female roles is difficult to measure empirically, one cannot deny the existence of such an impact. As Schlegel emphasises:

... the dichotomy between female and male is deeply embedded in the way we view and express the world around us. The decisions we make, and the action we take, occur within the matrix of ideology. And how could it be otherwise? People do not form social groups and productive relations and then sit down to think and symbolize about them; rather, they act in accordance with both material and social advantage and the guiding principles that give the stamp of approval -- or disapproval -- to their actions.61

The ideological bases of sexual stratification have to be observed in the light of the social, economic, and political relations in a culture. Thus, the impact of a society's ecological adaptation on sexual stratification is the subject of the next section.
c. Ecological

Sexual stratification theories constantly refer to the ecological adaptation or the techno-economic base of human society, and its impact on sex role differentiation. One needs to clearly distinguish between the various ecological types to facilitate one's understanding of the theories of sexual stratification that are based on economic, social, and political conditions in each ecological type.

Recent anthropological writings, especially those by women, relate the level of sexual inequality to the type of ecological adaptation of a society. Some, spurred by the women's liberation movement, have presented a case for matriarchy as the initial social structure in early human society. The idea of women being more powerful than men was first explored by Bachofen, Engels and Morgan in the late 19th century. They suggested that in the early evolutionary stage of human development, societies were organized under a system of matriarchy. Most anthropologists reject the idea of matriarchy and have sufficient evidence to present the picture of male dominance and patriarchy as a universal phenomenon.

In contrast to their unwillingness to accept the theory of matriarchy anthropologists are willing to accept the concept that there are certain types of
simple societies such as hunting and gathering which are more egalitarian than complex agricultural societies. Several authors have presented their view and even empirical evidence that as pre-industrial societies become more complex, sexual as well as social inequality increase.\(^{66}\) Five ecological types — hunting and gathering, horticultural, agricultural, pastoral, and industrial societies will be presented here to observe the 'indicators' of status in each type of adaptation. Using the ecological adaptations as a framework, analysis can determine if and how the socio-economic and techno-economic adaptations influence the role and status of females. The applicability of these indicators cross-culturally will be most useful.

The first ecological adaptation, hunting and gathering, is technologically the most simple. They have been described as egalitarian societies with relatively high status for women. Early works on hunting and gathering groups emphasised the role of "man as the hunter."\(^{67}\) In meeting group needs recent studies have refuted the idea of male as principal provider and data has been presented to account for women's contribution in these simple societies.\(^{68}\) Sally Slocum in redressing the balance for women has written extensively on "Woman the Gatherer."\(^{69}\) Slocum and others\(^{70}\) have emphasised that the majority of food was
provided by the women who not only gathered berries and roots, but also collected small animals. This point is represented by the figures in Table 2.

**TABLE 2: Primary Subsistence Activities in 90 Foraging Societies.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Subsistence Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gathering</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathering and Hunting equally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathering and Fishing equally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and Fishing equally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals the centrality of gathering as an activity in ninety foraging societies. The data in this table are from George Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas.

The simplicity of these societies seems to lead to a separation of sexes in activity. However, this does not mean that differentiation of power exists. As Rayna Reiter points out, "it is not clear that primitive peoples dichotomize their world into power domains," -- both men and women have social and economic responsibilities "distinct" but "complimentary." Voorhies and Martin conclude:

In the majority of foraging societies, it is not the tasks assigned to the sexes that are ranked, but rather the relative proficiency with which they are performed. High status may attach itself
to the successful hunter, the skilled gatherer, the bearer of many children, the healer of the sick, or the spiritual medium. As such, both women and men have the potential for greatness, for special talent, for charisma, for respect in the daily life of the community, and for wisdom in old age.74

The evolutionary adaptation that follows hunting and gathering has been referred to as horticultural. The distinction is made between hoe horticulture and plough agriculture. In comparison to hunting and gathering groups, horticulturalists were larger, more sedentary, and more materialistic. Also in terms of class stratification, horticultural societies show an increase though not a significant one. Lenski computes the lack of class stratification in society from Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas: 98% in hunting and gathering, 83% in simple horticultural and 46% in advanced horticultural.75 This clearly reflects that class stratification increases with the increase in the complexity of the society.

Variations in patterns of social structure in horticultural societies reflect that generally women's status is higher if the society is matrilineal than if it is patrilineal.76 High emphasis is placed on descent and in this respect women's child-bearing role is highly significant.77 As mentioned earlier this is another source of status for females in African horticultural societies. Women gained prestige and esteem
by their role as producers of progeny as well as food. Marriage among horticulturalists reflects the significance of females as productive members. Bride-price as a significant feature of horticultural marriages was emphasised in Chapter I. Lenski and Lenski show that whereas 49% of hunting and gathering marriages require economic transactions, 61% of simple horticulturalists and as high as 97% of advanced horticultural societies require bride-price or other forms of exchange. 78

This emphasises women's economic value in horticultural societies. The female role in production is indicative of the high incidence of polygyny. Boserup shows how polygyny as an institution increases productivity in areas where land is abundant and the plough is not in use. 79 It is with the scarcity of land, increase in population, and the introduction of the plough that men take over farming and women's role in food production declines. Boserup states:

Female farming systems seem most often to disappear when farming systems with ploughing of permanent fields are introduced in lieu of shifting cultivation. In a typical case, this change is the result of increasing population density which makes it impossible to continue with a system necessitating long fallow periods when the land must be left uncultivated. When a population increase induces the transition to a system where the same fields are used with no or only short fallow periods, this change often goes hand in hand with the transition from hoeing to ploughing; when
the land has to be used continuously, it becomes worthwhile, and indeed necessary, to undertake a large initial investment — the removal of tree stumps and bushes and land levelling — which must precede plough cultivation.80

The following table shows how in agricultural societies the significance of women's cultivation decreases.

**TABLE 3: A Comparison of Sexual Labor Division in Cultivation between Horticultural and Agricultural Societies.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultivation Type</th>
<th>Horticulture</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both sexes equally</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, relatively, female productivity declines in agricultural societies, women's role does not. Often agriculturalists start using irrigation and both men and women have to work harder. Generally, along with the decline in women's cultivation there is a decline in their status. Men's work gains greater prestige and patriarchy becomes entrenched. As Evalyn Jacobson Michaelson and Walter Goldschmidt present in their study of forty-six peasant societies, women among agriculturalists are dominated by men and have limited roles.

The agricultural adaptation creates a more complex society. Urbanisation, surpluses, and population
growth have a dynamic effect on male/female relationships. The complexity is not necessarily representative of an advancement from horticultural societies, as cultural evolutionists tend to perceive. Undoubtedly, the society becomes more efficient in the use of technology. But, along with efficiency comes more deeply entrenched class stratification, oppression of lower classes, poverty, and in some cases slavery. Class stratification in the average traditional agricultural society, is seen in the extreme. Usually a very small, elite, powerful, ruling class (around 1% of the population) controlling anywhere from half to two-thirds of the income and resources comes into existence.\textsuperscript{83} Blumberg points out:

Even today, enormous concentrations of land are to be found in the hands of the top one or two percent in currently under-developed societies with an agrarian base.\textsuperscript{84}

This point will be elaborated upon later in discussing the economic imperatives of Kenyan society.

Along with class stratification, lower status for females is observed as Giele points out:

In both the agrarian and early modern society the middle level of structural complexity more than any other seems to hurt the status of women. It is as though the agricultural revolution brought an undifferentiated stream of human productive energy through a prism that separated it into a sphere of male production outside the home and a sphere of female consumption inside the home. Under conditions of scarcity the male productive elements
were everywhere more highly valued; women's status therefore suffered a drop. Most African cultures never went through the agrarian phase. However, the colonial impact had similar effects on women. This point will be elaborated later.

The deviation from the agricultural adaptation is pastoralism. It has been observed that the greater dependence on herds for subsistence is usually accompanied by higher status for males. Herding is normally a male occupation and as Herskovits states, it represents the "prestige system" among pastoralists. Women are generally excluded from owning cattle and thus their status is relatively low in pastoral societies. Pala documents women's rights in regard to cattle among East African pastoralists. Women are allocated cattle but never own them. Pala states:

Essentially, men controlled cattle in pastoral communities. I am inclined to think that in a nomadic pastoral community such as the Turkana or Masai, a woman's position was rather peripheral. She neither owned nor inherited cattle and agricultural land and produce were not at her disposal.

Among pastoralists who practise a mixed economy production, it is observed that women are the gardeners. Both Pala and Gulliver show that among trans-humant types of pastoralists such as the Jie, women gained status and equality with men. Thus we can conclude that where females make a contribution to the subsis-
tence, they gain status. However, it seems that because of the prestige attached to ownership of herds, women's chances of equality in pastoral societies are minimal. Indeed, where herding is the only source of subsistence, women's status is comparatively lower.

The industrial/urban adaptation is also a deviation from the agricultural mode of production. Present industrial states evolved out of an agricultural society. Although African societies are not representative of industrial societies, urbanisation has brought about adaptations similar to those in the Western world. Urbanisation in Africa has meant a dramatic decrease in family size. The nuclear family has become the new economic and social unit. This has been detrimental especially to women, because they no longer have the support of the kinship system and the extended family. Neither are they involved in a communal production system. The move into urban centres means a move toward individualism. African women's status deteriorates with their coming into urban centres because they are no longer carrying out their productive roles. Judith Van Allen and Kenneth Little have written extensively on the problems of modernisation/urbanisation and African women's role and status. 89

Several authors suggest that in industrial states
women's increased role in production enhances the status of women.90 Cities provide greater employment, educational opportunities, and the barriers faced in rural areas are no longer there.91 Yet, depending on the circumstances, we find that industrialisation/urbanisation have actually led in some instances to greater dependency, while independency is enhanced in other cases.

d. Socio-economic

The five ecological types, mentioned previously, have been used frequently for explaining both social and sexual stratification. The features that are most commonly considered to be significant indicators of sexual stratification are: the simple versus complex dichotomy of society; the effect of social factors such as class, kin, matrilineality, and patrilineality; sexual division of labour; and the modes and relations of production. The following theorists deal with one or more of the above features in their attempt to explain sexual stratification cross-culturally.

Janet Zollinger Giele presents sexual equality using hunting and gathering, horticultural, advanced horticultural, agrarian, and industrial types of societies. She states in her book — The Status and Role of Women in Eight Countries:
In my view what emerges from various accounts of women's position in these eight societies and in a variety of other cultures and historical settings is a curvilinear relationship between societal complexity and sex equality. In other words, in the simplest societies men's and women's freedom of choice — their life options — are more nearly equal than in somewhat more complex societies. In fact it seems to be the intermediate level of societal complexity that is most deleterious to the status of women. When societies pass through this middle stage to become even more complex, the position of women seems to improve again.92

Giele bases her ideas on the following theoretical model that Gerhard Lenski has formulated to present how inequality is found to be greater in agrarian societies than in hunting and gathering societies or advanced industrial nations.

FIGURE 1: Degree of Social Inequality by Type of Society.93
Giele uses Figure I on the degree of social inequality to formulate the following figure for sexual inequality.

**FIGURE 2: Relative Status of Women by Type of Society and Family Structure (Theoretical).**

The above figure does not deal with pastoral societies. It also makes the assumption that all societies have moved into the industrial stage. The following figure is perhaps more representative of the African scene.
In the African context agrarian society came into being during colonial rule. Most sub-Saharan African societies were horticultural societies and the changes in their farming systems were due to the introduction of an oppressive colonial system rather than to a revolutionary process. As mentioned in Chapter I, the colonisers introduction of cash crops was directly responsible for reducing women's parti-
Several Africanists have reflected on the decline of women's status even after most African nations had become independent. These authors reflect on how modernisation has had a negative impact on the relatively high equality women had in pre-colonial Africa. On the basis of these arguments, the sexual equality curve in Figure 3 reflects a lower status for African women in the post-independent era vis-à-vis pre-colonial era. The effects of modernisation need to be more clearly discussed and they will be presented in the following chapter entitled — **Women and Development.**

A more recent cross-cultural study by Martin King Whyte, also supports Giele's work. Whyte conducted an empirical study of pre-industrial societies, using available ethnographic data. His statistical analysis reveals that in simple societies females have less inequality than in complex agrarian types. Whyte's "measures of societal complexity" reveal that:

... through a series of variables we can compare cultures that have features that emerged early in the scale of human evolution (pottery making, nomadic bands) with cultures having features that emerged relatively late (the plow, settled towns and cities). It is this sort of comparison that shows the strongest and most consistent results. In the more complex cultures, women tend to have less domestic authority, less independent solidarity with other women, more unequal sexual restrictions, and perhaps receive more ritualized fear from men and have fewer property rights, than is the case in the simple cultures.
Whyte's hypotheses were tested to check the economic, social, and political variables that determine female equality. His conclusions refute many of the writers who have presented the universality of female subordination as well as those that suggest that strong subsistence contributions of women have status implications.\(^98\) He states:

We do not find a pattern of universal male dominance, but much variation from culture to culture in virtually all aspects of the position of women relative to men. Our findings do lead us to doubt that there are any cultures in which women are totally dominant over men, . . . Yet from this it does not follow that in all societies men are absolutely dominant over women.\(^99\)

Whyte makes some suggestions about cross-cultural observations on female role and status. He sees the universalisation of female subordination as deductivism. His study emphasises the need to see all variations from culture to culture.\(^100\) He suggests that:

It will be more useful to examine the relative share of women in political power and how this varies cross-culturally than to simply stop with the assertion that men tend to monopolize political positions in every society.\(^101\)

Whyte's study is too recent for criticism from other authors. One can see certain problems with his study that Whyte deems insignificant. First, he uses ethnographic material from studies that may not have been conducted as empirically as his own study.
Second, he tends to place greater emphasis on statistics that reveal positive female status and de-emphasises statistics that reveal high male status. One sees a tendency toward selective perception. And third, his 'functionalist' bias is clearly revealed in his agreement with Giele's and Lenski's assumption that industrialism is the solution to sexual and social stratification. This idea will be elaborated further when the 'functionalist' or 'consensus' approach vis-à-vis the 'conflict' approach is presented.  

Another author, Jack Goody, also uses ecological adaptations to present the simple versus complex dichotomy in relation to sexual stratification. Goody's work has been supported by several of his colleagues. Goody presents a comparison of "marriage finance" in African horticultural societies and Eurasian agricultural societies. The major difference is that whereas in non-Islamic African societies the male or his family pay bride-price, in Eurasian marriages a dowry is paid to the groom or his family by the bride's family. Goody's argument is clearly represented in Figure 4.  

In contrast to the above theorists, there has been a revival of the classical Marxian approach to stratification. Engels presents women as less equal in complex agricultural societies than in simpler societies. From this point on the Marxian approach
FIGURE 4: The Inter-Connections between the Social Structure and Dowry and Bridewealth.104

Social Structure and Dowry

Intensive plow agriculture & Land shortage → Stratification based upon land ownership → Dowry → Control over women’s marital and sexual lives
- Conjugual property among females
- Low solidarity fund, low female control
- More joint participation?

Social Structure and Bridewealth

Shifting extensive agriculture & Land availability → Lack of stratification based on land → Bridewealth
- Less control over women’s marital and sexual lives
- Less control over women’s marital and sexual lives
- High solidarity among females
- Less joint participation?

departs from the above theorists. Engels suggests that the development of private property and the increased control of land and domesticated animals by males led to female subjugation. Engels, with the limited data
available to him, deduced that early human societies were matrilineal and that property was communally owned. Although Engels' theory has been disavowed with regard to his idea that matrilineality was the social structure of early human society, his contribution to the theory of sexual, as well as social, stratification has stood up to much empirical testing. As Schlegel points out:

The importance of this theory for both materialist and evolutionary theories is that advances in technology (the domestication of animals) led to new relations of production between the sexes. By continuing to produce for domestic consumption, women were ultimately producing for the good of men by freeing them for social production; whereas men, by controlling wealth, were producing for their own good and only secondarily for the good of the women and children they helped support. It is clear that the subordination of women, according to Engels, arose not from sexual differences but rather from technological developments that led to changes in the relations of production.106

Many recent works have presented modes and relations of production as variables for women's equality/inequality, Martin, Voorhies, and Friedl have all used ecological adaptations as techno-economic basis of the modes of production and their impact on female subordination.107 Friedl emphasises that distribution of the goods of production is a significant variable for economic power. Consistent with Engels, she sees male control of property as a form of female subjugation. This subjugation is not total; for
where women have control over the distribution of production, they contain and check male power.  

Karen Sacks in her article, "Engels Revisited," suggests that along with private property one needs to consider the value of public "social labour." In societies where women participate equally in social labour they have greater equality. Such analysis is useful, especially for those horticultural societies that do not have class formation. She also points out the relationship between control of production and power, especially political power.

Sanday elaborates on social labour and adds other dimensions to the explanation of sexual stratification. These dimensions are reproduction, warfare, and subsistence. The figure on the following page explains her theory. She states:

... the factors that were hypothesized to influence a change in the balance of power between males and females. The pre-dominant emphasis in this schema has been on male absence, ecological factors, and change in the system of demand for female goods.

Schlegel suggests that Sanday's theory:

... has the distinct advantage of considering other activities related to societal maintenance and expansion -- reproduction and warfare -- thereby putting the division of labor and social function of the sexes into a broader perspective. Furthermore, by defining her terms, she lays the basis for a systematic cross-cultural examination of female status.
FIGURE 5: Theory of Female Status in the Public Domain

EXOGENOUS FACTORS

1. Prolonged warfare; and/or
2. Warfare that interferes with male subsistence activities; and/or
3. Migrant labor; and/or
4. Prolonged trading activities
5. Cessation of warfare; and/or
6. Return of males for other reasons
7. Low population density; and/or
8. Natural environment
9. If change in economic demand system occurs

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS

Male absence or inability to participate in subsistence sphere
Females flood the subsistence sphere; males develop an independent control sphere
High percentage of deities who are female
No development of female public status
Few or no female deities
Sex antagonism
Some female deities
Development of female public status

Male presence or ability to participate in subsistence sphere
Females leave the subsistence sphere and return to the domestic domain
High percentage of deities who are female and who have general power
Reduces legitimizes increases

Balanced division of labor
And if males are absent from distribution of demanded product or produce
And if females produce the product or produce (requires some contribution of females to production), then
The above theories will be observed in the context of the two schools that attempt to explain inequality in society. These theories are represented by the 'conflict' theory of Karl Marx and the 'consensus' theory of United States functionalists such as Talcott Parsons and Kingsley Davis. Briefly, Marx's explanation of stratification -- social and sexual -- deals with how the mode of production shapes the institutions in society. The mode of production includes the forces of production (technology) and the relations of production (what has been referred to as techno-economic basis). He expresses this in his famous passage:

The mode of production in material life conditions the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness.

Marx's theory of social change reveals that conflict arises in the relations of production when the forces of production change dramatically:

At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or -- what is but a legal expression for the same thing -- with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.
Marx uses this to explain the development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and how the exploitation of the proletariat by the capitalists leads to surplus value -- the basis of class in a capitalist society.

Thus, Marx sees an individual's control over the means of production being manifested in basic inequality in society. This concept is supported by Sanday, Sacks and Friedl, whose theories, which have already been presented, reiterated the Marxian emphasis on how the relationship of production is correlated with power or status in other institutions in society. The underlying premise is that the system of reward is basically unjust and is manifested in class and sexual stratification.

The consensus theorists mostly arose out of the abundance present in American life, a life that was said to be giving people greater equality and opportunity. These theorists failed to note that this equality and opportunity was not available to all Americans, especially the non-white minorities. Davis and Moore justify stratification on the basis that it is functional. Unequal rewards are necessary for the survival of society.

Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most
important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons.\textsuperscript{116}

Parsons sees stratification as valuable to the existence of society because societal systems are integrative structures that perpetuate the system. Stratification reflects the common values of society and thus becomes legitimate.\textsuperscript{117}

The consensus/functionalist theorists' acceptance of unequal rewards and a society based on class stratification, seems to ignore the repercussions of such a system. Surely the creation of an unjust society which promotes unequal rewards will lend itself to the exploitation of certain groups in that society. Indeed, the acceptance of social stratification implies the acceptance of all stratification -- even on sexual or racial basis. Functionalists or consensus theorists equate industrial capitalist states with a trend of increasing equality, in spite of differential distribution of the prestige, esteem, and reward in these societies. Undoubtedly, industrial societies have less inequality than pre-industrial agricultural societies. But this, as Blumberg describes, is only "the tip of the iceberg." She sees the underlying inequalities and contradictions of the American and other industrial capitalist societies as something to contend with -- racism, militarism, foreign inter-
vention, exploitation of the poor at home and in the Third World. These exploitative situations cannot be seen as deviations from Western Societies' cherished ideals but as intrinsic values of the capitalist system. It is rather difficult to justify Giele's, Lenski's, and Whyte's assertions that industrialism leads to an egalitarian society. For Van den Berghe, industrial societies:

... have experienced some degree of equalization of wealth, but not of power and prestige. Even highly industrial countries like the United States and South Africa have proven completely compatible with the most demeaning and invidious kind of caste system based on skin pigmentation. To be sure, outright legal slavery has been abolished, but differences in power and prestige are as great as ever beneath all the rhetorical cant of democracy and the rituals of equality.

Thus equality in industrial nations is indeed a myth. Egalitarian societies are not exploitative of their own people and others. Under capitalism the very nature of industrial growth requires exploitation of the consumer market and excessive use of raw materials and resources.

The consumer market also includes the new market of the Third World. Western products are being pushed in the Third World, including pesticides that have been banned in the Western world. One of the worst catastrophes is the Nestle's Swiss firm's drive to sell baby formula milk to Latin American and African people
The devious means by which Nestle introduced baby formula to women who were breast-feeding has led to disasters. The price of baby formula is often three-fourths of peasant incomes; the lack of sterilisation of bottles and misuse of formula by dilution with impure water has led to infections, malnutrition and death -- all in the name of industrial growth.\(^{120}\)

A share of the market and resources for industrial growth also have to come from the Third World. This industrialism, that according to some theorists, is supposed to create egalitarianism and improve the status of women, in society has turned out to be more exploitative of its own women as well as women and men of the Third World. The economic impact of Western capitalism in continuing the underdevelopment of the Third World has been mentioned and will be elaborated in the next chapter. The above discussion concentrated on social and economic levels of stratification. Intrinsic to these is the political dimension which follows.

e. **Political**

Sexual stratification in the political sphere of society has to deal with the amount of power females have vis-à-vis males. The definitions of power include economic power (discussed above), power of position,
and power of force. M. G. Smith describes power as "the ability to act effectively on persons or things without the right to do so." In contrast authority is defined as "the right to make a particular decision and command in obedience." Female power, force, and authority can be discussed in two spheres -- the domestic and the public.

Earlier, the biological explanation of female confinement to the domestic role was presented. Dana Raphael suggests that the time and energy involved in child-bearing and rearing leaves little time to spend on decisions such as political appointments. She quotes Helvi Sipila, the UN Assistant Secretary-General, "Women cannot hope to participate fully in decision making until they are able to exercise choice in their child-bearing roles." As societies become more complex, females are increasingly excluded from the public domain. Rosaldo suggests that the separate domains for males and females lead to subordination of females. From her research on the Ilongots she shows how "the involvement of (Ilongot) men in the domestic sphere and, correspondingly participation of women in most public events" leads to greater sexual equality. Schlegel contradicts this assertion by showing that in Hopi traditional culture the separation of
domains leads to female power and thus gives them equality with men.\textsuperscript{125} In more complex societies power in the domestic domain is difficult to ascertain. Whyte's study points out that in simpler societies females have greater power and authority than in complex agrarian societies. The lack of domestic authority and power in complex societies makes women dependent on informal influence.\textsuperscript{126} Informal influence or power is a very difficult thing to measure and is thus highly ambiguous. Dair Gillespie has presented an excellent study of familial marriage in the U.S. in which she refutes the whole concept of equality in marriage in industrial society.\textsuperscript{127} If Whyte regards informal power as significant in the least egalitarian societies (agrarian), then surely Gillespie's study of what Whyte believes to be a less sexually stratified society (industrial), questions his whole hypothesis about female informal influence in the domestic domain.

Whyte does not consider that the use of informal influence by females reflects the fact that the formal channels of power and authority are not open to women. Complex agrarian societies tend to have political hierarchies and political office on the basis of ascription, which disables women from participating. In contrast, in simple societies the egalitarianism and lack of hierarchal structures allows women to
participate more actively, especially in female solidarity groups.\textsuperscript{128}

Earlier Sanday's theory on sexual stratification was mentioned. In her theory she emphasises the variables for female power and authority in the public domain. Her cross-cultural analysis of female power and authority in the public domain reveals a wide range of variation. However, males are seen to have greater public authority and power. Sanday's reasons for this occurrence are due to:

\dots the disproportionate expenditure of energy by males and females in three major activities: reproduction, defense, and subsistence. Since reproductive activity falls to the female, a constraint is imposed on the proportion of total female energy to be utilized in other activities. Such a constraint in turn increases the probability that the other two tasks draw more on the energy of males, thus placing men in a strategic position to gain control of resources.\textsuperscript{129}

Female lack of control over resources partially explains their powerlessness. This is especially so in relation to using force as a means of power, as Blumberg states:

There are no known societies where women have more than a small amount of the "power of position" in the political, administrative, or religious hierarchies. \dots women even fare worse with respect to power of force: women almost never exercise it \dots\textsuperscript{130}

Force, whether it is because of innate male aggressiveness, or the restrictive female child-bearing functions, has not been practised by females. The historical
exclusion of women from warfare, continues to hamper their role in the police and the military in modern societies. Thus, they are automatically excluded from institutions that are potentially authoritative and powerful. Max Weber defines government as an institution that can exercise force legitimately and female exclusion from government has meant women being debarred from the public domain of society and from the use of legitimate force.

In conclusion, a significant question remains: whether sexual stratification or female subordination is universal. Most of the above theories seem to accept the universality of female subordination with rare deviation from the norm and relative variability. As Rosaldo states:

Whereas some anthropologists argue that there are, or have been, truly egalitarian societies (Leacock, 1972), and all agree that there are societies in which women have achieved considerable social recognition and power, none has observed a society in which women have publicly recognized power and authority surpassing that of men. . . . Everywhere we find that women are excluded from certain crucial economic or political activities that their roles as wives and mothers are associated with fewer powers and prerogatives than are the roles of men. It seems fair to say then, that all contemporary societies are to some extent male-dominated, and although the degree and expression of female subordination vary greatly, sexual asymmetry is presently a universal fact of human social life. 131

According to Whyte the universality of female subordination represents deductivism on the part of
those that accept it. His argument is debatable because it is based on female status varying cross-culturally.\textsuperscript{132} Most works on sexual stratification seem to refute Whyte's analysis.\textsuperscript{133} Indicators of status and role have to be dealt with individually. Status improvement in one sphere, i.e., education, does not necessarily mean improvement in status or higher status in other spheres.\textsuperscript{134} Developing nations, in attempting to change female status and role, should avoid this problem of "status inconsistency."\textsuperscript{135} Their programmes for development should include all aspects of women's status and role. The next chapter -- women and development -- will include an analysis of the developmental frameworks available to Third World governments and how these governments are implementing programmes designed to advance economic and political development and their concomitant impact on women.
NOTES -- CHAPTER II


4. ibid., p. 312.


6. ibid.


12. Buvinic, _op. cit._, p. 3.


16. _ibid._

17. _ibid._, p. 13.


22. _ibid._, p. 497.

23. _ibid._, p. 538-540.


26. See section on Status, Chapter II.


41. *ibid.*, pp. 205-212.


52. *ibid.*


54. Muthiani, op. cit., p. 106.


61. Alice Schlegel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.


70. Slocum, *ibid.*; Blumberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; and Martin and Voorhies, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-211.
73. Reiter, op. cit., p. 15.
74. Martin and Voorhies, op. cit., p. 190.
76. Martin and Voorhies, op. cit., p. 274.
77. ibid., p. 217.
78. Lenski and Lenski, op. cit., p. 200.
80. ibid., pp. 32-33.
84. Blumberg, op. cit., p. 45.
86. Martin and Voorhies, op. cit., p. 344.
88. ibid., p. 18-19.

90. Giele, op. cit.; Whyte, op. cit; Lenski, op. cit.


93. ibid., p. 10.

94. ibid.,

95. See Chapter I, Section 1. c.


98. ibid., p. 167-169.

99. ibid., p. 167.

100. ibid., p. 168.

101. ibid.

102. The conflict/consensus dichotomy is based on the work of Blumberg, Stratification: Socioeconomic and Sexual Inequality, op. cit., pp. 63-80.


104. Whyte, op. cit., p. 162.

106. Schlegel, Sexual Stratification, op. cit., p. 11.

107. Martin and Voorhies, op. cit.; and Friedl, op. cit., passim.


110. Sanday, op. cit., p. 196.

111. ibid., p. 205.


113. Blumberg, op. cit., p. 64.


119. Van den Berghe, op. cit., p. 140.


125. Schlegel, op. cit., p. 245-269.


129. Sanday, op. cit., p. 189-190.


131. Rosaldo, op. cit., p. 3.


133. Blumberg, op. cit.; Reiter, op. cit.; Rosaldo and Lamphere; op. cit.; Friedl, op. cit.; and Van Allen, op. cit.


CHAPTER III
Women and Development

The preceding chapter sketched the historical background to the problem of sexual stratification. This along with Chapter I, where the impact of Western colonialism on the traditional life of women in Africa was noted, provides some idea of the initial response of African cultures to "the challenges of modernity," within the context of the retardation of the modernisation of African societies.¹ The emergence of the Third World nations out of their historical past and colonial exploitation into the challenges of independence and nationhood has led to a period of dynamic adjustments and economic and political development. The imperatives of this change and its impact on Third World women will be categorised into economic and political development.

1. Economic Development

In the last decade, international organisations, Western as well as Non-Western nations, and developmental experts have been reassessing the traditional economic growth strategy so as to incorporate the needs of human beings. In this regard, emphasis has been placed on women and economic development. This section explores the various strategies that are being expounded by the experts, as well as the efforts, if any, to implement them at national levels.
Before specifically dealing with women's role in economic development, three terms need to be clearly defined that are crucial to the analysis — modernisation, Westernisation, and development.

a. Definitions

The first term, modernisation, has to be clarified because of lack of general agreement about its meaning. Most theorists refer to modernisation as being a dynamic process of adaptation to the phenomenal proliferation of science and technology in the 20th century. C.E. Black defines modernisation as:

The process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution.  

For the Third World cultures modernisation has meant that their distinct traditional institutions and values have to be drastically changed. Daniel Lerner describes this change as a transformation of "courage cultures" into "ingenuity cultures." For Veblen and Ayers, modernisation meant the rechannelling of Third World energies from "ceremonial" to "instrumental" behaviour. According to Visho Sharma modernisation led to the emergence of a new scientism and the acceptance of certain core values the world over. These core values of the general world culture
are summarised as follows:

1. **Human dignity.** (The question of race, especially.)
2. **Social justice.** (Everyone should benefit from the fact that society exists.)
3. **Equality.** (Equal treatment before the law; equality for both men and women; minority rights.)
4. **Mass Education.** (Presenting everyone with a whole range of existential options.)
5. **Democracy.** (Participation by everyone, in some form or another, in decision-making.)

Some of these core values have been part of the heritage of Third World traditional culture. Thus in presenting what is "modern" or "traditional" one must be cautious. The terms are relative as well as value-laden. Traditional is not necessarily old-fashioned and out-dated. Traditional values must be closely scrutinised to observe their value even in the "modern" world. Those traditions and customs that hold the Third World people back will have to be discarded, whereas those that are relevant and valuable should be reinforced and preserved. Both Nyerere and Castro have tried to emphasise traditional values for implementing their style of modernisation and development. They see traditional values that are intrinsic to present day society. Nyerere suggests that "Ujamaa", the concept of socialism, has been a deep-rooted tradition of African culture. Also, Western values of modernisation are not always good for non-Western people. When the impact
of Western values such as individualism, competition, and Gessellschaft replacing Gemeinschaft are being looked upon by some theorists as having a negative impact on Western development, how can non-Western society adopt them?\

Victor Uchendu criticises the modernisation theorists who believe that the process of modernisation means that non-Western nations have to "catch up" with Western nations. He comments that the "catch up" theory:

...creates an artificial dichotomy between tradition and modernity; and by an over-emphasis on the Western model, it makes too much of the "imitative" strategy which heavily discounts induced and innovative aspects of modernization. Under the assumptions that tradition is antithetical to modernity and that the direction of societal transformation is unidirectional and practically irreversible -- from traditionality to modernity -- modernization theories have tended to ignore the African experience which emphasized, accommodates, and builds modernity on the foundation of tradition.

For example, when the core values of the general world cultures are implemented for women, their status in traditional societies has to be kept in mind. This is especially true in African societies where the traditional status and role of females (as described in Chapter I) was significant.

It is the "catch up" theory that leads modernisation to be confused as Westernisation. The Western impact on Third World nations through colonialism continues to
prevail in the post-independence era. Third World people -- especially elites -- spend a lot of time in seeking and implementing the outward manifestation of Western culture. Asian and African cities give us the impression of modernisation with their large airports, Hilton hotels, McDonald's hamburger stands and men and women clothed in Western garb. Abject poverty and social injustice predominate in these Western-looking cities. Women have been particularly affected by Westernisation, especially those that are among the elite. Their very acceptability among their class can be dependent on their ability to exhibit aspects of Western decorum, including dress, style of entertainment and behaviour.

Both modernisation and its more superficial synonym -- Westernisation -- will be scrutinised in looking at woman's role in economic and political development. The term development also needs to be defined. Development is basically the way in which a society implements modernisation. In this regard, it is the "process of directed social change." The crucial aspect of development in Third World nations is that it is determined by a handful of elites. They determine the type of developmental philosophy their countries will follow. As Uchendu states, the road to development in Africa varies "according to the philosophy of the political elite who control the state apparatus, the resources available and how governable
the country is."^ Thus varying types of developmental strategies of African nations project the type of society the African elites want to create. This is obvious from examining the Tanzanian process of societal change with that of Kenyan.

The developmental option for Third World people is a major consideration. In the early sixties the developmental strategists were mostly concerned with economic growth as the answer to the ills of Third World development. Most of these theorists were either Western liberals or non-Westerners with Western liberal education, bent upon controlling the path of economic growth by increasing Gross National Product, creating surplus and investing in industrialisation. Basically, this plan was on the Western capitalist model. The price for such growth is high in Third World nations, where a very small class has become entrenched and the masses have become poorer, more alienated, and more exploited than before.

The other option for Third World nations has been the Socialist/Marxist model. The socialist goals are somewhat utopian but have several attractive features for Third World people and leaders. Sharma presents the following summary of socialist goals:

1. to create more opportunity for the underprivileged classes;
2. to end inequality based on birth rather than service;
3. to open the horizons of education to all the people;
4. to eliminate discriminatory practices based on sex, religion, race or social class;
5. to regulate and reorganize the economy for the benefit of the whole community;
6. to maintain full employment;
7. to provide adequate social security for the sick, unemployed, and aged;
8. to re-plan the layout of towns and cities;
9. to tear down the slums and build new houses;
10. to provide medical facilities for everybody, irrespective of the size of his purse; and, finally,
11. to rebuild society on the foundation of cooperation instead of competition, incentive, and profit.¹⁰

The above goals are very appealing to Third World people and elite. Even conservative leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta and Haile Selassie espoused their own version of African Socialism. The implementation of the above goals is hard to accomplish. Third World elites are keenly pursuing personal wealth and the above goals are often in opposition to their own self interest. For example, the Third World elite thrives on the exploitation of the poor, through low wages; reduction of social inequality through higher wages would diminish their profits.

Another strategy for development has been the mixed economy model, where societies have selected aspects from both socialism and capitalism. Mahbub Ul Haq points out that, "in most cases, such a choice has combined the worst, not the best, features of capitalism and socialism."¹¹

He states:

My own feeling is that the days of the mixed economy are numbered. The develop-
ing countries will have to become either more frankly capitalistic or more genuinely socialist. The capitalistic alternative is workable only in those situations where the society is willing to accept income inequalities over a long period of time without exploding or where extremely high growth rates (10 to 15 percent) can be financed with a generous inflow of resources from Western friends. Otherwise, the only alternative is a genuinely socialist system, based on a different ideology and different pattern of society. But this does not mean bureaucratic socialism; it means a major change in the political balance of power within these societies and drastic economic and social reforms. Whether the developing countries can manage such a change without violent revolutions is a critical question of the time.12

It is the recognition of the human cost in the developmental process that has led to new phrases, especially by international agencies, such as "economic growth with social change," and "growth with justice."13 Undoubtedly, development is not only economic in nature but social and political as well. As Robert Heilbroner points out, economic development in non-Western countries is a "gigantic social earthquake," and has to be associated "not merely with political 'reform' of a mild sort but with political change of a highly charged kind, in which whole social classes can be destroyed and basic institutions remodeled."14 In spite of such warnings, developmentalists continue to see economic change as a change in numbers and indices. In their obsession with economic growth as the sole basis of development, they tend to ignore the
human factor.

Development should be viewed as being directly correlated with human development — it has to respond to human needs and aspirations. As Barbara Ward and P. Wignaraja point out, the fundamental concern of development is not sectors but people. Peter Berger reiterates their concern:

Every human being knows his own world better than any outsider (including the expert who makes policy). Those who are the objects of policy should have the opportunity to participate not only in specific decisions but in the definitions of the situation on which these decisions are based. This may be called cognitive participation.

Berger's main concern here is that the people that are experiencing development are the ones who can best analyse their needs and give meaning to the concept of development. This point will be examined later in the context of Kenyan rural women, their needs and what elites and "developmental" experts think are their needs.

J.P. van Praag defines humanistic development in the context of the Third World as a process that:

...creates conditions for the free development of individuals and groups in the form of prosperity, equality, participation, and self-government... (And) it aims at an open society characterized by freedom of opinion, readiness to deliberate, mutual respect and democratic procedure, and directed toward general welfare.
van Pragg's emphasis is on the fact that human factors should be the criteria for assessing development. As Berger states:

The most pressing human costs are in terms of physical deprivation and suffering. The most pressing moral imperative in policy making is a calculus of pain. 18

Haq also sees the purpose of development as the alleviation of human pain and misery. He suggests:

First, the objective of development must be viewed as a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty. Development goals must be defined in terms of progressive reduction and eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment, and inequalities. 19

Haq's strategy redirects the focus of development to the poorest 40-50% of the Third World population. Considering that a majority of Third World people struggle with the vicious dilemma of poverty, "the calculus of pain" cannot be disregarded.

Poverty is not only existent in the Gemeinschaft but also in the Gessellschaft:

...the international economic structure of metropole-satellite, which is responsible for the development of the capitalist metropoles and the stagnation of the dependent satellite nations, is replicated within the dependent countries themselves. Modernization theorists believe that a relatively small group of independent entrepreneurs will initiate the investments and innovations necessary for sustained growth by freeing themselves from the binds of traditionalism and its irrationalities. For dependency theorists, the "national bourgeoisie" have class interests that ally them with international capitalists.
Therefore the structure of developed metropoles exploiting their dependent satellites exists within the less developed countries themselves and is replicated even down to the lowest structural level of villages in rural hinterlands. 

In other words the poverty of the Third World has to be seen in the framework of the existing dichotomy in our world - the rich and the poor nations. Haq eloquently describes it as, "two separate worlds, two separate planets, two unequal humanities -- one embarrassingly rich and the other desperately poor." 

b. The Imperatives of Underdevelopment

One question that constantly comes up among developmentalists is -- why is the Third World poor and underdeveloped? In this section an attempt will be made to present answers to the above questions with specific reference to how females fit into the contemporary circumstances of underdevelopment.

First of all, poverty in the non-Western World can be explained by the colonial legacy. In Chapter I the impact of colonialism was presented to show how it retarded economic, social, and political development, especially for women. The emphasis on maintaining a plantation economy is representative of the exploitation of the colonised by the colonisers. The perpetuation of this exploitation, or what has been described as
neo-colonialism, continues to plague non-Western nations today. The question of retribution for the harm done is occasionally considered by Western nations who are giving aid to Third World nations. Haq, in a light-hearted vein, expresses his cynicism about foreign assistance in what he describes as Mr. Polanski's dilemma. He suggests that there has been a strong relationship between the developing and developed countries in the last two centuries in the form of colonialism. Whereas in colonial days the terminology to describe this relationship was "White man's burden," today it is known as "debt burden."  

Recent scholarship has empirical support for the following thesis - the process that created the 'development' of the West was responsible for creating the 'underdevelopment' of the Non-West. This thesis is referred to as the dependency theory. The proponents of dependency theory feel, as Keith Griffin puts it, "the history of the underdeveloped countries in the last five centuries, is in large part, the history of the consequence of European expansion." Emmanuel Wallerstein asserts that by the 15th century our present 'world system' was already in existence. According to Wallerstein, on top are the "semi-periphery" countries struggling to become part of the "core" group and at the bottom are the "periphery" nations mostly producing raw materials. This economic hegemony
of the "core nations continues to prevail in the twentieth century."

The comments made by Carol A. Smith on the dependency theory as applied to the Latin American experience are just as appropriate to the African scene. She states:

Underdevelopment, rather than being a state of precapitalistic backwardness, is instead a particular type of capitalistic development. It is based upon an international division of labor, articulated by the world capitalist market, that encourages economic growth in some countries and discourages it in others...

In the long run, however this orientation was to drain Latin American countries of their surplus while maintaining their highly specialized dependence on the volatile economic and political policies of the industrial centers of world capitalism. 29

Smith presents dependence on the international level. However, Third World societies have another form of dependence. Frank describes this:

Just as the colonial and national capital and its export sector become the satellites of the Iberian (and later of other) metropoles of the world economic systems, this satellite immediately becomes a colonial and then a national metropolis with respect to the productive sectors and population of the interior. Furthermore, the provincial capitals, which thus are themselves satellites of the national metropolis -- and through the latter of the world metropolis -- are in turn provincial centers around which their own local satellites orbit. 30

Frank's analysis is especially useful when we consider how women are affected in this syndrome of internal dependence. Achola Pala and Ann Siedman present a model of the international economic system and how the Third World countries, the rural population and women fit into it.
This model (see following page) represents how the typical African economy stands at the periphery of the international commercial system, supplying Western nations with low cost raw materials such as minerals or agricultural produce. Dependency theorists have shown elaborate evidence of how the discouragement of local production of manufacturing goods in colonial times retarded and continues to retard Third World economies.

Pala and Siedman describe the dilemma of female farmers who are left behind in rural areas. The males leave for the city, entering the factories of the mines to produce raw materials for export to Western nations. This migration led to reduction of food production, because women had to do both their own and male tasks. Furthermore Pala and Siedman state that:

This pattern of integration of the typical African political economy into the world commercial system was accompanied by the emergence of an increasingly distorted pattern of income distribution. A conglomerate class of traders, large export-crop farmers, civil servants and, in some areas, businessmen, emerged in the export sector. Typically dominated by men, it constituted less than ten percent of the population but it captured half to two-thirds of the cash incomes remaining in the country...A decade of political independence has done little to alter the fundamental institutions, class relations, or the deteriorated status of women which, as this model suggests, had emerged by the end of colonial rule. The new government did begin to expand the social
Figure 6:
Model of Way Integration of African Economy into World Commercial System Affects the Status of Women.

Typical African economy

- raw material exports
  - mines, estates, cashcrop farmers
  - profits, interest, high salaries

World Commercial System

- manufactured good imports

Associated skewed income distribution

- 60-90% of population are peasants
- 10% of population gets 50-75% of cash income: civil servants, businessmen, large farmers.

Women, children, old men remain male labor.
and economic infrastructure. They built up national networks of schools, hospitals, roads, and electric power facilities. In part, this was a response to the popular demand for these commonly accepted 'features' of modernization. In part, it reflected orthodox economic theory that construction of infrastructure is essential to the creation of an 'hospital investment climate' to attract foreign firms to build manufacturing industries which were expected to provide employment and spread productive activities throughout the economy.35

The condition of dependency and the orthodoxy of the economic developmental models used in the Third World nations are the basis of the differential impact on males and females of the Third World. In the following section the process of economic development and its impact on women will be presented with special reference to the Kenyan scene.

c) Women and Economic Development

Few systematic studies on the differential impact of development on women have been conducted. The exception is found only in the field of fertility and women. Since, as presented earlier,36 economic power was one of the few criteria for female status in pre-industrial societies, women's present role in economic development should help us to understand female status and role in society.

The fact that economic development has a differential effect on women has led developmentalists to analyse the obstacles to women's economic participation in the Third World. Much of the attention to women in economic development has been initiated by international agencies.
The U.N. declaration designating 1975 as International Women's Year was partially responsible for an examination of the problems related to Third World women and economic development in a public forum. In Mexico City the International Women's Year Conference came up with the following themes — equality, development and peace. Among the major concerns were women's employment, education and fertility. A phrase that was popularised by the conference was "integration of women into development." International agencies have made several nuts and bolts attempts to integrate women in development. All over the Third World, women's groups are receiving help in the form of funding and personnel. For example, UNICEF contributed $153,000 for a one year joint project with the Tanzanian government, to train village women in shop management, handicraft and textile production, home economics, storage techniques and leadership. In Upper Volta USAID is funding a $1 million three-year project to help rural women organise, manage, and invest in over 90 micro-projects related to rural activities. Another example is of the UNDP funding Kenya's Women's Bureau. UNDP provided 1 1/2 million shillings to the Women's Bureau to increase its personnel. The money was given to the Ministry of Housing and Social Services where the Women's Bureau is housed. The ministry used the money to up-grade eight of its civil servants into the newly created positions, -- servants who did not
necessarily fit the job qualifications. Thus, the adding of eight bodies to the Women's Bureau had limited impact. This will be elaborated upon later in discussing the problems involved in recruiting women into administrative posts.

Projects funded by UN and other international agencies have to be carefully evaluated as to their impact on women. Are they really helping the women that they are supposed to? Another fundamental problem has been raised by both Pala and Hanna Papanek. They both see conceptual problems with the term integrating women in the developmental process. They feel that it is somewhat absurd to talk about integration when women have been part of the developmental process all along. Papanek states:

...women are full participants in all processes of social change, in spite of the fact that they may be affected differently than men. However, these differences often seem to confirm the false notion that women are less central to major social processes than men. In turn, this misperception leads many to assume that women are a backward sector of society that needs to be "integrated" in order to be "modernized." This false and patronizing view is not a good basis for development policies. At the same time, women have, of course, been excluded from the development process in a political and technical sense. They have not participated in the decisions that affect both sexes. Where women must be integrated in development planning -- the process by which many governments
seek to advance the growth and distribution of available resources.\textsuperscript{44}

It is perhaps to be expected that even in the international agencies women are not involved in developmental planning at top levels. The breakdown of U.N. personnel shows that women are highly represented in the lower secretarial-type positions. Whereas, in the top administrative posts, they are almost non-existent.\textsuperscript{45} An extremist view is taken by M. Teresita de Barbieri, who criticises the existing international and national solutions such as family planning, education and training of women. She proposes a radical solution by suggesting that women will gain equality only through achieving armed power.\textsuperscript{46}

The negative impact of development on women is a serious problem. Irene Tinker suggests that the adverse effect on women occurs because economic planners, developmentalists, both national, and international, "transfer erroneous beliefs about women from developed Western nations to developing societies" without questioning these beliefs or values.\textsuperscript{47} A brief examination of women's economic role will now be presented to observe the positive as well as the negative impacts of development in employment, education and urbanisation.

1) **Employment**

One of the major problems in women's employment is the myth that planners hold that there are only certain
tasks which women perform, collectively termed women's work. Another difficulty in assessing women's economic role is that statistics formulated about women's work often include only the work that is paid for in wages. This becomes a significant problem in judging female economic contribution in non-Western nations because the bulk of female work is performed in the house or the rural areas, without substantial monetary earnings. As a result of this approach the U.S. Department of Labor reports that only 5% of African women are working.\textsuperscript{48} Planners, especially in the West, have paid little attention to women's substantial contribution to subsistence in Africa. Projects, particularly those initiated by non-Africans, have ignored women, for the assumption is that only males are the farmers.\textsuperscript{49}

Tinker shows how in a few instances women's efforts to gain beneficial national policies have led to some positive changes for rural women. She states:

Perhaps because the economic position of women in Africa was deteriorating so quickly, active opposition to this trend started there. Nigerian women formed all-female cooperatives and demanded credit to buy more efficient oil pressers to use in processing palm-oil nuts. Under pressure from women's groups, the government of Kenya re-interpreted the cooperative regulations to allow membership to women, and then formed a special task force to show women how to utilize this new opportunity. ... In
Tanzania the government is encouraging the establishment of Ujamaa villages, where land is held communally and workers are paid according to their efforts; in these villages, women for the first time are being paid for growing subsistence crops. Marjorie Mbilinyi comments about the Tanzania situation by stating that "it is therefore not surprising that women are the most ardent supporters of socialist rural policies in many areas of Tanzania." Another positive situation in rural development is reported by Margaret Hay. Her case study of Luo women in Western Kenya reveals how they confronted the colonial exploitation in their area. The major problem was the reduction of labour because men were used by the colonisers as labourers. Innovative Luo women began to experiment with new techniques of farming and critical trading in local products to keep up their productivity. Although they have not substantially improved their standard of living, rural Luo women are to be admired for their adaptation to dire circumstances. Along with farming another strong function of women was trading. Today it continues to be a common occupation among both West African and East African women. Boserup reports a high percentage of female traders in some areas of Africa -- 80%. As in subsistence farming, women's trading is also through self-
employment. This suits their dual role as mothers and workers, but reduces their options drastically. The successful businesswomen of Ghana and Nigeria have been highly publicised for their enterprises in trade which have put them into the national as well as international trade market. However, this is rare, for the majority of female traders are market women in both West and East Africa. They are economically marginal and held back by illiteracy.

Whereas in West Africa women have organised to form associations to protect their interests, in East Africa market women have not been able to become organised. For example, the modern sector from colonial times to the present has excluded market women. Carlebach reports that in the early '60's only twenty percent of the hawkers' licences issued by the Nairobi City Council were given to women. It is not surprising that high percentage of the criminal acts reported for women involve illegal hawking. Karen Hansen reports on Zambian women who try to trade to supplement their husbands' inadequate incomes. These women, like the hawkers in Nairobi, are also harrassed by the authorities for trading without an official licence.

Pala reports on another situation where authorities have put constraints on women's economic activities.
She states:

For small scale traders who are mainly women, to move produce for sale from one district to another requires a permit. At the present it appears that either it is too expensive to purchase the permit or that the women do not know how to go about obtaining a permit, with the result that a number of them trade without permits and suffer the consequences of sanctions applied by the police.\(^5\)

As mentioned in Chapter I, the monopoly over the retail economy by males of immigrant minorities has also hurt female trade in East Africa.\(^5\)\(^8\) This problem was recognised as early as 1963 when a meeting in Addis Ababa, sponsored by the U.N. passed a resolution that:

...access to the market place should be opened to the women of all African countries and where certain market places are monopolized by men, mostly by foreigners, governments and local authorities should not hesitate to break this de facto monopoly by means of legal and fiscal measures in favour of indigenous women.\(^5\)\(^9\)

In 1978 this writer conducted a small survey of market women that came into the suburban areas of Nairobi.\(^6\)\(^0\) Fifty-two female vendors who go from house to house selling fresh produce were interviewed. Some of the findings were:

1) In congruence with the findings of the Institute de Science Economique Appliquee Dakar, the average age
of the women was high. Of the vendors in the Nairobi sample 62% were over the age of thirty-five. The constraints of child-bearing are evident.

2) A large majority of them were illiterate -- 96%. However, they had a keen perception of simple math and a clear understanding of business transactions. One could consider them experts of the psychology of haggling for a majority of them stated that they had devised a pattern to deal with their customers.

3) The female vendors saw education as a crucial ingredient for progress. Sixty-eight percent were paying school fees for their children. However, when the researcher suggested that she could teach them how to read and write only 47% agreed. The others felt that they could not afford the time. The percentage agreeing is not extremely high, however, those that responded negatively were mostly older women.

4) Generally, the female vendors reported: low profits, long working hours (average of 11 hours per day). Some farming activity; and general dissatisfaction with national politicians and elite females.

Another female occupation that is common in the Third World is that of domestic help. The highest percentage of females in domestic service is in South Africa and Latin America (over 78%). Both these areas are
in the intermediate stage of development. In the remaining areas of Africa, female domestic labour is very low. Boserup reports that in the early 1960's in Kenya only 10% of domestic labour was female.\(^6^3\) This should have increased because the pattern of employment in Nairobi shows an increase in the number of female domestic servants. The explanation for the dominance of males in domestic service is that females can continue to find work in rural areas whereas men cannot. Partially this reflects the strong role of females in farming.

Female domestic labour is particularly distasteful because it is an exploitative situation - especially in Latin America and Western nations where females are the majority of the domestic help.\(^6^4\) Besides, it is meant for the relief of women of upper classes. In this respect, the female domestic labour is doubly exploited -- on the basis of their low socio-economic status as well as their sex. Thus, class reduces the occupational opportunities for women and presents another impediment in equal participation of females in the developmental process.

In regards to female participation in the industrial sector, the percentage of females as industrial or factory workers is very low. In Figure 7 Boserup shows
the low level of female participation in industrial occupations.

FIGURE 7: Status and Sex of Labour Force in Industrial Occupations.

For women, the industrial sector seems to represent the existence of a dichotomy -- a private (female) domain and public (male) domain. Female desire to work close to home, their strong farming and trading role, employers' preference for male labourers, the "demoralising influence" of factories on women and other such biases are some of the reasons for women's low participation in industrial employment in Africa.
Boserup presents another reason for the low employment of women in African industry:

A report by the International Labour Organization concerning the employment of women in Africa, posed the question whether it was the need to pay for maternity leave or the very fact that the women workers were often absent for child birth that made employers hesitate to recruit women workers. It must be remembered that child-birth is a much more frequent event among women workers in Africa than in Europe and North America. This is partly because African women marry so young that married female workers make up a large share of all women workers, and partly because the frequency of pregnancy among married African women is much higher than in the industrialized world.67

Where African women work in remunerative employment, they tend to be handicapped by the unequal employment laws. Pala reports on how Kenyan employment laws curtail female wage employment:

The basic obstacle to women's employment is in the field of wages and conditions of work. The Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Act (91) is still being used to fix lower minimum wage levels for women than for men in similar job situations. The Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children's Act (9c) still prohibits the employment of women in certain industrial undertakings, such as mining and quarrying, except in managerial positions not involving manual labour. Women also may not be employed in such undertakings between 6:30 p.m. and 6:30 a.m. except in very special cases or on written authority from the Minister of Labour. Needless to say, the grouping of women with children
and young persons in employment considerations imputes a juvenile status to women. Laws such as these give the police, in urban areas, the authority to question women seen on the streets after dark. In other words, it is assumed that all women who are walking in the dark are considered to be prostitutes. Female mobility is drastically curtailed by such laws, and the resulting situation is reminiscent of the colonial "Kipande" days when the Africans had to carry an identity card which stated their name, place of employment, and area of residence.

Another impediment to female employment is the high rate of unemployment in Third World countries. Often female unemployment is not considered when calculating unemployment figures. The usual assumption is that men are the bread-winners. Thus, in areas with high rates of male unemployment the prevailing attitude is that females should not work for they will take away work from males. This patriarchal bias is evident in the statement of a delegate at the ILO conference in 1965:

I firmly believe that it is a serious error of judgment for developing countries to ascribe high action priority to plans for encouraging women to enter the market, especially women with family responsibilities when those same countries do not have or cannot create sufficient jobs for their male populations.
The danger arises that planners will use these patriarchal attitudes as an excuse for omitting the conscious incorporation of women as workers in the modern sector. In the following section it will become obvious that the problem of high unemployment, especially in urban centers, is related to migration from rural to urban areas rather than to female competition in the job market.

ii) Urbanisation

Migration of large number of males retards the progress of women both, in the rural areas where the male labour is no longer available to women, and in the urban areas where male unemployment is utilised to justify discrimination against females in the urban sector. In spite of that, women still continue to migrate to cities. Josef Gugler suggests that part of the reason for this mobility is that in the cities women are freed from some of the traditional constraints of rural life. Smelser states that urbanisation and modernisation make African women "less subordinated economically, politically and socially to their husbands than under earlier conditions." However, as Van Allen puts it, women's life becomes more precarious in cities:

"Development" may be pushing African women toward complete dependence on men. The educated women in the cities
are being turned into "ladies" -- Western-style -- and the illiterate ones whose husbands cannot support them or who have no husbands are being squeezed out of the economy.  

For unmarried women, the lack of employment is a serious problem. It is reported that many women are forced into prostitution, it being one of the few options open to women in the cities. J.M. Bujra reports that savings from prostitution and beer-brewing has led to women owning over 50% of the housing in Pumwani, which is one of the oldest African neighbourhoods in Nairobi.

Kenneth Little's book, *African Women in Towns* gives a detailed description of the various types of situations in which prostitutes function in African towns. Little and La Fontaine both describe the 'femme libres' who have options similar to the Pumwani women. This is not to say that all are prostitutes, for some make money by trading or brewing beer. The fact that they are single and free labels them as prostitutes. Since they are not what the society expects them to be -- married and at home -- this immediately connotes deviant behaviour.

In regards to the urban scene in Kenya, Dorothy Remy describes how the employment situation of women has changed due to urbanisation. She shows how in traditional African society work and child care were well
integrated into the society. Children were cared for by grandparents and kin while the mother worked in the field. Also, females had collectives that were based on the production cycle. These collectives gave them the opportunity to be involved in community life. When women migrate to towns they lose all the traditional elements of support. The kin system as well as the traditional community is no longer available to them; nor can they utilise their traditional skills. The urban sector employs women in unskilled low-paying jobs and they get little protection either from the unions or the government. The remaining employment options for women are illicit beer-brewing, prostitution, or hawking. Remy suggests that licensing laws and restrictive zoning hurts women in urban centres and should be abolished. Her other recommendations include: women teaching women, as they did traditionally, the new skills necessary for urban life; the establishment of centers for child-care; women-orientated health care; and education. Training skills and education are constantly presented as the answers for alleviating the urban and employment problems of women. This will be considered next.

iii) Education

International agencies and nations of the Third
World regard education to be the solution for the problem of integrating women into the developmental process. With skills women can be gainfully employed. Unfortunately, the disparity created by the colonisers in education of males and females continues to exist in post-independent Africa. Anne Mihani traces the Western prejudices of priests who kept females out of their educational programmes. She suggests that this bias continues to persist and has become part of the contemporary society.80

The statistics on education in Africa reveal high percentages of illiteracy for women. UNESCO figures for African illiteracy are estimated to be 84% for females and 63% for males.81 In the '60's female illiteracy in Kenya was as high as 90%.82 The 1972 International Labour Office report on Kenya reveals the following figures:

In 1969, over 90 percent of women above 40 years of age had never been to school; nor had over 75 percent of women aged 25-40. Even in the 10-24 age group, less than 50 percent of females had any schooling and less than 25 percent had completed more than standard 4, often considered a minimum for permanent literacy.83

Although the total enrolment in primary schools has grown substantially (over 2 1/2 million increase between 1955 to 1965 and almost 1 1/2 million between 1965 and
female children still don't have comparable opportunities. The following table illustrates this point.

**TABLE 4: Females As A Percentage of Total Primary School Enrolment and of Total Population, by Provinces, 1969.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Girls as percentage of primary-school enrollment</th>
<th>Females as percentage of total populations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Eastern</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Country</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest percentage of female enrolment is in the central province in Nairobi area. The lowest enrolment is in the North-Eastern Province where the dominant mode of production -- pastoralism -- may explain the low level of school attendance by females. The low percentage in the coastal area is more difficult to explain. One obvious possibility is the strong Islamic influence in this area. One would expect that the trend would be an increase in female enrolments in primary school. This has not been so. The 1972 total enrolment for females in primary schools was 37.4% -- a drop of almost 4% since 1970.
In regard to secondary education the enrolment of girls has risen from 25% in 1967 to 30% in 1970. It is surprising that it has not risen more substantially considering the fact that the number of secondary schools has increased from 150 in 1963 to 850 in 1970. The major problem in female secondary school enrolment is the dropout rate. The following table gives the figures.

**TABLE 5: Secondary School Enrolment, 1969.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Form 4</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total enrolment (thousands)</td>
<td>Percentage of girls</td>
<td>Total enrolment (thousands)</td>
<td>Percentage of girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Eastern</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Country</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This high dropout rate can be attributed to the high cost of education, lack of familial interest in girls' education, pregnancy, and lack of relevance in the curriculum. The dropout rate of girls is even greater at the higher school certificate level. Between 1965 and 1970 only 19% of the sixth formers were girls. This substantially curtails female access to a university education — in 1967 only 17% of university students
were female, in Kenya. 92

Even where women go for training beyond secondary schools, the influence of school teachers as well as the social norms of society that have been influenced by Western biases, gives women very few options. The channelling of women into secretarial, clerical, nursing and teaching jobs is a common practice in Third World areas. Table 6 illustrates this point.

The limiting of women to specific tasks is a problem in all countries. Carr-Saunders at the Conference on "Women's Role in the Development of Tropical and Sub-Tropical Countries" warned against the attachment of too much importance to training females in:

... a narrow range of tasks, especially for the office skills of typing and shorthand. I sometimes think that in this we can trace a remnant of the old idea of what is proper for women; if they must be employed, it is thought that they should find employment only in special tasks....They should not be confined to particular skills. 93

David Evans in his paper on the career goals of educated Ugandan women shows how only 17% of the jobs requiring education beyond primary schools are held by women. He also gives evidence of the fact that the three viable employment options for women are teaching, nursing, and secretarial work. He does not see this changing in the future. His study shows how Ugandan
TABLE 6: Employment by Occupation and Sex.94

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female as % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directors &amp; Top-Level Administrators</td>
<td>10,316</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>11,199</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>7,113</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>7,999</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive &amp; Managerial</td>
<td>15,028</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>15,954</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians, Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Workshop Foremen &amp; Other</td>
<td>25,934</td>
<td>3,234</td>
<td>29,168</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory Personnel</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>64,200</td>
<td>64,200</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>37,093</td>
<td>15,656</td>
<td>52,749</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries, Stenographers &amp; Typists</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>7,393</td>
<td>8,590</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>42,908</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>46,195</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book-keepers, Cashiers &amp; Book-keeping Clerks</td>
<td>8,839</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>9,374</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operators of Office Machines</td>
<td>2,731</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>3,673</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Sales Representatives and Brokers</td>
<td>2,364</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistants</td>
<td>4,065</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>4,677</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled &amp; Semi-Skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not included above</td>
<td>117,019</td>
<td>5,430</td>
<td>122,449</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Labourers</td>
<td>238,980</td>
<td>27,165</td>
<td>266,145</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>513,587</td>
<td>67,018</td>
<td>592,064</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excluding casual employees.
women who have higher aspirations are discouraged from them.95 Boserup gives an explanation to this limitation of female occupational options:

Crowding women within a narrow range of jobs in industries and offices comes, in the first instance, from decisions by the employers. In the academic field on the other hand, it is the result of the girls' free choice. When the girls are first admitted to universities, they always seem to gather in the arts faculties. Later they reluctantly enter first the medical faculty and then related branches like pharmacy and biochemistry. These preferences suggest that the girls accept the tradition that women should deal with children and sick persons and leave the abstract or technical branches to the men.96

Unfortunately Boserup does not correlate female acceptance of their traditional role with their society's socialisation. Freedom of choice in joining an academic field has to be seen in the context of the pressure on a female to stay within what society sees as the female sphere. In addition, the lack of role models in other fields, as well as the lack of encouragement for women in secondary schools for science and technical training has to be considered. African secondary schools continue to perpetuate the home -- economics, teacher, nurse or secretary route for their female students.

A worse sin is the lack of training for females in farming -- a field in which females have been strongly
represented from traditional times. Boismenu shows how, whereas boys may gain some knowledge of farming skills in rural schools, women continue to have classes in cooking, child care, and other domestic services.\textsuperscript{97}

In some instances men have openly opposed females being given new agricultural skills. Reeves reports from Tanzania:

\begin{quote}
It was considered important not to isolate the women too much for the purpose of learning new skills, and so create the possible impression of imparting to them an exclusive mystique. Otherwise, as past experience in rural areas had shown, husbands sometimes grew suspicious that emancipation was being subtly introduced in order to undermine their traditional masculine authority.\textsuperscript{98}
\end{quote}

This type of bias is also observed in the type of courses farm extension services provide for men and women in Kenya. Kathleen Staudt's study of 212 small scale farms in the Kakamega District shows that farm extension services offer agricultural skills to men but when women attend they offer them home-economics courses. Despite the fact that the women have large farms and have interest in agricultural innovations, only 30\% of course content for women is related to agriculture. Although lacking training, Staudt found the female farmers just as productive and innovative as their male counterparts.\textsuperscript{99} However, another study
by Jane Wills shows a negative impact on production due to the lack of inclusion of females in rural development. Here extension teaching has concentrated on increased male productivity in the cash crop of the area — coffee. This has occurred at the price of ignoring female subsistence farming which has led to increased poverty in this area.

Two other rural developmental projects that fail to recognise female farming roles are the Mwea Rice Scheme and the Ahero Pilot Rice Project. Pala and Siedman comment on the failures of these two projects:

These studies suggest that development programs like these (rice schemes), intended to raise the income levels and better living conditions of rural families do not necessarily lead to a high status of economic self sufficiency for the family unit. Rather they may lead to a greater dependence of women on their husbands while at the same time increasing labour demands on the household.

Planning based on Western bias, which has been readily accepted by African developmentalists, has been and continues to be detrimental in training rural women to take their role in society. Mead shows how the Western bias and its repercussions are being perpetuated in the Third World:

Actually its effects have been disastrous. The historic tendency of males to regard their activities (usually extradomestic) as more important than those of females was thus accentuated when the roles of
men and women on the farm were professionalized. Nutrition, since it was considered a female field became devalued; in some cases, as in the United States, the whole field of home economics was devalued. Women concerned with improving their status refused to become home economists. Hence, before U.S. training methods for occupations concerned with food productions, distribution, preservation, processing, and consumption are disseminated further around the world, the dangers of this type of segregated occupational training should be recognized and corrected. 101

Finally one has to deal with the very small minority of African females that gain education beyond secondary schools. The limitations on the type of profession they may choose were mentioned earlier. Boserup presents the following figures to show how women who receive high education fare in terms of occupation in developing countries.

FIGURE 8: Sex Distribution of Adult Students and of Persons in Professional and Administrative Occupations. 102
It is interesting to note that those females that acquire profession training do work as professionals. However, this should not be very surprising considering the high incidence of females in occupations such as teaching, nursing, and secretarial work. Boserup suggests that in most Third World countries over two-thirds of the women in professions are teachers.\textsuperscript{103} The real problem for educated females is in gaining employment as administrators. The majority of males with higher education get administrative or professional jobs. On the other hand, the proportion of women in administrative positions is negligible -- especially when one considers the number of women with higher education. Boserup points out that "administrative work is a male monopoly in developing countries, just as it is in nearly all industrialized countries."\textsuperscript{104} Thus even where females gain higher education they are kept out of certain types of jobs.

In conclusion, the contemporary strategies of economic development do not benefit women. One main problem elaborated earlier is the adverse impact of development policy. Tinker concludes that there are three ways in which planning has erred and led to a negative impact on women:

1. By omission -- that is, failing to notice and utilize the traditional
productive roles which women are playing.
2. By reinforcement of values already in existence in the society which restrict women's activities to household, child-bearing, and child-rearing tasks; and
3. By addition -- that is, by superimposing Western values of what is appropriate work for women in modern society on developing societies.  

These three errors have been substantiated with case studies from Kenya as well as the other African countries. Thus, the question that we need to ask is how these three errors can be avoided and under what circumstances will economic development benefit women? First of all, in the terms of the errors of omission, a concerted effort has to be made to evaluate women's work on the basis of time consumption and productivity rather than wages and technical skills. Also, social and economic change has to be seen as having a dramatic impact on human beings. Secondly, the implementation of policy has to consider the values that restrict female roles in society. Where these types of values are reinforced -- as is the case in emphasizing child-rearing -- it will further impinge on the female role in development. Thirdly, the error in super-imposing Western ways has been most detrimental in the education as well as the employment of females. Instead of liberating women this has been seen to be an impediment
in the women's way to equality. Thus, values, especially Western values, have to be analysed before they are forced on Third World societies. Fourthly, female participation in economic development cannot take place until underdeveloped nations release themselves from the control and dictates of the developed world. The realities of the dependency theory do not allow women to attain equality in economic development. The inequalities of dependency have to be attacked by both Third World people and Westerners.

Sue Dangler suggests that women are having problems in becoming equal partners in development because the "women's question" is not considered to be interrelated to the other forms of oppression. In this regard she wants Americans not to be satisfied with small scale projects that help women, when large scale, radical changes are needed. She feels that American support of agri-business and multinational corporations, that exploit people in the Third World countries, is a major obstacle in the amelioration of the inequality in the world as well as for Third World women. Finally, a crucial aspect of women's role in economic development is related to the lack of their role in planning programmes, selecting developmental strategies, and other decision-making processes. Elise Boulding's cross -
cultural study of women's economic role makes the following conclusions:

1. In all countries examined, women are excluded from policymaking planning roles that would enable them to promote the integration of labor, and capital resources of the women's sector into the larger society.

2. The imbalance created by the growing "invisibility" of the women's sector and the growing domination of a class of urbanized male clerics and decision makers is dangerous.

3. Policies need to be developed that will short-circuit the dynamics of gender-based dualism and allow the productivity of both women and men to contribute to the economy as a whole.109

Elizabeth Reid also reiterates Bouldings's stress on the integration of women in planning and decision making bodies, in order that the implementation of development succeeds. She correlates the lack of female role in economic development and the inherent inequality with women's inability to participate in politics. She suggests that females have no weapons to bargain with until they gain knowledge of the 'system'. Lacking ability to negotiate, lobby, and to otherwise use political power, they cannot bring about change.110

The following section will deal with the female problem of participation in the political development of their countries.

2. Women and Political Development

In all the major works that have been cited so far,
one emphasis is clearly reflected — economic power alone cannot get women equality. Women's participation in the political decision-making bodies is imperative to their status and role in society. The participation of women in the political life of the Third World is, on the one hand, an area of study which has attracted some attention. On the other hand, it is a field that has not been made the subject of research and analysis. Even in the West there is a dearth of vigorous, definitive studies concerning the role of women in the political arena. Thus, whereas this new interest in the status and role of women has added some volume to the literature on the subject, there are many areas that have been relatively neglected.

From the pioneer study of European women by Maurice Duverger to the more recent analysis of women's political role the world over, one theme appears incessantly: the reality of women's role in the political area never matches the expectations.

Generally, women throughout the world have the constitutional right to vote and hold public office. However, in each of these two areas certain problems have arisen. First, the long-term effects of female suffrage need to be examined. A dramatic effect, of course, was a quantitative increase in the political
participation of women. Did women vote as a block; what is the female pattern of voting; what kind of parties and issues do women vote for; and has suffrage led to an increase in representation of women in politics? These are but a few of the crucial questions that need to be answered. Second, there is the need to evaluate the role of women in public office. The main concern is the paucity of women in public office. What are the constraints that have led to women being so meagerly represented in government? Does the nature of female political socialisation explain this? What kind of women make it to political office and what are the problems they face? Are women channelled into specific types of political offices? These questions serve as a guide to our understanding of the political role of women in Kenya. Third, one needs to examine the civic participation of females in the Third World countries, and especially Kenya. What is the nature of women's civic participation both at the national and local levels? Can women's organisations become a dynamic force in bringing about changes for other women? Finally, it is necessary to critically evaluate the subject of this research -- the elite group. How profitable is the study of elites for bringing change for the majority of women in society -- who are both illiterate and poor?
a. The Vote and Female Political Participation

Unlike Western women, the majority of non-Western women have not had to fight separately for their own basic right to vote — women's suffrage formed part of an undifferentiated nationalist struggle for political freedom. Most of the newly independent nations accepted the principle of universal suffrage and thus achieved overnight a situation which had taken the economically and politically more developed countries much longer to attain. In African states south of the Sahara, women are guaranteed the franchise and the right to public office in virtually every constitution. The exceptions are Congo Kinshasha in 1964, when women were deprived of voting rights because the constitution was suspended and northern Nigeria where the Islamic traditions and customs continue to curtail the role of women; and Uganda where traditions and prejudices have hindered women from taking advantage of "their constitutional right of suffrage." 

Unfortunately, the constitutional right to vote has not led to any substantial increase in political participation or political equality for African women. Instead of using their vote to bring changes for women in society, the women's vote has often been manipulated by male politicians. This is especially noticeable in
African countries such as Ghana where the national party had a women's wing, and in nations where there is a strong women's association tradition. Maendeleo ya Wanawake was courted by both KANU and KADU for support. It is interesting to note that in the 1960's the largest women's organisation ended up supporting KANU's male candidates rather than putting up female candidates. The party machinery was not set up for promoting female candidates but had no qualms against using women's organisations for support.

The lack of support for female candidates by political parties has led to frustration for African women who want to stand for election. This has on occasion led African women to stand as independents. Case studies of Kenya women will be presented later. It suffices here to note that females who have stood as independents have not been successful in gaining votes from men as well as women. Kamene Okonjo states:

In fact the pattern of voting in the civilian regime which succeeded the colonial administration creates the impression that African women have now lost confidence in their own capacity to participate effectively in politics and are themselves doing everything to lend support and perpetuate the imported unisexual politics of the Western world -- a political system which excludes women and is thus alien to traditional Africa and African ideas of justice. Women are reluctant to come
forward to stand for political office and one even tends to believe that some are frightened of success.\textsuperscript{115}

Perhaps the lack of a suffragist movement in African nations precluded women from organising and gaining solidarity. However, since even where strong suffragist movements occurred, political participation did not increase in leaps and bounds; it is unlikely that African women would have benefitted from such an occurrence.

Keller and Bay concludes:

Automatic access to the vote and other political prerogatives of formal government has not, however, given African women significant political authority nor a power base through which to change their economic and social positions.\textsuperscript{116}

Almond and Verba and several other studies describe another aspect of women's political behaviour -- they suggest that female voters are parochial and conservative.\textsuperscript{117} Recent studies refute the association of women and conservatism.\textsuperscript{118} Indeed, the highest representation of women is found in countries where Communist or Socialist parties are in power:

...it is the left wing parties, particularly the Socialist and Communist parties, which have done most to increase the number of women entering Parliament or holding office in government -- an attitude which may well appear to be paradoxical, since women electors...are, in the the majority conservative. One might almost say that parties which do most for women are the parties
for which women do the least. \(^{119}\)

Duverger's statement above is applicable to the Communist Parties of his area of study -- Europe. It is in the Socialist/Communist nations that the highest participation by females in national office is observed. In the U.S.S.R., women have 28% representation, in the Yugoslavian Parliament it is 20% and in China, the number of female deputies to the National People's Congress has steadily increased to 20%, and the membership in the Central Committee is 12% of the total membership.\(^{120}\)

In the African context, Guinea represents a leftist regime where a mutually beneficial situation between the party and the women can be observed. Sekou Toure of Guinea supports women's role in politics and in return receives their support. The National Assembly of Guinea has 27% women as members. That is the highest representation of women in any legislative body in the world.\(^{121}\) Sekou Toure's government has a clear objective -- to eradicate the discrimination women suffered in the colonial days.\(^{122}\) During the first six years of independence the number of schools increased by 215% for boys and 397% for girls. In Toure's words:

*The success of any revolution depends on a large degree on the participation of women. If she participates only*
indirectly, through her husband and children, she is depersonalized and alienated.123

Socialist African countries also show similar trends. Urdang's reports from the former Portuguese colonies — Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau — reveal that female political participation is high because both men and women had to become revolutionaries in their struggle against colonialism. The leadership in these countries has fought against sexual inequality because it was seen to be inconsistent with their re-structuring of society. Urdang's study shows how women voice their opinions and participate in political decisions.124 For example, a woman who was serving as the PAIGC's chief political commissar stated, "They accept me as a party authority and directives given through me are always carried out."125 Thus women gain legitimacy in their political role by working for the party.

It almost seems that mobilisation of women in a resistance movement and their participation in revolutionary struggle is a prerequisite for sexual equality and female political power. Jack Belden gives yet another dimension to women's involvement in revolutionary activity:

At this point, it may occur to the reader that I am overemphasizing the importance of sex in revolution and
politics. Perhaps you may think that I am letting my sympathies for women run away with my political judgement. I do not believe so. No social revolution -- either good or bad -- ever took place without the existence of a great mass of disinherited people who could furnish a new group with a base of support. In the women of China, the Communists possessed, almost ready made, one of the greatest masses of disinherited human beings the world has ever seen. And because they found the key to the heart of these women, they also found the keys of victory over Chiang Kai-shek.126

In reality it will be necessary to observe the ex-

Portuguese colonies for the next few years before drawing any permanent conclusions.

Socialism has also had a positive impact on female political participation in Tanzania -- in spite of the fact that a revolutionary struggle for independence did not take place in that country. Here the impetus for change for women has come from the Socialist policies of Nyerere (women's contribution in Ujamaa villages) and the national women's organization.127 Unfortunately, the lack of commitment of TANU, the national political party, to equality for women has somewhat retarded female involvement in politics. The situation has been worsened by attacks of the party leadership and other male on townswomen for wearing mini-skirts. Decrees dealing with women's dress have been made in Kenya and
Zambia by their parliaments, Cabinet members and even presidents. In the early 1970's the verbal attacks were on occasion combined with physical attacks on women who wore mini-skirts. Mbilinyi comments on the male leaders' efforts to stop women from wearing mini-skirts:

Attacks on mini-skirts, town girls, and the bad manners of educated women represent in part an effort to keep women in their traditional place, subservient either to husbands or male kinsmen. The negative conservative element in these attacks outweighs any positive progressive attempts to affirm the African Identity of women. If the reverse were true, the leaders of the anti-mini movement would be women. They would be shouting, not only for longer skirts, but also for a reaffirmation of economic autonomy of women and the need to restructure the developing economy to give them a place in nation-building.

Those favouring female equality can only hope that in their zeal for "political puritanism" these leaders would not forget the need for improving the lives of women. These issues can be viewed as using women for the purpose of scapegoating and continuing the male political hegemony. The alienating impact on women of such regulatory hostility serves as a further deterrent to their participation. As Okonjo points out:

In the civilian regimes of the immediate post-independence period, and even in the military regimes that obtain in many parts of Black Africa today, there are hardly any women at the policy-making
echelons. Some political leaders have appointed a few women to political offices, perhaps to appease their conscience and give recognition to the now "dumb" generality of the women. But these few posts cannot be regarded as genuine expression of men's eagerness to seek women's help in wielding power. 132

In conclusion, it is clear that the franchise does not ensure female political participation. The political nature of the Third World nations sometimes makes the franchise rather insignificant. A majority of Third World nations have become one party states or have come under military leadership. Thus the tradition of males being the warriors and the exclusion of women, especially from the higher echelons of the military, precludes female political participation in military regimes. More often than not, regimes are replaced, discredited and removed by coup d'etat rather than through national elections. In nations such as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the majority of the population does not even vote. Lakshmi Menon comments that:

...in the recent revolutionary upsurges coup d'états, and establishments of military dictatorships, electoral rights of men and women have been eroded; and political instability invariably makes it difficult for the exercise of fundamental rights. 133

b. The Constraints to Political Participation of Women

The franchise gave women individual political
right, which must be effectively used to gain power. To gain decision making power women have to hold political office. As Barbara Ward points out, voting rights alone do not ensure political participation; they have to be accompanied by active participation in politics, especially in gaining decision making political offices. The major issue faced by women of the Non-Western world will be that of female representation. Duverger states that:

While in elections, the proportions of women voting is smaller than men, the gap between the two is very narrow and the equality of the sexes may be regarded as practically achieved. On the other hand, the proportions of women playing a real part in political leadership is ridiculously small.... There are hardly any women in the bodies which take political decisions and direct the State.

One would assume by the number of African women that have been represented in high positions at the U.N. that African women would be commonly found in high political office in their nations. Van Allen shows that in spite of the first female President of the U.N. being an African woman:

...in most African countries, there was no significant female political presence -- no members of parliament or cabinet ministers even before the majority of African civilian nationalist government were replaced by military juntas.
How can the low level of political participation by women be explained? Can it be explained by women's inertia; their preference not to seek power; or is it because males have systematically excluded women from having power? Lester Milbraith, in his analysis of political participation shows that only one to two percent of the American population would run for political office. He points out certain traits and circumstances necessary for political activism that automatically reduce women to insignificant numbers.\footnote{138}

An excellent explanation of women's low participation in politics is presented by Jean Kirkpatrick.\footnote{139} She presents four hypothetical constraints that may help us to understand the paucity of women in political leadership and which inhibit women's pursuit and exercise of power: physiological constraints, cultural constraints, role constraints and male conspiracy.\footnote{140}

First of all, in terms of physiological constraints we find many writers that have used biology as a justification of patriarchal rule. This was previously presented under sexual stratification. Here it will be analysed in relation to political participation. Aristotle saw the male dominance in politics as 'natural', and in procreation, the male is the superior principle equated with power and activity. In terms of the female
Aristotle states:

We should look upon the female state as being as if it were a deformity, though one which occurs in the ordinary course of nature.\textsuperscript{141}

In his book \textit{Politics}, he clearly elaborates on the fact that women do not have the necessary qualities for leadership.\textsuperscript{142} A similar line of thought was followed by Darwin and Freud, both of whom adhered to the idea of power and authority being the male's exclusive domain.\textsuperscript{143}

Nature as the basis for the association of power with being male is questionable, especially when females shared power with males in simple societies.\textsuperscript{144}

Kirkpatrick's explanation is that:

Power and the institutions especially concerned with its exercise have a historic and existential relation to what might be called brute force, including the ability to deprive persons of physical liberty, well-being and life.\textsuperscript{145}

Simone de Beauvoir, in \textit{The Second Sex} presents details of female biological weaknesses and how these contributed to their subordinate role.\textsuperscript{146}

More recently, the renewed interest in socio-biology has led several writers to explain behaviour in terms of biological and especially genetic programming of the human being. Lionel Tiger, in his book \textit{Men in Groups} argues:
Thus, that females only rarely dominate authority structures may reflect females' underlying inability -- at the ethological level of 'pattern releasing' behavior -- to affect the behavior of subordinate.... Women cannot become political leaders because males are strongly predisposed to form and maintain all-male groups, particularly when matters of moment for the community are involved.¹⁴⁷

Tiger is not only saying that men are biologically programmed to be leaders but also that they like to work in groups that are exclusively male. Tiger also makes an analogy between male reaction to women gaining political power to the whites leaving at the arrival of blacks in their all white residential areas.¹⁴⁸

This argument by Tiger and other socio-biologists can have some very serious repercussions because it may be used inadvertently (or purposefully) to justify the existence of a racist and sexist society.

Perhaps women's physiological constraints and especially the fact that most women are not prepared to take up political leadership can be explained by cultural constraints. These constraints include the types of male and female enculturation. As mentioned above, patriarchy was responsible for the sexual-segregation of society. The patriarch -- the eldest male in the family -- was the head of the household. Robert Maclver suggests that the family was the
"breeding ground of political myths," where everyone was socialised into superior/inferior roles and patterns of government. Both males and females internalised the cultural norms. Males cross-culturally learn to be aggressive, outward-oriented, leaders, competitive, whereas females learn to be passive, dependent, inner-oriented, and submissive. Politics and war, leadership and aggression, are considered male activities to the extent that many consider it a 'natural condition'. As Duverger puts it:

All the efforts of mankind are, in part, directed to overcoming inequalities deriving from differences in natural conditions. From this point of view, those deriving from sex are no more important than those resulting from climate, soil composition or difficulties of communications. There is no more an inferior sex than there are inferior roles, or inferior classes. But there is sex and there are classes and races, who have come to believe in their inferiority because they have been persuaded of it in justification of their subordinate position in society.

The third factor that Kirkpatrick identifies as affecting the political participation of women in politics is role constraint. A 'women's biology is her destiny', was discussed earlier. It was observed that physiologically the role of the female is closely associated with motherhood. Culturally this role has often given women tremendous prestige, and sometimes authority.
Closely associated with the role of mother is the role of wife and homemaker. The U.N. has supported much research on the basis that there is a direct correlation between the economic, social, and political role of a woman and her human right to determine the number and the spacing of her children. Cornelia B. Flora and Naomi B. Lynn have gone a step further from the concept that motherhood confines the role of mothers. They systematically researched the political implications of motherhood among young women. Their research points out that women's political participation and socialisation is definitely affected by their status as mothers and non-mothers.\textsuperscript{152}

Often the role of mother is seen as incompatible with that of professional women. Robert E. Lane argues,\textsuperscript{153}

\begin{quote}
\ldots working girls and career women, and women who insistently serve the community in volunteer capacities and women with extracurricular interests of an absorbing kind are often borrowing their time and attention and capacity for relaxed play and love from their children to whom it rightfully belongs. As Kardiner points out, the rise in juvenile delinquency and homosexuality is partly to be attributed to the feminist movement and what it did to the American mother.
\end{quote}

Lane's argument is thwarted by recent research that emphasises the quality of time that parents spend with their children rather than the quantity, and reveals
that there are no detrimental effects on children of working mothers.\textsuperscript{154} There is no doubt that the cultural emphasis on motherhood and the resultant role of women have had a detrimental effect on their desire to participate in political activity.

This brings us to Kirkpatrick's final constraint on women's political participation --- male conspiracy. Here she sees women's non-participation in power as oppressing women and barring them "from power by a ruling class bent on maintaining its hegemony."\textsuperscript{155} Shulamith Firestone describes the male/female relationship as:

> The oldest, most rigid class/caste system in existence, the class system based on sex --- a system consolidated over thousands of years, lending the archetypal; male and female roles an undeserved legitimacy and seeming permanence.\textsuperscript{156}

There are very few nations that constitutionally or legally keep women out of power. However, the patriarchal attitudes remain mostly intact. They hinder women's participation in politics because they continue to keep them out of power. It is very difficult for the few women who do gain power to become 'one of the boys'. Most power structures have informal channels of decision making. As Tiger puts it:

> Card playing, hunting, fishing, all-male
clubs, and so on may provide that further back-room in which the outlines of policy and the distribution of power are determined. 157

It is impossible for women to penetrate these informal circles and this puts a major constraint on their political activity.

The above-mentioned constraints to political participation of women give rise to another consideration — what is the type of political activity in which women are involved. The emphasis on women's lives being centered around the home automatically make their needs very private. This inner orientation does not seem appropriate for the public forum. When women do gain political office their work is usually associated with home policy, and rarely do they get involved with defence, budget, or foreign affairs. Duverger argues that:

The slogan 'woman's place is in the home' is simply the extreme conservative form of a subtler and less uncompromising line of reasoning. More advanced exponents of the functional theory recognize the right of women to work outside their home and to take a part in civic and social life and in political affairs, but only on condition that they confine their activities to problems of motherhood, education and the family -- to what might be termed as home policy. In this way they make the best of a bad job, whilst at the same time limiting the damages. This is basically the same attitude as that of a mother country which admits the natives of the colonies to certain administrative and technical posts, without allowing them to take part in political leadership
proper,...In spite of appearances, it is fundamentally anti-equalitarian, for it tacitly assumes that man's aptitude is polyvalent while those of women are monovalent. 158

Undoubtedly there are more women involved in what can be described as 'civic role' vis à vis 'political role'. The obvious difference between the two being that the civic role is limited, involving little power and affecting home policy, whereas political role involves a great amount of time and power to make decisions that have national or international repercussions. Clearly then, the constraints to women's political activity have a direct effect on the role that they play in politics. The cultural and role constraints continue to emphasise the kind of work they may pursue.

Elsa M. Chaney in studying the female political elite of Peru and Chile points out that these women see their role in politics as that of "supermadres." 159 Female elites are described by Luis Hernandez Parker, one of Chile's leading political writers, as the "untiring 'aunts', valiant and tender." While men are preoccupied with problems as abstract as constitutional reforms, women are fighting for kindergartens, for pure drinking water in the 'settlements', and for day-care centers. 160 Thus there is a very specific role that the woman plays in the political process. Her limits are defined in
terms of her role as mother. Chaney remarks that the:

...two apparently universal features of women's involvement in public life (are) her (and society's) tendency to view the feminine contribution as an extrapolation of her motherhood role to the arena of politics; and the lack of a firm commitment to public concerns.161

So far the various factors relating to women and the vote, women's low participation in political leadership, and the constraints that may be keeping women out of the political power structure, have been presented. Evident in all of this is their powerlessness. The very numbers of women in politics reflect this clearly. However, merely counting heads is not sufficient for understanding women's political participation. The nature of this participation has to be scrutinized so as to have an understanding of the problem. In this regard, one of the most significant political activities of women -- their civic role -- has to be analysed.

Civic Participation

Some writers see a great deal of similarity between the political and civic functions in a society. Indeed, the line that divides the civic and political spheres of Third World societies is not very distinct. Civic participation has to be defined to understand its functions in Third World nations and to distinguish it, if possible, from political participation. First, it is
necessary to define the type of group or association that performs civic functions; second, one needs to identify the functions (especially political) of these groups or associations; third, one has to analyse the membership of these associations; and fourth, one has to describe the development of women's voluntary organisations in Africa. This will provide the requisite groundwork for an assessment of the emergence of women's organisations in Kenya.

As far as the selection of a term for the group that is concerned with civic participation, the literature uses different descriptions — voluntary organisation, voluntary association, secondary association, secondary group, interest group, pressure group, formal association, and informal association. In this study voluntary organisation will be used because of its common usage in the African and especially Kenyan context. Often, organisation and association are used interchangeably. Thus, whereas Westerners generally speak of women's associations, many Third World people talk about women's organisations.

A voluntary organisation (association) is defined in *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* as, "an organized group of persons (1) that is formed in order to further some common interest of its members; (2) in which membership is voluntary in the sense that
it is neither mandatory nor acquired through birth; and (3) that exists independently of the state."^162

This is a very broad definition, thus it can incorporate almost any type of group. A common interest leads one to expect these groups to serve some function in society, especially in the non-Western society. Thus, their significance in the process of development in society.

This definition serves as a mooring from which to analyse the functions of voluntary associations. Third World transitional societies — those that are neither totally traditional nor fully modern — is a logical starting point, for it is in transitional societies that the flux taking place among the people necessitates the formation of organisations to facilitate the dramatic changes, as Zeigler states:

Studies of political organization in transitional societies are consistent in maintaining that the uprooted and transient feeling of portions of the population reduces the influence of traditional institutions, whether family, tribe, church, or community, and necessitates a substitution of formal association (secondary groups) to restore stability.^^163

The urbanisation process in Third World nations has led to a constant flow of migrants from rural to urban areas. Little suggests that voluntary associations are extremely functional for migrants, for they replace...
the personal relationships and mutual dependence of rural life. Little states that:

this adjustment, the association facilitates by substituting for the extended group of kinsmen, a grouping based upon common interest which is capable of serving many of the same needs as the traditional family of lineage.164

Germani's study in Buenos Aires also sees the urban association as having a positive effect on migrants. Indeed he sees membership of migrants in associations as an indicator of the integration of the individual into the urban culture.165

Another function that voluntary organisations serve is in the political integration of individuals into the political stream of a society. In countries such as Cuba and Tanzania groups and organisations have been mobilised to work for the revolution in farming, education, welfare, etc.166 The Ujamaa groups, the women's wing of TANU Tanzania, are examples of this. Not only are these groups working towards the revolution but they are also being socialised into the revolution.167

Political integration in capitalistic nations such as Kenya also emphasises voluntary organisations. Here integration is dependent on the leadership of the organisations. They emphasise the status quo and the values of the government, and as a result they get
additional support from the government. This allows the individuals to participate in the government process. Alexis de Tocqueville suggests that political apathy is reduced by such participation. He further suggests that this apathy is dangerous, especially since it can lead to the individual's receptivity to revolutionary groups that may seek to overthrow the government.\textsuperscript{168} Thus, voluntary organisations are important to the political system. As Key points out:

\ldots joiners and non-joiners differ in their political characteristics, in their political participation, in their sense of political efficacy, and in their psychological involvement in the political process.\textsuperscript{169}

Almond and Verba also present empirical data, from their five nation study, that people who belong to voluntary organisations are more politicised than non-joiners.\textsuperscript{170}

Another function that voluntary organisations serve is to allow the individual to make demands to the government via the organisation. This demand facilitation function actually reduces individual demands on the government. As Easton suggests the voluntary organisations actually serve as 'gatekeepers' of the demands to the formal political system.\textsuperscript{171} In the same vein, Almond and Verba see voluntary organisations as a sorting agent. They state that in the political system,
"every individual demand cannot be met or the result will be chaos."172 (Lipset suggests that in transitional societies this intermediary function of the voluntary organisation is crucial for it reduces the political powerlessness of the individual.173

In Third World societies demands are largely controlled by the organisation's leadership. Thus, the implementation of demands depends on whether the leadership has the power to reach the government or not. If the individual has a choice in selecting a voluntary organisation for membership, the choice will be for one that is strong in its leadership. Almond and Verba call it the "strategy of influence."174 This strategy of influence is one of the most crucial aspects of the voluntary association's effectiveness in a society.

The strategy of influence depends on how open and acceptable the government is to the demands of the voluntary organisations, as well as on the status of the members of the organisation. As Eckstein points out:

Governmental structure affects the scope and intensity of pressure group activity chiefly because expectations of success govern the political mobilization of groups, and whether or not a group can be successfully influential is determined at least partly by the structure of government on which it acts.175
In regards to the status of the group, a crucial factor is the recognition of the group by the society as well as by the government. Some groups because of their membership can exert greater influence than others. Campbell, et. al., state that:

...group influence is in part contingent upon the life situations of the membership. Minority status, by relegation of group members to characteristic areas of the social structure created the needs and dissatisfactions that are so often the foundation for group influence.

Here, the women's organisations will have to be carefully analysed so as to observe any similarity between women and minorities -- both considered peripheral power groups. It could be hypothesised that minorities, especially those that experience a sense of deprivation, show a greater tendency to form associations to alleviate their feelings of powerlessness.

Another feature of voluntary organisations is noted by Pye in regard to non-Western groups -- he sees their orientations as all encompassing and covering several phases of life. He also states that non-Western groups make specific demands rather than presenting their goals publicly. Non-Western voluntary organisations undoubtedly have interests in various types of activities. The activity is not necessarily determined by the membership. Rather, it is often selected by the leadership which generally caters to the needs of the government.
This point will be exemplified when the Kenyan women's voluntary organisations are presented.

Another significant aspect of voluntary organisations is the type of the membership. The literature points out that most individuals that join voluntary organisations are better-educated, middle-class, urban-born, and male.\textsuperscript{181} This description is more representative of the West, for though non-Western societies do have voluntary organisations with the above type of membership, there are also others that do not fit the analysis of Western voluntary organisations. An examination of non-Western voluntary organisations and African voluntary organisations permits observation of the special types of groups that exist and their specific nature -- a nature that is dependent on the non-Western cultural context rather than the Western context.

In looking at African and Third World voluntary organisations one has to keep in mind two factors -- the tradition of associations as a heritage of the past and the colonial impact. The former was rarely mentioned in the early literature on voluntary organisations. Indeed, several authors talked about the paucity of associations in preliterate societies.\textsuperscript{179} Anthropological data on Africa reveals the strong tradition,
especially, in West Africa, of associations. Women's associations in traditional Africa were discussed in Chapter I. This tradition, it will be noted, continues to affect the formation of women's organisations in Africa in both urban and rural areas. 180

The second factor -- colonialism -- affected the formation of women's organisations in Africa in three ways. First of all, missionary activity and the conversion of Africans into Christianity led to the formation of organisations that were associated with the Church. These organisations were created for the members of the different branches of the Christian faith. The missionary work emphasised conversion, education, and health care. Hunting states that the:

Christian church in Africa has placed great stress on Christian obligations to the community. Every parish has its mothers' guild, and most women begin their voluntary activities through association with church mother's clubs. For this reason, and because of their freedom from purdah, it is the Christian women in Northern Nigeria who are active in community affairs and voluntary associations like the Girl Guides and the Red Cross. Muslim women have not had the same encouragement, but several organisations now exist among them in Southern Nigeria. 181

The paucity of women's organisations in areas of Islamic influence not only represents the lack of Christian influence but also the lack of female associations due
to the Islamic tradition of female seclusion. It is interesting to note that, despite Islamic influence in Mombasa, the hundreds of years of interactions and miscegenation between Arab and Swahili people of the East African coast led to Muslim women participating in women's organisations in pre-colonial times as well as in the post-independent period. The Christian element did not have any impact on these associations because the strong Islamic traditions kept the missionaries out. However, as Strobel's study of the East African coast's Muslim women's organisations shows, the colonial era did have a strong impact on the workings of these women's groups:

Just as the adoption by lelemama associations of European military titles and dress reflected the colonial milieu in which they functioned, the choices of names and the immediate causes of their formation reveal the impact of a changed but still colonial, era on these newer associations. During this period, when the British ruled on the coast through Arab representatives, and when being classified as an "Arab" was a step above being labeled as "African", these groups of women chose to identify their constituency as "Arab" — not so much as an ethnic marker as a status claim.  

Secondly, colonialism led to an increase in the number of voluntary organisations. This occurred when colonisers set up branches of international voluntary organisations such as the YWCA, YMCA, Girl Guides, and
Association of University Women. Such foreign institutions are colonial in origin, but have been quickly adapted by the African people. Even the foreign principles of organisations such as the Girl Guides and the YWCA are supported by the African members. The international women's organisations were started by colonial women, especially in nations with large colonial settlements. After independence the membership as well as the leadership has become Africanised.

The third effect of colonialism on the development of voluntary organisations is the retardation of the strong tradition of associations among African people. This is especially noticeable in East Africa where there were large white settlements.

Missionary activity during colonialism involved the setting up of churches of various Christian denominations. Each church would organise the converted women into groups. Thus women's voluntary organisations with church affiliations developed in colonial times and continue to thrive in independent Kenya. The exceptional problems of colonialism in Kenya were in the main part related to the relatively large settlement of whites. The development of voluntary organisations in Kenya is also in many ways related to the presence of white settlers and their efforts (or lack of) to
create a social welfare network in Kenya. The impetus for social welfare in colonial Kenya, as with most British colonies, came from the Home Office in Britain. The Kenyan Legislature was to take the initiative to implement social welfare services in Kenya. The Legislature at this time was dominated by white settlers who were reluctant to spend money on social welfare for the 'natives'. The Legislature's efforts to provide social welfare was more for law and order purposes (especially at a time when the Mau Mau movement had disrupted the efficiency of the colonial administration) than humanitarian purposes.\textsuperscript{184}

African needs were to be met by native administration or the local government. This meant that Africans, via the native administration, would take care of their own welfare. The Municipal Affairs Officer of Nairobi expounded on this policy by stating that, "the policy in social welfare work is to identify the African more closely with his own development -- self help."\textsuperscript{185} This type of policy was not alien to most of Kenya's ethnic groups and especially the Kikuyus. However, it is ironical that the whites expected Africans to create self-help groups and associations in a situation where they had taken away one of their most valuable possession -- land. What type of development and self-help
could be expected to take place among people whose lives were totally disrupted and who were becoming more and more alienated by the impact of the coloniser?

Indeed, at this juncture of Kenyan history, as is exemplified by the Kikuyus, the Kenyans were more interested in associating in revolutionary groups that would lead to the demise of the colonial power than in forming social welfare groups. They were confronted by the white settlement in a way that left them no other options. On the other hand, in West Africa where large white settlements did not take place the "mutual-aid" tribal societies thrived and continued to increase during and after colonial times. Small wonder, then, that the National Council of Nigerian Women has over 500 women's organisations under its aegis, whereas the National Council of Women in Kenya (the major female organisation) has only thirty-three groups. Of course Nigeria is a larger nation, but even in comparison to other West African nations Kenya did not develop a very strong tradition for women's organisations.

The lack of welfare services in the colonial era led to the elite white females initiating several philanthropic charitable services. A perusal of the East African Standard between 1946-56 reveals a flux of activities initiated by the Governor's wife and other
administrators' wives to improve the lot of the African women. The general trend was in providing sewing centers, hygiene lessons and cookery. The Standard would occasionally report on the visitations of these upper class white women to these centres.¹⁸⁷

The general impression from the newspaper articles is the underscoring of the paternalistic attitude of these women in providing these typically Western services for African women. Their upper class Western bias is obvious -- the poor African woman (as much as the lower classes at home) must become clean and learn feminine tasks that may help to improve their lives. Not a single article in the Standard between 1946-56 showed any attempt by European women to teach African women skills related to their real work -- farming.¹⁸⁸ Not only did the Europeans help to retard the African women's strong traditional farming role but they brought in Western concepts of what women and especially lower class women are supposed to be doing. This has perhaps been one of the most detrimental effects on women's voluntary organisations in Kenya today, for many of them are based on the model of the European charitable organisations, and thus continue many of the philosophies of these European organisations.

A strong influence on the development of women's
voluntary organisations in Third World nations arose from a need to see the developmental process as a necessary objective for women's organisations. This need was recognised as early as 1960 at the U.N. Seminar on the Participation of Women in Public Life in Addis Ababa. At the end of the debate on the role of women in voluntary organisations the following conclusions were made: -

1) The activities of voluntary organizations are important factors in increasing the participation of women in public life. Among such activities, which promote the welfare of the community are:

   a) financial and other assistance to the poor, the aged, the physically handicapped and the mentally retarded;
   b) establishment of shelters for unmarried mothers and abandoned children;
   c) establishment of social centers to provide mental and physical recreation for women;
   d) establishment of day nurseries for children of working mothers;
   e) establishment of centers for family and child guidance;
   f) action to overcome racial, cultural, and language barriers which impede the unity of the community.

2) National voluntary associations should attempt to meet the standards required for affiliation with international organisations. The information, experience, and technical assistance given by international organizations are valuable aids in carrying out effective programs on a national basis.

3) Voluntary organizations should co-ordinate their programs in order to avoid wasteful duplication of efforts.
4) Voluntary associations can promote international goodwill and understanding by initiating regional and international study programs, exchange tours, and regional conferences. Many of the above objectives are being closely followed by Kenyan women's voluntary organisations.

One trend that is not reflected in the above objectives is for the organisations to increase their work so as to deal with problems that incorporate a wider range of women. In Western nations women's voluntary organisations are beginning to include problems of women in lower socio-economic levels and in the African context they are showing more and more concern for rural women. In Kenya the local government and the Ministry of Housing and Social Services carry the brunt of providing services in rural areas. The idea of Women's Programme in rural areas was developed at a national Special Rural Programme Development Conference that was held in Nyeri in 1971. The conference saw the need to revitalise rural women's groups by giving training and new skills to their leaders. Pala describes some of the problems in the financing of this project:

UNICEF has been responsible for implementing some of the Nyeri conference recommendations by financially assisting the development of day care centres including training programmes for nursery teachers, training women's group leaders, including covering the costs of the trainers and supervisors, and helping groups
whose leaders have been trained to purchase equipment for economic activities they wish to engage in such as poultry keeping, buying a bus or posho mill, pottery making, etc.... There appears to be some difficulty at the moment in facilitating the release of money budgeted by UNICEF to provide equipment to women's groups whose leaders have completed the training programme. The procedure is that the Ministry of Housing and Social Services should advance the money for women's Groups' projects on the advice of field staff and then ask for reimbursement from UNICEF. However, the money allocated by UNICEF for 1974 and 1975 has not been disbursed, and UNICEF has had to reduce the estimates for 1976. If by June 1975 this allocation ($11,700) is still not committed, it will be withdrawn.

The recent addition of the Women's Bureau to the Ministry of Housing and Social Services has resulted in rural women's groups receiving greater attention. One of the first tasks of the Bureau has been to conduct a survey of women's rural groups. In collaboration with the Central Bureau of Statistics they sent 5,000 questionnaires to women's groups in rural areas, and are presently sorting out the data.

Perhaps a more interesting development in rural Kenya has been the self-help groups. The better known example is the women's Mabati groups. These groups were organised for the purpose of replacing thatched grass roofs with longer lasting corrugated iron sheets. It was noted that even after the group had accomplished
their aim they continued to help each other by getting involved in other economic enterprises.¹⁹²

Mutiso reports on a rural women's group in the Machakos District that is not only for the economic benefit of the group but also for the political strength of these women.¹⁹³ Mutiso's study elaborately describes the Mbaı sya Eitu (literally translated as Clans of Girls) among the Akamba. The study shows how Mbaı sya Eitu has been transformed in the last 30 years to gain unprecedented political as well as economic power. The following social transformations are described by Mutiso to show how the Mbaı sya Eitu has become a powerful women's organisation in parts of the Machakos district:

(i) During World War II, sheer male absence, due to recruitment of men for the Burma campaign, forced women to take over roles previously occupied by men. Male absence meant less restrictions on women left behind. Most of the Mbaı sya Eitu's members are women who grew up in these years and came of marriageable age in the war years and during mobilisation. This seems to imply a change in the pattern of female socialisation.

(ii) Opportunities for paid work in the modern sector either in the towns or settler farms took the majority of men away from the villages. Thus women, the majority of whom still lived in the villages, were recruited in large numbers to public mwethya groups where they began to play important leadership roles;
(iii) The reluctance of returned soldiers to participate in the mwethya groups pushed women out into public works since each family would be fined one goat or 40 shillings if they failed to provide labour;

(iv) Ideas brought by returned soldiers from Burma, about organizing associations which play a political and cultural role, influenced the rise of the Mbai sya Eitu; and

(v) More recently in the course of post-independence elections in Ukambani, Ngei encouraged women to mobilize their own clans of origin to support him. He thereby created a political base for women in clans that were originally partilocal, while the men remained dominant in formal political organizations. The more prominent Mbai sya Eitu became in local politics, the more men withdrew from participation in politics at that level, claiming it was no longer 'masculine' enough.\textsuperscript{194}

Mutiso also shows how traditional Akamba ritual and mythology play a role in this organisation. This relates back to the section previously described under mythology. Here it can be observed that the use of traditional ritual and myth consolidates female strength and power rather than destroys it. Of course, further research has to be conducted on Mbai sya Eitu to ascertain whether Paul Ngei's political power had anything to do with the success of Mbai sya Eitu. Are they still as strong and as powerful a group today?

Another general trend for women's organisations in the West has been the diminishing influence of the
Church, especially the Catholic Church. Whereas, in the West women's church organisations are being replaced by secular organisations, in Africa the two exist side by side. Undoubtedly the secular organisations are also affected by religious groups. Generally speaking one could state that in Kenya the more secular and international types of women's organisations are the more dominant ones and have a greater representation of the highly educated women, whereas the church associations generally attract women that have lesser education.

The concern for this study is more with the urban secular, national, international, and elitist organisations. However, since there is overlap between these various types of organisation, the former two groups cannot be ignored.

The trend for the urban women's organisations to incorporate a larger segment of women was mentioned previously. In relation to another Western trend — using the organisation to improve the status of women — there have been mixed results in Africa. The African women's organisations' incorporation of rural development for women, as an ideal, has been a very positive step in the direction of improving women's status in their countries. Some attention has been paid to the legal position of women and female education, also. However,
it seems that not too much has been accomplished, perhaps because of the enormity of the problem. Whereas discrimination, wife-beating, issues of abortion, and child care are discussed, they are given cursory attention. More time is spent on dances and fashion shows to try and raise funds for tree planting, water tanks, or whatever is the popular project of the time. These activities will be elaborated upon in Chapter VI to see if Kenya is going through trends similar to those affecting other women's organisations in the world. Since the basic concern in this study is the political and civic elite women of Kenya there is a need to ask one final theoretical question -- why should one study elites?

d. The Need to Study Elites

The lives and fates of Third World people are often totally dependent on what this small group of people in high positions -- the elites -- think and do. As Bell states, "the social composition of elites is inextricably linked to political, economic and social developments in the emerging nations."196 In this section a brief overview of representative concepts regarding elites will be presented. The major focus is the characteristics of the African elite -- especially the female elite.

One of the difficulties in presenting the role of
African female elites is the dearth of paradigms in the literature on elites. Few attempts have been made to analyse the role of elites -- especially female elites -- in post-colonial Africa. An empirical study of female elites would facilitate an understanding of the role of women in the political process of Third World countries. Two of the primary goals of this research are to propose suitable paradigms as well as to suggest a set of questions that need to be asked whenever the role of women in the Third World is being examined -- especially in terms of the participation of elite women.

In the following section, first the term elite will be defined; secondly, the process that has had an impact on elite formation in Africa will be described; thirdly, the socio-political context of elite formation will be analysed; and fourthly, the nature of African elites -- with special reference to the female elite -- will be clarified.

The establishment of a definition of elites that is pertinent to this study is crucial. Suzanne Keller, in her book, *Beyond the Ruling Class*, offers the following definition of elites that is very useful:

...a majority of individuals designated to serve collectively in a socially valued way. Elites are effective and responsible minorities -- effective as regards the performance of activities of interest
and concern to others to whom these elites are responsive. Socially significant elites are ultimately responsible for the realization of major social goals and for the continuity of the social order.198

This is not to say that all elite are concerned about social progress. Indeed, some elite may even have a negative impact on their society's future. The basic characteristic that stands out in the above definition is, as Lasswell and Lerner point out, "the elite are the influential."199 They may influence by their position, knowledge, wealth, class, and function. In other words, in one way or the other they influence the outcome of the social process. Besides having influence, elites also "get the most out of what there is to get. Available values may be classified as deference, income, safety. Those who get the most are the elite; the rest are the mass."200 This is particularly visible in developing countries where often there are no intervening groups or classes between the masses and the elite. Lloyd points out that in the West:

...class terminology is colloquially used, the possibility of its use in Africa is therefore limited. For not only are the masses ignorant of the class terminology but their perception of the division of their societies is based more on ethnic groups or criteria of descent or age than on horizontal stratification by affluence.201
Also, class in a classic Marxist sense is difficult to use in the African context. The Marxist dichotomy of property owning and non-owning groups does not exist in the traditional or the modern African society. One may agree with Lloyd in regard to some of the traditional African societies, but it seems that in Kenya as well as some of the other Third World nations one clearly sees a very small property owning group and a large non-owning mass of poor people.

Unfortunately, the abundant literature on elites is limited to the Western world and tends to emphasise such social mechanisms as class. Some of the literature on elites — classical Greek (especially Aristotelian) followed by the Europeans such as Michels, Mosca, and Pareto — also emphasises the existence of elites. Pareto, for example, lauds the elites. With the spread of egalitarianism a negative connotation has come to be associated with word elite. Scholars conducting elite studies have been critically evaluated. Robert Dahl did not like to be considered elitist because he saw elite as a pejorative term. Lasswell and Lerner place elite studies in their right perspective by pointing out that, "elite studies are not 'elitist'. Quite the contrary! Those who celebrate elites do so by dedicating their poems, their music, and even their lives. Those who study elites question their assumptions and doubt
their conclusions."^204

The more recent scholarship by analysts, such as Lasswell, Lerner, Lloyd and Levine, is more pertinent to this study because the demise of the colonial empire and the rise of new leadership in the Third World brought new perspectives to the analysis of elites.\(^205\) New categories of elites had to be added — Western educated, traditional elites and revolutionary elites. Obviously, much of the new elite came out of the anti-colonial struggle. Thus, the colonial struggle has to be kept in mind in order to understand any elite study in Africa.

A striking feature of elite studies is that almost all of them are about male elites. The lack of prominence of females among the ruling elite leads to their being excluded in such studies. Indeed, with the proliferation of military coups in Third World nations, the presence of women in the top echelons of the decision making processes has been largely reduced. Okonjo shows the effect of military regimes on females joining the ruling elites by describing the situation in Nigeria in 1975 when the new military regime came in:

Of the 50 member committee appointed to draw up the Constitution of the country, not one was a woman and in spite of letters of protest to Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, then Head of State, by various Women's Societies, nothing was done to change the composition of the Committee.^206
Some writers, such as Chaney and Jacquette, have researched and analysed female elites, bringing a new perspective to elite research which can be applied in this study.207

In using the above mentioned literature, one has to keep in mind the specific circumstances that have helped to determine the process of elite formation in Kenya. The Kenya female elite cannot be analysed by using concepts that are not relevant to the dynamics of Kenya society. Otherwise one would bring to the study preconceived ideas. As Lasswell puts it:

The approach must be contextual, if arbitrary characterizations are to be avoided, it must locate power elites in the context of the relevant process.208

There are three processes that are crucial to the development of African elites -- traditionalism, colonialism and modernisation. The first area -- the traditional setting -- fosters the formation of ascriptive elites. That is, in the main, this elite usually comes from the families of chiefs, kings, and other types of leaders. This group was the first to have contact with Europeans. Often they were given greater power and authority than they had in the traditional pre-colonial system. Thus, in terms of traditionalism, the female elite as well as the male elite have linkages with families holding
power or leadership position in the traditional African setting. Often there exists the predominance of a handful of families who have attained great heights in political, professional or business spheres. One point is clear: both males and females linked to these families have had easier access in becoming part of the elite. Thus, their recruitment is related to ascription rather than achievement.

Colonialism helped to create a second type of elite -- the nationalists. This was the elite that took part in the anti-colonial struggle. The fight against the colonisers was usually conducted by the early Western educated elite. This gave them a tremendous amount of legitimacy after independence, when they usually became the first leaders of their newly formed nations. Here women, too, have often made gains, for they were also deeply involved in anti-colonial movements. One interesting feature of women's role in the anti-colonial struggle is that they usually came from families with strong nationalistic tendencies. Therefore, these women were not only politicised by their families but also by the anti-colonial struggle. However, for women their role in the anti-colonial struggle was not a direct ticket to national leadership after independence as it was for many males; they gained access to political
participation at higher levels through their relationship with males taking part in the liberation struggle. Thus, women's participation in the anti-colonial struggle did not by itself vouchsafe the development of female elites. The struggle affected them only indirectly; for it was their familial relationship with anti-colonial male leaders that led to their eventual recruitment. And here again, ascription dominates achievement.

Finally, modernisation is the third process involved in the development of elites. In this regard the most significant factor was education. As Burke points out, "the importance of education can hardly be exaggerated or grasped by those from a culture where it is taken for granted." Initially, only a small number of families who were associated with the colonial power structure managed to send their children for higher education. However, additional numbers opted for Western education. Even though the Western-educated elite was only a small group of people, it was a significant one in initiating and leading the nationalist struggle. Of course, the majority of this educated elite was male, which helps to account for the predominance of males among the leadership. In later years more and more women gained scholarships to Western, as well as African universities and came back to participate in the elite leadership of African nations.
Indeed, a woman with a university education gained easy access to the educated elite. Her chances of becoming part of the national leadership were enhanced if she had both university education and the familial link alluded to earlier. It is useful to note, although it comes as no surprise, that chances for higher education are related to linkages with families prominent in the nationalist struggle. Thus, the element of ascription also creeps into yet another channel for elite formation — education — which on its face is achievement-oriented.

Elite formation has to be seen in the socio-political context of African nations. The four socio-political factors affecting elite formation are — pluralism, relationship of elite to mass, ethnicity and equal representation. The majority of Third World societies are pluralistic. The pluralistic model has been criticised by Parry who stated that the "pluralistic analyses of power structure offers a picture of diversity but not equality." Parry suggests that from a "radical democratic" point of view pluralists are paying too much attention to the political order and process. They need to be more concerned with the participation of the people in the process of democracy. Indeed, the "radical democrats" including Bacharach and Bottomore believe that the intermediary organisations that
exist for the participation of the citizenry serve the interests of the power elite.

The elite not only continues the control over power but also a monopoly over values that society prizes. As Nyerere points out, "One of the legacies of all bad systems, social and political, is the stratification of society into 'the have' and 'the have nots'." 212

As Lasswell and Kaplan point out:

...persons who occupy a top position with respect to one value are likely to hold correspondingly favorable positions with respect to other values; in fact, this possibility is the agglutination hypothesis. 213

The agglutination process is common in African nations and often leads to resentment building up between the masses and the elite. Pye points out that we have less information on masses than elites. 214 In spite of this, the relationship of the two is crucial to the understanding of the political process. The lack of education among the masses does not mean that they lack the understanding of the agglutination process. The political astuteness of the masses is remarkable. The power elite may have control over the decisions that are made for the masses, but they do not always have the masses' support and esteem. 215 On the other hand the elite influence the masses and to a certain
degree are an "imitable body of persons."216 As Lloyd points out:

The African elite is described as the mediator between Western and traditional influences. Its individual members, born most probably into traditional homes, have to decide what to incorporate from the Western industrial world, what to reject. The masses, furthermore, often look to them for leadership in these matters.... The elite are portrayed as the leaders, not the exploiters of the people.217

In light of the economic system that is evolving under neo-colonialism and the influence of multi-national corporations, it is difficult not to see the elite as exploiters.

One factor that complicates the mass and elite relationship is ethnicity. Dawson and Prewitt suggest that primordial loyalties are formed in the early periods of the individual's life and are very strong.218 Geertz describes primordial loyalties to mean those that are based on blood, race, region, language and religion.219 Ethnicity is even more crucial a factor in Africa where classes have not yet developed. Indeed, the development of class awareness has been inhibited by "the still powerful ethnic division, even within the elites."220

Many studies have been conducted about ethnicity in Africa.221 Some see ethnicity as being dysfunctional to national development and the political process. Other
studies have presented empirical data to show that ethnic pluralism does not cause political instability.  
Wallerstein argues that ethnic pluralism may in effect facilitate integration. Mercier argues that "tribalism is a series of defensive reactions which can quickly disappear when the facts of inequality disappear." However, inequalities often arise due to tribal loyalties. One way of eradicating inequalities and keeping all the ethnic groups satisfied is to have the various groups represented among the power elite. Schacter points out that the recruitment of leaders has to use "ethnic arithmetic" to ensure the legitimacy of the government. In some instances this has led to tokenism on the part of the ethnic group that has a strong hold over the power base. The power elite may even reward members of the ethnic group that support the status quo by giving them political appointments. On the other hand, they may punish those who are not overtly cooperative by keeping them out of the power structure.

Seligam sees representativeness as a double-edged sword:
 Various segments of the society must have formal opportunity for decision-making and also appear to share in the prestige of political elite status. On the one hand, if the elite becomes too oligarchical it jeopardizes the broad public participation it needs to further
develop goals. On the other hand, if in its desire to be representative it becomes too diffuse, some of its effectiveness is lost.\textsuperscript{226}

Literature on elites does not see equal representation of females in the power elite as a problem. Earlier the paucity of women in the political arena was mentioned.\textsuperscript{227} This problem is rarely considered by the literature on elites. Also, the idea of representativeness on the basis of sex is overshadowed by the ethnicity problems. Okonjo proposes that:

Since women constitute at least 50% of the population, constituencies should be enlarged in order to allow for their representation by two persons -- one male and one female. This would ensure that the distribution of sex of the legislature conforms with the demographic situation in the country, and assure parity of representation by sex in the government.\textsuperscript{228}

Most African male leaders have tolerated the presence of a few token females in the top echelons of the power structure, but the idea of equal representation on the basis of sex appears totally unacceptable, even when women have the qualifications to do the jobs.

In regards to the characteristics of the African elites, there are many basic similarities between the male and the female elites. The elite have high educational achievement especially in comparison to the masses. Many have higher degrees from Western as well
as African universities. However, higher education was not emphasised until African nations were close to achieving independence. While it was never stressed by the colonial administration, astute leaders such as Mboya were responsible for emphasising higher education for Africans. His "spectacular 'air lift' of Kenyan students to the United States emphasised the urgency of the problem in regard to the shortage of Africans with higher degrees."229

The scarcity of university training explains the recruitment of Africans without high levels of education to high administrative and political posts soon after independence. Lloyd presents the following analysis about the problem of filling these posts with men of lower qualifications:

...conflict will develop when the better-educated men enter the ranks below them. In Tanzania for instance, much of the work of administration at the local level is apparently carried out by the T.A.N.U. agents -- men holding office by virtue of their political activity and loyalty. These men are likely to be threatened when the educational system has produced sufficient men to staff a regular bureaucracy.230

Lloyd's analysis is also applicable to women for one notes that younger women with higher education are having to compete with older men who are less educated and who are entrenched in high positions of government.
Another characteristic of the African elite is Christianity. The majority of African men and women are Christians — especially south of the Sahara. Education and Christianity have close links from colonial times when all the schools available were run by the missions. Scanlon points out that "Christianity and education have been inextricably bound together."\(^{231}\)

The majority of this educated Christian elite is found in the urban centres. Most of them work for the government and the public sector. The government bureaucracy is highly achievement oriented, thus education is crucial for employment.\(^{232}\) As mentioned earlier the administrative type positions are rarely held by women.\(^{233}\) The lack of opportunities in the higher echelons of the urban bureaucracy for women has meant that many of them have turned to teaching. It is interesting to note that the Kenyan African male elite with higher education during colonial times also turned to teaching because of the lack of opportunities in the administrative and political spheres which were then dominated by the white settlers.

These characteristics of the African elite drastically limit their size. The exclusion of women from some administrative positions and the lack of educational facilities for them makes female elite
membership even smaller than that of the men. One channel that women have of joining elite ranks is via marriage. Often women without very much education have become prominent because of marital ties. The processes that affect elite formation and their specific characteristics have to be seen in terms of the field of this study -- Kenyan female elite.

Thus, tracing the development of the role of the Kenyan female elite, the effect of traditionalism, colonialism, and modernisation as well as the characteristics of African elites has to be kept in mind. The salience of these three processes becomes clear as one proceeds with the analysis of the Kenyan female elite. In identifying the Kenya female elite certain relevant questions need to be addressed. Lasswell and Lerner's study of political elites provides an excellent paradigm for identifying elites. According to his study, the following questions have to be asked to enable us to identify and categorise power elites:-

1) Who are they?
2) In what arenas do they function?
3) What base values are at their disposal?
4) What are their perspectives?
5) What strategies do they use?
6) How successful are they in influencing outcomes and effects?
This analytical framework will be used in the following chapters to present the Kenyan female elite.
NOTES -- CHAPTER III


8. Sharma, op. cit., p. 86.


10. Sharma, op. cit., p. 86.


12. ibid., pp. 44-45.


22. See Chapter I, Section 2.


24. *ibid.*, pp. 140-144.

25. *ibid.*


34. ibid., p. 19.

35. ibid., p. 19-20.

36. See Chapter II, Section on Historical Perspective.


42. Interview with Terry Kantai, Director, Women's Bureau, Kenya, April 14, 1978.


44. Papanek, op. cit., p. 15.


47. Tinker, op. cit., p. 3.

48. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Sub-Committee on International Organizations and Movements, "International Protection of Human Rights" (hearings August - December 1973), 93rd Congress, p. 44.


50. Ibid.


58. See Chapter I, Section 2, footnote number 102.


60. The study was conducted around the 3rd Avenue Parklands area and Riverside Drive, between January and April of 1978.


62. Boserup, op. cit., p. 102, Table 15.

63. ibid.

66. ibid., p. 112-116.
67. ibid., p. 114.
69. ibid.
70. Papanek, op. cit., p. 16.
77. Little, op. cit., see Chapter 6.


85. ILO, 1972, op. cit., p. 296.

86. Raju, op. cit., p. 39.


88. Raju, op. cit., p. 58.

89. ILO, 1972, op. cit., p. 297.


98. Z. P. Reeves, "Introducing Community Development among the Wakena," in Occasional Papers on Community Development, 1, 1962, Nairobi, pp. 67-68.


100. Pala and Seidman, op. cit., p. 32.


103. ibid., p. 125.

104. ibid.

105. Tinker, op. cit., p. 5.

106. ibid.


112. Sullerot, Women Society and Change, op. cit., p. 204.


114. Phoebe Asiyo, Interview.


130. Mbilinyi, "'New Woman' . . .," op. cit., p. 69.


136. Duverger, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.


140. *ibid*.


144. See Chapter II, section on Historical Perspective: Ecological.


157. Tiger, op. cit., p. 76.

158. Duverger, op. cit., p. 126.


160. ibid., p. 104.

161. ibid., p. 102.


167. Mbiliyni, op. cit.


170. Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 139.


188. ibid., Jan 1946 - Dec 1956.


194. ibid.

195. ibid.


200. ibid.

202. ibid.


227. See Chapter III, sections a. and b. in Women and Political Development.

228. Okonjo, op. cit., p. 212.


230. ibid., p. 18.


Chapter IV

Research Methodology

In this chapter the methods of research and analysis used for the study will be presented. The following questions have to be answered: 1) What is the significance of Nairobi as a research site? 2) Who are the respondents for this study and how were they chosen? 3) What were the data collection procedures? 4) What kinds of hypotheses can be formulated for this study? and 5) What are the techniques of analysis?

1. The Significance of Nairobi as a Research Site.

The research for this study was conducted between December 1977 and May 1978 in Nairobi, Kenya. The choice of Nairobi as a research site is significant because of the prevalence of African elites in the large urban centers. Nairobi is not only the capital and the seat of the central government of Kenya, but also a growing metropolis and the largest urban center in East Africa. Most foreign firms and agencies select Nairobi as their headquarters for the East African region and sometimes the African area. The presence of the central government, foreign business, industry, and international organisations has led to the dynamic growth of Nairobi. This growth has been costly for it is accompanied by the urban problems of crowding and the resultant tension.
In regards to this study Nairobi is significant for the pull it exerts on ambitious Kenyans from all parts of the nation. The elite of Kenya is naturally attracted to Nairobi for it is in Nairobi that the occupational opportunities -- whether as politicians, civil servants, entrepreneurs, or professionals -- are most abundant. The elite/mass dichotomy is apparent in Nairobi for, along with the elite, Nairobi attracts the rural person who is seeking to improve his/her life by gaining employment in the industrial sector. The majority of these rural people live in the 'ghetto' areas of Nairobi in appalling conditions while the elite live on the outskirts of the city in suburbs that are reflective of their wealth and status. A comparison of the female elite and the female masses would have been a very interesting study, however, the time element did not permit such a venture.

2. Selection of Respondents

The respondents for this study were limited to the elite females in Nairobi.\(^1\) Included in this elite were women who had been elected or appointed to the legislature, as well as women in other fields. "The elite are the influential." The paucity of females in politics -- only four elected and one appointed representative in the National Legislative body -- was part of the reason why other fields were also included. As Wendell Bell
states in his study of Jamaican elites:

Persons occupying the 'command posts' in institutions other than government need to be considered. Leaders in business, religion, education, law, medicine and other institutional sectors also exert influence on public affairs...²

The key person or persons with familiarity in the various fields gave two to four names of women they considered to be in 'command positions' in their fields and a final list of sixty women was formulated. Of these, forty-one women (68%) were interviewed.

Another source of female elite was the leaders of women's organisations. Justin Green's study of female leaders in the Philippines shows the linkage between the female elite and the organisations. Among the Philippino female elite a majority of the women held office in women's organisations. Fifty-one percent of Green's sample held five or more organisational offices and only 5% were reported to hold none. This correlation between female elites and organisational leadership is also prevalent in other Third World nations.³

In Kenya there are thirty-three womens' organisations that are affiliated with the National Council of Women in Kenya (NCWK).⁴ Although NCWK is an umbrella body for the other organisations, it has also been functioning as an organisation itself. From NCWK's list of organisations (see Appendix 3) a representative list of organisations
was made. The organisations chosen were:

1) National Council of Women in Kenya (NCWK)
2) Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MWY)
3) Kenya Association of University Women (KAUW)
4) East African Women's League (EAWL)
5) Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)
6) Zonta Club of Nairobi (ZONTA)
7) Ismailia Women's Organisation (IWO)
8) Kenya Consumer's Organisation (KCO)
9) Kenya Association of Secretaries (KSA)
10) Nairobi Business and Professional Women's Club (NBPWC)

The Chairpersons of each organisation were contacted and interviewed. Permission was sought to attend the executive committee meetings of some of these organisations and names and addresses of the committee members were gathered to facilitate contacting each person individually and to fill out a questionnaire or gain an interview where deemed necessary.

Another group of females who were contacted were police women who hold high ranking positions in the police force. These women were included because their positions represent both authority and power. Indeed, a comparison of police women and other female elites would add another dimension to this study. The highest ranking officer -- Assistant Superintendent -- was interviewed extensively and ten other high ranking
officers filled out the questionnaires.

To summarize, these women can be divided into the following core groups:

a) Women in political office -- this includes political office attained by both election and appointment.

b) Women in organisations -- this includes women who are leaders of women's organisations, especially organisations that play a leading role such as NCWK and MYW. In turn each organisation can be seen as a unit of analysis.

c) Women in business and professions -- this includes women who own their own business, those that are employed in business and those women that are employed in a professional category such as lawyer, civil servant, professor, etc.

d) Police women -- this category is restricted to top ranked police women only.

The above categories represent the core groups. These core groups often overlap. In other words, the political elite is also seen as the civic elite; the civic elite and the political elite are also part of the business elite; and so on. These categories will be useful for analysis, however, it is the individual respondent who will provide the basic unit of analysis. In addition
to the forty-one women that were interviewed, seventy-one women filled out the questionnaire.

3. Data Collection Procedures

In this study, the relative inaccessibility of the subject population (the female elite in Kenya) complicated the data collection. For example, when the researcher tried to make contact with Margaret Kenyatta, it took some four months of persistent calling and sitting outside her office to get an interview.

a) Interviews. Interviews were a frequently used procedure, especially where the person was in very high office. Contacting an interviewee was half the battle. Often several appointments had to be made before an interview could take place. One of the worst problems was the extreme apprehension that was expressed, sometimes overtly, by the interviewees. Many women needed the assurance that the interview would not be published. Margaret Kenyatta was especially concerned and wanted to make sure that this interviewer was not a journalist. This attitude precluded tape recording the interview. Indeed, with most people, even notetaking had to be judiciously avoided.

Between 1-3 hours were spent with each individual. When the interviewee showed a desire to continue,
the interviewer did not make any attempt to end the interview. Some interviews had to be conducted over several meetings. In addition, in-depth studies of a few of the interviewees were conducted. The interviews were directed towards finding out the following:

i) the attitude of women towards being in politics and having more women in politics;

ii) their political aspirations;

iii) their ideas about the role and status of women in Kenya; and

iv) their ideas about the role and function of women's organisations in Kenya.

b. The Questionnaire

The guidelines for formulating the questionnaire were from two studies on Third World elite females — Chaney's female elite study in Chile and Peru and Boals's study of women in Algeria. The questionnaire was constructed after several review sessions with the Director of the Women's Bureau, Terry Kantai, in Kenya, as well as Dr. M. Mueller of the Sociology Department of the University of Nairobi. Another person who assisted in the formulation of the questionnaire was Ms. Rose Waveru of the Women's Bureau. Several questions were added at their suggestion. Their concern about some of the controversial questions led to the elimination of such questions. This help was especially useful in obtaining the approval of the study
Over 300 questionnaires were distributed; the potential respondents were invited to meet with the researcher so that the instrument could be explained and filled out during a personal meeting. This time-consuming procedure was calculated to elicit the most meaningful response and to afford a chance for useful conversation. The response, with persistent efforts at follow-through by the researcher, resulted in sixty-one questionnaires being completed. Ten additional questionnaires were given to an Assistant Superintendent of Police, and they were administered by the Police Headquarters and returned to the researcher. Considering the scarcity of the subject population, this was a substantial sample. The questionnaires were oriented towards gaining the following information: --

i) respondents' occupations;

ii) types of women's organisation(s) with which the respondents were associated;

iii) respondents' positions in the organisation(s)

iv) respondents' perceptions of the political efficacy of their organisation(s)

v) respondents' understanding of the functions of their organisation(s)

vi) the types of political socialisation of the respondents

vii) respondents' opinions about male and female
members of government;

viii) respondents' opinions about government activity;

ix) respondents' views of the future role of women in Kenya;

x) the consciousness level of the respondents;

xi) respondents' levels of trust related to socio-economic status;

xii) respondents' opinions about women's emancipation.

c) Meetings

A third and very useful form of data collection procedure was attending meetings of women's organisations, luncheons, and other functions. This gave the researcher an opportunity to make an in-depth analysis of the female elite and their functions. It was especially fortunate that the Annual General Meetings of both MYW and NCWK took place while the research was being conducted. Edda Gachukia and other women's organisations invited this researcher to attend their executive committee meetings. The meetings attended were helpful in the following areas.

i) they gave the researcher an opportunity to interact with the elite, informally;

ii) they allowed the researcher to observe the functioning of both the elite and women's organisations; and

iii) they allowed the researcher to interview some of the women without setting up formal interviews.
d) Magazines and Articles

And, finally, the fourth source of information was from magazines published by women's organisations, the popular magazines, and newspaper articles. The newspapers used were Daily Nation, Standard, and Nairobi Sunday Times. Viva and African Woman were the two popular women's magazines that were utilised. The purpose was to ascertain issues that elite women were concerned about; the imagery that is used to represent women in these magazines; and the types of advertisements used in women's magazines. In regards to magazines of women's organisations -- Kenya Women by NCWK, Sauti ya Mbibi by the MYW, and Women in Kenya by the East African Women's League -- were used to analyse the workings of the women's organisations and their attitudes toward the problems confronted by women.

4. Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated with special reference to other research on female elites and women in the West and the Non-West. Special consideration was given to the socio-political context of Kenyan society. The hypotheses were written to test both bi-variate and single variable propositions. There were six major areas of concern:

a) organisational differences;

b) socio-political characteristics of the individual;
c) the political socialisation of the individual;
d) the political attitudes of the individual;
e) ethnic affiliation; and
f) power differential in relation to occupations.

a) Organisational Differences

i) Inter-organisational
1. Women belonging to rural-origin organisations will have a lower prestige and education than women belonging to urban-origin organisations.
2. Members of the rural-origin organisations will rank lower on the Consciousness Scale than the urban-origin organisations members. (Scales will be described in section B.)
3. The professional women's organisation will have the highest ranking on the Consciousness Scale.

ii) The Individual and the Organisation
1. More respondents will give 'helping the country' and 'helping women' as a reason for joining organisations
2. A greater number of members will see the function of their organisations as civic rather than political.
3. The lower the level of authority of a woman, the less effective she will find the leadership of her organisation.
4. The lower the level of authority of a woman, the less success she will attribute to the functions of her organisation.
5. Respondents that have a high ranking on the Power Differential Scale will have a higher ranking on the Organisational Authority Scale.

b) Socio-political Characteristics of the Individual

i) Personal Characteristics

1. The higher the age of the respondent, the lower her level of education.

2. Women with lower socio-economic status will see money as essential for getting ahead in life.

3. Women with higher socio-economic status will rank 'professional preparation' as an important requirement for getting ahead in life more than 'having money.'

4. Women will see their lack of education as one of the most important barriers to their emancipation.

5. Respondents will see women in occupations of higher wages as more emancipated than women in occupations of lower wages.

ii) The Individual in Relation to the Family

1. Respondents' families will give greater support for her job-related work than for her work in women's organisations.

2. Respondents' husbands will give greater support for the females' job-related work than for work in women's organisations.

iii) The Individual's Level of Trust

1. The respondents will show a greater amount of trust
for females and mothers than for males and fathers.
2. The respondents with higher socio-economic status will have a higher level of trust than respondents with lower socio-economic status.
3. The respondents will trust male and female politicians equally.

iv) The Individual and the Consciousness Scale
1. The higher the educational level of the respondent, the higher the ranking on the Consciousness Scale.
2. Respondents who have lived abroad will have a higher ranking on the Consciousness Scale.
3. The lower the age of the respondent, the higher the ranking on the Consciousness Scale.

c) The Political Socialisation of the Individual
1. The agents responsible for the political socialisation of the respondents are all males.
2. The respondents will report greater political activity by their male relatives than by their female relatives.
3. Respondents whose families talked about politics will also show a greater interest in politics.
4. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Prestige Scale, the greater the political interest.

d) Political Attitudes of the Individual
1. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Consciousness Scale, the lower the trust in government leaders.
2. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Power Differential Scale, the greater the trust in government leaders.

3. The higher the education of the female, the greater the belief in female capability in politics.

4. Respondents with higher rankings on the Power Differential Scale will see higher competence of women in government jobs related to 'feminine' tasks than in 'masculine' tasks.

5. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Power Differential Scale, the higher her perception of political efficacy.

e) Ethnic Affiliation

1. The larger the representation of an ethnic group, the greater the trust for government leaders by that ethnic groups' members.

2. The lower the representation in government of an ethnic group, the greater the cynicism of that ethnic group.

3. The higher the education of the respondent, the greater the chance of inter-ethnic marriage.

4. The greater the involvement of an ethnic group in the anti-colonial struggle, the greater the anti-colonial resentment of that group.

f) Power Differential in Relation to Occupations

1. Women in power will show greater support for the status quo.
2. Women in power will have a lower ranking on the Consciousness Scale.
3. Women holding positions of power will show less political cynicism.
4. Women holding positions of power will have a higher level of political efficacy.
5. Women in power will respond more negatively on feminist issues than women not in power.

5. Techniques of Analysis

A) Construction of Scales

Several variables from the questionnaire were used to construct various scales. These scales were used in testing the above mentioned hypotheses. Five statistical scales were constructed — 1) Prestige Scale; 2) Consciousness Scale (with 4 sub scales); 3) Organisational Authority Scale; 4) Political Cynicism Scale; and 5) Power Differential Scale.

(i) Prestige Scale

This scale was based on the assumption that each respondent's level of prestige was dependent on her occupation and education as well as her husband's occupation and education. Occupation and education are two basic components of the amount of prestige attributed to an individual. Based on studies of occupational prestige each respondent's occupation was given a numerical scoring. The dynamics of Kenyan Society had to be borne in mind in rank ordering the occupations of the respondents. The dearth of African occupational prestige studies, especially
on women, made the scoring of the respondents' occupations a difficult task. A certain amount of subjectivity was unavoidable. Thus interpretation of data using this scale will have to be made with great caution and will be used along with other variables.

Each occupation in the sample was given a score between 1 and 99, (See Appendix 4; Prestige Scoring of Occupations). For example, an Assistant Minister was assigned a score of 95, a Magistrate 69, and a Secretary 18 points. One has to bear in mind that the range of respondents does not include non-elite women and that the scores represent the prestige level of an individual on the basis of the value-system prevalent in Kenya. The valuations are not representative of the investigator's own feelings of how much prestige an occupation should be awarded.

The Prestige Scale was composed of an individual's occupational value (1-9); her husband's occupational value (1-9); her educational level (primary school=3, secondary=6, and university=9) and her husband's educational level (values same as above). Based on these four variables each individual was awarded a score that was designated as her level on the Prestige Scale.

(ii) **Consciousness Scale**

This scale is based on a study of Algerian women by Kay Boals. The author presents a framework for the study of the politics of cultural liberation. She uses
the framework as:

"...A model for the study for the dialectic between culturally dominant and culturally oppressed groups and applies that model to one case: that of male-female relations in Algeria still caught in the dialectic of colonizer and colonized. Culturally oppressed groups mean, for example, women in male dominated and masculine-value-oriented societies, blacks in white America, homosexuals in straight society, and colonized peoples in colonial and post-colonial societies."^9

Boals' framework is more applicable in the context of her study where the Islamic traditions and the French colonial system created an oppressive situation and various types of consciousness levels for the women of Algeria. Boals uses the following categories to describe the consciousness levels of Algerian women: traditional consciousness, traditionalist consciousness, assimilationist consciousness, reformist consciousness, revolutionary consciousness and modernizing consciousness.

In applying Boals' model to Kenya one has to keep in mind the difference between the French and British colonial rules and the fact that among the majority of the Kenyan female elite Islam was not a dominant force.
Thus the model's applicability in the Kenyan context causes some problems. Boals' analysis is useful where an in-depth interview of a respondent can be carried out and where some background information about the respondent is available. Based on Boals' framework and bearing in mind the context of this study a modified consciousness scale was constructed.

Since a large number of variables (17) were to be used for constructing the Consciousness Scale, factor analysis and correlation coefficients were used. Factor analysis is a statistical technique that lends itself well to "synthesizing a large amount of data" and scale construction was utilized.\textsuperscript{10} The technique of factor analysis uses correlation coefficients (r) to compute the correlation between two variables. Quantitatively this bivariate relationship is described by r which varies from -1.00 to +1.00. A +1.00 shows a perfect relationship and one that is positive. In other words individuals who scored high on one variable also scored high on the other variable. A -1.00 coefficient represents a negative relationship in which individuals who scored low on one variable also scored low on the other variable. The correlation coefficients were computed on all 17 items and the computer was used to place these values into 6 factors, so as to determine which variables correlate highly. The result of the computer analysis is presented in the following varimax rotated factor matrix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
<th>Factor 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Circumcision was good</td>
<td>0.00563</td>
<td>-0.44627</td>
<td>0.22292</td>
<td>0.05147</td>
<td>-0.19655</td>
<td>0.09532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government has responded well to tradition</td>
<td>0.36872</td>
<td>-0.15780</td>
<td>-0.11370</td>
<td>-0.14661</td>
<td>0.01786</td>
<td>0.57637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We need to go back to extended family</td>
<td>-0.53030</td>
<td>-0.14193</td>
<td>0.03714</td>
<td>0.17832</td>
<td>-0.06391</td>
<td>0.05881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working women's important role is mother/wife</td>
<td>-0.18092</td>
<td>0.17304</td>
<td>-0.22309</td>
<td>0.16647</td>
<td>-0.04474</td>
<td>0.47579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education does not mean disregarding housework</td>
<td>0.09070</td>
<td>0.14873</td>
<td>-0.09535</td>
<td>-0.06002</td>
<td>0.01099</td>
<td>0.49557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African women should wear Western dress</td>
<td>0.14841</td>
<td>0.40183</td>
<td>0.29239</td>
<td>0.03206</td>
<td>-0.33715</td>
<td>0.07211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should not have more than one wife</td>
<td>-0.01764</td>
<td>0.83339</td>
<td>0.13480</td>
<td>-0.09375</td>
<td>0.00186</td>
<td>0.04328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We must eradicate bridewealth</td>
<td>-0.01487</td>
<td>0.12890</td>
<td>0.14494</td>
<td>0.07858</td>
<td>0.89960</td>
<td>-1.0512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give up traditionalism and become Westernized</td>
<td>-0.14563</td>
<td>0.06775</td>
<td>0.91660</td>
<td>-0.06241</td>
<td>0.17041</td>
<td>-1.0620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have good political institutions in traditional system</td>
<td>-0.10447</td>
<td>0.06240</td>
<td>0.09119</td>
<td>0.02792</td>
<td>0.14637</td>
<td>-1.3377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonisers reduced African women's status</td>
<td>-0.11184</td>
<td>0.00577</td>
<td>-0.02038</td>
<td>0.41877</td>
<td>0.07870</td>
<td>-0.02418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonisers did not provide education for women</td>
<td>0.40145</td>
<td>-0.06343</td>
<td>-0.03258</td>
<td>0.42295</td>
<td>0.08976</td>
<td>0.00240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African women worked harder during colonialism</td>
<td>0.06094</td>
<td>0.13050</td>
<td>0.00713</td>
<td>0.49403</td>
<td>-0.42774</td>
<td>-0.25499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentrate on role of women in development</td>
<td>0.15171</td>
<td>0.16967</td>
<td>0.08205</td>
<td>0.34775</td>
<td>0.59545</td>
<td>0.51295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya women are free</td>
<td>0.07588</td>
<td>-0.09937</td>
<td>-0.11842</td>
<td>-0.06903</td>
<td>0.15217</td>
<td>0.39607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working women should have less children</td>
<td>0.23912</td>
<td>0.41059</td>
<td>0.05639</td>
<td>0.07538</td>
<td>0.02562</td>
<td>0.03027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working parents should share housework</td>
<td>0.76608</td>
<td>0.06437</td>
<td>-0.10373</td>
<td>0.03057</td>
<td>-0.15143</td>
<td>0.17917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each of the six factors can be used as a "hypothetical variable." In other words, those variables that have high values in each factor can be used to create a sub-scale (thus the term factor scaling). Each sub-scale would represent a consciousness level. At this juncture a name has not been assigned to the factor. As Bailey put it, "with factor scaling we draw the scale directly from the data...and do not name it until after it is constructed. The factor scale is usually given a name derived from the variable that correlates most highly with it." Thus in Table 7-1 the items that qualify in each of the six factors are circled and the following consciousness scales were constructed from each of the factors:

Factor 1. Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale
Factor 2. Anti-Exploitative of Female Sexuality Consciousness Scale
Factor 3. Anti-Westernizing Consciousness Scale
Factor 4. Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale
Factor 5. Developmental Consciousness Scale
Factor 6. Traditionalist Consciousness Scale

Further analysis revealed that Factor 5 -- Developmentalist Consciousness Scale -- and Factor 6 -- Traditionalist Consciousness Scale -- did not show any significant statistical utility. Thus, these two factors were excluded from the Consciousness Scale and the four sub-scales that were used are described below.
a) **Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale**

This scale is based on the respondent's attitudes towards the type of family structure. The respondents were asked to give their opinions on the following two statements—1) To save the family we need to go back to the extended family system; and 2) Working parents should share household responsibilities equally. The scale was constructed by assigning a value to the individual's response to each of the two statements. The values were added and ranged from 1-4. For each individual, a value of one represents a high score on the Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale and a value of four represents a low score. (The scoring system will also be used for the following 3 scales). The purpose of constructing such a scale was to decipher the level of modernity, egalitarianism and androgeny of the female elite in Kenya.

b) **Anti-exploitative of Female Sexuality Consciousness Scale**

This consciousness scale is based on women's feelings about traditional practices that may be considered exploitative of their sexuality. The statements used to construct this scale were—1) Clitrodectomy (female circumcision) was a good traditional custom and should be continued; and 2) Men should be allowed to have more than one wife. It can be argued that, whereas, it is doubtful whether either clitrodectomy and polygamy were practiced for the purpose of exploiting females, one feels that there
continued use would have some exploitative connotation. Thus the response of the individual to the above statements would reflect their feelings towards the exploitation of female sexuality.

c) **Anti-Westernizing Consciousness Scale**

As reported in Table 7-1, in Factor 5 the statement—

we have to give up our traditional African ways and become Westernized so that Kenya can develop—stands out as the most significant item in that factor. It was used to formulate this scale on the basis that those respondents who would strongly agree with this statement would rank very low and vice versa. The purpose of this scale was to observe the Kenyan female elite's feelings about Westernisation.

d) **Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale**

The three statements that were used to construct this scale are; 1) The important role and status that women had in traditional Africa was reduced by the oppressive system of the colonisers; 2) The colonisers did not provide sufficient facilities for educating women; and 3) Women in the colonial system had to work harder than in the traditional African system. Respondents who strongly agreed with the above three statements received a high ranking on this consciousness scale and vice-versa.

e) **Total Consciousness Scale**

The scores of each respondent on the Consciousness Scales were added to give them a ranking on the Total
Consciousness Scale. This scale was used in analysing the general consciousness level of an individual.

(iii) **Organisational Authority Scale**

This scale was constructed to rank respondents holding offices in women's organisations by the number and the position of offices they held. Values were assigned to each office held by the respondent and these were added to give the individual a ranking on the Organisational Authority Scale. This scale was used in the hypotheses dealing with the women's organisations.

(iv) **Political Cynicism Scale**

This scale was constructed to measure the opinions of female elites about the effectiveness of the government and their level of trust in the government officials. The following variables were used to determine the level of political cynicism felt by the respondent in regards to her government and leaders: 1) Do you think that government employees are concerned with resolving the problems that confront Kenya; 2) Do government activities improve the conditions of the people; 3) Do you think that the laws and activities of the National government have some effect on the daily lives of the citizens; and 4) Can one trust government leaders?

The political Cynicism Scale was particularly useful in observing the levels of political cynicism among various tribes.
(v) **Power Differential Scale**

In this scale the occupation of each respondent was evaluated on the basis of the amount of power the individual could derive from that occupation. The respondents were ranked from 1-5. The value of 1 represented the least amount of power and the value of 5 represented the most amount of power. The five categories are as follows: 1) Semi-professionals; 2) Professionals; 3) Business and Administrative; 4) Police; and 5) Political. This scale was constructed to observe if an individual's level of power determines the differences in her socio-political attitudes.

**B. Statistics used to Present the Variables**

The statistics used will be presented as single variable, bivariate and multivariate analyses. For the single variable the statistic utilised will be frequency distributions. Several variables from the questionnaire are significant on their own. Thus, the response to a single variable will be presented in the form of a frequency. For example, it will be interesting to note how many females were influenced by their mothers in regards to their political socialisation. The frequency distribution on the question -- did your mother speak about politics -- will give a clear picture of the mother's influence on the political socialisation of the respondent.
The most common bivariate statistic that will be utilised will be the cross-tabulation. Here the variables will be presented to observe the effect of an independent on a dependent variable. The cross tabulation will use percentages of number of respondents and percentages of number of responses where more than one answer was chosen by the individual. For example, a cross tabulation can be formulated using the tribe of an individual and her level of political cynicism.

The scales and statistics presented in this chapter will be utilised in testing the hypotheses in the next chapter.
NOTES -- CHAPTER IV

1. An initial list of female elite leaders was composed at a meeting with Professor Mutiso. He recommended several key women who could give other names to be added to this list.


4. Following the full name of each organisation, the initials are given in parentheses. These initials will be used to denote the organisations in the remaining text.

5. This researcher's first experience of data collection in a Third World nation was in 1967 when she was involved with an extensive and well organised Rockefeller study on citizenship and education in East Africa. This survey involved questionnaires that were to be administered to school children. With the cooperation of the Ministry of Education and the schools, the data collection was a relatively easy process.


7. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Subhash Sonnad of the Sociology Department at Western Michigan University for his help with the statistical analysis and the construction of scales.


In this chapter the questionnaire data will be presented. The information gathered from the questionnaire will enable the writer to identify the characteristics and social backgrounds of the Kenyan female elite. This will be followed by a presentation of the data used in testing the hypotheses mentioned in Chapter IV. First of all, this group of women will be analyzed as a unit, in terms of inter-organisational differences and individual relationships within the organisation. Second, hypotheses based on the socio-political background of these individuals will be presented. Third, data on the political socialisation of the female elite will be dealt with. Fourth, the political attitudes of the female elite will be determined. Fifth, the respondent's behavior in regard to her ethnic affiliation will be considered. Finally, the attitudes and behavior of the women in power, especially policewomen, will be analysed.

1. Social Background of the Female Elite

In this section the information gathered from the questionnaire will be examined in the form of single variable frequencies. These frequencies are not
representative of Kenyan women, or of the Kenyan female elite, because the sample was not randomly selected. However, the data does indicate certain features of the elite that may be accepted as common characteristics. The frequencies will give information about the respondent's age, marital age, marital status, family size, education, husband's education, occupation, husband's occupation, and parents' occupations.

**TABLE 8: Respondent's Age, Marital Age, and Marital Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Marital Age</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Over 31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 - 50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 8 the respondents have been categorised by age, marital age, and marital status. The majority of the respondents are fairly young — over 26 years and under 50 years in age. Most of the respondents married below the age of 25. Marriage over the age of 25 seems to be uncommon. It is not surprising, then, that 44% of the women have more than four children. Studies have
revealed that when a woman marries at an older age, she tends to have fewer children. Some of the respondents have as many as nine children. These figures would be more typical of a traditional elite rather than a modern elite.

The large families are even more surprising when one considers that the respondents are all literate. Indeed, the level of education is fairly high -- 23% completed primary school, 37% finished high school, and 40% have university educations. Table 9 reveals the correlation between education and the number of children.

**TABLE 9: The Relationship between Level of Educational Attainment and Respondent's Number of Offspring**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Level of Educational Attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3 children</td>
<td>Primary: 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 9 children</td>
<td>Primary: 60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, as indicated in Table 9, an increase in education tends to be associated with a reduction in the size of the family, there is not a dramatic difference between the size of the family of the primary school educated and the university educated respondents. Indeed, 43% of the university educated women have four or more children. The traditional emphasis on large families continues to linger in the minds of the female
elite. Another interesting explanation that was given by a university educated woman was that the elite can afford to have large families and also that "since the country needs people of high education, the elite should produce more children for they are the only ones who can afford to educate their children at the university level."^2

In regard to the husband's education, it was observed to be equal to or greater than that of the respondents. Thus, typically a male would often marry a female of lesser education but not vice versa. Only one university educated respondent was married to a man with only secondary school education, whereas 21% of the women had husbands with higher education than their own.

The respondents' and their husbands' educational attainment also affected the number of relatives or family members they had living with them. Respondents with higher education preferred a nuclear family mode and did not particularly like to accommodate their relatives.^3

The occupation of each respondent is presented in the Appendix. Table 10, on the following page, divides the respondents into ten occupational categories.

Except for policewomen, political and business women, the majority of the respondents (74%) were selected for their high ranking positions in women's organisations. It is important to note that several of
the occupational categories — political, business, administrative, legal, and university administrative/teaching — are relatively new fields for women to enter. Thus, 78% of the respondents have been in their occupations for less than ten years.

**TABLE 10: Respondent's Occupational Categorisation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Ranking Political</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businesswomen</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Administrative</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Teaching/Administrative</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/School Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants and Policewomen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Professional/Social Workers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Professional/untrained Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The husband's occupational level is usually higher than that of the respondent.

**TABLE 11: Husband's Occupational Categorisation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Ranking Political (Cabinet)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business/Finance</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal/Medical and other Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Teacher etc.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant and Small Businessman</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Professional</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In regard to the parents' occupations, one notes that they are mostly lower than those of the respondents. Only 7% of the fathers have professional jobs. A large
percentage of the fathers are farmers — 45% — and the remainder are semi-professionals. Among the respondents' mothers, the highest occupational level is that of a nurse. The most common occupation listed for the mother is that of farmer — 71%.

Information about social background is useful in understanding the Kenyan female elite. This information also serves as an introduction to the rest of the Chapter in which the data used to test the hypotheses is presented. The hypotheses stated in Chapter IV were tested. Where the hypothesis does not stand as predicted, a short analysis will follow as to why the researcher's prediction was nullified.

2. Organisational Differences

(i) Inter-Organisational

1. Women belonging to rural-origin organisations will have lower prestige and education than women belonging to urban-origin organisations.

The organisation that represents rural origin is MYW. Although the national MYW operates out of Nairobi, the basic structure and function of this organisation makes its orientation more rural than urban. In the following analysis the respondents were categorised in National (urban) leadership and rural leadership, by
virtue of their geographic origin. The urban-origin organisations include the National Council of Women in Kenya (NCWK), the Kenya Association of University Women (KAUW), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the Zonta Club of Kenya (ZONTA). The following cross-tabulations give the figures for the level of education and prestige of the members of each of the above-mentioned organisations.

TABLE 12: Distribution of Education in the Women's Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>MYW (Nairobi)</th>
<th>MYW (Rural)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>KAUW</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NCWK</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZONTA</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank on Prestige Scale</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>MYW (Nairobi)</th>
<th>MYW (Rural)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>KAUW</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NCWK</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZONTA</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above tables show that both education and prestige are higher for the urban-origin organisations than for the rural-origin organisations. The highest levels of education and prestige are found among the NCWK, KAUW, and YWCA leadership. For the KAUW, univer-
sity education is a criterion for membership, thus their high level of education is automatic. Since education and occupation of the individual and spouse are used to construct the Prestige Scale, the university educated women are also found to have higher levels of prestige. It would be expected that they would have the most prestigious occupations. The level of education and prestige among the urban-origin organisations is the lowest for ZONTA. A plausible explanation is that since ZONTA is an organisation that functions more as a social activities club than as a professional organisation, its membership has a mix of women with higher and lower levels of education and prestige.

The most striking inter-organisational difference occurs between the urban-origin and the rural-origin organisations. MYW, both national and rural, represents lower levels of education and prestige. The lowest ranking are among the rural leadership of MYW. It is interesting to note that although only 33% of MYW's national leadership have high education, 56% have high prestige. It seems that their level of prestige has in some instances been improved by their husbands' level of prestige, education, and occupation.

2. Members of the rural-origin organisations will rank lower on the Consciousness Scale than the members of the
The rural-origin organisations rank lower on the consciousness level, especially on those items based on feminist issues. On both the Anti-exploitation of Female Sexuality and Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scales, rural-origin organisations have lower rankings.

TABLE 14: The Relationship between Urban-origin versus Rural-origin Organisations and Anti-exploitation of Female Sexuality Consciousness Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 15: The Relationship between the Urban-origin versus the Rural-origin Organisations and Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The low level of education could be one reason for...
these anti-feminist feelings. Although the above tables do not have strong variance in the figures, other hypotheses on feminist issues, to be presented later, will reveal that women with lower education and prestige are also more conservative and negative about their feelings of femaleness. The total Factor Scale for Consciousness levels also reveals that generally members of rural-origin organisations have lower rankings than members of the urban-origin organisations.

TABLE 16: The Relationship between the Total Consciousness Scale and Urban-origin versus Rural-origin Organisations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on the Total Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 16, 75% of the urban-origin organisations' members have a high ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale. Even though some of the respondents from the rural-origin organisations are nationally oriented and located in large urban centres, their ranking on the Total Consciousness Level Scale is the lowest. Their lower level of education is a plausible explanation.
3. The professional women's organisation (KAUW) will have the highest ranking on the Consciousness Scale.

In comparison to other urban-origin and rural-origin organisations, the professional women's organisation consistently ranked higher on all the Consciousness Scales. Once again the variable that can account for this strong difference is education. The members of the professional women's organisation have the highest level of education among the elite, and thus it is not surprising that their ranking on the Consciousness Scale is also the highest.

(ii) The Individual and the Organisation.

In the previous section, hypotheses were tested by using the type of organisation as one of the two correlated factors. In this section, the individual will be the focus of the analysis. Data based on the individual's relation to the organisation will be analysed. One needs to answer the following questions: Why does the individual join an organisation? What is the individual's perception of her organisation's functions? How does the individual's level of organisational authority affect her attitudes about organisational leadership and functions? And, how does the occupational power of a respondent affect her organisa-
tional efficacy?

1. More respondents will give "helping the country" and "helping women" as the most important reasons for joining organisations.

TABLE 17: Rank Ordering of Respondent's Reasons for Joining an Organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Joining an Organisation</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To help improve the life of women</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help the country</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To gain contact with other women</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For social purposes</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help better myself</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be occupied</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentage of "responses" instead of "respondents" is used to indicate that respondents made more than one choice. Thus, the total number of responses does not equal the total number of respondents. This distinction will be employed wherever respondents choose more than one option.

A majority of respondents feel that helping women and the country are the two most important reasons for joining an organisation. Since most of the respondents are actively involved in their women's organisations, it is not surprising that 33% chose "helping to improve women's lives" as a reason for joining an organisation. Furthermore, the emphasis on self-help, civic duty, and the spirit of "harambee" is reflected in the respondents' choosing "helping the country" as the second most important reason for joining an organisation.
2. A greater number of respondents will see the function of their organisation as civic rather than political.

62% of the respondents consider the functions of their organisations as being related to civic activity. Not a single respondent chose political activities as a function of her organisation. The emphasis on civic duty is reiterated and is clearly the main focus of the organisation's function.

3. The lower the level of organisational authority of the respondent, the less effective she will find the leadership of her organisation.

4. The lower the level of organisational authority of a respondent, the less success she will attribute to the functions of her organisation.

No significant differences were observed in testing the above hypotheses. It was expected that the more removed a respondent is from the authority of the organisation the more cynical she will be about its leader's effectiveness and the success of its functions. However, it seems that the majority of respondents have great faith in both their leadership's effectiveness, and the success of their organisation's functions. In retrospect, one has to consider that even if the
respondents have low ranking authority, their close linkage with the organisation tends to preclude a negative relationship between them and their organisation.

5. **Members of the organisation that have a high ranking on the Power Differential Scale will have higher rankings for the Organisational Efficacy Scale.**

   It is assumed that women who are in positions of authority and power will feel more efficacious than women who are in positions that have low levels of authority. The figures in the following Table show that the only group of women that have low efficacy are those that rank low on the Power Differential Scale.

   **TABLE 18: The Relationship between Power and Organisational Efficacy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking on Power Differential Scale</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ranking on Organisational Efficacy Scale</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Women who rank high on power also rank high on the Organisational Efficacy Scale. Thus, it is not necessarily a woman's organisational authority but her occupational power and authority that is significant
for her work in an organisation. This reflects a very common phenomenon among elites -- the ability to be efficacious by means of who you are, and who you know. Indeed, often organisational authority comes from one's occupational power and level of prestige.

B. Socio-political Characteristics of the Individual

In this section the hypotheses are divided into four areas. The first set of hypotheses will be tested to ascertain the personal characteristics of the individual. This will be followed by hypotheses based on the individual's relation with her family. A third set of hypotheses will test the individual's level of trust for males and females as well as politicians. Finally, the fourth area will deal with the individual and the Consciousness Scales.

(i) Personal Characteristics

The hypotheses based on personal characteristics will deal with the effect of the respondent's education and socio-economic status on her attitudes.

1. The higher the age of a respondent the lower her education.

In this sample of elite women, 42% have university education. Of these, 74% are under 37 years of age.
Even among those with a high school education 79% are under 37 years. Education is a variable that is crucial to women, especially in gaining high occupational positions. The youthfulness of the female educated elite has serious implications, for it may possibly account for their inability to penetrate the deeply entrenched group of older male politicians and be accepted as equals.

2. Women with lower socio-economic status will see "money" and the "help of God" as essential for getting ahead in life.

3. Women with higher socio-economic status will see "professional preparation" as an important requirement for getting ahead in life.

The socio-economic status of the respondents is based on the type of occupations they hold. For example, businesswomen and political women were considered to be in the upper socio-economic bracket, whereas professional women -- such as teachers and lawyers who work as high ranking civil servants-- were designated as being in the middle range. Women who had semi-professional occupations (including policewomen) were placed in the lowest socio-economic category. This categorisation is meaningful relative to only the female
elites. Having low socio-economic status does not mean that these women represent the lowest socio-economic status in Kenya. On the contrary, even the low socio-economic status group is an elite group -- far above the average individual in Kenya.

In the following Table the women's responses to "what are the most important requirements in getting ahead in life" are presented. These responses are divided by the socio-economic status levels of the female elite.

TABLE 19: Respondent's Socio-economic Status and Choice of Most Important Requirement to Get Ahead in Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Requirements Essential to Get Ahead in Life</th>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional preparation</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The help of God</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have money</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To work hard</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have connections</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be lucky</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be capable</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be a man</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have a good husband</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to the second hypothesis regarding the value of money and the help of God, the figures in Table 19 show that the "help of God" and "money" are more significant for lower socio-economic level women than for upper-class women. The women in the medium
range also rate money as an important requirement in getting ahead; whereas, the women with high socio-economic status do not see money as an important requirement for getting ahead in life. The medium and low socio-economic status groups emphasize money because both groups are struggling to keep up with standards and see women with money in positions where they would like to be. The lack of a high income is especially painful for the middle stratum women who have high education but low monetary rewards, and who are in constant touch with the women of higher socio-economic status. The affluence of the higher socio-economic group and their capability in using their money to get ahead in a capitalistic Kenya makes the medium group even more concerned with acquiring higher incomes. Thus, their rating money as the fourth most important requirement for getting ahead in life is quite consistent with this attitude.

It is interesting to note that among the low socio-economic status group the "help of God" ranks as the highest requirement to get ahead in life. An exploitative structure socialises this class to think this way: "hang on to God" because it becomes easier to exploit them then. Additionally, their lack of education and perhaps lack of opportunity to get ahead in life probably makes them more fatalistic than are the
other groups, and thus, more dependent on supernatural
forces.

Among all three socio-economic strata "professional
preparation" and "to be capable" rank high. In com-
parison, the high and medium socio-economic status
groups rank "professional preparation" as the most
important requirement. Both the high and the medium
socio-economic status groups have the option of acquiring
professional preparation, and majority of them have
used it. In the low group, professional preparation
ranks fourth. The lack of availability of professional
preparation (due to its high cost) to the low socio-
economic status group may be a plausible explanation.

Finally, one notes the emphasis of a small number
of respondents in each group on the conjugal relation-
ship -- 7 to 8% in each group felt that having a good
husband is an essential requirement in getting ahead.
Undoubtedly, if the Kenyan female elite is involved in
traditional marriage in which the husband is accepted
by her as the dominant partner, then it would be crucial
"to have a good husband" -- one who allows his wife the
freedom to get ahead in life.

4. Women will see their lack of education as one of the
most important barriers to their emancipation.

In the following Table the respondents indicate
education as being the most significant condition necessary for the women. The second aspect that respondents see as crucial for the process of female emancipation is women's own efforts to free themselves. This is followed by the need to increase female political representation. It is surprising that the lack of educational facilities for women does not lead to a high ranking for "parliamentary sanctions." Surely if females are to gain an education, they cannot acquire it if the system does not make an effort to eradicate the sexual imbalances that are prevalent in the educational system.

TABLE 20: Rank Ordering of Conditions Needed for Women's Emancipation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions for Emancipation</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Own Efforts for Freedom</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Political Representation</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Laws for Women's Rights</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Sanctions</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Women in Business</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An End of Traditional Values</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphasis on education is reiterated in the following Table in which "lack of education" is considered to be one of the most important barriers to women's emancipation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barriers to Female Emancipation</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Education</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Lack of Interest</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Values</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men in General</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Mentality</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Legal Status</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving Birth</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Politicians</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westernisation</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 21, the most important barrier to female emancipation seems to be the lack of education. This is followed by "women's own lack of interest" and "men in general." It is interesting to note that women see themselves as well as men as barriers to their emancipation. Traditional values go hand in hand, accounting for the barriers to female emancipation. However, in Table 20 women do not see ending traditional values as a necessary condition for gaining emancipation. Their feelings about traditional values seem to be ambivalent. Where traditional values are barriers to female emancipation and are linked with stereotyped male and female mentalities they should be discarded; this does not mean that all of them have to be thrown out, however. One notes a validity in this distinction -- not all traditional values are detrimental to the female role in developing Kenya.
5. Respondents will see women in occupations with higher wages as more emancipated than women in occupations with lower wages.

Respondents were asked to rank order three occupational groupings of women that they considered to be most emancipated. The results are presented in the following Table.

**TABLE 22: Rank Ordering of Respondent's Choice of the Most Emancipated Women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Grouping</th>
<th>Percentage of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Businesswomen</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Politicians</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Workers</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Women</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data from Table 22 clearly reveal that women in occupations with high wages are considered to be more emancipated than those in occupations with low wages. Businesswomen rank the highest, followed by lawyers, nurses, and female politicians. Not a single respondent designated labourers as an emancipated group. At the bottom of the ranking were civil servants, secretaries, university students, and market women. As a female
scientist put it while answering this question, "emancipation is related to how much money you have." A reasonable explanation for nurses sharing the top rank is that nursing is viewed as a feminine task. It is also an older profession especially in comparison to such professions as doctors and female politicians. The association of a nurse with someone who has the capability to heal and even give life considerably enhances her amount of respect and prestige. This identification is even more pronounced for the nurse than for the female doctor, whose numerical paucity makes her contact with the public minimal. This partially explains the abysmally low ranking of female doctors as an emancipated group.

The above Table seems to reflect some theoretical concerns about women's occupations. The high ranking of nurses and teachers is indicative of the respondent's acceptance of the association of these jobs with women. Along with the acceptance of these Western stereotypes is an acceptance of the capitalistic/materialistic orientation of Kenyan society. Thus, their emphasis on the businesswomen rather than the market women or the labourers. The concern of elite women seems to be with elite women. They disregard the market women and the labourers as emancipated groups of women, despite these women's significant contributions to economic develop-
ment. One could suggest here that although these two groups of women earn low incomes, they are very enterprising and have a great deal of independence and freedom of mobility. Another reason why elite women rank labourers and market women lowest is their lack of education. However, this does not hold true, because university students and civil servants are also in the lower ranking. Generally speaking, the earning capacity of an occupation seems to be the most significant criterion in considering the women in that occupation as emancipated or not.

(ii) Individual in Relation to the Family

The dependency of African women on men in urban centres was discussed, within a theoretical framework, in Chapter II. In addition to this factor, the importance of "a good husband" for personal advancement, as we have just noted, suggests that the respondent's relation with the family and husband are crucial in the female elite's lives. The following two hypotheses were based on the family's and the husband's attitude toward the respondent's organisational and job-related work.

1. Respondents' families will give greater support for job-related work than for work in women's organisations.

2. Respondents' husbands will give greater support for
job-related work than for work in women's organisations.

Table 23, which follows, indicates that the respondent's husband is perceived as giving lesser support for women's work, both at her job and for her organisation, compared to that of her family. The category of "very important" reflects the decreasing support as one moves from job to organisational work as well as from family to husband. Men seem to be reasonably supportive of their wives' job-related work, although such activities may interfere with their wifely duties. The drastic drop in support -- from 73% by family to 55% by husband may be the result of the economic advantages of their work tempered by less available time to spend on home and husband. However, the lack of tangible gain from the organisational work may be the reason for the family's and especially the husband's low level of support. Work in women's organisations is time-consuming, and the majority of the women have children and full-time occupations. This may well explain the relative lack of enthusiasm on the part of the husbands for their wives' organisational work.
TABLE 23: Support by Family and Husband for Respondent's Job and Organisational Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance Given to Respondent's Work</th>
<th>by Family for Job</th>
<th>by Husband for Job</th>
<th>by Family for Organisational Work</th>
<th>by Husband for Organisational Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missing Data*</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly Important</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Very Important</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All Important</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Missing percentages are included because 34% of respondents are single, divorce, widowed, or separated. The high percentage of missing data for organisational work is the natural result of not all respondents being members of organisation.
(iii) Individual's Level of Trust

The trust an individual feels for various groups is not only reflective of the individual's level of cynicism but also sheds some light on her feelings towards the group in question. The following hypotheses test the respondents' trust in their mothers, fathers, males, females, and politicians. Also, the effect respondents' socio-economic status has on her level of trust is examined.

1. Respondents will show a greater amount of trust for females and mothers than males and fathers.

TABLE 24: Respondent's Level of Trust for Males and Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Trust</th>
<th>Targets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Often</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above Table clearly reflects the differential between female trust in women versus men. Mothers, as a group, are given the highest level of trust, followed closely by fathers. The lowest level of trust is felt toward males in general. This low level of trust is even lower than trust felt for government leaders. The male/female relationship that was discussed in Chapter
II may be a plausible explanation. Ngugi's fictitious male/female antagonism which has been interpreted as representative of traditional and mythological male/female relationships, may indeed be a reality in Kenya today.\(^5\)

2. **Respondents with higher socio-economic status will have a higher level of trust than respondents with lower socio-economic status.**

Further analysis indicates that the mistrust of males is especially high among elite with lower socio-economic levels. The following Table shows how level of trust varies by the socio-economic status.

**TABLE 25: Relationship between Socio-Economic Status and Level of Respondents' Trust for Their Fathers, Mothers, and Males in General**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Trust</th>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Fathers</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Mothers</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Males</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures from the above Table clearly suggest that respondents from higher socio-economic status have a higher level of trust. The overall level of trust
by respondents in the lower socio-economic status is relatively lower. It is especially scant for fathers and males. This correlation of the lower socio-economic status group with low levels of trust especially for men can be related to their lower levels of education, for persons with less education are generally more parochial and less trusting. Education is considered to make the individual more open and more trusting of groups. Also, women in the lower socio-economic status group clearly see men as exploiters. Their lack of financial support and companionship makes women more wary of them. This is not to say that upper-class men do not have extramarital relations. Their discretion in having them and their financial support of the family makes them more dependable for the upper-class women. Another explanation could be that women in the higher socio-economic status are more gullible.

3. Respondents will trust male and female politicians equally.

TABLE 26: Respondents' Socio-economic Status and Level of Trust for Male and Female Politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust for politicians</th>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust female politicians</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust male politicians</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust both equally</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents in the lower socio-economic status
groups are more likely to trust female politicians than male politicians. A majority of respondents trust both male and female politicians equally; however, sole trust in male politicians is almost non-existent. It is plausible that since the majority of politicians at present are male, this lack of trust for them is a reaction to the way in which they conduct themselves. It is interesting to note that women in the higher socio-economic status group (including female politicians and businesswomen) have a 100% trust in both male and female politicians. One cannot claim that their high level of education is the reason, for the Medium socio-economic status group also has a high level of education. Perhaps their close involvement in government circles, and even their dependency on the goodwill of government officials (especially for the businesswomen who would need to interact with them) explains their response.

(iv) Individuals and the Consciousness Scale

The Consciousness Scale has been used above in testing the variability in consciousness levels among members of women's organisations. Here the Consciousness Scale will be used in relation to the specific traits of the individual -- her education, age, socio-economic status, and professional work. The hypotheses
presented below use these demographics and test their impact on the consciousness level of the individual.

1. The higher the education of the respondent the higher the ranking on the Consciousness Scales.

The following three Tables represent the effect of education on the three Consciousness Scales that reflect a variance -- Anti-Exploitation of Female Sexuality, Androgenous Family Structure, and Anti-Westernisation.

**TABLE 27: Level of Education and Ranking on the Anti-Exploitation of Female Sexuality Consciousness Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on the Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentages in the above Table show that a majority of respondents rank high on the Anti-exploitation of Female Sexuality Consciousness Scale. However, the percentage of respondents declines or increases in direct relation to the level of the respondent's education. Whereas 87% of the women with high education have a high ranking, 73% of the women with low education have a high
ranking on this Consciousness Scale.

The following Table shows a clearer correlation between education and consciousness.

**TABLE 28: Level of Education and Ranking on the Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 28, a higher level of education is closely linked with the respondent having a high ranking on the Androgenous Family Structure Scale. It seems evident that women with less education are more traditional in their family relationships and thus have a strong representation in the low ranking of the Consciousness Scale. Since the Androgenous Family Structure represents practicality and egalitarianism, it would be appropriate to suggest that education seems to enhance these values.

Education also seems to have some effect on the respondents' feelings on Westernisation. Although a majority of the respondents represented a high ranking on the Anti-Westernising Consciousness Scale, the
percentages for women with low education were lower than those for women with higher education. In the following Table, the total of all Consciousness Scales is cross-tabulated with the respondent's level of education.

**TABLE 29: Level of Education and Ranking on Total Consciousness Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on the Total Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75% of women with high education have a high ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale. As the educational level of the respondent decreases, so does her ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale. This indicates that even though the level of education does not show a variance on every Consciousness Scale, it does have some influence on increasing the level of consciousness of the individual.

2. **Respondents who have lived abroad will have a higher ranking on the Consciousness Scale.**

This hypothesis was constructed to ascertain the
impact of having lived in the Western world on the respondents' ranking on the Anti-Westernising and Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scales. It was assumed that their familiarity with Westerners would create greater contempt for a Western way of life and the colonial rulers. The following two Tables give the percentages for both these scales in relation to having been educated abroad or locally.

TABLE 30: The Relationship of Living Abroad with Ranking on the Anti-Westernising Consciousness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on the Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Educated Abroad</th>
<th>Educated Locally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 31: The Relationship of Living Abroad with Ranking on the Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level on the Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Educated Abroad</th>
<th>Educated Locally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Tables 30 and 31, women who have lived abroad have a high ranking on the Anti-Colonial Consciousness
Scale and especially on the Anti-Westernising Consciousness Scale.

Living abroad seems to make the respondents more anti-Western and anti-Colonial. Another warranted assumption is that living abroad tends to make individuals more appreciative of their own cultural values. This would explain why the locally-educated respondents have a lower percentage on the Anti-Westernising Consciousness Scale. Although it is a lower percentage (71%) than that for women who have lived abroad (100%), one can see that the majority of the locally-educated women also have a high ranking on the Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale. This seems difficult to understand because all these women have a university education and one would assume that if they did not learn about the colonisers by direct contact or conflict, they would have through the educational system. It is even more surprising when one considers that the locally-educated women have attended African universities. A plausible explanation is that the lack of extensive contact with the Westerner has led to a lack of understanding of the detrimental effect of the imposition of Western culture on the African people. Another explanation can be that some of these locally-educated women were educated in African universities at a time when the majority of the faculty in those universities were expatriates or ex-colonials and that
the syllabi had not yet been "de-colonised."

3. The lower the age of the respondent the higher the ranking on the Consciousness Scales.

The two scales where age shows a variance in the informant's response are the Androgenous Family Structure and the Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scales. The following Table supports the hypothesis.

TABLE 32: Age and the Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above Table indicates that younger women have a higher ranking on the Androgenous Family Structure Consciousness Scale. This is to be expected since older women would be more traditionally oriented and less willing to change the family structure than younger women.

However, in regard to the Anti-Colonial Scale the hypothesis does not hold true. In Table 33 older women rank higher on the Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale than
younger women.

TABLE 33: The Effect of Age on the Anti-Colonial Consciousness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52-40</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39-31</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-22</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that older women have had a closer contact with colonial operations than younger women. Indeed, the younger women (under 30) were too young to be closely associated with the more revolutionary and more painful anti-colonial movement of the 1950s.

Overall one notes that the impact of age on the Total Consciousness Scale is opposite to that of education. Whereas education shows a direct relationship -- as education rises, consciousness level also rises; age shows an inverse relationship -- as age increases, consciousness level declines. In Table 34 a greater percentage of younger women than older women rank high on the Total Consciousness Scale. Since education and lower age are highly correlated, their effect on the Total Consciousness Scale is also highly correlated.
TABLE 34: The Effect of Age on the Total Consciousness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52-40</td>
<td>39-31</td>
<td>30-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) The Political Socialisation of the Respondent

In this section the process of political socialisation of the respondent will be analysed in terms of who the agents of political socialisation are, the nature of the respondent's family's political interests (especially mothers), and the level of interest of the respondent in politics.

1. The most significant agents for the political socialisation of the respondents are male.

Each respondent was asked to give the two persons, or groups of persons, that were the most influential in awakening her interest in politics. The following Table presents their response.
TABLE 35: Rank Ordering of the Most Influential Agents of Political Socialisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent of Political Socialisation</th>
<th>% of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Leaders</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As hypothesized, respondents report males as having been the most important politically socialising agents. Undoubtedly, this also reflects the fact that political activity is in itself a male domain. The non-existent female representation, especially among the older generation, is clearly a reason for the dearth of female political socialisation agents. The next hypothesis reiterates this point.

2. The respondents will report greater political activity by their male relatives than their female relatives.

The following questions were used to test this hypothesis: (1) Who spoke the most about politics in your family; (2) Did your mother and father discuss politics; and (3) Did you have relatives in politics? In regard to who spoke the most about politics, 84% of the respondents reported male relatives and only 3% of them reported female relatives as being vocal about politics. The following Table shows how often the respondent's
TABLE 36: Respondent's Mother's Political Vocality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did your mother speak often about politics?</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of female relatives' involvement is also presented by not a single respondent reporting having a female relative involved in political activity. The significance of the two above hypotheses is related to the Kenya female elite having no role models of women involved in politics. This perhaps explains their present low level of political activity.

3. Respondents whose families talked about politics will also show a greater interest in politics.

To test the above hypothesis, the following cross-tabulation between the political interest of the family and the respondent was constructed.

TABLE 37: Family Interest in Politics and Respondent's Political Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Interest in Politics</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent's Interest in Politics</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The families where political interest is high do
have an effect on creating political interest in the respondents. This generalisation has been widely substantiated in both the West and the non-West where children of politicians have been socialised into political activism. This has been especially effective for women whose other channels of political socialisation are rather limited. 9

4. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Prestige Scale the greater her political interest.

TABLE 38: Prestige and Political Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Political Interest</th>
<th>Ranking on Prestige Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High: 69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium: 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low: 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High: 31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium: 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low: 67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The findings from the above Table indicate that the prestige of the respondent is highly correlated with her level of political interest. One can assume that women with high prestige are more closely linked with political activity and thus they have a greater interest in politics. Another plausible explanation is that women with a high ranking on the Prestige Scale also have higher education and socio-economic status, both indicators having a high correlation with political interest. 67% of the women with low ranking
on the Prestige Scale have low interest in politics. This lack of interest is not only indicative of low political interest, but also of political efficacy and high cynicism -- which will be subsequently presented.

What seems to be significant here is what Lester Milbraith calls "centrality" to political stimulus. Milbraith suggests that personal and environmental variables and perceptions make the individual's reaction to political stimuli different. The abundance or dearth of political information flows also affects political interest. For individuals who do not understand political stimulus or do not have a familiarity with the political process a reaction of avoiding political activity and discussion is observed. Thus, "centrality" or sensitization affects the variable for political activity. This concept will become clearer as we test the hypotheses based on political attitudes.

D) Political Attitudes of the Individual

The questionnaire included several items on political attitudes -- generally with regard to the present government and specifically in regard to women's role in government. The following hypotheses were written to test the rankings on the Consciousness Scale, the Prestige Scale, the Power Differential Scale, and education on their political attitudes -- political
cynicism, political efficacy, and trust of the respondents.

1. The higher the ranking on the Consciousness Scale, the lower the trust in government leaders.

It was assumed that women who had greater awareness about activities around them would be more critical of the actions of the government leaders. In the following Table, the ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale was cross-tabulated with the trust in government leaders.

TABLE 39: The Total Consciousness Scale and Trust in Government Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking on Total Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Trust in Government Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale decreases, the percentage of respondents with high trust for the government leaders increases. However, low trust for government leaders is not affected by the consciousness level of the respondent. Thus, the figures in Table 39 are partially supportive of the
hypothesis.

2. The higher the ranking on the Power Differential Scale, the greater the trust in government leaders.

In this hypothesis, the Power Differential Scale is being used to evaluate how power affects trust in government leaders. The Power Differential Scale is useful because it not only distinguishes the level of power of the respondents, but also their socio-economic status. The following Table confirms this hypothesis.

**TABLE 40: Power and Trust of Government Leaders**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Trust for Government Leaders</th>
<th>Ranking on Power Differential Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police-Women</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Women</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Women</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Prof. Women</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest level of trust for government leaders is by politicians, policewomen, and businesswomen; the lowest is by professional and semi-professional women. The further away the group is from the power base (real and social distance) the less trust that group shows for government leaders. The low level of trust by semi-professional women is not only explained by their lack of interaction with the government, but also the lack of impact the government has on their lives. One
could also suggest that women without power feel a sense of alienation which may be the reason for their lack of trust. The power structure, or the ruling class, contributes to this sense of alienation by catering to the needs of its own class rather than attempt to requite the needs of members of society that are less privileged and who constitute the majority of the population.

The concept that the distance (real and social) from the central government reduces trust in the government is further confirmed by testing the trust for government leaders by different organisations. It is the rural and the Asian organisations that show the least amount of trust. Both these groups are not involved with the government leadership and it can be suggested that their distance explains their lack of trust. For the Asian organisation one has to include race, since all the government leaders are African. Also, the relationship between Africans and Asians during the colonial period was hardly conducive to mutual trust. 11

3. The higher the education, the greater the belief in female capability in politics.

The hypothesis was tested by asking respondents if they felt that women could hold the following
positions -- diplomat, judge, Minister of Health, District Commissioner, Minister of Housing and Social Services, Minister of Education, and Member of Parliament. Among the respondents with primary school education, 64% felt that women could hold all of the above mentioned positions, whereas 84% of those with high school education and 96% of university-educated women felt that the positions could be held by women. As the educational level increases, so does the belief in female effectiveness. As was noted earlier, women who have less education tend to be more parochial, more conservative, and harsher on women as a group. This is further tested in the following hypothesis.

4. Respondents with high rankings on the Power Differential Scale will see higher competence of women in government jobs related to "feminine" tasks than in "masculine" tasks.

In this hypothesis, the terms masculine and feminine are used to connote stereotypical jobs for males and females. In most countries where women have joined the government, they have been assigned the "feminine" tasks such as health and education. Only a handful of women in the world are involved in "masculine" stereotyped tasks such as defense, foreign policy, or finance. Respondents were asked to give their opinion
on the following statement -- men should make the decisions that affect foreign policy and defense and women should be concerned about the education and housing problems of Kenya. The following Table reveals the difference in response to this statement in relation to women's power.

**TABLE 41: Relationship of Power and Respondent Stereotyping of Masculine and Feminine Tasks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Stereotyping Tasks as Masculine or Feminine</th>
<th>Ranking on Power Differential Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians Women</td>
<td>Police-women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business-women Women</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional-Prof. Women Women</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Professional-Prof. Women</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the results from the above Table do not totally support the hypothesis, some interesting figures have emerged. The political and semi-professional women represent the greatest amount of conservatism. They tend to stereotype women into being capable of feminine tasks. Policewomen and businesswomen on the other hand are involved in masculine stereotyped tasks, and they, along with the professional women, see women as being capable of more than feminine-related tasks. Thus, power in itself is not the only variable that has an impact on whether respondents see women in stereo-
typical feminine jobs or not.

5. The higher the respondent's ranking on the Power Differential Scale, the higher her level of political efficacy.

Although the data from the following Table did not measure up to anticipation, the results were in the direction predicted.

TABLE 42: Power and Political Efficacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking on Power Differential Scale</th>
<th>Politicians</th>
<th>Police-women</th>
<th>Business-women</th>
<th>Prof. Semiprof.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest level of political efficacy is felt by those that rank the highest on the Power Differential Scale and the lowest level of political efficacy is felt by those with the lowest level of power. Respondents in the positions of power are not only more supportive of the government, less cynical, more conservative, but also have a higher level of efficacy.

E) Ethnic Affiliation

The hypotheses for this section were written to
elicit differences, if any, in the socio-political attitudes among the ethnic and racial groups of the respondents. The hypotheses were based on the following aspects -- trust, political cynicism, efficacy, inter-ethnic marriage, and anti-colonial feelings. In most of the analyses only the two largest samples, Kikuyu and Luo, will be used. The other ethnic groups were too small to be representative.

1. The larger the representation of an ethnic group in government, the greater the trust for government leaders by that ethnic group's members.

Table 43: Ethnicity and Level of Trust for Government Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Grouping</th>
<th>Kikuyu</th>
<th>Luo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43 differentiates between the Kikuyu and Luo levels of trust for government. The low level of representation of Luos in the government is a plausible explanation for the 24% lag in their trust for government leaders. This may also explain the low level of trust by the Asian respondents -- 4% -- for their representation among government leaders is non-existent.
2. The lower the representation in government of an ethnic group, the greater the cynicism of that ethnic group.

In general, the level of political cynicism of the female elite is low. This is not surprising considering this researcher's inability to get any critical evaluation of the political structure from the majority of the interviewees. Indeed, only one interviewee was openly critical of the political system in Kenya. The political atmosphere, especially at a time when Ngugi Wa Thiong'o was under arrest, partially explains the lack of openness in the political discussions with interviewees and perhaps the low level of cynicism of the political elite.

However, in this low level of cynicism, we note that 73% of Kikuyu women and only 38% of Luo women have a low ranking on the Political Cynicism Scale. This low level of political cynicism is further reflected in the following Table.

TABLE 44: Ethnic Differences in Evaluating Effect of Government Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Grouping</th>
<th>Do Government Activities</th>
<th>Improve the Conditions</th>
<th>Improve</th>
<th>Sometimes Improve</th>
<th>Makes no Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>Luo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although a majority of the elite feel that the government improves the conditions, Luo women represent lower figures than the Kikuyu women. Again, one could assume that the Luo elite's lower level of faith in government activities improving the conditions for the people may be due to their lack of representation in government. Of course one cannot make a very strong case for this point because even though there is an obvious trend for them to be more cynical and less supportive of the government, the percentages are not excessively different from those of Kikuyu respondents. Perhaps the lack of extreme differences can be explained by the fact that the Luo women themselves are business and professional women and their privileged position does not make them too cynical.

3. The higher the education of the respondent, the greater the chance of inter-ethnic marriage.

This hypothesis was clearly supported because the only inter-ethnic marriages that took place among the respondents were among university-educated women. These women represent 14% of the university-educated women and all of them belonged to the Kikuyu ethnic group. This is not necessarily significant because the sample for the questionnaire was not randomly selected.
4. The greater the involvement of an ethnic group in the anti-colonial struggle, the greater the anti-colonial sentiment of that ethnic group.

The variables used to test the above hypothesis were: (1) The coloniser did not provide sufficient facilities for educating women; and (2) Women in the colonial system had to work harder than in the traditional African system. 70% of the Kikuyu women and 61% of the Luo women agreed with the statement relative to educational facilities. 60% of the Kikuyu women and 50% of the Luo women agreed with the statement that women had to work harder (especially due to the colonial introduction of slave-labour and wage-labour) in colonial times than in traditional times. In response to both questions, the proportion of women that agree is high; however, Kikuyu women have larger percentages than Luo women. Whereas Kikuyu women were more closely linked to the liberation struggle and worked harder because their men were in the forest or in colonial concentration camps, the Luo women also had to work harder because their men had gone to work on colonial plantations. It is interesting to note here that since Asian men were not displaced by colonialism, none of the Asian respondents agreed with the statement that women had to work harder in colonial times than in the traditional era. However, 50% of them do agree with
the statement that fewer educational facilities were provided by the colonisers. Of course, this figure is not as large as that of the Kikuyu or the Luo women.

In general, although the differences in socio-political attitudes are not substantial, the results were in the predicted direction.

P) Power Differential Scale and Socio-Political Attitudes of the Respondents

In this section the degree of power a woman derives from her occupation will be used to analyse her attitudes. Policewomen will be ranked high for power inspite of the low level of prestige that is attached to their occupation. It is assumed that their occupation gives them a certain amount of authority and power that other professions (except for politics and the armed forces) cannot be attributed with. The Power Differential Scale is used as the independent variable. The dependent variables used are: support for the status quo, the Consciousness Scale, political cynicism, conservatism, and feminist attitudes.

1. Women in power will show greater support for the status quo.

Women with a high ranking on the Power Differential Scale showed greater support for the status quo.
The following variables were used to test this hypothesis: (1) The way in which Kenyan leadership has responded to our traditional ideas has been good for the country; (2) Do government activities improve the conditions of the people; and (3) Do you think the laws and activities of the national government have some effect on the daily lives of the citizens? To all these questions the women with high ranking on the Power Differential Scale (political and police women) gave total support with no variance. The variance among women who have low ranking on power is not very significant, but it is the total lack of variance among political and police women in their support for the status quo that is remarkable. Both these groups of women are in positions of authority. Also, they function within the governmental system, thus their loyalty and support is not surprising. The policewomen belong to a law enforcement agency and it is not surprising that they feel Kenyan laws do have an effect on the lives of the citizens. The factor that the questionnaire was administered through the police headquarters may also have something to do with the policewomen's responses. 24% of the women in the lowest ranks of power are the only ones that see the laws as not affecting ordinary citizens. Their lack of contact with law and perhaps an unawareness of the law seems to be one explanation.
for this variance.

2. Women in power will have a lower ranking on the Consciousness Scale.

It is assumed that the females in positions of power will be more conservative and their level of consciousness will be lower. In the following Table the Power Differential Scale was cross-tabulated with the Total Consciousness Scale.

TABLE 45: Power and the Consciousness Level of the Respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale</th>
<th>Ranking on Power Differential Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures in Table 45 show that women in power have the highest percentage for a low ranking on the Total Consciousness Scale. The highest percentage for the Total Consciousness Scale is for women who have low power. The low consciousness of women in power is reflective of their parochial and conservative attitude. This will be substantiated further in the next hypothesis.

3. Women in power will respond more negatively on feminist issues than women not in power.
This hypothesis is based on the fact that women who are in positions of power will have a more traditional outlook towards women's role and thus will be more anti-feminist in their attitudes. To test this hypothesis, the Power Differential Scale was cross-tabulated with questions related to women's role in Kenyan society. Respondents were asked if the legal status of women in Kenya provides them social emancipation. The results are presented in the following Table:

**TABLE 46: The Power Differential Scale and Differences in Attitude towards the Legal Status Providing Social Emancipation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Differential Scale</th>
<th>Does the legal status of women in Kenya provide social emancipation?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High ..................</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians Women</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police - Business - Prof. Women</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low ...................</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Women</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Prof. Women</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women in positions of power totally agree that the legal status of women in Kenya provides them with social emancipation; whereas women at the lower end of the Power Differential Scale show some variance. The professional women show the smallest percentage of agreement in Table 46. It seems that since they are the most educated women they are more aware of how the
legal system does not emancipate women.

When asked if there should be government positions that should be held by women, 55% of the policewomen disagreed and 100% of the lowest power group (semi-professional) agreed. The policewomen are already working for the government and do not see getting into the government as a serious problem; whereas the semi-professional women who are usually in low status occupations see the need for the government to designate certain positions for women.

It is interesting to note that on several issues, especially feminist issues, policewomen and semi-professionals show conservatism. One must conclude that for conservatism power does not seem to be a strong variable. However, power does seem to affect the support for the system, and the level of political cynicism. The low correlation between power and conservatism can be accounted for by the pull of other stronger variables such as education and type of professional activity. Most of the semi-professionals are from the rural elite and limited in their activities; the policewomen are also limited in their activities by the type of work that they do. The lack of dissimilarity in the attitudes of policewomen's and semi-professional women's attitudes can also be attributed to their low levels of education which were discussed earlier.
NOTES — CHAPTER V

1. The Chinese have made it mandatory for couples to marry at a later age so as to curb their population and have greater female participation in the labour force. A good reference on this topic is Jessie Bernard, Women, Wives, Mothers: Values and Options (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975).

2. Interviewee number BUW 3.

3. A university lecturer commented by stating that "relatives who come in to live with you are leeches, they are lazy and a burden on my family." (Interviewee number PRO 9)

4. Interviewee number PRO 9.

5. See pages 30-32, Chapter II.

6. Lower-class persons are generally less trusting of the world. A hard life and few rewards make them more cynical.


8. This high ranking on the Anti-Westernising Scale is difficult to explain considering the general trend of emulating the living style, dress, and so on of the Westerners.

9. Indira Gandhi, Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, and Margaret Kenyatta are a few examples.


11. The literature on this subject is abundant and is presented in Chapter I.
CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTIONS OF THE FEMALE ELITE'S CIVIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ROLES

This Chapter deals with the information gathered from interviews, meetings, seminars, and the mass media. First, this data will be used to examine responses to certain questions regarding women's organisations -- who are the organisational leaders? What are the specific functions of an organisation? What type of activities are the women's organisations involved in with regard to female welfare and the elite female? What types of meetings and seminars do the organisations conduct and what are the general perceptions of the female elite about the activities of the women's organisations?

Second, an analysis will be made of the political activity of the Kenyan female elite. Specifically, one needs to know what are the perceptions of women in politics? What are the positions in which political women function? Are there opportunities available for women to assume important governmental and political posts? And how does the elite female perceive women's political role?

The third concern in this Chapter will be the perceptions of the female elite in the society. Particularly, how is the women's organisations' activity reported in the press and the magazines? How do the women utilise the
mass media? What purposes are served by the organisations' magazines? How does the mass media, especially women's magazines, depict females? And how does the female role portrayal affect the female elites' perceptions of femaleness?

1. Civic Role and Women's Organisations

In Chapter II an historical and comparative analysis of the voluntary women's organisations was presented. The impact of the African tradition of association, as well as the impact of colonialism on women's organisations, and the distinctions between Western and Third World women's organisations was discussed. In this section the structure of the Kenyan women's organisations will be surveyed, bearing in mind the background presented in Chapter III on women's organisations. A short synopsis of the major women's organisations -- Kenya Association of University Women, Zonta Club of Nairobi, Kenya Consumers Organisation, National Nurses Association of Kenya, Young Women's Christian Association, Nairobi Business and Professional Women's Club, Ismailia Women's Association, and Women's Fellowship Methodist Church -- is presented in Appendix VI.

In this Chapter the two most influential women's organisations -- National Council of Women in Kenya and
the Maendeleo ya Wanawake — will be presented in detail. Along with these two organisations, the Women's Bureau, which is the governmental body in charge of women's affairs, will be dealt with. The origin, the structure, and the functions of these three organisations will be examined to ascertain their role in improving the lives of Kenyan women. This will be followed by an account of the elite's perceptions about the function and role of the women's organisations.

(a) Origin, Structure, Function, and Activities of Women's Organisations

(i) National Council of Women in Kenya

NCWK was established in 1964 and is an affiliate of the International Council of Women which has its headquarters in Paris and has over seventy National Councils as affiliates. NCWK is an umbrella organisation for all women's organisations in Kenya. Thirty women's organisations are members of NCWK. All of the Chairpersons of these organisations are representatives on the Executive Committee of NCWK. The elected officials of NCWK -- Chairperson, four Vice-Chairpersons, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer -- and the elected members of the member organisations compose the Executive Committee.

The first President of NCWK was Margaret Kenyatta,
who held the post from 1964 to 1966. Damaris Ayodo followed from 1967 to 1968. Salome Nolega was the President in 1969 and Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo held the Presidency from 1970 to 1971. In 1972 the terminology for all executive officers of organisations in Kenya had to be changed so that only one person would be called President in Kenya; thus, Mary Gichuru became the Chairman from 1972 to 1975. As an indicator of greater awareness among Kenyan elite women, in 1976 Edda Gachukia became the Chairperson instead of a Chairman. In 1979 Damaris Ayodo took over the Chairpersonship of NCWK.

The functions of NCWK as defined in its constitution are related to it being an umbrella organisation. The following excerpts from the constitution identify NCWK's objectives:

(a) To bring together Women's Associations of this country for consultations on the action to be taken to promote the welfare of Mankind, of the Nation, of the Family and of the Individual, and to facilitate friendship and understanding between all women.

(b) To encourage women to fulfil their responsibilities and to play their full part in developing the country.

(c) To encourage Voluntary Social Services throughout the country or wherever opportunity offers. ³

The affiliated member organisations are encouraged to join and receive some of the benefits of scholarships and donations that NCWK receives. As the constitution states:
Membership to the NCWK also enables organisations to make contacts, gather information of activities of other organisations operating in the country, and when needs be, to seek expertise, advice and assistance. Member organisations also assist in planning and contributing to any social functions organised by the Council. Participation is encouraged in the activities of the Council.

The activities of NCWK are conducted through the following standing committees:

1. **Finance Committee.** Its major responsibility is to raise funds for NCWK's many activities. In this capacity it interacts with committees that need funding for their projects. The committee takes on special projects of NCWK and makes an effort to raise funds for these projects. For example, according to the Finance Committee's report at NCWK's Annual General Meeting in 1978, the major portion of funds raised in 1977 and 1978 were apportioned to the International Council of Women's Triennial Meeting which NCWK just hosted in Nairobi in August, 1979.³ Fund-raising activities include concerts, tea parties, fashion shows, dances, sales of Christmas cards and Christmas trees, luncheons, and charity film shows. Other funding is solicited from international organisations and foreign embassies.

2. **Projects Committee.** This committee determines the projects that should be considered by NCWK. Its most
significant concerns are: clean water, village sanitation, prevention of infectious diseases, maternal and child care, and desertification of Kenya. The Projects Committee Report at the 1978 Annual General Meeting reveals that the UNICEF/NGO "Water for Health Project" was NCWK's major concern for 1977-1978. In conjunction with KAUW, the Projects Committee organised a play and a ballet for raising funds for the Water for Health Project. The committee also sold Christmas trees for fund raising. The funds gathered were used to purchase three water tanks for the Olosh Oibar area.\(^6\)

3. Education Committee. Its major task is research about women and their education. In the Committee's Report at the 1978 Annual General Meeting the main activities of this committee were related to the Associated Country Women of the World Conference, which took place in Kenya in 1977. The committee also reported on five scholarships that they received from the Soviet Women's Committee. Further efforts were being made by this committee to seek help from embassies to start a short-term programme to train girls as social workers, Community Development Assistants, nursery school teachers, and home economists in Kenya or other foreign countries. Other areas of work included mass media communication via radio to inform women about certain aspects of family and national life as well as handicapped children.\(^7\)
4. **Hospitality Committee.** This committee organises social events in Kenya and welcomes foreign visitors to the country. The committee arranges tea parties and other such events for women's groups and other female visitors from abroad.

5. **Publicity and Publications Committee.** This committee is charged with communications with the media and the publication of NCWK's quarterly journal, *Kenya Women*. The journal was initiated in 1976 and is sold mostly in Nairobi. The committee is keenly pursuing subscriptions in other areas of Kenya and overseas so that the journal can "become a meaningful tool to Kenyan women where they can exchange ideas and learn from each other."\(^8\)

6. **Status of Women Committee.** This committee studies legislation that affects women and lobbies for new legislation that will improve women's status. In the more recent past, the committee has been involved in amending the NCWK's constitution and the re-drafted Marriage Bill.\(^9\)

7. **Environment Committee.** The current emphasis of the international agencies and the Kenyan government on environmental problems confronted by Kenya has led to a strong interest by women's organisations in environmental protection. The environment committee was appointed specifically to deal with issues that affect Kenya's environment. At the present time its major concern has
been to fight desertification in Kenya. Thus, NCWK's concerted effort to plant trees in green belts and other areas made tree-planting ceremonies a major activity of NCWK's leaders and affiliates in 1977 and 1978. Support and funds for growing trees have been solicited from overseas and local sources.\(^\text{10}\)

8. **International Relations Committee.** The purpose of this committee is to communicate with other women in other countries and to educate them about the Kenyan situation.\(^\text{11}\) The executive members of NCWK often attend international women's conferences and visit foreign countries to maintain a channel of communication with other women.

The above description of the standing committees gives one an idea of the activities that NCWK is involved in at the present time. This, of course, does not include every activity. At the time of this study, the major portion of time and money was being devoted to the desertification plan and the Water and Health Project. At the executive committee meetings attended by this researcher, the concern was the implementation of these projects.\(^\text{12}\) Indeed, the bulk of all the monthly executive committee meetings and the secretary's report to the Annual General Meeting of NCWK were related to these two projects.

The reports of the standing committees and the
member organisations at the monthly executive committee meetings constitute an excellent means of communication among member organisations. The meetings were conducted very efficiently and proper order was followed. Part of the efficiency must be attributed to the effectiveness of the leadership. Edda Gachukia as the Chairperson is a synthesis of a person much in command and one who allows for free expression by all members.

Besides the monthly executive committee meetings, NCWK has a yearly Annual General Meeting. This researcher had the opportunity to attend the 1978 Meeting and gained some personal insight into the functioning of NCWK. The keynote speaker for the meeting was Aida Gindy, the UNICEF Director for Eastern Africa. She emphasised the problems of rural women and stated that, "eighty-five percent of rural people in Kenya do not have safe drinking water. UNICEF is very keen to support women who want to improve conditions in rural areas." Edda Gachukia responded in her report by talking about the problems of financial assistance for projects. From the women's organisations' financial problems she went on to the personal financial problems of women. She talked of the lack of bank loans available for women, despite the legal grounds for making loans available for men and women equally. She suggested that the setting up of a Commission for Women's Affairs was imperative for the
solution of such problems.

Other activities at the Annual General Meeting included reports from standing committees, affiliated organisations, and members who had attended international meetings. After these reports, the afternoon proceedings were handed over to Mrs. D. Luseno of the Kenya Institute of Administration. The annual elections were conducted very smoothly and Luseno was very efficient. On one occasion MYW was unable to put forth a candidate due to Luseno's speed in conducting the elections. However, on the whole the elections were very democratic. The NCWK Annual General Meeting had an air of good organisation. The women who had organised the meeting were all very influential. Mary Gichuru made the arrangements for the Kenyatta Conference Centre, obtaining microphones, headphones, and interpreters so the meeting proceedings could be heard in both English and Swahili. Most of the meeting was conducted in English despite the fact that Aida Gindy, the only non-Kenyan, left very early. The majority of the members were fashionably dressed, upper class, elite women. This observer felt that the few rural women in traditional dress who were present seemed out of place and uncomfortable.

Another type of activity that NCWK is involved in is the sponsoring of seminars or workshops to discuss specific issues related to women. In 1978, NCWK
sponsored a three day leadership workshop in Naivasha. This type of meeting was considered to be very useful in bringing better understanding between the affiliated organisations and other women in Kenya. Achola Pala, the resource woman for the workshop, commented that it was one of the few times that women's organisations came together to define their common goals. She stated, "If women follow the guidelines of this conference, they will really get ahead. As I said to them, if they don't get together no one else will care. Men in Kenya will not take the initiative to do anything for the women of Kenya. If the women fail in their endeavours they fail for themselves and all women."\(^{14}\)

This synopsis of NCWK's functions and activities provides useful background for a later presentation, in this Chapter, of perceptions of the elite female about organisational structure, function, and activities.

(ii) **Maendeleo Ya Wanawake**

MYW is the largest women's organisation in Kenya. This organisation is based on a nationally structured leadership and a network of clubs in every province of Kenya. In describing the orgins, functions, and activities of MYW, four time periods are significant: the colonial period and MYW's origin; the time of independence and the Africanisation of MYW's leadership; the
late 1960's and MYW's depoliticisation; and the new image of MYW in the 1970's.

The inception of MYW came about in the early 1950's through philanthropic and paternalistic types of activities of the wives of the colonial administrators, missionaries, and other settlers. Upper class colonial women had a strong inclination towards volunteer work. An abundance of servants, or what was referred to as "houseboys", gave them plenty of time for volunteer work. Women such as Lady Mary Baring, Lady Eleanor Cole, Lady Worley, Mrs. A. J. Beecher, and Mrs. C. H. Williams keenly supported volunteer work. The major thrust for organising MYW came from Nancy Shepherd, who was the Assistant Commissioner for Community Development and Rehabilitation in the colonial administration. One of the purposes involved in the creation of the MYW clubs was the improvement and advancement of the life of African women.

MYW's major concerns were child care, hygiene, cooking, handicrafts, needlework, and literacy. The emphasis was on European women making the "deprived" African women "modern." Initially, European volunteers worked very closely with the African women. However, the air of paternalism (or maternalism) was ever-present. As an East African Women's League President stated, "Care for the backward people is still an outstanding feature of
our lives and work." This paternalism was further reflected in the frequent visitations of MYW's patrons to clubs to present badges of commendation.¹⁶

The creation of MYW led to the training of African women at the Jeanes School which was run by the Department of Community Development. These women then went to the various districts to start new clubs. A dramatic increase of MYW clubs in Nyanza and especially in the Machakos District was seen as an acceptance of MYW by both men and women in rural areas. As Patricia Penwill, a Provincial Homecraft Officer, emphasised:

> I believe that the effects of this movement on the future of the African people will be considerable. Now that the African men have at last realised the necessity of educating their women and girls along with the men, I feel that tremendous strides will be made.¹⁷

The greater impetus for MYW's creation came from the colonial administration. The emphasis of the colonial administration on inculcating the British way of living by socialising African women into the morals and values of the English people is obvious. Women were a perfect instrument for they deeply influenced the development of values in the home. Thus, the interest of the colonial administration in the African women's welfare is not surprising. Roberta M. Mutiso substantiates this association of MYW with colonial community development policy, by stating that:
Perhaps none of the uses to which community development was put to revealed more clearly its intimate association with colonial policy than its attempts to win over the African women of the colony. At one point, towards the end of the Emergency, community development in Kenya was little more than Maendeleo ya Wanawake. So impressed were community development and other Government officials with the success of the movement in involving women in the Government's plans, that discussion of and investment in the promotion of Maendeleo clubs came near to completely eclipsing interest in any other form of community development work, especially among women.

Colonial officials realized that if the women could be converted to their side, the task of achieving such diverse objectives would be appreciably reduced. By helping women to escape from some of the drudgery of house-and shamba-work and by enabling them to receive advice and practical assistances with the running of the home and the rearing of the children, Maendeleo Clubs would increase the contentment of rural women and this in turn would act as a stabilizing influence on the men.18

Implicit in the social design for the creation and support of MYW was the need for law and order. The administration's desire for law and order was a crucial aspect of the colonial policy. Thus, the purpose of social welfare was more in line with political stability than with the need to provide social services for the African people. This political aspect of MYW's inception during colonial times will be discussed below. The inception of MYW coincided with the Mau Mau emergency. Two interpretations
of the Mau'Mau and MYW connection have come forth. On one hand the MYW executive was deeply concerned with the low activity in the Central Province due to the disruptions among the Kikuyus. This was brought about by the Mau Mau emergency when the Kikuyus were rounded up into villages for forced labour and greater security.\(^{19}\)

Women's involvement in forced labour was condemned by the white executive members of MYW and the government was entreated to allow these women to attend the MYW clubs.\(^{20}\) Permission was granted by the colonial administration and Kikuyu women began joining, perhaps in an effort to get away from forced labour.

The other explanation for the colonial administration's support for the MYW clubs is related to their attempt to use the clubs to reduce the impact of revolutionary movements such as Mau Mau. From the time that the state of emergency was declared (October 1952), T. G. Askwith, Commissioner for Community Development and Rehabilitation, emphasised the role of MYW in providing the stability for a Kenyan society that was being disrupted by the Mau Mau. Askwith, in a speech at the Conference on African Women in the Development of Kenya, made the following comments about MYW:

\[
\text{The growth of African women's clubs had been quite remarkable. There were more than 500 of the clubs with a membership of about 40,000....}
\]
'Supervision of the clubs is one of the most important things,' he said. 'Without it this movement may deteriorate. It has been continually stressed by the administration that this movement is doing a tremendous amount to overcome Mau Mau. The clubs in the Emergency areas are providing rallying points for women who are opposed to Mau Mau. They are able to meet and work along lines which are progressive rather than atavistic.'

The colonial administration's law and order appeal was further reiterated by District Commissioner Frank Lloyd in a speech in Kiambu. He asked the Community Development Assistants and MYW leaders to fight Mau Mau. The linkage of the colonial administration and MYW caused some concern when the European women were being phased out of MYW leadership and African women were taking over. Not only did the African women want to get rid of the stigma attached to being part of the colonial administration, but also the onus of being a product of European female leadership. Muthoni Likimani voiced some of the concerns of the new African female leaders:

But the time has come now when if it (MYW) is to be of real value, and help women to play their part in our country's affairs we must make some changes. One of the first things we have to do in order to attract members is to find a new name for the movement. As most people know, the name MYW has bad associations particularly for the Kikuyu because it is connected with the Emergency. Some women used to join the clubs just so they could get off doing communal labour, which made them disliked by the others. I have often been quoted in the
press as saying that European women must no longer dominate the movement. This again is something about which I feel very strongly and for a number of reasons. A degree in social science from Britain is not all a woman needs to do social work in Kenya and do it successfully. In many Maendeleo clubs, although European women are working very hard, they are not meeting the needs of an African woman....

The transition from European to African leadership in the women's organisations was not without controversy. In 1961, six of the nine African delegates at the meeting of the Kenya Council of Women walked out because of the lack of consultation with them, especially with regard to the constitution. Jael Mbogo, Muthoni Likimani, Eleanor Majale, D. A. Otuga, Hannah Rubia, and Jemimah Gecaga left because they could not "tolerate the humiliation."

In March of 1961, it was announced that MYW was going to be Africanised. Phoebe Asiyo was elected the first African President of MYW, and Jael Mbogo the first African Secretary. Along with Africanisation of the executive, the MYW became an autonomous organisation, breaking the controversial link with the colonial administration. The strong bond with the Department of Community Development and the small government stipend were not severed, and even continued when the independent government of 1963 came to power. In spite of the dramatic changes, MYW continued to flourish under the dynamic
leadership of women such as Jael Mbogo, Phoebe Asiyo, and Ruth Habwe, leaders who were willing to continue concentrating on the rural clubs, visiting them and helping them. These women were also articulate in making demands for the advancement of women at a time when the feminist movement had yet to reach the non-Western world, and was not even consolidated in the West.

Ruth Habwe, an ex-President of MYW, in discussing the lack of responsibility given to women in public life, stated:

- In the home, in public, in job valuation and even in day to day activities men have always regarded women as inferior to them. ...This practice of discriminating against women is not only confined to under-developed countries, but is a general conception in the world. Both in the free world (democratic nations) and in the Communist countries, women are treated in the same way. It was not until 1927 that women were accorded voting rights in Britain. Yet the Englishman did not see fit to give women the same treatment as men. Even today, in some parts of the world, women are denied the right to exercise the same responsibilities....They [men] assumed that the place for a woman was in the house. This is not unique to Kenya, but it has happened all over the world....It is time men started to change their thinking, for today's society can no longer be regarded as yesterday's. Women will no longer be subservient to men....I remind you that all women need recognition, respect, privileges, participation, and their voices to be heard in all walks of life. 24

Militant reform propositions also came from leaders such as Muthoni Likimani and Jael Mbogo. However, little
attention was paid to them. The government's support for local MYW leaders was stopped. In spite of this, MYW continued to expand — in 1964, there were 42,440 members and over 1100 clubs all over Kenya. In 1965, the figures reported by MYW President Jael Mbogo showed that the membership had grown to 50,000. The linkage of MYW's national leaders with the rural women was a crucial factor. Despite the leadership's hectic schedules (most of them had jobs in government or elsewhere), a special effort was made to keep in touch with rural clubs. Jael Mbogo totally dedicated herself to the job as President of MYW. She was known to use her vacation leave and weekends in visiting MYW clubs. Indeed, she was accused of neglecting her own family, but this did not stop her from facilitating MYW's constitutional aims of developing and improving the conditions for women and girls of all races in Kenya by teaching them new skills, self-help, and cooperation.

MYW was part and parcel of the euphoria of the early years of independence. Jael Mbogo and Muthoni Likimani represented this euphoria. This was one of the few areas where they could serve a purpose for the development of independent Kenya and also express themselves. They were representative of the small educated class of women (from both the urban and rural areas) that saw MYW as a steppingstone to major political activity.
Unfortunately, this trend for the expansion of MYW dramatically came to an end in the third period -- the late 1960's. Indeed, MYW membership began to decline sharply. According to MYW files from 1974-1977, the membership has ranged from 300 to 700 clubs, a sharp decline from the 1100 clubs that were reported to be members in 1964. Several socio-political aspects of the late 1960's can be cited as plausible reasons for this decline. First, the post-independence political changes that occurred after Mboya's conference at Limuru (to reorganise and revitalise KANU) in 1966, led to the depoliticisation of KANU's rural political machinery. This had serious repercussions for MYW, because this also led to the depoliticisation of the subsidiary rural groups such as MYW. The problems in the KANU party were manifested by the rivalry in rural areas. To eradicate this use of local groups by radicals in the KANU party, constitutional changes were effected which led to Kenyatta and Mboya strengthening the moderate wing of KANU. Unfortunately, Mboya's reorganisation did not strengthen KANU, for the "party was weakened and its members demoralised."

Another area which the depoliticisation undermined was MYW's role in Nyanza Province. "The attack on KPU spilled over the organisational depoliticisation of all Nyanza." This can be seen as one of the reasons for
the reduction of MYW's membership. The creation of another political party, the APP, in the Machakos District (one of the early mainstays of MYW) also had an impact on MYW membership. The women of this area became involved in national parties via Paul Ngei's "strategy of utilising women to organise different clans." The Mbai sya Eitu as a women's clan organisation was responsible for Ngei's and APP's success.

The impact of the development and reorganisation of political parties on MYW's membership was an external reason for the decline in their membership in the late 1960's. Internally, MYW leadership was going through some changes that also reduced the rural women's support in the 1970's. These changes will be discussed below.

In the 1970's MYW has continued to work towards their constitutional ideals. However, the clubs and memberships have sharply declined, as mentioned above. A second reason for MYW's decline is that MYW's new leadership, though still deeply committed to rural women, has become more nationally and internationally oriented. The new leadership has close links with the male political elite and spends more time in support of the status quo than in implementing their original goals. The leadership is described by Audery Whipper as being preoccupied with the "patron's round":

'The patron tends to be content with pouring tea, opening art exhibitions
and attending fund-raising social events, a pattern of activities not unlike women's voluntary associations in Western countries. Recruited from the developing middle class -- professional, commercial and civil service sectors -- she is related through marriage or birth to the political elite. Her position requires her to give speeches at schools' annual prize days, to present awards, and to sponsor welfare projects. Political and status reasons appear to dominate her motives for associational work.\textsuperscript{36}

This leadership seeks prominence not only at the national level but also at the international level. A major concern of MYW between 1974 and 1977 was the hosting of the Associated Country Women of the World's Fifteenth Triennial Conference in Nairobi. It seems that MYW's activities and efforts in these years tended to concentrate on assuring the success of the Conference rather than the rural women's self-help schemes.\textsuperscript{37}

A third cause of the decline in clubs has been the emphasis on funds for other purposes than the rural clubs. At the present time, MYW's major project is not the advancement of rural women via self-help and cooperation but the construction of a nine-storey MYW building. Although the purpose of the building is to help the organisation to set up their headquarters and a training centre for girls, the work required for such an enterprise has taken time and effort away from rural clubs. The following extensive comments by rural members,
Community Development Assistants and Officers, and other rural women interviewed at the MYW Annual General Meeting in 1978, reflect their discontent with the leadership's move from rural work to national and international promotions:

Mrs. Kiano is very busy with tea parties and dances in Nairobi. She does not do enough for our clubs. We need money to purchase materials. Everything costs more. We never get the fruits from our labour. We have to share the monies collected by MYW in Nairobi or we cannot continue. The leaders have to get good attitudes, we cannot be doing everything by ourselves. Our members are screaming.

A Provincial Chairperson who was also a Community Development Assistant expressed similar concerns:

We cannot be expected to do everything on our own. Mrs. Kiano and the leaders only come when her husband has to make a speech or there is an election. Rural women are not fools. They know what happens in Nairobi -- everybody is making money for themselves while we starve in the rural areas. This corruption has to stop or Kenya cannot stay united.

An MYW District Chairperson pointed out the members' difficulty in attending MYW rural club meetings:

The Nairobi leaders get angry. They say why don't you get more members. Rural women are lazy and etc., etc. Rural women cannot come to a club where nothing is given. They are all going away. Mrs. Kiano is busy with MYW building in Nairobi, she just wants to show off -- the building to all the ladies. What good is it going to do for us?
The leaders, however, blame the MYW members' lack of initiative for the decline in membership:

Addressing Maendeleo ya Wanawake meetings at Gotoyaro and Gendia, the chairman of MYW, South Nyanza ...told the women to work hard to cope with current changes taking place in the country. She regretted that the organisation some years back had been very strong and effective in the district but now the women were becoming lazy and showing no initiative.

A MYW vice-president Mama Saida... called upon all Kenyan women to realise their role in nation-building and endeavour to participate fully in all development plans initiated by the Government as opposed to their expecting their menfolk to shoulder every burden.

Chairman of MYW in Uasin Gishu district Mrs. Kathleen Kibiego told a large gathering of women...that no husband would like a dirty and lazy wife not prepared to contribute to the betterment of the home. Urging women to redouble their efforts in building Kenya she said while women in other countries helped to develop their countries, it was shameful to note that in Kenya there were still women who preferred to gossip instead of doing something useful.

A fourth explanation for the decline of MYW's work and membership can be attributed to the dramatic mushrooming of self-help clubs and "harambee" schemes all over Kenya. Godfrey and Mutiso have elaborated on what they call "the Harambee institutes of technology."

In their article they deal with the political aspects of the self-help schemes and the prospects of the
government financing or taking over some of these schemes. Indeed, the self-help groups have received a great deal of help from the various Ministries. This has hurt MYW indirectly because MYW was associated with the Ministry of Housing and Social Services and this Ministry's commitment is no longer to MYW alone, but to all the other self-help clubs also.

Finally, the creation of the Women's Bureau in this Ministry (with the support and insistence of MYW and other women's organisations) has indirectly hurt MYW. The creation of this Bureau supports the point made earlier about the depoliticisation of rural groups by the government. The purpose of the Women's Bureau, one could argue, was that "internally the Government of Kenya sought to pre-empt MYW from controlling half a million women."\(^\text{45}\)

Also, the Bureau was expected specifically to help the women's organisations; however, in its broader function it is trying to help all women. This role has often brought it into conflict with some of the very women's organisations that pushed for its creation. The Bureau as a governmental organisation for helping the advancement of women will be presented below.

(iii) The Women's Bureau

The Women's Bureau was established in October 1975
and is housed in the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. The U. N. International Women's Year in 1975 was partially responsible for exposing the problems of women in development and getting member nations involved with special projects related to these problems. Women's work and activities in developmental planning have been treated as peripheral and incidental to the process of economic, social, and political development of Kenya. Often planners and policymakers have not assigned a qualitative value to women's work. The creation of the Women's Bureau is related to the Kenya Government Development Plan 1974 - 1978, which emphasised accelerated development for the rural areas. The long-range development objectives that induced the government to create the Bureau are:

a) rural transformation, as a means of raising the levels of living of rural population, of which adult women form over 50%;

b) creation of opportunities for the development of women's potential in national economy, with special emphasis on training in agriculture and industry;

c) promotion of employment opportunities for women, particularly in the rural areas where the government has set a target of creating employment for a total of 650,000 persons within the current development plan period.

The danger of a grossly imbalanced development (one that excludes the female component) is a realistic one considering the statistics from research studies
that reveal that "Kenya as an agricultural country is mainly dependent on women's labour for food production and subsistence economy and that women also provide a substantial labour contribution to cash crop production." Furthermore, the higher unemployment rates for women in Kenya's urban areas (a majority of whom are heads of households) and the lack of education and training have made it imperative for a development plan to include specific programmes for women. Thus, the immediate charge of the Bureau when it was created in 1975 was to assess the needs of women in rural and urban Kenya and to plan programmes geared towards the effective participation of women in the national economy.

The following description of the Women's Bureau's projects, some of which are on-going, gives one an idea of the efforts the Bureau is making to fulfil its charge.

In spite of its limited staff at the headquarters, the various governmental ministries make available their resources and expertise to facilitate the Bureau's programmes. One of the major research projects that the Bureau undertook with the help of the Central Bureau of Statistics was the "National Women's Groups Survey." The Department of Social Services to date has 5,000 women's groups, that have approximately 500,000 women as members. These groups are voluntary self-help groups and their significance in the developmental process was
underlined in the 1974 - 1978 Development Plan:

The women's groups constitute a potentially effective medium for dissemination of knowledge for improving the quality of life in the rural areas. Hitherto they have been inadequately exploited as a means of inducing change in the rural areas.51

The Women's Bureau has distributed questionnaires to rural women's groups via the Community Development Officers and the Field Extension Services. The questionnaire is constructed to ascertain the work of these groups as well as their needs. A possible by-product of this study will be socio-economic and socio-political data on these rural women. In April of 1978, the questionnaires were coming back from the rural areas to the Women's Bureau and the coding on these questionnaires had begun. Other research projects that have been undertaken by the Bureau are: a compilation of an annotated bibliography on Kenyan women by Wanja Thairu, a librarian at the University of Nairobi; studies on the legal status of Kenyan women; and, employment of women in urban industries in Kenya. To identify priorities for action, the Bureau has conducted seminars and workshops both in urban and rural areas where women have discussed their particular needs and their expectations with regard to the Bureau.52

The above information gives us an idea of the
Bureau's research efforts, especially in the assessment of women's needs. In regard to projects other than research, the following statement gives one an idea of the Bureau's activities:

Bee-keeping, fishing, rabbit-rearing and goat keeping have been introduced to selected women's groups on experimental pilot basis. For 1977 the Bureau's Plan of Action includes orientation workshops, homecraft courses, training women group leaders in group work skills, bee and poultry keeping, pig and goat keeping, book-keeping and simple accounting, training of extension officers, orientation of Headmistresses and schoolgirls on women's group programmes, and research studies in various fields of relevance to women.53

The success of the Bureau's activities is closely linked with the tremendous support it is getting in funds, equipment, and personnel. This support is not only received from the Kenya Government (which spends approximately 6.4 million shillings per annum for salaries, access to government transportation, supplies, and other personnel) but also from bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. UNICEF has been a major donor in funds — over three million shillings since 1975 for technical assistance, transportation, supplies, and training grants. The main thrust of the UNICEF grants has been for research and the Women's Group Programme. Other assistance has come from Denmark — 1.2 million shillings for selected field activities of women.54
Despite this financial and technical assistance, the Bureau was having difficulty in implementing and operationalising all its projects and activities. The main problem was the lack of personnel at the headquarters. In April of 1978, the Bureau had a Director and two Officers. Since May 1978, the Bureau received a grant from UNDP which would assist the Bureau in the following:

a) A well structured technical and administrative personnel component of the Women's Bureau;

b) A coherent and comprehensive programme of activities and projects geared to the specific needs of women and girls;

c) Personnel capable of integrating government and voluntary programmes and services to bear upon the specific needs of women and girls;

d) Qualified personnel capable of advising relevant technical departments of the government, and training organised groups of women concerning specific income-generating activities for eventual participation by women;

e) A capacity for development [sic] support communications to assist the Bureau's Programme and projects as well as a fully established central source of information/communication section of the Bureau, capable of providing information on all aspects of women to the government, the press, radio/TV and the general public.55

The UNDP was to accomplish the above needs by providing a 1.6 million shilling grant that would pay for the assignment of a Programme Planning and a Development Advisor who would be an international expert.
with "experience in project planning, formulation, and development, and with past experience in working with rural women's groups in the developing countries." In addition, the UNDP grant included the cost of Kenyan professional staff competent in the following fields:

a) Handicraft Development and Marketing  
b) Horticulture  
c) Training  
d) Legal Advice  
e) Communications  
f) Research  
g) Small Business  
h) Administrative

The stipend is to pay for the salaries of the personnel and equipment for two years, after which the Kenya government takes over the expenses.

Considering this overview of the Bureau's work and the keen interest of donor agencies and countries, the chances of the Women's Bureau becoming a Commission for Women's Affairs seem excellent. Indeed, at the time of this research, the proposal for such a commission was before the government of Kenya. The problems related to the creation of a Commission, the relationship of the Bureau to the main women's organisations will be discussed, along with the perceptions of the female elite about women's organisations. The remaining women's organisations whose executive members were interviewed will be covered in Appendix VI.

b) Perceptions of Female Elite about the Women's Organisations
The background information on women's organisations was presented to facilitate a clearer understanding of the comments of female elite in regard to the functions and activities of these organisations. The interviews were specifically designed to elicit the interviewees' opinions with regard to the civic roles of Kenyan women. The information pertaining to women's organisations will be categorised as follows -- positive perceptions about the women's organisations and perceptions about the inter-organisational relationships.

(i) Positive Perceptions about the Women's Organisations

The female elite reflects positive feelings about women's organisations' functions and projects. The following remarks reflect the female elite's positive feelings about the function of women's organisations -- pertaining specifically to the individual organisations and generally to the welfare of Kenyan women. The leaders of the women's organisations feel that they are fulfilling a very important function. As an MYW leader pointed out:

We are here to improve the life of Kenyan rural women. We want them to get involved in self-help projects. We want to get water to them. We encourage them to join businesses. We are trying to sell their handicrafts. This way we are making women work for their own rights, so that they can take part in developing Kenya. MYW is also helping women to understand new ideas about health and child care. We are talking to the Minister of Health to help us get programmes of health for
rural women. We want rural women to get educated, so that they can understand their rights. Many of them cannot read or write.58

Another MYW leader suggested that:

The main reason for women's organisations is that women can unite. So that they can know their position in society. How do we do this? We visit all types of women and give them talks. Women need to hear from more educated -- more fortunate -- women who can give them information on their rights and give them information on laws that can help them. We have uplifted the standards of women. Wherever women have joined together their influence is greater. We are a voluntary organisation. If we were paid by the government we could work better. Most of the members are volunteers. We do not have enough people who can give time freely.59

An executive member of KAUW outlined the organisation's functions:

First of all, it [KAUW] is the meeting ground for all women that have a university education. This has caused some problems. We have been criticised by some to be elitist, because our membership is basically based on education. So we are making efforts to keep in touch with other women. One of our main interests has been education of girls and women. We have scholarships for girls to attend schools. We are also involved, along with NCWK, with tree-planting and water projects. We are generally interested in the welfare of women in Kenya -- women that are underprivileged. We also arrange social meetings, luncheons where we invite speakers from different fields.60

An executive member of another organisation, NCWK, reiterated the purpose of women's organisations:
The major function is to help improve the life of women in Kenya. Our main effort is to fund self-help projects for women. We try to help women that are involved with women's activities.  

A businesswoman involved in national and international business commented on the women's organisations' work:  

I feel that women's organisations are doing their part. We have had 14 years of independence -- this is a very short time to put women at the level of Western women in terms of political awareness. MYW, NCWK, and East African Women's League are all doing their best. But the problems are enormous. We have to educate rural women. Adult literacy is very important because the majority of women are illiterate.  

This next comment by a female closely linked to the male political elite deals with both the women's organisations as well as the women's rural groups:  

Women's organisations are crucial in rural areas because they have reinforced the idea of women's role in their own community. Rural women organise themselves and choose leaders from among themselves. These are uneducated people, but they have the ability to organise and do things for themselves.  

A female politician responded positively about the women's organisations by stating that, "The women's organisations are doing an excellent job. It is an avenue for women to meet and discuss."  

Some of the female elite was also positive about the
freedom to form organisations in Kenya. Several older women emphasised this and related it to Tanzania. A MYW leader stated:

I am very happy with the women's organisations set up. I have been exposed to many women's organisations. We are free to organise as we wish in Kenya. Not like Tanzania. There the organisations are controlled by the government. Too dictatorial.

The projects of the women's organisations were more controversial. However, several women, especially those who were closely linked with women's organisations, saw the projects as very crucial to the welfare of women. The major concern at this time was whether tree-planting had any direct correlation with the welfare of rural women. A high-ranking civil servant closely linked to the male political elite felt that tree-planting helped women, though indirectly:

I strongly feel that tree-planting is beneficial to rural people. It increases agriculture, because it controls soil erosion by increasing the water catchment areas. This will eventually help women.

A female politician reiterated this point:

Tree-planting is good. Trees are the livelihood of rural women. They create catchment areas, they are useful for building houses and for fuel. Trees are life to rural women so it is important to grow trees. Other work that concerns women is done by other women's organisations -- such as health care is taken care of by YWCA.
Several women's organisations' leaders also see the function of tree-planting as helpful for rural women in providing fuel. It is surprising that these women hold this view -- this very use of trees as fuel in Kenya is responsible for having created this environmental problem.

It is clear from the above comments of the female elite that they see the function of women's organisations are related to improving the role and status of women in Kenya. The majority of the women who were positive in their perceptions of the work of the women's organisations were usually very closely linked to the organisations or in high political office. A more critical, and sometimes negative, perception of the women's organisations was usually represented by the younger professional women. It was noted that the female elite who were seriously pursuing professional careers or had previously worked with the women's organisations were somewhat disillusioned with these organisations. In the next section, the perceptions of the non-organisational professional women as well as the organisational leaders' perspectives based on inter-organisational relationships will be presented.

(ii) Perceptions about Inter-Organisational Relationships

Generally, the inter-organisational relationships were seen as a conflictual situation among organisations,
especially MYW and NCWK and the rivalry between the leadership of those two organisations. One can speculate that the basis of this conflict could be attributed to a competitive situation between the two groups seeking similar achievements: power, popularity, and the advancement of women. One group is represented by highly-educated younger women while the other is represented by less-educated women, more entrenched and older. The conflict is further complicated by the presence of the governmental women's organisation, the Women's Bureau. The inter-organisational perceptions will be divided into the following categories: (1) inter-organisational conflict based on personalities and leadership; (2) inter-organisational conflict based on objectives and functions; (3) inter-organisational conflict based on international and national funding; and, (4) inter-organisational cooperation.

A. Inter-Organisational Conflict Based on Personalities

This conflict is first represented through the positivism each organisation's members feel about their respective leaderships, especially in comparison with the leadership of other organisations. The inter-organisational conflict based on personalities is not explicitly expressed but the following comments about the leadership give a definite hint of this conflict. Two females, both members of the executive committees
Edda Gachukia, Chairperson of NCWK:

Edda is a great leader. She is very good in the way she conducts meetings and especially you saw how smoothly the AGM was conducted. You remember the list of problems a member brought to the NCWK executive committee meeting, just before the elections. She just wanted to cause problems. There was no sound ground for her grievances. Edda managed to handle her very well. As you can see, NCWK under Edda's leadership is doing extremely well. We are serving an excellent function for our country.

Edda is very dynamic. She is a good speaker. She has grown with her job. When she was first appointed she was not as effective and strong. Last year before the AGM she approached me and others because Jane was trying to get rid of her. She [Kiano] had put up her own candidate for NCWK Chairperson. Edda was not as popular as she is now. She spent a lot of time seeking support. This year she has confidence and she is unopposed.

Implicit in the above two comments is the conflictual state of affairs between MYW and NCWK.

It is surprising that whereas NCWK Chairperson Edda Gachukia was highly respected and liked by most of the female elite, the NCWK leadership in general was criticised. A female politician commented:

I feel that in about ten years women will fall into place. But the women's organisations have to be careful not to hinder the process. I feel that Edda's group is pushing women who are politically immature. In Kenya if women keep their heads they can fit into slots.
Having started as I have I gained from my experiences. I learned a lot by working with men. I got a deep understanding of problems of women. Edda's group only has an academic understanding of the problem of women.70

Secondly, the strongest criticism of NCWK and KAUW leadership was related to their elitist orientation. This orientation was generally related to their class status and their education. A KAUW Chairperson made general comments about the high calibre of KAUW and NCWK leadership:

The KAUW, as you know, is an organisation for university women. We have a good mixture of women. These are the highly educated women of Kenya. Thus we accept each other for our abilities not for our colour or background. Even the NCWK has a very highly educated leadership. My ideas there are well supported.71

The emphasis on education was constantly reiterated by NCWK and KAUW leadership. Some saw this as a distinction, especially when comparing themselves to the MYW leadership. NCWK leadership sees the MYW leadership as old-fashioned and uneducated. The NCWK leaders have taken on the responsibility of creating a positive image of Kenyan women at the international level meetings, and feel that high education is a prerequisite to an understanding of the problems related to women in Kenya. As an NCWK leader pointed out:

You can probably tell by the education
and calibre of most of our executive [NCWK] that we are a different type of group than other organisations. We have some of the most highly educated women in Kenya who are helping us organise our projects.  

Undoubtedly education is important for the success of these organisations, but surely education is not the crucial factor. This is especially true in Kenya, where rural women have organised for projects with a very high rate of success.

This elitist orientation was very detrimental for both NCWK and KAUW and they were often attacked due to this attitude. As a high-ranking civil servant stated:

I have difficulty in my relations with NCWK. They are very big-headed. They have their noses in the air. They are educated and they think that all other women are below them.

Some women were so negative about the elitist orientation of some leaders that they refused to be involved with these organisations. A businesswoman with a strong background of work in women's organisations stated:

I am not too deeply involved with women's organisations because they are boring, shallow. I don't particularly care for their leadership. If I see any women as dynamic and who should be in the lead, they are Micere Mugo and Muthoni Muthiga. I work with Maendeleo because they need me. The MYW membership consists of ordinary women and I contribute my service to MYW because I care for ordinary women; I want to help them. I don't have any time for the elite women. The MYW members don't have their new cars to show
me. They are genuine women. Most of the other women's organisations are a showpiece. They don't do anything to help the ordinary women, e.g., the Nurses Association is hopeless.\textsuperscript{75}

A third feature of the inter-organisational conflict based on personality is the rivalry between the leaderships of the organisations. A high-ranking civil servant with little contact with the women's organisations also perceived this rivalry:

The personality conflicts have to end. We should be more interested in doing the job than trying to gain popularity. However, the localised power struggle is not really determining the work of the rural women's organisations.\textsuperscript{76}

A businesswoman who had no links with the women's organisations also observed the problem of personality conflict:

In terms of the individual organisations, especially NCWK and MYW there seems to be a conflict of interest in terms of personalities. They seem to be organising projects to get publicity. This publicity is either for themselves or for their husbands. This personal advancement is detrimental to their work.\textsuperscript{77}

The major thrust of this interpersonal rivalry was perceived to be between the MYW and NCWK leadership and especially between the two Chairpersons. A university lecturer's opinion about Edda Gachukia and Jane Kiano was that:

They are dynamic women but unfortunately their rivalry interferes with their work.
Also they spend their energy seeking publicity for themselves or their family, which deters from their work.  

A teacher who has been closely working with NCWK stated:

They are too competitive. Especially Edda Gachukia and Jane Kiano. You know Edda was under Jane at MYW. She was an unknown. When Mzee decided to appoint an MP for women, they consulted Jane. She could not become an MP because her husband is a Minister and an MP. So she put forth Edda in the hope that she would control Edda. However, Edda became her own person and gained as much if not more confidence and popularity in her job as Jane.  

Of course, Edda Gachukia's being appointed over Jane Kiano has to be perceived in the "wider political organising and trading off" in Kenya's political scenario. The attack on Jane Kiano's husband from the Kiambu faction can be seen as a reason why she was not appointed.  

One can conclude that the inter-organisational conflict based on personalities is related to the following criteria: the class affiliation of the leaders; their educational level; their elitist orientation; and, their interpersonal rivalry. The personality conflict spills over into the work of the organisations. Thus, the next section will deal with the objectives and functions of various organisations.

B. Inter-Organisational Conflict Based on Functions and Objectives
The conflict based on the functions and the objectives of the organisations stems from: (1) the perceptions of the organisational leadership in regard to what should be the work of the organisations; and (2) the external input of professional women's perceptions of what are the organisation's objectives and functions. The major concern with regard to the organisational leaders' perceptions about the objectives of the organisations were with respect to the functions of NCWK. Several of the MYW leaders feel that NCWK should not act as a women's organisation. They want NCWK to stick to its constitutional function -- acting as an umbrella organisation for all of Kenya's women's organisations. MYW leaders' comments follow:

Every organisation in Kenya has its own function. We are not really duplicating. I feel that the Women's Bureau should serve to channel funds to the women's organisations. Also the Bureau should be at a higher level of government. It does not have enough power and authority. The National Council of Women in Kenya should only coordinate and assist. It should not work as an organisation. It is moving away from its original purpose.82

But NCWK worries more about leadership than what it should do. It is supposed to organise the women's organisations in Kenya. It is not a women's organisation. So many times it acts like a women's organisation. It should act as a coordinator.83

First of all NCWK is run like an organisation, it is not supposed to. It is to
coordinate the women's organisations. I also wish that they would join hands instead of looking for power. 84

MYW leadership also felt that they are the true representatives of Kenyan women because they are in touch with all types of women. They are very proud of their Annual General Meetings, where the rural women's leaders, MYW's provincial and District Chairpersons, from all over Kenya, convene for a three-day meeting. MYW leaders made a point of the difference between MYW's and NCWK's Annual General Meetings:

Our AGM is very informal. We communicate in Swahili. This has to be because our women are the real women of Kenya. They are not the educated elite. We have to cater for their need. Our AGM cannot be conducted like that of NCWK. The difference is in leadership. We are not only dealing with elite educated women of Kenya. Ours is a grassroot organisation. The true representation of Kenyan females. 85

The external input, from the professional females, was related to the reorganisation of the women's organisations. As a social work administrator stated:

We have to define the roles of the Women's Bureau, NCWK and MYW. They would be a better force if they converged for certain projects. Right now each goes its own way often doing the same thing. There is a need to plan. There is a real need to examine the role of women's organisations. Coordination is not easy. Since they
are all going their separate ways they cannot be a strong force like in Tanzania.86

The idea of bringing all women's organisations into one organisation was reiterated by a businesswoman:

In Tanzania there is only one women's organisation. This is very good. You are not interested in power struggles but in doing the job.87

The professional women were also concerned with the functions, activities, and objectives of the women's organisations. An administrator involved with social work felt that women's organisations are not involved in the right activities:

Organisations should be politicising women. Making them take part in politics. They do not reach out to all women. Most effective in Nairobi where their base is upper class women. NCWK is non-effective. There are too many negative aspects of women's organisations.88

A professional writer and journalist did not like the political aspects of being in women's organisations. Her statement reflected the feelings of several other professional women:

I am reluctant to join the women's organisations because of my work and family commitments. I also feel that sometimes the organisations are not functioning in the interest of women that need their help. The leadership of these organisations is more concerned with power than with doing the right thing for the women of Kenya.89

A Kenyan woman working at UNEP gave an even more critical
response when asked why she was not involved in the women's organisations:

What are they doing for women? I don't want to participate in these exercises in futility. The organisations are shallow, doing silly little things to promote the image of individuals and gain publicity. I don't have any time for them.90

With regard to women's organisations' projects, the following comments by a journalist are representative of the feelings of some of the other female elite:

All water and tree-planting projects are for a purpose -- political. Basically they are meant for publicity seeking. If I wanted women in a village to get a water hole or a pump why should I run to the press?91

A businesswoman reiterated the above point:

Jane Kiano and Edda Gachukia are accused of seeking publicity. Even the projects they get involved in are related to this publicity -- tree-planting, water projects, etc.92

This scramble for publicity through involvement in projects has led the organisational leaderships to compete for funding from various agencies.

C. Inter-Organisational Conflict Based on Funding and the Women's Bureau

The vying for international and national funding by the women's organisations has been further complicated by the creation of the Women's Bureau. A woman in a high administrative post and with close links to the political elite also observed the conflictual
relationship in terms of funding for the women's organisations and the Women's Bureau:

Now NCWK and MYW are involved in a power struggle between themselves and the Women's Bureau. The Women's Bureau is probably going to become stronger -- especially with their expansion with 1.6 million shillings that the UNDP gave them. Terry Kantai [Director of the Women's Bureau] has to become more political to handle all these women's organisations. If she succeeds in her programmes she will bring in the rest of the women. She is capable but she needs to become more powerful in her position. Edda Gachukia and Jane Kiano will not be too wise if they don't support the Bureau. But they don't seem to be too happy about the UNDP supporting the Bureau.

It was interesting to note that although the Women's Bureau is a governmental agency and not a voluntary women's organisation, the NCWK lists it as a member organisation. This perhaps represents NCWK's desire to see the Bureau as a body under their auspices, rather than the other way around. This researcher noticed a problem of communications between the Women's Bureau and NCWK. For example, a leadership seminar that the Bureau had to postpone because of some problems with the women's organisations was taken over by NCWK. A more serious problem has been created by the desire of all the women's organisations and the Bureau to induce the Kenyan Government to set up a Commission of Women's Affairs. The Ministry of Housing and Social Services,
through its Women's Bureau, wrote up a document in this regard. This document went through the usual government red tape. At the time it reached the ministerial level, from which it was to be presented to the Cabinet, the NCWK leadership started to pursue the matter and asked to see the document. This document is a secret government document which is not public and thus some of the officials at the Ministry felt that NCWK was interfering and jeopardising the creation of the Commission.94

The following statement by a politician expressed the sentiments of some of the female elite about the relationship between the governmental agencies such as the Women's Bureau and the women's organisations:

NCWK and MYW, in the presence of the Women's Bureau, are defunct. The patronising role of voluntary organisations is ceasing to be important because these women can take care of themselves. They don't need the voluntary organisations. Especially the community development programmes, and the CDO's [Community Development Officers] set up by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services makes the role and function of MYW defunct. The CDO is well-trained and therefore is very useful to the women. A non-informed woman cannot lead non-informed women. MYW's function is not as significant as ten years ago. Women's role has changed from knitting and sewing to economic progress. There are 5000 rural women's groups. The government is trying to help these women build homes, open businesses, start poultry and bee-keeping, etc. I have started many major projects in rural areas but the women's organisations with their small projects are
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hurting the people. The problem you see is that the small projects camouflage the need for big projects. Often the government will feel that since these small projects, which are inadequate, are being put forth that there is no need for major projects. I believe in getting major changes done. I don't want these women's organisations to come in my area because I don't think their token projects help my area. I want to put in a water project for 2 million shillings which will take care of the whole area. If the organisation comes in with their 2000 shilling water tanks, it shows to the government that something is being done and there is no need for them to provide. Organisations should concentrate on supporting government projects. I have been pushing the women's groups in rural areas and MYW should help the government with this. Instead Edda and Jane keep on pursuing the international organisations (which are becoming very local) for funds. 95

The above perceptions about women's organisations are related to the leadership's (especially NCWK's) perceived elitist attitudes, their reported preoccupation with power, prestige, and funds, as well as their alleged efforts to gain popularity through the mass media. These comments on the inter-organisational relationships of women's organisations represent negativism and a conflictual situation. However, the researcher observed the spirit of cooperation between the organisations. This is presented in the following section.

D. Inter-Organisational Cooperation

One factor that induced cooperation was the
relationship of the leaderships of various organisations. Where this relationship was congenial, cooperation was generated. For example, the NCWK and KAUW have worked together on several projects. The Director of the Women's Bureau was heard at several meetings -- especially at the Annual General Meeting of the MYW, emphasising the need for women's organisations to cooperate with the Bureau. As she stated, "The Bureau is there to help all women of Kenya. My job is to help women's organisations and to cooperate with them for the welfare of Kenyan women."^96

Cooperation between women's organisations was also observed at the NCWK's Leadership Seminar at Naivasha (March 31 - April 2, 1978). The resource person at this Conference, Achola Pala, commented about the gathering of the various women's organisations:

This I feel is one of the few times that different women's organisations have come together to define their common goals. They are all involved in similar work, but they seem to work against each other rather than with each other. So far each one is going its own way, vying for power. Constantly in search of agencies that will sponsor them and give them grants. In other words, they are competing to get funds from international agencies. If the women really follow the guidelines of this conference, they will really get ahead. As I told them, if they don't get together, no one else will care. They will keep hurting the women instead of helping them. Men in Kenya will not take the initiative to do
anything for the women in Kenya. If the women fail in their endeavours they fail for themselves and all women.\textsuperscript{97}

It was hoped that with greater cooperation among the women's organisations as well as with the Women's Bureau, the chances of women succeeding in their endeavours would increase.\textsuperscript{98} However, the perceptions of the female elite seem to indicate that the goals and objectives have to be re-analysed for the organisations to play their rightful role. Also, the orientation of the leadership will have to undergo drastic changes. The rivalry between personalities, organisations, organisational functions and the use of women's organisations for personal benefit has to be replaced with the true ideals of the organisations so that these women can make a substantial contribution for the women of Kenya.

Perhaps, as suggested by some of the female elite, the women's organisations should amalgamate into one organisation, as is the case in Tanzania. However, the structure of the Tanzanian government and the society is conducive to such a set-up. Besides, the women's organisations' leadership is not ready for such a dramatic change.

The above concludes the presentation of the Kenyan women's organisations and the female elite civic role. The next section examines the female elite's political role.
2. The Female Elite In Politics and Government

The dearth of women in political and high governmental positions is highly noticeable in the Kenyan power structure. In the main legislative body there are only five female members -- four elected and one appointed. The number of women in high ranking government positions is extremely low. Be that as it may, it is necessary to evaluate these women so as to get an understanding of the specific nature of the female political elite in Kenya. Such an analysis will also be useful for comparing the trend of political activity in other Third World countries. Also an examination of the Kenyan political female elite will be most useful to substantiate some of the theoretical problems of female political participation that were outlined in Chapter III. In this section the role of the female elite in politics and government will be analysed. First of all, profiles on three Kenyan women, who are actively involved in politics will be presented -- Margaret Kenyatta, Julia Ojiambo and Edda Gachukia. Secondly, an attempt will be made to ascertain the female elite's attitudes about having female representation in government and politics; the involvement of women in high government positions; and the reasons for the lack of female representation in politics and government. Thirdly, the female elite's
perceptions of the political scene especially in relation to women will be presented.

a) The Female Politician

(1) Margaret Kenyatta - Permanent Representative to the Kenya Mission at the United Nations Environmental Programme.

Margaret Kenyatta the eldest daughter of the late President Jomo Kenyatta is not only the most powerful female politician in Kenya, but also the most nationally and internationally renowned Kenyan woman. This renown is probably related to her linkage with the power elite via her father for whom she was probably the closest confidante in the family. This linkage has also been observed in the independent nations of Asia and Africa as being a crucial criterion for women joining politics. Daughters, wives and sisters of men who are deeply committed to the liberation struggle of their nations have often made use of these situations to join politics.

Even for women who are quiet observers (such as Margaret Kenyatta) their political socialisation by a family, actively involved with the colonial struggle, was inevitable. As Margaret Kenyatta indicates, her role in the Mau Mau revolution was, "Mostly a static one -- the role of a sympathetic female involved in a crucial revolt." Although Margaret Kenyatta, as much as Jomo Kenyatta and the rest of the family deny
having had anything to do with the Mau Mau revolution, she does see the colonial struggle as a reason for her inevitable involvement in politics. She stated, "If you were around at the time you could not help become involved in politics -- man or woman."¹⁰³

Margaret Kenyatta's political career initiated by her political socialisation started in the KANU party. She feels that being a woman was never a problem for her because she has always worked closely with men, thus, her ability to interact with males who dominate the political power structure. In an interview she granted this researcher, she stated:

For me it was different. I have always been with men -- at Alliance Boys School. I was always in politics. I find it easy to work with men. They always take my authority. Even in KANU and as a Councillor I had no problems. I have been deeply influenced by the situation in Kenya. I started because of the colonial struggle.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps her remaining single also helped her in getting involved in politics. Especially when she feels that family responsibilities such as taking care of one's husband and the home keep women out of politics. In addition, she feels that campaigning for women is harder because women may not be able to tolerate the criticism and may break down and "show their female weakness."¹⁰⁵ Margaret Kenyatta explains how she avoided this problem:

I have never had time to think as a
female, but as a person. One does not have to lose one's femininity in one's work. In my work I fit in beautifully as a woman. I have hence never had the problem of working with men. They always listen to me. It is a question of one's attitude. One has to be strong and stand by one's decisions.  

Margaret Kenyatta has had the opportunity to make many decisions -- her major arena was the City Council of Nairobi where she was a Councillor for fourteen years and for seven out of these fourteen years she was the Mayor of Nairobi. She was known to work "diligently and with political flair." She sees her participation in politics as her personal contribution to the development and welfare of women in Kenya:

I was at Kiambu for 2 years and for 14 years I was a Councillor. For 7 years I was Mayor of Nairobi... As a woman you have to prove that you are better than men.  

After her political career in the City Council, Margaret Kenyatta joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, when her father appointed her as the Permanent Representative to the Kenya Mission to the United Nations Environmental Programme, whose headquarters are established in Nairobi. She is the first female to hold a position equivalent to the Ambassador level. However, her appointment was not without controversy.

Margaret Kenyatta's problems began in 1975 when John Barry a journalist with the London Times, made an
elaborate three part inquiry to explore the political situation in Kenya and especially the Kenyatta family's "climb to riches." Barry's articles implicated the Kenyatta family in illegal business deals; the use of the Kenyan government; and the clout of what he calls the "royal family of Kenya." Among the Kenyatta family the three women who were mentioned were President Kenyatta's wife Mama Ngina Kenyatta, his niece Beth Mugo and his daughter Margaret Kenyatta. All of them were accused of owning large tracts of land in a land hungry Kenya and of exploitative business enterprises.

Margaret Kenyatta was first accused by an English magazine, the New Scientist, of taking part in a large scale ivory export after the Kenya government had put a ban on the export of ivory. This exportation was executed through the United Africa Corporation, the largest exporter of ivory. Its Chairman was Margaret Kenyatta who also held 49% of the share capital. Margaret Kenyatta and others of the Kenyatta family were further accused of involvement in the charcoal trade -- an enterprise which has caused serious environmental problems in Kenya by depleting the forests and increasing the desert areas in Kenya.

The uproar from the conservationists and the international exposure of this issue led to one of the few times that the Kenya government responded to critical
foreign reporting. A five page statement was issued by the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife. It stated, "We do not believe that scandalising and blackmailing the people and government of Kenya is the best method of wildlife conservation." The dragging in of the Kenyatta family into a scandal was a major concern. Indeed, the New York Times reported that, "The main thrust of the government statement was to argue that the United Africa Corporation in which Miss Kenyatta is a major shareholder, had legal export permits that had been obtained before the imposition of the ivory ban."

It is ironical that a person who was linked with causing some of the environmental problems in Kenya was appointed to UNEP's Kenya Mission. Perhaps it would give Margaret Kenyatta immunity from being a destroyer of the environment, by making her a protector of the environment. However, it seems that her appointment was linked to other issues. Margaret Kenyatta in the early part of 1976 made an announcement that she would not seek re-election as Mayor of Nairobi. This announcement led to an outcry from the women's organisations. In response to the women's organisations Margaret Kenyatta reversed her decision. This reversal caused serious disputes in the City Council which led the government to indefinitely postpone the elections. In the meantime Margaret
Kenyatta's appointment to UNEP "was viewed as moving matters off dead center and opening the way for elections." However, Margaret Kenyatta does not see her appointment to UNEP as a political move, she stated, "I left my position (Mayor of Nairobi) on my own accord. I made my own decision to leave politics and to join UNEP." Kenyans with a deep concern with environmental problems were not as concerned about the political reasons for Margaret Kenyatta's appointment, but her alleged ineptness for the job, and her lack of knowledge and her lack of interest in the field. As a Kenyan professional employed by UNEP stated, "Margaret Kenyatta who is our UNEP representative has little idea of what environmental problems we are facing."

Margaret Kenyatta continues to keep her links with various women's organisations (she was the first President of NCWK). She is a staunch advocate of the family as an important social unit and women's responsibilities to the family. In a speech at the NCWK Annual General Meeting she clarified her ideas on the Kenyan woman's familial role:

Kenyan women have a lot of responsibilities. As a child is nursed by a mother, so is it being moulded. And if a mother brings up a child well, the whole Nation will benefit. To rear children with understanding and love will help to unite the Nation, then to unite the world. Women as
mothers have a duty of taking new ideas to the people so that our immense human resources can be mobilised.119

Another area where Margaret Kenyatta has strong feelings is the colonial impact on African women. She feels that, "Colonisers did not hurt women, they helped us gain an education...colonialism brought good changes."120 She also feels that women were legally better off and had greater respect in traditional times:

Women don't know where they belong because we don't have traditional laws any more. Teenage girls are behaving like 30 year old women. No one knows their place. In traditional times women's place was most beautiful. I see a lot of difference in the way women are treated today and traditional times. My grandmother was the most respected person.121

Margaret Kenyatta's comments about family and women reflect a traditionalist consciousness. This is also reflected by her lack of negativism about colonialism and other subjects, such as women's organisations and the availability of education for women in Kenya. Margaret Kenyatta has been criticised for her support for the system, a support that would be expected of an individual so closely involved and linked with the political power elite of Kenya. Indeed, a criticism raised by some of the female elite, of Margaret Kenyatta and other women who have come up due to their
linkages with powerful families, was this support of
the status quo and the fact that these women do not
have to struggle to get professional training or to
look for jobs in the market — all opportunities are
opened to them.122

ii) Edda Gachukia — Nominated Member of Parliament

Edda Gachukia was born in Kiambu and educated at
Kabete and Kikuyu at the Alliance Girls High School —
the school where the majority of the Kikuyu female
elite gained their secondary school education.123 From
Alliance Edda Gachukia went to Makerere where she got
a diploma in education in 1960. With the teaching
diploma in hand, Edda moved to Thika where she taught
at the Thika High School. Edda Gachukia got involved
in certain activities in Thika that were, in many ways,
to mould the rest of her life. She established Thika's
first MYW branch and a nursery for children of working
women (the Thika Canners Plantation had a large number
of female employees).

After three years at Thika, Edda Gachukia went
to Leeds for one year to study the teaching of English
as a second language. At Leeds Edda Gachukia spent a
lot of time with Ngugi wa Thiongo and Grant Kamenju.
After Leeds and one and a half years in Paris where her
husband was appointed as a diplomat, Edda Gachukia
returned home to join the Ministry of Education to put
into practice her knowledge about curriculum development. Edda Gachukia's work with the school system was very satisfying -- she fought to have experimental curricula tested and gained great satisfaction when her ideas were accepted as viable alternatives. However, this satisfaction was not enough because she did not have the same recognition as a graduate. She states:

In those days, unfortunately you got little recognition if you had no degree. So I decided to get myself a degree. I didn't need it from a professional point of view; I was doing everything I ever wanted to do. But there was that limitation placed in one's path because of the lack of a particular paper qualification, and I had to take it into consideration in what I did.¹²⁴

Thus Edda Gachukia enrolled at University of Nairobi in a degree programme. Her brilliant performance as a student gave her the chance to pursue post-graduate studies and she moved from writing a M.A. thesis to a Ph.D. dissertation. Her advisor Micere Mugo was full of praise and admiration for Edda Gachukia's scholarly ability.¹²⁵ While pursuing her post-doctoral work, Edda Gachukia was also teaching full time in the Department of Literature. It was at this point that President Kenyatta called upon Edda Gachukia to be a nominated Member of Parliament to represent women's affairs and academic interests.

Thus began Edda Gachukia's close involvement in
politics. Several persons have given different reasons for her appointment. It has been suggested that Edda Gachukia's appointment was made to have another woman in Parliament since only four women got elected in 1974. Another reason for her appointment was that Jemimah Gecaga, the other appointed MP, wanted to leave Parliament and thus Mzee needed a replacement. The fervour of 1975 as a reason for bringing women in the forefront, has also been cited as part of the reason for Edda Gachukia's appointment. Earlier in this Chapter a woman closely linked with NCWK was quoted at length expressing the idea that Edda Gachukia was pushed into this position by Jane Kiano since she could not become a MP (because Jane's husband is one) and hoped to have Edda Gachukia serve her interests.126

The reasons for Edda Gachukia's appointment are not very crucial. The important thing is to analyse her performance so as to ascertain her contribution to the welfare of women in Kenya. Edda Gachukia's work with women is very closely linked with her NCWK chairpersonship. She feels that her main concern is as an educator, not a feminist. Indeed, as many other female politicians she rejects feminism.127 She states:

I am concerned about educating the women of this country about their opportunities, their rights, their potential, and when you realise that most of the women of this
country live in the rural areas and that the development of our rural areas depends on women, then you will appreciate that I am talking about the whole rural situation, not just the situation in which women find themselves. I am for rapid transfer of technology to rural areas because such transfer frees rural women from certain chores which they are condemned to do at present. With more productive time on their hands, instead of spending hours and hours fetching water from the rivers, the rural woman can do more for this country.  

At this time Edda Gachukia's major concern was to reduce or eliminate the high drop-out rate of girls from school. She reflects on this point:

I don't know what the cause is, but the rate is alarming. At the lower primary level in most schools you have as many girls as you have boys. Then as the years go by, the girls start dropping out, many of them because of pregnancy. By the end of the secondary school system the proportion of girls is very much lower than that of boys. It is a terrible waste of human and financial resources, this high rate of drop-outs; and I am glad that while we are seeking solutions to the problem the ministry of education has agreed to the idea that in remote areas girls should attend boarding schools.  

Edda Gachukia feels that she has always been concerned with women's affairs. She has taken charge as nominated MP to represent women, very seriously. Her chairpersonship at NCWK is a key position through which she has championed the cause of women. She feels
that women's rights and equality are not the main concerns, it is self-awareness. She elaborates:

With the right kind of motivation and self-awareness, women will fight for their rights and equal opportunities with men here in Kenya as they have done in more developed countries. But first they have to be given the self-awareness, the opportunity to be educated about their potential for self-development and their capacity for self-reliance and need to move away from over-dependence on men.  

Edda Gachukia is also perturbed by the lack of opportunities and the double standard in hiring women:

Women in Kenya are expected to do a lot better than their male counterparts before they are considered for jobs. Recently there was a case of applications for chiefs in the Nyeri area. The best applicants for the job were two women. Neither of them got the job. Kenya, as you know, has no women chiefs, no women DCs, no women PCs, no women permanent or deputy secretaries. Indeed, the number of women in high places in the civil service in this country can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Recently there was a conference on the 'Kenya We Want' at the Kenya Institute of Administration. There was not a single woman representative from the civil service at that important conference. In this respect the private sector is doing much better than the public sector. 

The thoughts and ideas of Edda Gachukia are definitely inclined towards the goals of feminism. Yet there is an aversion to being labelled a feminist --
perhaps because of the close linkages of feminism with radical change and the West. Although Edda Gachukia perceives a need for dramatic changes in Kenya, she does not want to make waves or disrupt the society. She advocates gradual change. She feels that women should not be fighting ferociously and vocally for their rights because:

They fight best when they prove, if given a chance, they are as good if not better than their men counterparts; when they provide shining examples which other women would like to emulate.  

Edda Gachukia supports change from within the system. She wants change for women without demanding it or sounding too radical. She has taken her job very seriously. The following comments of the female elite point out that although Edda Gachukia is working very diligently on a job that has been assigned to her, she may not necessarily have the political savvy of the ideal politician:

I went to school with Edda and she was not in the forefront. She has been assigned a job and she is working hard at it, but it will be interesting to watch her political career, especially when it is time for her to run for Parliament. How she does in the elections will show what is her calibre.

Edda still has far to go. She speaks well and handles meetings well but she does not have the capabilities of Jael Mbogo. [in regard to oratory.]
Edda Gachukia has been given a job -- appointed M. P. for women. She is doing her job. She takes it seriously. However, if you talk to her about women's issues, she has very little idea. Most of the women here do not understand what is feminism. To them it is a disease to be avoided like the plague.  

Other comments from women describe Edda Gachukia as a dynamic and effective leader. Her aversion to being too radical in her demands is understandable considering the fate of persons who have been overtly critical of the Kenya government. However, Edda Gachukia's moderation seems surprising, considering her close work and linkage with other outspoken Kenyans, such as Ngugi wa Thiongo and Micere Mugo. One could say that her academic understanding of women's problems certainly puts her within the realm of a modernising consciousness, which is definitely closer to a reformist consciousness than to a revolutionary consciousness.

iii) Julia Ojiambo -- Elected Member of Parliament, Assistant Minister of Housing and Social Services.

Julia Ojiambo is the only woman in Kenya to reach the ministerial level. Her position is on one hand a boost for the rest of the women in Kenya, but on the other hand a surprise. Julia Ojiambo is a soft-spoken woman with no strong familial linkages to the political power elite, and is in her first term of election. What were the reasons for her being appointed over another
female veteran politician -- Grace Onyango? What encouraged her to join politics? What type of political socialisation did she receive? What have been her accomplishments? These are a few of the questions that one has to answer in order to understand Julia Ojiambo's political contribution.

Julia Ojiambo's political socialisation came from the Church, her father, her male relatives, and her rural background. At a lengthy interview she granted this researcher, she talked of the reasons for her joining politics:

I came from a rural area [Western Province]. I have strong links with the grassroots. I taught Sunday school. My father influenced me a great deal. He was a pastor. As a woman, one was not very loud about elections or politics. As a matter of fact, women are very quiet during elections. I personally believe that this helps us to have greater achievements. In my area there is a recognition of the power of women. So I found my male relatives encouraging me. My male cousins recognised that I had a potential.136

Julia Ojiambo made a very dramatic change when she joined politics. She has a Ph.D. in Home Economics and Nutrition from the University of Nairobi and was a lecturer at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta College until she won the election. This change was not easy. She feels that she has had to make major sacrifices and take too many risks to join politics. This she explains is part of the reason why dynamic and
intelligent women such as Pamela Mboya (wife of assassinated minister Tom Mboya) and Kristina Kenyatta (President Jomo Kenyatta's daughter) do not join politics. Julia Ojiambo feels that this is not their fault, but that of their socialisation. She feels that for more women to join politics:

> Women have to be socialised differently. Our self-preparation has to change. We have to change our attitudes. One has to give up that family image; the idea that the family is first. Integration of women in development means looking at different roles for women. It is interesting how male M. P.'s refer to me as M. P. rather than look at me as a woman. Often they will call me Mr. Minister. I am not offended by that because I don't want to bring out the difference by insisting they call me differently. When they want to tease me about women's lib they call me a she/he. To get women in power our job is to change our traditions. Our husbands have to be very helpful. I have been very lucky. In fourteen years I have come all the way with no impediments from my family or husband.

On one hand she felt that women have to give up "the idea that the family is first" and on the other hand she continued to emphasise the fact that, "My family still takes central position in my life."

Besides her family and her socialisation Julia Ojiambo attributes her political success to the following three reasons:

> There are three things that I think are important. First of all, I have an understanding and personal commitment to community and national development issues. Secondly, I have the ability to work hard
and to work continuously. I work not for show but for a purpose. I am deeply committed to my political career. And thirdly, I have the ability to act as a leader not a woman or a mother and a wife when I am speaking to the public....What has attributed to my success is that I can work harder because I am a mother, a wife, a leader, and a politician. Also, I have the ability to socialise with people from all walks of life, with grassroots people and top class people. When I visit my constituency I go and sit in the villagers' huts and eat with them and sit on the floor. I do not act superior and I make them feel comfortable.139

The fact that she can communicate with her constituents in the ethnic language has also helped her. Additionally, her success seems to have been facilitated by the fact that this is her home area where she was born and brought up. Although Julia Ojiambo does not see her sex as having substantially interfered in her election, she does see it as an imposition in her work:

First I would like to point out that women's specific problems should not be projected as women's problems but as the problems of the whole family. There are specific problems that are related to women only. But I feel that a problem of a woman should be understood by men too. As a woman I have had problems too. I have had to work twice as hard as men. Some people test me for stress because I am a woman. They think that I am going to weep when I have a problem. They expect me to break down. They are always looking out for this. They feel that I cannot lead the battle. They will compare me with men who have and are ruling Kenya. I must say I have
been very successful. I have had enormous support from men. The opponents have been critical -- they call me a man-woman. Men find it easier to divide work and home. Women have a hard time doing that.¹⁴⁰

Yet she feels that being a woman can be an asset in a high-ranking position:

...women are good in high posts because they will weigh their decisions more than men. Women have to make many considerations. They have always learned to do so because of family and children. Men are too quick, rash, at making decisions. I would not like to make a decision that does not lead to success.¹⁴¹

Julia Ojiambo's position is representative of an important symbol for Kenyan women. She is a rarity -- a woman in power, in politics, and in the male world. As she pointed out:

Perhaps becoming first Assistant Minister has helped eradicate misconceptions in the minds of men and women too. They know that a woman can come to power. Especially country women appreciate me working with men. They are amazed at the way the P.C.'s and D.C.'S, who are all men, cooperate with me. This helps to break the image that women can't gain and hold power. Even when I was teaching in the university, women students appreciated me. So I feel that I represent a good image for women.¹⁴²

However, Julia Ojiambo has also been criticised by her peers. One woman felt that Julia Ojiambo's children suffered when she was campaigning for elections.
This partially explains Julia Ojiambo's reiteration about her role as wife and mother.

The question about the veteran female politician Grace Onyango being passed over at the time that Julia Ojiambo was appointed Assistant Minister remains to be answered. When Grace Onyango was asked why she has not become a minister or at least an assistant minister, she responded by stating that:

There are 170 M.P.'s. We can't all become assistant ministers and ministers. Serving the country does not mean that you have to sit on the front bench. I am happy where I am. Front benchers are not the only ones who work. The back benchers do a lot of hard committee work to help run the government.144

A newpserson commented that Julia Ojiambo was appointed:

Because she is harmless. Grace Onyango is too closely linked with Oginga Odinga to have a good appointment with the government. They will not trust her. Julia is non-controversial -- she does her work and is a good token. She is not tribal. Grace is too tribal.145

A businesswoman reiterated the newpserson's analysis:

Grace Onyango is the only real female politician. Julia is not a politician but she is in the limelight because of her position as Assistant Minister of Housing and Social Services. We cannot assess her as a politician because she is too much in the limelight. Grace Onyango should get a big post in the government. But she belongs to the wrong tribe. Also she is too threatening because of her association with Odinga.146
If this is the correct image of Julia Ojiambo -- "a harmless, non-controversial" figure, it is possible that she may be the representation of the type of female who can succeed in politics in Kenya. One who does not make waves, does her work diligently, has high survival value. Indeed, her conception of change coming gradually rather than by "decree or force" reflects a reformist consciousness. Her emphasis on the family, husband, and the role of wife and mother places her on the border of a traditionalist consciousness.

The above three profiles of political women represent a female politician, politicised by an active political family and holding a high-ranking position with this family's backing (Margaret Kenyatta); an academician and women's organisation leader appointed to a political position (Edda Gachukia); and a professional who gained political office by election (Julia Ojiambo). One common link among the three is their desire to see gradual change, an attitude that borders on conservatism. Another issue that all three politicians, along with the other female elite, agree upon is the reason for the paucity of women in politics. Margaret Kenyatta describes it as "women's own inertia" and lack of training. Julia Ojiambo also sees the lack of education and training as responsible for the low representation of females in politics. However, what Margaret Kenyatta calls "women's
own inertia", Julia OjiambÒ describes as women's traditional attitudes that are due to the special type of socialisation women receive. Edda Gachukia also feels that training and education will bring greater "self-awareness" and thus greater participation of women in politics.

The question one needs to ask is if and when women become sufficiently trained and socialised into joining politics and the government, what options are going to be available to them? What are the opportunities available for women in government and politics? These questions will be answered in the next section.

b) Opportunities for Women in Government and Politics

The opportunities for women in government and politics need to be examined so as to dispel the myth of the lack of training and ability of women for attaining positions of authority and power. Several of the Kenyan female elite explain the dearth of female politicians as an outcome of women's attitudes and ability. Another explanation for the dearth of females in high political and high governmental positions will be presented here.

When one evaluates the calibre of the male power elite one can see that their position is not necessarily dependent on ability. Indeed, one could argue that the male power elite is so deeply entrenched that it is
difficult for women to break through and become part of the establishment. Women remain on the periphery of the power structure not because of a lack of qualifications but despite their qualifications. One could suggest that women's inertia is equally matched by the entrenched male power elite's mentality of stereotyping women for specific types of jobs. These jobs seem to exclude administration and politics.

An evaluation of the position of female administrators in the Kenyan government will clearly substantiate the above statements.

Table 47, which follows, reflects the paucity of female senior officers in the Kenya Civil Service. The highest percentage of females is to be found in the Ministry of Health (14%) and the Ministry of Education (17%). The Western stereotypical role of the female as nurse and teacher is reflected in these figures. The next highest figure -- 11% -- is represented in the Ministry of Housing and Social Services and the National Assembly. The remaining Ministries and Departments range from 10% to 0%.

The type of work that female senior officers are involved in is generally related to assisting male directors or other more senior male civil servants. As a female civil servant put it -- "most of us are glorified secretaries. We have to do all the small type of
### TABLE 47: Female Officers in the Government of Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Office</th>
<th>Number of Officers</th>
<th>Female Officers</th>
<th>% Female Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Office of the President</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Directorate, Provincial Admin., Kenya Police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Office of Vice-President and Ministry of Home Affairs</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ministry of Finance &amp; Planning</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ministry of Defence</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ministry of Health</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ministry of Local Gov't.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ministry of Works</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ministry of Power &amp; Communications</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ministry of Labour</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ministry of Tourism &amp; Wildlife</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ministry of Lands &amp; Settlement</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ministry of Housing &amp; Social Services</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ministry of Information &amp; Broadcasting</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ministry of Natural Resources</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Ministry of Cooperative Development</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Ministry of Commerce &amp; Industry</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Ministry of Education</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Office of the Attorney-General</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Ministry of Water Development</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. The Judicial Department</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. The National Assembly</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. The Public Service Commission</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Office of the Controller and Auditor-General</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jobs. To take an example, in the President's Office there is only one female director. However, she is responsible for the management of the Kenyatta Conference Centre.
-- hardly a policy-making post. Indeed, among the high-ranking positions there is only one Assistant Minister, one senior diplomat, and two undersecretaries that are female. There are no female Permanent Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Provincial Commissioners, or District Commissioners. The majority of female senior officers work as personnel officers, assistant secretaries, nursing officers, and education officers.

Edda Gachukia's report in *Kenya Women*, the NCWK magazine, elaborated on the problem of female invisibility in Kenya's Civil Service:

Fourteen years after Kenya's Independence, and bearing in mind the large number of women in the civil service, we must ask ourselves: are there no women who have gained sufficient experience and ability to join the ranks of top officers in public service? Myriad reasons are advanced as to why women do not rise quickly in their jobs especially in the Civil Service. Among the reasons given is that women were left behind in education and so they must continue to lag behind in terms of promotions. Yet we see International and local banks appointing women to positions of top management. We also witness commercial and industrial firms, whose top priority is productivity, appointing women managers into senior positions. At the University, women are Head of Departments, including Scientific departments. We now have women working in the U. N. bodies as International Civil Servants.
In all these fields, women are appointed solely on the basis of Qualifications, Experience, and Ability.  

At a recent leaders' seminar held at the Kenya Institute of Administration, high-ranking government administrators and Ministers spoke on the theme -- "the Kenya we want." Despite the fact that there was not a single woman civil servant at the conference, the following recommendation was included:

That since women in Kenya constitute more than half of the bulk of the population and comprise the bulk of the labour in the rural areas, and in accordance with the confidence and good example His Excellency, the President, has shown in encouraging the participation of women in our national leadership, the conference recommends that women should be encouraged to increasingly come forward to compete for opportunities that exist in the public service and at decision-making levels. Appointments and promotions to these posts will be based on demonstrated competence and proven ability.

Edda Gachukia further reiterates the emphasis on training and ability for women to get high governmental posts:

Let it be clearly understood that Kenya women want no favours. All they ask is that their qualifications, experience, and ability be recognised and rewarded just like that of other workers in the country. Let that mobility we see in the higher ranks of the civil service be applicable to women also. The World Plan of Action for the Decade for Women, adopted by over 100 nations at the 1975
U.N. World Conference calls on national governments to establish goals, strategies and timetables for increasing, within the decade 1975-1985, the number of women in elective and appointive public offices. This will ensure the integration of women in decision-making and hence the incorporation of their views and needs in government planning. There are charges that women do not want to work outside the major towns; that we do not apply for senior jobs when these are advertised (although top jobs in the civil service are not usually advertised). Equality of opportunities will be a meaningless jargon if women remain satisfied with mediocre performance and shy away from the responsibilities and the obligations that opportunities for higher education are placing within their reach. The challenge of Kenya's development demands the contribution of each one of us according to ability. This means all of us; men, women, boys and girls.152

Indeed, the low level of education and qualification of a male are rarely a subject attacked by women. The female elite, as will be observed in the next section is concerned with female qualifications rather than the institutional barriers to female participation in both administration and politics.

c) The Female Elite's Perceptions of the Political Role of Women and Politics in Kenya.

The female elite were interviewed with the intention of ascertaining their perceptions of the role of women in politics in Kenya. The following areas of
concern will be presented: 1) How can women become part of the power structure? 2) What are the barriers to women's participation in Kenyan politics? 3) What is the political contribution of women in Kenya? 4) Is there a connection between politics and women's organisations? and 5) What is the impact of the political environment of Kenya on the role of women in politics?

Earlier, the emphasis that both men and women placed on the qualification of women for high governmental positions was mentioned. Female elite linked with the power elite or in political positions themselves stressed the issue of ability. They did not see any institutional barriers to women joining politics; a wife of a Minister stated:

Yes, we have to have more women in politics and all other fields. But they have to deserve the position. I think a woman should not hold a position just as a woman, but somebody capable and with equal rights. She has to be fit for the part. Women are capable of holding any post if they are qualified.153

A female politician saw no barriers for women in politics:

I would like to see more women in all walks of life. I am in favour for women's status to improve. Women have got the privilege to be in Parliament and Ministries. They should make use of this privilege. One has to make one's own way. We
have to keep in touch with the people. They are your weighing measure. If they are for you, you can make it. Women have just as much a chance to make it in politics as men do. I am a representative of both men and women, so I have to represent them both.154

Another female politician also felt that the doors were open for women in all fields:

I encourage women in all occupations it does not matter if they are not in politics.155

The increase in female political representation should come gradually. As a female politician stated:

Certainly not by decree or force. It has to come gradually. It has to come through voluntary acceptance of leadership responsibility by individual women, rather than by mass acclamation or rights. But they lack training in leadership. Educational institutions should help progress by laying emphasis on leadership training of women. I have been in programmes which deal with exposing young women to components of leadership. To show them what makes a leader and to arouse their latent leadership qualities. The Ministry of Education does this on an academic level. But we also have to do it on a practical level. So that academically trained people can have an idea of qualities that are necessary for becoming a politician.156

Some of the female elite did feel that women were already qualified and capable of holding high posts in politics and government. The three following comments were all made by professional women:
Women have to be encouraged to get into government. They should get government positions, especially if they are better qualified than the males.\textsuperscript{157}

We just don't have enough women in power. There are so many positions that can be filled by women. It is not that we don't have women with qualifications. It is just the attitude. That is where we have to improve the rights for women. They cannot contribute to this society until they can become active in the power structure.\textsuperscript{158}

We have to bring more women into responsible positions. They have to get into politics. Otherwise, we cannot help develop our country. Women can do any political job if they get the opportunity.\textsuperscript{159}

Women's attitudes were considered to be a major barrier to their joining politics. A female politician felt that women are emotionally weak and can join politics:

...only if they become tough. Women when provoked cry. You can't do that. During elections people can be very nasty. If you cry they think you have surrendered.\textsuperscript{160}

A senior officer in the Civil Service stated:

...women's attitudes are bad. If I had an economic concern I would not employ women. They are not reliable. They have to learn new values to be part of development.\textsuperscript{161}

A business woman saw females as responsible for their lack of representation:

We don't even have an Ambassador, a Permanent Secretary even an Under
Secretary. Women are to blame because they will say in front of men that a certain woman is not capable of being an ambassador. Mary Gichuru could become an ambassador or Emma Njonjo or Emma Murai -- Deputy Protocol.162

Another barrier to women joining politics was the role of women as wife and mother. A woman from a family active in politics stated:

I do have political ambition. I do get the urge to do something for my people. However my family holds me back from politics. Politics can ruin one's life.163

The lack of money was also seen as a curtailment on women's ability to join politics:

One of the most important things in politics is money. So, for a woman to get into politics she has to be rich or have a rich family or she has to be attached to an important man. I know what it is like to be in politics. It can get very dirty and women are not going to find it easy to get in.164

However, a senior officer from the Kenyan government and the daughter of a politician felt that money and family background were not the crucial factors. It was the type of personality:

One's effectiveness does not depend on being a politician. Besides you have to have a special personality for politics. I don't have my father's charisma to lead people so I don't want to be in politics.165

Indeed, one could suggest here that the family linkage
could be so overpowering that it would make females incapacitated in joining politics.

In regards to the female contribution to politics in Kenya, the majority of the female elite was full of praise for the traditional women who had been active in the colonial struggle. A female politician's comments follow:

Women have fully played their role in Kenya. They were very strong in the colonial struggle. They were the backbone of Mau Mau. You must have heard of Rebecca Njeri the old woman who was very strong and participated in the colonial struggle.166

As far as the present role of women in politics, an administrator in social work commented:

I would look at women's political participation in two categories. One is local politics. Here you find women do participate. They work hard with campaigning for the candidate and have a strong role. The second category is national politics - here women do not participate too much. In the three elections, change observed in last two elections. Women are beginning to tackle politicians and take an active interest.167

Other women were not as positive about the female political contribution:

Substantive in quality and in terms of voters in quantity. So in the lower positions they bring up a strong force and have a role as voters. Unfortunately women's role has always been tradition bound. This has not given her a position
to be a leader and this is what has perpetuated women's political role today.\footnote{168}

A senior officer in the Kenya government saw women's political activity as minimal because of their subjugation to men:

You will find that the female leadership in this country is dependent on men in one way or the other. Women's participation in politics is very small. Women don't even use their vote. We need to utilize our votes. This is not their fault because although the traditional values are important and have a function in life - the traditional schooling is important to become a human being, we find that this often makes women subjugated.\footnote{169}

A journalist saw the female political contribution as limited because the female politician is involved in work that would be beneficial to themselves rather than the people of Kenya:

I feel that women are involved in similar approaches in gaining power as men are. Politicians seem to think that putting up water projects in rural areas will give them support in those areas. If we are talking about the Kenyatta's and the Mama Ngina type -- I would say that they are mostly shallow unthinking women. They are basically public figures and have no depth. They are women politicians, in power only because of their family. They have no concept of what women's problems are all about. They merely pay lip service to the cause of women. They only want to acquire wealth.\footnote{170}
Besides family connections and money being crucial to the role of women in politics, the women's organisations are also seen as politically useful for women. Earlier, MYW's role during colonialism was presented, more as a collaborator with the colonial power, than as active participant in the colonial struggle. MYW leaders do not agree with the image of their organisation as collaborator and prefer to see it being represented as having helped the liberation struggle:

During colonial days MYW was part of the government. MYW had strong political role in independence, therefore the colonial government wanted to keep a check on the women's activities. This political function led to MYW being linked with the government. After independence we were for the African government. Closely linked with the ruling party KANU. During the colonial struggle we made people aware (politically). We had a strong role in bringing independence. MYW went to see Mzee to relay political messages. The effect of our role is seen in the KANU Manifesto, page 14, in which they promised us (women) a role in politics.¹⁷¹

At the time of independence MYW decided to go with the stronger political party:

I personally had several discussions with Ngala (KADU) and Mboya (KANU) to decide which party we should support. In the end KANU was our choice. We wanted one Kenya.¹⁷²
However, the majority of MYW leadership denies their connection with politics. They consistently emphasized the fact that their work was the development of Kenya not political elections:

In the past women's organisations especially MYW had a lot of political power. The nation was struggling for independence. But our priorities have changed. They are different now. The emphasis has changed to development.¹⁷³

On the other hand, when a woman on the executive committee of both MYW and NCWK was asked how women's organisations can help to get more women elected to the legislative body, she stated:

Some women have come into politics. For women to be elected we must help. If the women identify with our cause they will get our support. The organisations cannot do much because the women in power do not associate themselves with women. They do not associate themselves with groups. Mwendwa and Ojiambo have worked with women's organisations and they have been helped. It is crucial for us to identify the candidate so we can let our rural women know. Our main work is with rural women. All our projects are in rural areas--tree-planting and water projects.¹⁷⁴

The women's organisations leaders were also accused of using the organisations for their personal political platforms. A woman closely linked with NCWK stated:

Selfish motives have often made women join organisations. They are seeking power and this leads to their
struggling for power and not attacking the real problems. I support the organisations, but I cannot join them. It has become too cumbersome because too much politics. I only want to serve. The organisations are crucial for the welfare of poor women but they are all messed up because of politics.

The use of wealth, family affiliation, and organisational affiliation for personal promotion has been reiterated by several members of the female elite. There is a need to identify the reasons for the action of the women who manipulate their situation of wealth, family or organisational leadership to gain socio-political or even economic power. Since the 1960's the change in attitude of the female leadership is reflected by the following statements by an ex-MYW leader. In 1964 she stated:

I don't care what money I lose. I feel that it is worth it. I have two weeks leave now, which I will spend visiting the groups, and I use most week-ends. But we have been put in the position where we have to compete with the world that is 30 years ahead of us. If I wait until I'm 50 - you know some people suggest that I shouldn't travel when I have (four) young children. The whole country won't progress if we don't do something now...We can't help it. There are so few of us with a little education; we take it as our responsibility.

In 1978 however, she declared:

I have served voluntary organisations for 10-15 years. I feel I have made
many sacrifices — my children, my family. There was a time I would spend my weekends and take leave to do voluntary work. Now I feel it is time I did something for myself. It's time I made some money. I do not want to join politics because it is a difficult game, very costly. As I told you, I'm finally working to do things for me—make money for myself. Everybody else is, why shouldn't I?

The preoccupation with making money was obvious both among the male and the female elite. A business woman explains how having money can determine your success in politics. She explained why she failed to win in the 1974 elections:

I failed because I did not join the big shows. Also I did not ask the big guys for help. I learned a lot from running for Parliament: In politics you have to be a crook to succeed. Two things that spoil politics in Kenya: tribalism and money. No one is judged for what they are -- your qualities are not counted. I did not use money or tribe so I did not succeed. I did not approach the tribal associations. As a matter of fact, I don't belong to these associations, and I certainly did not use money to buy votes. This is very wrong. We will end up having thieves as leaders. All a politician has to do to win elections is throw beer parties. If I was given 1 million shillings I would feed the people not get them drunk.

The following extensive statement discusses the impact of the Kenyan political scene on the situation for women:
My immediate reaction is that nothing really significant can be done to change the situation of women in Kenya when we are living in the sort of system that we have chosen for ourselves in this country. I am referring to a capitalist system in which those who have got power, those who have got the strength, and those who have got the money can continue enriching themselves and making more and more money and grabbing a lot of the land and wealth of this country. The major portion of the population is not the recipient of the wealth, they just accept a few tokens here and there and in that way remain satisfied. Women in this country are a part of the 80% of the population that are the oppressed and the exploited people. If you look at the customs of this country whether you are dealing with professions or dealing with businesses you find that the woman is definitely a participant and in actual fact supports cases of serving a subservient role for the woman. I am sure if you talk to someone like Okoth Ogendo he will tell you how even in land laws you can specifically see sections in which the woman is given no chance in actual fact to own land.

Even in institutions such as the University of Nairobi a woman is not entitled to housing if she is married. A single woman is, but not a married woman. You have to put a very special case if you are a married woman to get housing. I feel that when we are dealing with bourgeoise Law, and by bourgeoise Law I mean that the law that protects those with property, those who are already in power, those who already are in privileged positions, mind you I am not talking as though I am not one of the privileged ones. It is very very difficult to talk of improving the position and the role of women. The fundamental problem that
women face, rural women especially, is landlessness, or having no capital to develop their land. Thus, before we can bring change we have to question the structure of our system -- For who is it? For whose benefit is it? Is it really for all of us -- the majority of the people or is it just for a few? Unless this structure can be changed basically even the little things we do here and there will not help the individual person. By following a bourgeoisie consciousness we cannot alleviate the problem. This is not a real solution in the final analysis.

The above statement is concerned with a fundamental change in society. The interviewee is not only referring to a political change but also economic and social. Societal activities often reflect the areas of social concerns. In regard to women and change in society the civic and political areas have been described above. Since change is so closely linked to the social environment and values of a society, the last section in this chapter will be devoted to the image of the female as presented in the Kenyan mass media.

3. **The Female Elite and the Mass Media**

Depiction of women in the mass media is significant because it can help one observe and understand the role and status of women in a society. The mass media is an excellent measure for documenting the female's position in society because not only can
one observe the socio-political and socio-economic role of the women but also how the society perceives women and women perceive themselves. An analysis of women as the subject of the mass media, and especially as consumers, could help one understand women's participation in the modern sector.

The use of the mass media to gain publicity (especially by women with political ambition or links with male politicians) was discussed earlier in this Chapter. Some of the female elite, especially those associated with women's organisations have been accused of getting involved with publicity seeking ventures. As a journalist expressed it "if tree-planting and water projects are for the help of rural women why do they always request press coverage?" A brief survey of the mass media -- newspapers, women's organisations' magazines and women's popular magazines follows.

a) Women's Activities as Presented in the Daily Papers

The female elite's involvement in the "patron's rounds" receives the most prominent coverage in newspapers. Since the patrons are themselves women closely linked to the power elite, they are also the most well known women in Kenya. Mama Ngina Kenyatta, Margaret Kenyatta, Jane Kiano, Edda Gachukia and Julia Ojiambo are probably the most photographed women
in Kenya. Their activities are generally related to the following: opening ceremonies of various buildings and functions, addressing groups, tea parties, fashion shows, receiving donations for or from charitable organisations, entertaining foreign dignitaries and attending other social activities such as balls, dinners and cultural shows. More recently (in the last 4 years) the activities have included tree-planting and water projects. 181

Both the Nation and the Standard will occasionally report on special issues or personalities. The Daily Nation, especially its three female reporters -- Nancy Owano, Miriam Kahiga, and Fibi Munene write on special issues that concern women. On occasion lengthy reports are presented on issues such as the continued practice of female circumcision and the break-down in marital relations. 182 A special spot for women's issues has been the Daily Nation's Wednesday magazine in which Miriam Kahiga and others have reported on women's organisation's leaders and their activities; women leaders in the world; fashion shows; and women's rights. 183 The newspapers also have the usual advertisements -- some specially designed to attract women. However, since there is a greater diversity of advertisements in newspapers, the advertising in women's magazines will be a more useful measure of how women are perceived by the
b) Women's Organisations' Magazines

The majority of the women's organisations aspire to having a magazine. The organisation that has had a regularly published magazine for the longest period is the E.A.W.L. This is the colonial women's organisation that continues to be organised by the expatriate women. Indeed, the organisation has branches in both England and Scotland. Although the E.A.W.L. has associated itself with NCWK in its work, its European backing and its white membership have made it suspect. Edda Gachukia recently defended the EAWL when it was castigated by a local newspaper "as not serving any useful purpose for the country".184

Women in Kenya the journal of the EAWL is in English and reflects that the League is indeed, continuing as a European Women's Organisation, with its usual philanthropic work for African women.185 The journal is devoted to informing its members of the activities of the European women in Kenya with an occasional review of their contribution to African women's organisations. The magazine included European women as artists, letters from EAWL members who are 'back home' -- England, or elsewhere, news of birth, death and marriage in the European community, and lists of donations that the League gave to all the charitable
organisations.

The MYW also has a magazine — *Sauti Ya Mabibi*, (Voice of Women), published in English and Swahili. However, because of the irregularity in publications, this researcher was able to get hold of only one copy. The magazine basically dealt with the activities of the MYW, especially in regard to the work of Mrs. Kiano. It also included a review of handicrafts made by MYW members, the MYW handicraft shop, articles on hairstyling, muslim women and child adoption. Advertisements in this magazine included one by Kenya Airways, the Kenyatta Conference Centre, an advertising agency, a noodle company, baby food and the chairperson Jane Kiano's clothes shop — Joy Garment Company.

A more recent and better organised magazine is *Kenya Woman*, a NCWK publication initiated in November of 1976 in English and Swahili. The chairperson, Edda Gachukia, described the major concern of the magazine:

Apart from acting as an information bulletin for member organisations, it is our hope that it will remind them what can be achieved through cohesive work. It is our greatest desire to encourage easy and free communication between members and the executive committee of N.C.W.K.\textsuperscript{187}

The main purpose of the magazine is to present a review of the major activity of the NCWK and its affiliated organisations.\textsuperscript{188} The magazine includes reports on: fashion shows; international conferences; female
delegations to foreign nations; presentation of donations; meetings with the power elite; visitations to rural areas for water and tree planting ceremonies; profiles on traditional as well as modern career women; health and nutrition, especially for mother and child; children's emotions; laws of Kenya and women; advice on choosing careers; child care; and cookery.

An analysis was made of the advertising in *Kenya Woman*. The following Table was devised from all the Kenya Woman magazines between 1976 and 1978.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject of Advertisement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and Supermarkets</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion, make-up and clothes</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning soaps, toothpaste, etc.</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous business (mowers, land estate and radio)</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appliances for the home</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 48 the highest percentage of advertisements are related to food. The assumption is that the female who is the housewife is responsible for her family's food purchasing. This stereotype, along
with others related to upper class females such as fashion and makeup, make a total of 70% of the advertising. The remaining 30% is not related to female stereotyping. Indeed, it is surprising that 16% of the advertisements are from banks. Perhaps since mostly middle and upper class women would buy such a magazine, the banks want to attract these women for business. The magazine had limited advertising. A more elaborate analysis of advertising and the female image will be presented below when the popular magazines will be discussed.

c) Popular Women's Magazines
The publication used to evaluate women in popular magazines is Viva, a slick cover, colour, monthly magazine, published in English. Viva was initiated by an enterprising Asian businessman and is the most successful women's magazine in Kenya. To appeal to readers other than women, Viva's format and articles have begun to be more universal and cosmopolitan. Perhaps this is to increase its sales. Before dealing with its contents one has to keep in mind the fact that Viva, as much as the other magazines described earlier, are read by a small percentage of the Kenyan population. One could suggest that Viva caters to a multi-racial reader, upper class, both male and female. In spite of the fact that articles
cover many facets — society, politics, people, places, food, beauty, children, health, women, fiction, letters and a horoscope, Viva is read by a very small privileged group of Kenyans.

The fact that the magazine is for the elite is illustrated by its slick, colourful cover. Over 90% of the covers between 1977 and 1979 were of young beautiful women. Usually of African origin, displaying fashionable clothes and usually pictured in a romantic picturesque surrounding. Occasionally Viva will have a special cover, for example, their January 1979 cover had a group of rural children to commemorate the UN year of the child. This contrast between rich fashionable models and poor rural children is rather a dramatic one. It is almost contradictory. In analysing the contents of Viva, this type of contrast is evident in almost every section of the magazine.

As represented by its cover Viva brings to Kenyan women the latest fashion and styles in clothes, make-up and hairstyles. The magazine devotes a major portion to colour photographs of women's fashions. A large percentage of its advertisements are also related to women's fashion and make-up products. In complete contrast to what is often a sexist representation of female beauty, Viva spends a great deal of time dealing with serious issues that are related to women in Kenya.
These issues include: child prostitution, female farming, women and poverty, women's organisations, females in law and other careers, female prisoners, problems of working women, the rights of women, women's needs, divorce, wife beating and rape. **Viva** had editorialised on serious problems and taken a strong feminist stand on issues such as child prostitution, rape and wife beating. The following lengthy excerpt from the editorial is reflective of Viva's stand:

On Tuesday, October 17, it was reported that two Mombasa men were convicted of forcibly abducting a young woman and dragging her to a deserted house at Kwa Jomvu. There she was placed on a bed, and while one of the men held her at knife point, the other raped her six times, the awful experience being repeated by the second man after the first had tired. The sentence of this brutal act: 5 years of hard labour each with 12 strokes of cane each. The very next day, in another court, a man was convicted of having stolen one cow. The sentence: 7 years of hard labour, with 12 strokes of the cane.

We are pointing out these two examples to show how lightly the offence of rape is regarded by many of our magistrates. The theft of a cow is reprehensible, but when such a thief is given a more severe punishment than a rapist, then surely something needs to be done. Rape is a heinous offence, recognized by law as such and punishable by a maximum of life imprisonment. But such a sentence is rarely imposed. The Mombasa rape duo were in fact "unlucky": recently, The Attorney General's office had to bring to court an application to consider the revision
of a court sentence on three men, Thuo, Muchoki and Kimani, who had been given 15 months for having raped a woman, and Mr. Rao, the Assistant Deputy Public Prosecutor, claimed it was too lenient, pointing out the psychological problems the raped woman would suffer the rest of her life. We urge the Attorney General's office to continue to keep their watchful eye on sentences for such offenses, and at the same time discuss the issue with the magistrates to ensure deterrent sentences.

The concern with rape was reiterated by a reader's letter in Kenya who felt that exposing the injustices of rape sentences was one way of changing the attitude of society towards rape. She gives evidence from an article in a daily newspaper -- the Daily Nation and her letter to that paper:

The Daily Nation article reported how Kisumu High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Eugene Cotran, quashed the sentence of a Kisii man convicted of raping a 14 year old girl on the grounds that the girl and her 9 year old companion, who testified at the trial, were not "wholly" reliable witnesses because of their ages. The accused had admitted having sex with the girl with her consent. However, in the absence of any corroborating evidence of forceful rape, the judge ordered the immediate release of the man. Mrs. Anderson, in a letter to the Nation asked how anyone could be expected to come forward to corroborate the two girls' story when no one else witnessed the event. She also questioned: "Does this mean that young girls under 14 can now be raped with impunity since their own testimony will not be accepted as evidence?"
Anything which you can do to find out the true situation of children who have been raped will be greatly appreciated. If rape is a heinous offence, as you rightly say, then child rape is doubly so.

This deep concern on feminist issues by Viva's readers is in total contrast with the advertising in the magazine. The following Table was devised to show the type of advertisement found in the magazine.

**TABLE 49: Advertisements in Viva Magazine**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject of Advertisement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fashion, make-up, and clothes</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appliance and household</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Supermarkets</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous business - cars, cigarettes, etc.</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels, travel and entertainment</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49 clearly represents fashion as a major component of Viva. Of the 46% advertisements on fashion and style a major portion was related to make-up. Especially prominent were the skin lightening creams for Africans. These skin lightening creams have been under heavy criticism. It is felt that these types of advertisements continue to perpetuate the idea that lighter skin is more attractive -- an idea with racist
connotations. In addition these creams are considered extremely harmful to the skin. Some contain cancer-causing chemicals such as mercury. A reader criticised Viva magazine for carrying such advertisements:

As a magazine for black women, you are not convinced that women are good and beautiful. You are not convinced that black is beautiful. We consider it a form of prostitution to advertise Butone, Envi, Cleartone and other such bleaches, when you know full well they harm the skin....and how they encourage the idea that black is not beautiful. It is dishonest to print all photographs of Africans in sepia, concealing their true beautiful blackness. We feel that it should be editorial policy to persuade black African women that Africans are in no way inferior to any other people, that black is no way inferior to any other colour, that women are in no way inferior to men.¹⁹⁴

The blatant contradictions in Viva's coverage, both of its advertisements and articles, reflects the image of Kenyan society. This image is one of a small privileged affluent group, consumer-oriented, capitalistic, and Westernised and yet concerned about the problems of the Kenyan society. Viva, the women's organisation's magazines, as well as the daily newspapers, constantly give visibility to women's contributions, as well as examples of injustices and inequality. It is surprising that although these injustices and inequalities are constantly verbalised and challenged, they are not eradicated. The conclusion
to a *Viva* article on child prostitutes perhaps answers this:

It is a terrible feeling to see the outrage of child prostitution in front of our very eyes yet be unable as individuals to do anything about it. The courts could punish men who cruelly use these young children, and the police could harass the girls themselves, but that would not solve the problem. The only way to eradicate evils like this (as well as others) is through collective action aimed at eradicating the root causes of the crippling poverty that afflicts a greater section of our population, crippling poverty that afflicts a greater and greater section of our population. (sic)

Unfortunately, we all know that no such collective action is going to be forthcoming. Our sensitivities and sensibilities have been so dulled by our affluence (or our impotence) that we can remain indifferent to situations which need a decisive response. Serious changes will only occur when the poor force them upon us.  

In concluding this Chapter one would suggest that the poor, as much as women as a group (and as individuals), are powerless. They do not control any vestiges of power and thus cannot bring effective change. The mass media recognizes new women, gives them publicity, yet leaves them powerless. Female powerlessness in the socio-political context of Kenya is clearly reflected in this Chapter and will be elaborated further in the next and the final Chapter, when a summary and conclusions for this dissertation will be presented.
CHAPTER VI — NOTES

1. See Chapter II

2. The information on NCWK was gathered from NCWK files, their quarterly journal *Kenya Woman*, Vol. I, No. 1, November 1976, as well as NCWK meetings and pamphlets.

3. ibid; *Kenya Woman*, p. 21.

4. ibid.


9. ibid.

10. ibid.

11. ibid.


13. The Annual General Meeting of the NCWK was held at the Kenyatta Conference Centre on 18 March 1978.


20. MYW files, 1955, minutes.


27. Constitution of MYW.


29. The files were not totally accurate because they were kept very haphazardly. However, the decline in membership was confirmed by MYW leaders.


32. Okumu, op. cit., p. 60.

33. ibid.


37. Minutes of the MYW Annual General Meetings between 1974 and 1977 from MYW files.

38. MYW member who was a Community Development Officer interviewed at the MYW Annual General Meeting, 22nd April 1978.

39. *ibid.* interview with a MYW provincial Chairperson of MYW who was a Community Development Assistant.

40. *ibid.* interview with MYW District Chairperson.


42. *ibid.*, 14 June 1972.


45. Mutiso, letter, op. cit., p. 3.

46. See Chapter II, section on employment.


49. *ibid.*

50. Interview, Rose Waweru, Assistant to the Director of the Women's Bureau, 11 May 1978.


52. Interview, Terry Kantai, Director of Women's Bureau, 17 January 1978.


54. *ibid.*, p. 5-6.
55. *ibid.*, p. 6-7.
56. *ibid.*, p. 10
57. *ibid.*
58. Interview number: WOL4.
59. Interview number: WOL3.
60. Interview number: PRO7.
61. Interview number: PRO6.
63. Interview number: HCS4.
64. Interview number: POL1.
65. Interview number: BVW1.
67. Interview number: POL1.
68. Interview number: PR06.
69. Interview number: PR03.
70. Interview number: POL3.
71. Interview number: PRO7.
72. Interview number: PR06.
74. Interview number: HCS6.
75. Interview number: BVW2.
76. Interview number: HCS4.
77. Interview number: BVW4.
78. Interview number: PRO1.
79. Interview number: PRO3.
80. Mutiso, personal letter, *op. cit.*
81. *ibid.*

82. Interview number: BVW1.

83. Interview number: WOL4.

84. Interview number: BVW5.

85. Interview number: WOL4.

86. Interview number: PRO4.

87. Interview number: BVW4.

88. Interview number: PRO4.

89. Interview number: PRO8.

90. Interview number: PRO5.

91. Interview number: PRO2.

92. Interview number: BVW4.

93. Interview number: HCS2.


95. Interview Number: POL3.

96. Terry Kantai, the Director of the Women's Bureau. Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the MYW at the All Saints Cathedral, April 21 1978.

97. Conversation with Achola Pala, April 6 1978.

98. There were several occasions of cooperation among the women's organisations that were reported at the NCWK's Annual General Meeting.

99. An examination of the various Kenyan Ministries will be conducted to ascertain the quantity and the quality of the female contributions to the Kenyan administration.

100. See Chapter III, Section 2: Women and Political Development.


103. Interview, April 24, 1978.

104. ibid.

105. ibid.

106. ibid.


108. Interview, op. cit.


113. ibid., August 17, 1975, p. 5.


115. ibid.


117. Interview, op. cit.

118. Interview number: PRO5.

119. Speech by Her Worship the Mayor, Councillor, Miss Margaret Kenyatta, C.B.S., at the Annual General Meeting of NCWK, at the Kenyatta Conference Centre, 27 March 1976, p. 1.

120. Interview, op. cit.

121. ibid.

122. Interview number: PRO2.

123. Information on Edda Gachukia was gathered from a few short chats with her, other female elite and an article on her by Hilary Ng'weno, "Edda Gachukia: Educator and Women Leader," The Nairobi Times Magazine (April 30, 1978), pp. 8-11.
124. Ng'weno, _ibid._, p. 11.


126. Interview number: PRO3.

127. The majority of the Kenyan female elite do not understand the concept of feminism. They reject it because of its negative connotations as being related to the 'women's lib' movement in the West.

128. Ng'weno, _op. cit._, p. 10.

129. _ibid._

130. _ibid._

131. _ibid._, p. 11.

132. _ibid._

133. Interview number: HCS5.

134. Interview number: PRO3.

135. Interview number: PRO5.


137. _ibid._

138. _ibid._

139. _ibid._

140. _ibid._

141. _ibid._

142. _ibid._

143. Interview number: HCS2.

144. Interview, 10 May 1978.

145. Interview number: PRO11.

146. Interview Number: BVW4.

147. This table was constructed from the Kenya Government Directory of 1977, which lists all the
senior officers working for the Kenya Government.

151. ibid.
152. ibid.
154. Interview number: POL2.
155. Interview number: POL1.
156. Interview number: POL3.
158. Interview number: PRO7.
159. Interview number: PRO8.
160. Interview number: POL2.
161. Interview number: HCS5.
162. Interview number: BVW4.
163. Interview number: HCS2.
164. ibid.
165. Interview number: HCS4.
166. Interview number: POL1.
167. Interview number: PRO4.
168. Interview number: PRO3.
169. Interview number: HCS5.
170. Interview number: PRO2.
171. Interview number: BVW1.
172. ibid.
ibid.

Interview number: WOL3.

Interview number: PRO4.

Whipper, Audrey, *op. cit.*

Interview number: BVW7.

Interview number: BVW2.

Interview number: PRO10.

Interview number: PRO2.


The issues of *Women in Kenya* used were dated June 1974 and August 1977.


All issues of *Kenya Woman* published between Nov. 1976 and May 1978 were used for the following analysis.

Issues of *Viva* used for the analysis in this Chapter included those published between Nov. 1977 and April 1979.

Readers, especially males, have commented on the excellence of the quality of the magazines and especially on the beauty of the models on the cover. These covers are often used as pin ups.


194. Letters to the Editor, Viva, Jan. 1979, p. 58.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to analyse the role and status of the Kenyan female elite. In this regard the major concern was to ascertain both the political and civic participation of the Kenyan female elite. In this chapter: 1) a summary of the findings, recommendation for scholars, researchers, and policy makers will be presented; 2) the female leadership will be observed in the socio-political context of Kenyan society; 3) the perceptions of the Kenyan female elite will be summarised; 4) an evaluation of the female elite's power will be presented; and 5) a final statement will be presented to conclude the thesis.

1. Findings and Recommendations

The findings in this thesis are presented in Chapter V -- where the empirical data was handled and Chapter VI where the interview data was presented. In Chapter V the first section dealt with the social background of the elite female. The major characteristics revealed were -- 1) inspite of the female elite's high level of education, the size of their families was large; 2) the elite was fairly young; and 3) the education level of husband's was higher than that of the respondent's. In section two of Chapter V the inter-organisational differences portrayed a higher level of education, prestige and consciousness of the women belonging to the urban-origin organisations compared to the rural-

origin organisations. In regards to organisational goals, the members saw 'helping women' and 'their country' as the two most important reasons for joining organisations. They also observed their organisation's function as basically 'civic' rather than 'political'. The majority of respondents also showed a great deal of faith in the effectiveness of their leaders.

The findings from the third section are related to the socio-political characteristics of the female elite. First of all the personal characteristics of the respondents revealed that: 1) the higher the age of the respondent the lower her level of education; 2) the women with lower socio-economic status saw 'money' and 'the help of God' as essential for getting ahead in life whereas women with a higher socio-economic status saw "professional preparation" as an important requirement for getting ahead in life; 3) education was considered to be the most significant barrier to female emancipation; and 4) women in occupations with higher wages were considered more emancipated than women in occupations with lower wages. Secondly, the section on the individual and the family revealed that the husband and the family of the respondent show greater support for her job-related work than her organisational work. Thirdly, the findings related to the level of trust showed that respondents show greater trust for females and mothers than for fathers and males; and the higher the socio-economic status of the respondent, the higher her level of trust.
Fourthly, in regard to the consciousness level, it was ascertained that respondents who had a higher education, lower age and had lived abroad, generally portrayed a higher consciousness level.

The fourth section in Chapter V dealt with the political socialisation of the respondent. The data showed that: 1) males were the most significant agents of political socialisation; 2) more respondents reported political activity by male relatives than female relatives; and 3) respondents who had a higher ranking on the Prestige Scale and whose family showed a greater interest in politics, generally showed a greater interest in politics.

In the fifth section, the political attitudes of the respondents were presented. It was observed that the respondents with a higher ranking on the Consciousness Scale and a lower ranking on the Power Differential Scale showed a lower level of trust in government leaders. It was also noted that the higher the education of the respondent the greater her belief in female competence in politics. In this section the hypotheses that did not completely stand the test were related to power. It was noted that power as a variable did not determine the stereotyping of political jobs into masculine and feminine. However, it was confirmed that power was correlated with political efficacy.

In the sixth section, hypotheses related to ethnic affiliation were tested. It was proven that 1) the larger the representation of an ethnic group in government, the
lesser their political cynicism; 2) the higher the respondent's education the greater the chance of inter-ethnic marriage; and 3) the greater the political involvement of an ethnic group in the anti-colonial struggle, the greater the anti-colonial sentiment.

In the final section of Chapter V the impact of power on the respondents' socio-political attitudes was tested. It was revealed that women in power supported the government, showed less political cynicism and a lower level of consciousness. In regard to conservatism, it was revealed that the level of power was not as strong a variable as that of the level of education.

In Chapter VI the findings from the interview data reveal a strong inter-organisational rivalry based on personalities, functions and funding. The second part of the chapter discusses the types of females in politics. One can clearly conclude that the female politician supports the status quo and gradual, rather than radical change. The paucity of women in government and politics is very obvious especially from the data on male female ratios in high level government positions. The chapter is concluded with a review of women's portrayal in the mass media. This portrayal is one of females in stereotyped female roles and even though women receive a tremendous amount of publicity they remain powerless.

The recommendations that can be made from the findings of the study are divided into two categories. First of all, in regard to recommendations for scholars and researchers,
one feels that there are several areas needing further research and which may stem from this study. These areas of further research are: 1) a more substantial survey of women of the various racial and ethnic groups and their political attitudes; 2) the inclusion of male respondents so as to determine the male perceptions about the role and status of women in Kenya; 3) the study of female elite ability; and 4) the comparison of political attitudes of rural and urban women.

Secondly, in regards to recommendations for policy makers and women's organisations, one can suggest that 1) a greater effort be made to eradicate the inequality prevalent for women in educational and training facilities, government positions and the political arena; 2) the women's organisations have to cooperate for the women's commission to become a viable, functional body; and 3) in relation to the above recommendations the solution that policy makers may opt for is to follow the Tanzanian model and create one national women's organisation which can function without the problems of inter-organisational conflict.

2. The Dilemma of Female Leadership in the Socio-Political Context of Kenyan Society.

The Kenyan female leadership has to be analysed within the cultural and socio-political constraints of Kenyan society. Kenya as a relatively new state has evolved certain values that have become representative of its
society. However, these values are not necessarily new or original. As Gertzel states, "But new states often like to seem newer than in fact they can be, for they all have to work within an inherited framework which is more difficult to change than it might appear."¹ The impact of the colonial socio-political framework on African structures was substantially presented in Chapter I. Here one needs to emphasise the continued influence of the colonial institutions and values on the present political order. As Leys points out, "in a neo-colony "politics' must be primarily understood in terms of the interplay of economic and social forces originally generated by colonialism; otherwise it remains ultimately mysterious."²

Political analysts such as Gertzel, Leys, Mutiso and Okumu have constantly reiterated the influence of colonial values on present day Kenyan society. Indeed, the politics of development in Kenya are not related to the lack of know-how and capital, but to the application of neo-colonial socio-political and economic values that are continually perpetuated by the present leadership. In this regard, the female leadership is well in tune with internalising neo-colonial values and the promotion of such values. The colonial and Western linkages of women's organisations is one arena where, as reflected by the female leadership's stand, (Chapter VI) the neo-colonial values are supported. As Wanjohi points out, the very nature of international aid to the women's organisations is "used to promote
capitalist interests and control over both large and small scale land ownership, trade, communication, education and planning.\textsuperscript{3}

The unquestioning acceptance of the neo-colonial values and the politics of dependence (as presented in Chapter III) leads to further entrenchment of such a system. Fanon overtly criticised the African elite of the post-independent era and describes it as "a sort of little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial hands out to it."\textsuperscript{4}

Socially, the colonial legacy continues to influence present day Kenyans. Colonialism made the Third World people, especially women, more submissive. And as Hyden states, "we should not expect a tradition of submissiveness which was after all nurtured for so long during the colonial period to disappear overnight."\textsuperscript{5} The Kenyan people not only submitted to the legal and political control of the coloniser, but also to the social values. As Okumu points out, the British who were the "hegemonic class" became "the primary determinant of consciousness and custom throughout the society."\textsuperscript{6} In the same vein the hegemony of the upper middle class of Kenyan women, who are imbued with the facade of Western superemacy, continues to represent and promote the colonial mentality.

Politically, one area where the colonial legacy is represented in Kenya is in the continued emphasis on the
centre vis a vis the periphery. In the early post-independent years, the leadership made some effort to "translate nationalist demands for political change at the centre into local terms. This meant relating them to local issues." In later years, the centre as was the case in colonial times discontinued such efforts and there was little communication over the needs of the periphery. Mutiso underscores this point by stating that, "there is very little participation, especially upward aggregation of demands. There is conviction that the center knows best what is good for the country." The female elite and especially the women's organisations are very much part of the centre and their function fits in very well with the general trend for control by the centre over the periphery. In line with the political centre's desire to conduct the politics of diffusion, the female leadership supports national projects which have a definite spirit of involvement for both the women (as a peripheral group) and the rural and poor masses. This sense of involvement is crucial for it makes the female leadership feel efficacious. The support of the female leadership for the designs and policies of the centre have helped in "the progressive centralization of power since 1962" and in putting "the executive more firmly in control . . ." This control by the centre is crucial for the Kenyan government, for it allows the leadership to keep order by "controlling and regulating change" rather than "initiating it." As Jackson states, "in a country like Kenya change is occurring
quite autonomously, and the real task of public administration is to maximize its economically productive results while minimizing its politically disruptive effects."\(^{11}\) The female leadership, and especially the leadership of women's organisations are involved with change that is in the least disruptive. Indeed, their work can be clearly seen as supporting "system maintainence"\(^{12}\) rather than as political disruption or radical social change.

This dichotomy between the centre and the periphery is further emphasised by what Mutiso describes as the cleavage between the *asomi* and the *non-asomi*.\(^{13}\) Mutiso suggests that:

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... independence transforms this asomi class, into the political petty bourgeois as a result of having control over the state machinery which then gives access by the class to internal economic opportunities, ...\(^{14}\)
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This political petty bourgeois class or the *asomi* group, is representative of the political economy of Kenya. Mutiso points out that the *asomi* have 1) gained legitimization among the *non-asomi*; 2) are the real benefitters of opportunities of aid; and 3) accepted Western oriented concepts of development, thus supporting the continuation of economic dependency.\(^{15}\)

The female leadership is a component of the *asomi* class and adds to the problem by their continued emphasis on control by the centre and personalities. Indeed, their system maintainence approach alienates the *non-asomi* further. Of course, the female leadership are mere functionaries
within the total socio-political cultural context. This does not always give them the requisite power to alleviate (if they wanted to) the problems of injustice and inequity that pervade over Kenyan society. With this background on the socio-political nature of Kenyan society one can gain a better understanding of the female leadership attitudes and functions. In the next section the social perceptions of the female elite will be summarised. This will be followed by an evaluation of the female elite's power.

3. Summary of the Social Perceptions of the Female Elite

It is clear that the perceptions of the Kenyan female elite are intrinsically related to the present cultural framework of Kenyan society. Elite attitudes have been constantly linked with environmental and socio-political factors that are or have been influential in the Kenyan context. Education has been reiterated as a very strong variable in influencing elite perspectives. Other factors include the value structure of the elite -- shaped by external influences (the Western world) and internal influences (the traditional African culture). Other socio-political forces that are considered to be crucial are related to the type of political system in Kenya -- a system that is based on free enterprise and ethnicity. These environmental factors have been mentioned above, and earlier in the text of this study and should be kept in mind in understanding the female elite's perceptions.
The female elite's attitudes and values can best be summarised as a dichotomy of feminist and traditionalist beliefs. The role of the female elite can be viewed within the cultural context of this dichotomy. The traditional influence and values of African society are still significant in Kenya. Motherhood and wifehood are constantly emphasised as the most critical roles for women. The imposition of Westernisation, especially Christianisation, on the traditional value structure brought radical identity changes and an element of alienation to the African people. However, African women as well as men have picked from the Western culture values that can be superimposed onto the traditional African value system. One area where this has occurred is the women's role and status. Women's traditionally significant role of mother and wife is also a traditional value of the Western world. Thus, the female elite can be seen as seeking a continuity to their traditional African role by emphasising motherhood even in their Westernised lifestyle. One could conclude that the traditionalism -- Western or African -- cannot be discarded by the Kenyan female elite.

On the other hand, in the work, the projects, and the activities of the female elite, feminist goals are constantly observed. The elite seeks equal opportunities in education, law, politics, and society in general. There is a clear understanding of feminist goals. Unfortunately, the implementation of these goals is thwarted
by the constraints of traditionalism. For example, the Kenyan female elite wants equality of educational opportunities for females. Education is seen as the crucial variable for the emancipation of women. However, education is still considered as a way of bettering oneself for the purpose of educating one's children. This concept is very clear in the female elites' minds. They accept the concept of the mother as the moulder of the thought processes of their children.

The Kenyan female elite are reluctant to deal with the fact that the traditional form of motherhood that they propagate is not conducive to women's incorporation into the developmental process of a society. The researcher observed an over-emphasis being placed on the female role of wife and mother. Indeed, the female elite made a specific effort to reprimand women occasionally for overlooking their familial duties. For example, while addressing women's groups at Kigari Teacher's College in the Embu District, Jane Kiano, the Chairperson of MYW, advised women to keep their homes in "peace and good order" so that their husbands would not seek entertainment in bars and clubs.16

Jane Kiano's remarks were well received by Kenyan men. In a letter to Viva magazine, one male reader stated that Mrs. Kiano:

... rightly emphasised the importance of women showing deep affection to their husbands in order to
create an atmosphere that would help bring about stable homes. Surely such sound and intelligent remarks can directly make that Organisation more meaningful to women and men in this country.

Mrs. Kiano was indeed right to say that it is wrong for women to blame their husbands. Most of these arrogant women are in (sic) the "Working-Class" who feel that they can do without their husbands.17

Although the Viva magazine's editor responded by stating that Jane Kiano was being misrepresented because her exclusion of men in her remarks did not mean that she sees women as the troublemakers in a family, one has to consider why Jane Kiano did not include the role of the male in making a happy marriage. Some of the Kenyan female elite try to seek a harmony between the traditional functions and the feminist goals. This unfortunately is not successful. It would be very difficult for an individual to try to harmonise the traditionalist values with androgenous values without suffering the pains of role conflict.

4. An Evaluation of the Female Elite's Power

It was observed earlier that the female elite's power and prestige were closely linked to their familial relations, their wealth and their organisational affiliations, as well as the value system of the Kenyan society. In this section the female elite will be evaluated in terms of:

a) the female elite as the facilitator of socio-political change; b) the political power of the female elite; and

c) the future of the women's organisations.
a. The Female Elite as Facilitators of Change

The data for this study indicates that the elite's efforts at change are conservative. They want change that is gradual, not radical. This should not be surprising for they are the beneficiaries of the structure of the political economy of Kenyan society and it would be in their interest to maintain the status quo. Their privileged position may be dependent on limiting the distribution of the meagre resources available.

The female elite are in a precarious situation. They are usually the first or second generation to gain power, prestige, and wealth. This leads to their emphasis on the accumulation of wealth. Research studies have shown that upward mobility is highly correlated with conservatism. In addition to the low level of motivation toward radical change, the low level of female power also hinders the female elite's role as facilitators of change.

b. Political Power and the Female Elite

Earlier, the basis of female power was mentioned. The limited routes of power for women make their work as facilitators of change even more difficult. Gittell's explanation of the relationship between power and social change is pertinent:

Social change is affected by the policy decisions of those in power. Policy decisions by those in power are made with reference to the effect of such decisions on the retention and extension of their own power. Social change is brought about by those in power or those seeking power. The nature of the power distribution in any
society will determine the nature and likelihood of social change. Social change will in turn influence the nature of and changes in the distribution of power.  

The Kenyan female elite's power is dependant on the nature of society. Studies have shown that nations that have greater stability, legitimacy and acceptability will be more willing to incorporate peripheral groups such as women. As Leys states, it is "highly misleading to regard the social and political system which had emerged in Kenya by the end of 1960's as 'stable'." Also, the Kenyan male power elite is certainly not ready or willing to share their only recently gained power with the peripheral groups -- especially women. The whole question of equality has to be dealt in the context of power. Marx believed that justice could not exist without equality. And as Thucydides pointed out to the Melians:

You know and we know, as practical men, that the question of justice arises only between parties equal in strength, and that the strong do what they can, and the weak submit.  

This is not to say that the Kenyan female elite totally submits to male power. They seek other channels to express themselves. Indeed, one could suggest that the women's organisations is their arena for politicking.
c. The Future of the Women's Organisations

The women's organisations seem to be the most significant area of female activity. The data for this study reveal that even if the work of the women's organisations does not exert any real force in the political context of Kenyan society, the leaders of the women's organisations feel efficacious and powerful. In projecting the future of the women's organisations in Kenya one has to evaluate the trend of the women's organisations in the last 20 years. Research from the 1960's on women's organisations and the data from this study reveal that the female national leadership of the 1960's was seeking militant reform for women. Whipper describes the female leadership of the 1960's:

A core of militants actively crusade for equal rights. The militants speak out publicly on issues that effect women; they lead organisations which aim to raise women's status; and they campaign for political office on a platform of women's rights. Although they are still few in number, like the early nationalists, they are harbingers of future change.22

The "militant core" group of the 1960's received little help from the establishment, whose verbal support and token gestures brought about only modest reform. The militant core group's disillusionment at not achieving substantial reforms and a realisation that there were only meagre resources available to the government, quickly
led to their understanding that women's equality was going to receive low priority in governmental plans. Thus the radicals of the 1960's internalised the value structure of neo-colonialism and began to seek personal wealth and prestige via business ventures rather than through voluntary work.

The female leaders of the 1970's are less radical and more supportive of the status quo. They continue to profess the goals and ideals of their organisation, but due to their lack of power they seem to evade the real issues that their organisations espouse. As mentioned earlier, social change is determined by the leadership at the centre, with little regard to peripheral needs or opinions about social change. In Chapter VI the overt criticism by rural women of the national women's organisations was presented. Social strategy and its implementation often lacks the support of the periphery. The women's organisations and the social welfare system in Kenya are also discredited by their being based on the colonial oppressive community development instruments. R. Mutiso substantiates this point by quoting the Hon. Fred Kubai, the then Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services: "under the garb of 'closer administration' and 'rehabilitation,' Community Development Officers often appeared to persecute the people." \(^{24}\) The legitimisation of the asomi is part of the reason why the asomi can
manipulate the non-asomi.

Despite the legitimacy of the female leadership and their being a part of the centre, (yet peripheral) has given them little power. Indeed, this lack of power in implementing their goals is manifested in their evasiveness. As Corpuz states:

...... the most conspicuous manifestation of our social psychology is 'retreatism,' which has decidedly escapist and ceremonialistic aspects. This is evidence by the wide gap between political appearance and political realities. 25

Although the women's organisations' leaders and other female elite are frequently depicted in the mass media and thus gain public visibility from it, this still does not give them power. Thus it is within the organisations where women continue to seek prestige and power. They continue their inter-organisational struggle, which is manifested by the differences in leadership. Indeed, the inter-organisational personality conflicts is largely based on education. The author observed cliques of leadership based on educational status. Another set of cliques was based on race. It is surprising to see the European women continuing their activities in a segregated manner, occasionally making paternalistic gestures by contributing to the African women's projects. The Asian religious groupings also continue to operate separately. On the one
hand, this reflects the pluralistic nature of Kenyan society, on the other hand, it represents the tendency of the elite to be segregated on the basis of race and education.

In regards to the use of women's organisations for publicity purposes, one cannot blame the female elite, for other sources of publicity are not easily available for females. For women to gain public support and a political base it is necessary to utilise the women's organisations. Unfortunately, the duplication of projects and activities has led to the organisations being severely criticised. The very existence of women's organisations seems to be threatened. Some of the female elite suggested a solution similar to that in Tanzania. The Tanzanian women's organisation is a national organisation and represents all women of Tanzania. Furthermore, the presence of the Women's Bureau has also led to the allegation that the women's organisations in Kenya are now defunct.

The reorganisation of the women's organisations is not necessarily the real issue. The women's organisations are only one instrument of Kenyan neo-colonial society. However, they are an important instrument, especially for system maintainence and the perpetuation of such a society.
4. A Final Statement.

At the completion of this study the author saw several areas for future research. Some of the areas can be seen as an expansion of this research:

1) a more substantial survey of women of the various racial and ethnic groups and their political attitudes;
2) the inclusion of male respondents so as to determine the male perceptions about the role and status of women in Kenya; 3) the study of female elite ability; and 4) the comparison of political attitudes of rural and urban women. The above areas for future research are presented so as to look for additional social factors that may explain the role and status of women. This author does not assume that she has considered every factor. As John Carroll states:

In any given investigation the investigator studies a limited number of aspects of reality which appear to him to be relevant; normally he finds only what he is looking for, and he organizes his finding in a way which seems to make sense. The tendency is to believe that he now has an adequate explanation of the phenomenon, whereas he may well have overlooked any number of important elements. Only repeated studies ...in different settings by scholars with a variety of academic backgrounds who make use of their own intuitions as well as the accepted theories of their disciplines will counteract the tendency to premature closure and, hopefully, prepare the way for a truly adequate theory.26

Finally, one feels obligated to state the obvious: the future of the Kenyan female elite is by the nature
of things very closely linked with the future structure and socio-political environment of the Kenyan society. The present conservatism of the female elite may be seen as warranted and a realistic approach in light of the fate of radical individuals and groups in Kenya and in other countries. The female elite's approach is a compromise between the push of developing a higher consciousness and the pull of traditionalism within the socio-political structure of Kenyan society. As a high ranking civil servant stated, "the individual values evolve from the national values." In dire circumstances compromise often seems to be the last resort.

In terms of individual experience, when one comes to perceive the existence of injustice, one gets involved in activity that lessens one's guilt and brings acquiescence. The female elite's small attempts at helping Kenyan women provide a measure of absolution. Indeed, their projects and functions are moulded by their meagre power base, a power base which makes it impossible to act on a grand scale and substantially improve the lives of poor women. The societal constraints do not make it possible for them to wage a major battle against the ills of poverty and deprivation. This comment is not meant as a criticism of the Kenyan female elite but
as a general psychoanalysis of the human mind. Many of us -- including the author -- partake in conscience-clearing activities.

With dramatic changes in the political atmosphere in Kenya the true spirit of the women's organisations can be implemented. Indeed, it is very likely that this 'Zeitgeist' can become the major focus of the efforts of the female elite. However, it is the female leadership that has to bear the brunt of bringing equality for women. As Pala states, the exhortations of male politicians will not be responsible for the change in women's lives. Women have to have "specific strategies and sustained efforts to accomplish this goal." In the absence of the male leadership's efforts to alleviate the problems of injustices and inequalities, women have to be responsible for increasing their rights and power. Marjorie Mbilinyi succinctly states:

Women therefore must participate in the struggle against underdevelopment. However, while engaged in that national struggle, they must be conscious of the peculiar contradictions of their own lives and act to remove them at the same time. In doing so, women cannot expect anyone else to do this for them. Their future rests in themselves.

Undoubtedly, women's destiny is closely linked with their own efforts. However, given the fact that women do not control the vestigates of power, and given the socio-political context of a neo-colonialist
environment of Kenya, women cannot bring dramatic change. In the final analysis, the requisite changes are painfully slow, because the forces that oppose these changes inter-penetrate all aspects of Kenyan society. This study exposes the institutional, structural and individual barriers to female emancipation. These barriers do not always seem apparent for they constitute the very fabric of Kenyan society. Thus, the problem of female emancipation must be first realised, secondly, defined, and thirdly, eradicated. The implementation of emancipation if it is not radical revolutionary change, will be a lengthy process. Leys' words are an appropriate conclusion for this study:

The resulting processes of change which would be generated in Kenya would, however, certainly be prolonged, and meanwhile it is true that academic studies can contribute little to the effort to achieve new strategies of development grounded in the interests of the mass of those who are currently the victims of under-development. Perhaps the most such studies can do is to try not to obscure the structures of exploitation and oppression which underdevelopment produces, and which in turn sustains it.
CHAPTER VII -- NOTES


6. John Okumu, ibid., p. 36.


11. ibid.


14. ibid., p.76.

15. ibid., pp. 76-96.

17. ibid., p. 58.


27. Interview number: HCS5.


APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

ENQUIRY ABOUT WOMEN IN CIVIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

1. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CAREER

1. We would like to know about positions and jobs you have held:

A. Are you holding a paid position at this time?

____ 1. Yes
____ 2. No

B. If the answer is Yes what type of paid position do you hold?

C. How many years have you held this position?

D. If the answer is No did you hold any paid positions in the past?

E. What other paid work have you done outside your actual job and for how long?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOBS</th>
<th>POSITION IF ANY</th>
<th>NO. OF YEARS</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

F. If you have now or have had at some time a paid position, at what age did you begin to work in your 1st paid job?

2. Have you had the opportunity to do some voluntary work in an organisation or institution, or in a political party? Please name the 3 or 4 most important ones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOLUNTARY WORK</th>
<th>IN WHAT POSITION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF YEARS</th>
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</table>


3. We would like to know approximately how much time you spend each week in your actual activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morning</th>
<th>Afternoon</th>
<th>Night</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At your paid job? .............</td>
<td>At your Voluntary Work? ..........</td>
<td>At Social Gatherings? ...........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At your Home? ................</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Here are a few reasons why some people join organisations. Tick 3 that are most important to you.

1. To be occupied in my spare time.
2. To help better myself.
3. To gain contacts with other women.
4. To help the country.
5. For social purposes.
6. To help improve the life of women.
7. Other reason (please specify).____________________

5. Do you feel that your organisation is fulfilling its functions:

1. Extremely well
2. Reasonably well
3. Not very well
4. Very badly

6. Is your organisation politically influential:

1. Very much
2. Somewhat
3. Very little
4. Not at all

7. What do you think is your organisation's most important function:

1. Fund raising
2. Social events
3. Self help projects
4. Political elections
5. Others (please specify)___________________________

8. Is the organisation's leadership effective:

1. Very
2. Reasonably
3. Not very much
4. Not at all
II. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1. In Kenya does the legal status of women provide them with social emancipation?
   _____1. Absolutely
   _____2. Somewhat
   _____3. Not really
   _____4. Not at all
   _____5. Don't know

2. In Kenya which are the 3 most emancipated groups of Women?
   (Mark in rank order - 1, 2, 3)
   1. Nurses
   2. Teachers
   3. University students
   4. Lawyers
   5. Female politicians
   6. Business women
   7. Market women/vendors
   8. Social workers
   9. Civil servants
   10. Secretaries
   11. Doctors
   12. Labourers
   13. Others

3. The most important aspects or conditions necessary for the process of women's emancipation are: (Mark in rank order - 1, 2, 3)
   _____1. Parliamentary sanctions
   _____2. New Laws for women's rights
   _____3. Greater political representation of women
   _____4. Education
   _____5. More business women
   _____6. An end of traditional values
   _____7. Women's own efforts to help free themselves

4. What are the three most important barriers to women's emancipation?
   (Mark in rank order - 1, 2, 3)
   _____1. Their legal status
   _____2. Women's own lack of interest
   _____3. Male politicians
   _____4. Men in general
   _____5. Traditional values
   _____6. Westernisation
   _____7. Lack of education
   _____8. Giving birth
   _____9. Women's mentality
   _____10. Others (specify)
5. Do Kenyan women have the opportunity to enter any profession or are there special fields for women?
   ___ 1. They have the opportunity to choose their profession
   ___ 2. There are special fields
   ___ 3. Don't know

   A. What are the special fields?

6. Do you think that there are positions in government that should be held by women?
   ___ 1. Yes
   ___ 2. No
   ___ 3. Don't know

   A. What positions are they?

7. Do you believe that there are government positions that should not be held by women?
   ___ 1. Yes
   ___ 2. No
   ___ 3. Don't know

   A. What positions?

8. Among the following positions, tick the ones you think women are capable of holding:
   ___ 1. Diplomat
   ___ 2. Judge
   ___ 3. Minister of Defence
   ___ 4. Minister of Health
   ___ 5. District Commissioner
   ___ 6. Minister of Housing and Social Services
   ___ 7. Minister of Education
   ___ 8. Member of Parliament
   ___ 9. Don't know

9. Men should make the decisions that effect foreign policy and defence of Kenya, and women should be concerned about the education and housing problems of Kenya.
   ___ 1. Strongly agree
   ___ 2. Agree
   ___ 3. Disagree
   ___ 4. Strongly disagree
10. Clitoridectomy (female circumcision) was a good traditional custom and should be continued:
   ___ 1. Strongly agree
   ___ 2. Agree
   ___ 3. Disagree
   ___ 4. Strongly disagree

11. The way in which Kenyan leadership has responded to our traditional ideas has been good for our country:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree

12. To save the family, we need to go back to the extended family system:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree

13. Working women should not forget that the most important role for women is that of mother and wife:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree

14. Education does not mean that women can disregard their traditional housekeeping duties:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree

15. It is appropriate for African women to wear western clothes:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree

16. Men should not be allowed to have more than one wife:
    ___ 1. Strongly agree
    ___ 2. Agree
    ___ 3. Disagree
    ___ 4. Strongly disagree
17. We must eradicate the practice of bridewealth:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

18. We have to give up our traditional African ways and become westernised so that Kenya can develop:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

19. Many of the political institutions that the British brought are well rooted in our own traditional political system:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

20. The important role and status that women had in traditional Africa was reduced by the oppressive system of the colonizers:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

21. The colonizers did not provide sufficient facilities for educating women:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

22. Women in the colonial system had to work harder than in the traditional African system:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree

23. We must concentrate on the role of women in the development of Kenya and forget about women's traditional status and the effect of colonialism on women's status:
   ___1. Strongly agree
   ___2. Agree
   ___3. Disagree
   ___4. Strongly disagree
24. Kenya women are free to do whatever they want to do:
   ____1. Strongly agree
   ____2. Agree
   ____3. Disagree
   ____4. Strongly disagree

25. It is appropriate for working African women to have less children:
   ____1. Strongly agree
   ____2. Agree
   ____3. Disagree
   ____4. Strongly disagree

26. Working parents should share household responsibilities equally:
   ____1. Strongly agree
   ____2. Agree
   ____3. Disagree
   ____4. Strongly disagree

III. ATTITUDES TOWARDS YOUR WORK

1. For women in paid positions only:
   A. How important does your family consider your job?
      ____1. Very important
      ____2. Fairly important
      ____3. Not very important
      ____4. Not at all important

   B. How supportive is your husband about your job?
      ____1. Very supportive
      ____2. Fairly supportive
      ____3. Not very supportive
      ____4. Not at all supportive

   C. How do your male colleagues respond to your working with them?
      ____1. Very well
      ____2. Fairly well
      ____3. Not very well
      ____4. Very badly

   D. How do males working under you respond to you?
      ____1. Very well
      ____2. Fairly well
      ____3. Not very well
      ____4. Very badly
3. In your opinion what are the three most important requirements to get ahead in life?
   ______ 1. To have professional preparation
   ______ 2. To have the help of God
   ______ 3. To have money
   ______ 4. To work hard
   ______ 5. To have connections with important people
   ______ 6. To be lucky
   ______ 7. To be capable
   ______ 8. To be a man
   ______ 9. To have a good husband
   ______ 10. I don't know

IV. PERSONAL POLITICAL BACKGROUND

1. Do you actually have an interest in Politics?
   ______ 1. Very much
   ______ 2. Some
   ______ 3. Very little
   ______ 4. None

2. Who has influenced you most in becoming interested in Politics? (Tick Two)
   ______ 1. My Priest, Minister or Religious Teachers
   ______ 2. My School Teachers
   ______ 3. My Father
   ______ 4. My Mother
   ______ 5. The Government Leaders
   ______ 6. Someone else: describe_________________
   ______ 7. My Husband
   ______ 8. No one

3. Did your family talk about politics when you were a little girl?
   ______ 1. Often
   ______ 2. Sometimes
   ______ 3. Seldom
   ______ 4. Never
   ______ 5. Don't know

4. Who spoke the most about politics?
   ________________________________

5. Did your mother speak about politics?
   ______ 1. Often
   ______ 2. Sometimes
   ______ 3. Seldom
   ______ 4. Never
   ______ 5. Don't know
6. Did you or do you have relatives in politics?
   ____ 1. Yes
   ____ 2. No
   ____ 3. Don't know

7. Do you listen to news/read newspapers?
   ____ 1. Always
   ____ 2. Sometimes
   ____ 3. Seldom
   ____ 4. Never

V. QUESTIONS RELATED TO ACTUAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Do you think that government employees are concerned with resolving the problems that confront Kenya?
   ____ 1. Always
   ____ 2. Sometimes
   ____ 3. Seldom
   ____ 4. Never
   ____ 5. Don't know

2. Do government activities improve the conditions of the people?
   ____ 1. Improve the condition
   ____ 2. Sometimes improve
   ____ 3. We would be better off without them
   ____ 4. There is no difference
   ____ 5. Don't know

3. Do you think the laws and activities of the National government have some effect on the daily lives of the citizens?
   ____ 1. Great effect
   ____ 2. Some effect
   ____ 3. Little effect
   ____ 4. No effect
   ____ 5. Don't know

4. Which are the most important changes needed in Kenya today? (Mark in rank order 1,2,3)
   ____ 1. More factories
   ____ 2. More education
   ____ 3. Greater co-operation between people
   ____ 4. More rights for women
   ____ 5. More jobs
   ____ 6. Others (specify) ____________________________

5. What possibilities do you and other women have of solving these problems in Kenya?
   ____ 1. A lot
   ____ 2. Some
   ____ 3. Very little
   ____ 4. None
6. When there is a need for the public to collaborate in a project, to what degree do they collaborate?
   ____ 1. A great deal
   ____ 2. Some
   ____ 3. Little
   ____ 4. Not at all
   ____ 5. Don't know

7. Some people say that you can trust most people. Others say you cannot trust people. What about the following people:
   A. In general, one can trust one's father:
      ____ 1. Always
      ____ 2. Usually
      ____ 3. Not often
      ____ 4. Never
   B. In general one can trust one's mother:
      ____ 1. Always
      ____ 2. Usually
      ____ 3. Not often
      ____ 4. Never
   C. In general one can trust government leaders:
      ____ 1. Always
      ____ 2. Usually
      ____ 3. Not often
      ____ 4. Never
   D. In general one can trust women:
      ____ 1. Always
      ____ 2. Usually
      ____ 3. Not often
      ____ 4. Never
   E. In general one can trust men:
      ____ 1. Always
      ____ 2. Usually
      ____ 3. Not often
      ____ 4. Never
   F. In general one can trust female politicians more than one can trust male politicians:
      ____ 1. Trust female politicians
      ____ 2. Trust male politicians
      ____ 3. Trust both equally
V. PERSONAL QUESTIONS

Age: _____ 21-25 _____ 35-39 _____ 50-54
       _____ 26-29 _____ 40-44 _____ 55-60
       _____ 30-34 _____ 45-49 _____ Over 60

Place of birth__________________

City or town__________________

District_____________________

Status

   5. Widowed   6. No answer

If you are married at what age were you married?__________

(If applicable) Number of Children:_____________________

Number of family members that live at your house:__________

If you work at a paid job, what percent of your salary do you
contribute to the monthly expenses?

   _____ 10%  _____ 20%  _____ 30%  _____ 40%  _____ 50%
   _____ 60%  _____ 70%  _____ 80%  _____ 90%  _____ 100%

What education have you had?

   1. Primary school
   2. Secondary school
   3. University

Which secondary school did you attend:

________________________________________________________________________

Which degrees do you hold:

________________________________________________________________________

Which University did you attend:

________________________________________________________________________

If you are married what work does your husband do__________

________________________________________________________________________

What education has he had?

   1. Primary school
   2. Secondary School
   3. University

What tribe or community do you belong to:

________________________________________________________________________
What tribe or community does your husband belong to:

What is your father's occupation: ____________________________

What is your mother's occupation: ____________________________

A. What Is the political role of women in Kenya today?
   A. Women have fully played their role in Kenya. They were the Healers of Homo Mali. The most famous
   heard was Nalagwa Muyi, the old woman who was very strong and participated in the colonial struggle.

Today, women are found in all fields of work—teaching, nurses—but we do not have too many
women at leadership levels. There is a low representation even leadership because of women's
own interests. Politics is difficult to practice.

This is because of the family. Women have to take care of the husband and family. Campaigning is a
hard thing because they have to keep the house and they cannot get away from their daily work. They
always have to stand up to criticisms.

For me it was different. I have always been with men—at Alliance girls' school. I was always in
politics. I find it easy to work with men. They always have my authority. Even in KMU and as a
Municipal, I had no problem. I have been deeply
Q. What is the political role of women in Kenya today?
A. Women have fully played their role in Kenya. They were the backbone of Mau Mau. You must have heard of Rebecca Njeri, the old woman who was very strong and participated in the colonial struggle.

Today women are found in all fields of work--teachers, nurses--but we do not have too many women at leadership levels. There is a low representation among leadership because of women's own inertia. Politics is difficult to practice. This is because of the family. Women have to take care of the husband and home. Compaigning is a hard thing because they have to hear bad things and they cannot cry and show their female weakness. They always have to stand up to criticism.

For me it was different. I have always been with men--at Alliance Boys School. I was always in politics. I find it easy to work with men. They always take my authority. Even in KANU and as a Councillor I had no problems. I have been deeply
influenced by the situation in Kenya. I started because of the colonial struggle.

Q. How can we increase women's participation in education and other fields?

A. I like to encourage women's activities. Girls are equal in primary and secondary education. Women can do anything they want to, they have the freedom to do anything. They are equal to men and have equality under the law. Culture protected women that's why they did not allow women to go to school. Our culture liked women. Colonisers did not hurt women they helped us gain an education. Even men had limited rights during colonial times; colonialism brought good changes.

Q. How do you see your personal contribution to development and welfare of women in Kenya?

I was at Kiambu for 2 years and for 14 years I was a Councillor. For 7 years I was Mayor of Nairobi. I left my position on my own accord. I made my own decision to leave politics and join the UNEP. As a woman you have to prove that you are better than men.

I encourage women in all occupations it does not
matter if they are not in politics.

Also I was the first African woman to be in NCWK.

Q. Do you think that the women's organisations in Kenya are doing a good job?
A. The women's organisations are doing an excellent job. It is an avenue for women to meet and discuss.

Q. What are your feelings about their projects such as tree planting? Are these good for women?
A. Tree planting is good. Trees are the livelihood of rural women. They create catchment areas, they are useful for building houses and for fuel. Trees are life to rural women so it is important to grow trees.

Other work that concerns women is done by other women's organisations. Such as health care is taken care of by YWCA.

In rural areas women are very important persons. My grandmother had a great role. She was very important for our family and the others. But with modern law things are different for women. Some modern laws do not give women certain rights and hurt her. In practice women lose today. Traditional law protected women better. It took
care of women's rights.

Women don't know where they belong because we don't have traditional laws any more. Teenage girls are behaving like 30 year old women. No one knows their place. In traditional times women's place was most beautiful. I see a lot of difference in the way women are treated today and traditional times. My grandmother was the most respected person.

Q. Has your sex ever hindered your work?
A. I have never had time to think as a female but as a person. One does not have to lose one's femininity in one's work. In my work I fit in beautifully as a woman. I have hence never had the problem of working with men. They always listen to me. It is a question of one's attitude. One has to be strong and stand by one's decisions.
Q. What are the channels available for women's participation in politics?
A. One has to make one's own way. If they are for you, you can make it. Women have just as much a chance to make it in politics as men do. I am a representative of both men and women, so I have to represent them both.

Q. What was the basis of your support in politics?
A. I started as a teacher. I was a teacher for 14 years. I was also involved with child welfare and MYW. When I was a teacher I dealt with the community a lot, especially the mothers and fathers of my students. Since I treated the mothers and fathers and the children well, they supported me later in politics. My teaching brought me into public life and the contacts later helped me in politics. I was requested by the public to become M. P. I could not turn them down. I could not let them down.

I was the first woman mayor and first woman Member of Parliament in Kenya. My duties are to prove that ladies can do something too, to these men.
Here at Parliament things are rough for women. No ladies first here, no favours to women as M.P.'s. Sometimes we have to keep awake all night. We have to prove that we can shoulder the burden as well as men. When we have to visit our constituents it is tough to drive long gruelling distances. We have to employ a driver.

Q. Do you think that women have a special role in the development of Kenya?

A. Men cannot do it without women. We have to have a spirit of 'Harambee.' Women cook for men, work with men. They built the nation together. They are members of the army, the police, etc. They contribute silently or loudly. Rural women make a lot of the contributions to the development by growing food for all people.

I want to ask women to be where they are. If you are a housewife be a good one. One should not be forced to do different things. If you are happy in your job do it.

Q. Are you a feminist?

Q. How do you perceive your personal contribution, as a female to the welfare of women and the development of Kenya in general?
A. I cannot only deal with women's affairs because I am not a nominated M.P. for women only. I am concerned with my constituents. When I have a problem about women constituents or me, I go to Edda Gachukia.

Q. Which job do you prefer—that of Mayor or M.P.?
A. As Mayor I had all the various departments assisting me. I delegated authority to get work done. I ran all the different areas. As an M.P. I am representing my constituency and I am the one who has to make all the decisions in Parliament, keeping the interest of my constituents at heart.

Q. Do you think that, considering the calibre and ability of male M.P.'s, women can take more seats in Parliament?
A. Yes, but only if they become tough. Women when provoked cry. You can't do that. During elections people can be very nasty. If you cry they think you have surrendered.

Q. Who influenced your growing interest in politics?
A. My family, my pastor, the mission home.
Q. What do you attribute your political success to?
A. God. You can do what you want. Scream and cry and work hard. But when it comes to throwing you by the roadside it is God who decides when.

Q. I feel that since you are the most senior female M.P., and have a great deal of political experience, you should have become a Minister by now. Why aren't you at least an Assistant Minister?
A. There are 170 M.P.'s. We can't all become Assistant Ministers and Ministers. Serving the country does not mean that you have to sit in the front bench. I am happy where I am. Front benchers are not the only ones who work. The back benchers do a lot of hard committee work to help run the government.

Q. How can women increase their representation among Kenyan leadership?
A. I would like to see more women in all walks of life. I am in favour for women's status to improve. Women have got the privilege to be in Parliament and Ministries. They should make use of this privilege.
Interview Number: POW3

Q. What has encouraged you to get into politics?
A. My background. I came from a rural area. I have strong links with the grassroots. I was always ahead. I taught Sunday school. My father influenced me a great deal. He was a pastor. As a woman, one was not very loud about elections or politics. As a matter of fact women are very quiet during elections. I personally believe that this helps us have greater achievements. In my area there is a recognition of the power of the women. So I found my male relatives encouraging me. My male cousins recognised that I had a potential.

Q. Do you feel you have had special problems because of being a woman?
A. First I would like to point out that women's specific problems should not be projected as women's problems but as the problems of the whole family. There are specific problems that are related to women only. But I feel that a problem of a woman should be understood by men too. As a woman I have had problems too. I have had to work twice as hard as men. Some people test me for stress because I am a woman. They think that I am
going to weep when I have a problem. They expect me to break down. They are always looking out for this. They feel that I cannot lead the battle. They will compare me with men who have and are ruling Kenya.

I must say I have been successful. I have had enormous support from men. The opponents have been critical—they call me a man woman. Men find it easier to divide work and home. Women have a hard time doing that. However, women are good in high posts because they will weigh their decisions more than men. Women have to make many considerations. They have always learned to because of family and children. Men are too quick, rash, at making decisions. I would not like to make a decision that does not lead to success.

Q. In my work I have met other women who have your kind of dynamism and intelligence. Why don't they join politics?

A. To become involved in politics, one has to take risks. Jael, Pamela, and Kristina are not ready for politics because they are not prepared to take the risks and the challenges. It is not their fault. It is our socialisation. Women have to be socialized differently. Our self-preparation has to change.
We have to change our attitudes. One has to give up that family image; the idea that family is first. Integration of women in development means looking at different roles for women. It is interesting how male M.P.'s refer to me as a M.P. rather than look at me as a woman. Often they will call me Mr. I am not offended by that because I don't want to bring out the difference by insisting they call me differently. When they want to tease me about women's lib they call me she/he.

To get women in power our job is to change our traditions. Our husbands have to be very helpful. I have been very lucky. In 14 years I have come all the way with no impediments from my family or husband.

Q. What is the future of women's status in Kenya and how can the women's organisations help to change women's role?

A. I feel that in about ten years women will fall into place. But the women's organisations have to be careful not to hinder the process. I feel that NCWK is pushing women who are politically immature. In Kenya if women keep their heads they can fit into slots. Having started as I have I gained from
my experiences. I learned a lot by working with men. I got a deep understanding of problems of women. The NCWK group only have an academic understanding of the problems of women.

NCWK and MYW, in the presence of Women's Bureau, are defunct. The patronising role of voluntary organisations is ceasing to be important because these women can take care of themselves. They don't need the voluntary organisations. Especially the community development programme, and the CDO's set up by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services makes the role and function of MYW defunct. The CDO is well trained and therefore is very useful to the women. A non-informed woman cannot lead non-informed women. MYW's function is not as significant as ten years ago. Women's role has changed from knitting and sewing to economic progress. We have 5,000 rural women's groups. The Government is trying to help these women build homes, open businesses, start poultry and beekeeping, etc.

I have started many major projects in rural areas but the women's organisations with their small projects are hurting the people. The problem you see is that the small projects camouflage the need
for big projects. Often the government will feel that since these small projects, which are inadequate, are being put forth that there is no need for major projects. I believe in getting major changes done. I don't want these women's organisations to come in my area because I don't think their token projects help my area. I want to put in a water project for 2 million shillings which will take care of the whole area. If the organisations come in with their 2,000 shillings water tanks it shows to the government that something is being done and there is no need for them to provide. Organisations should concentrate on supporting government projects. I have been pushing the women's groups in rural areas and MYW should help the government with this. Instead they keep on pursuing the International organisations (which are becoming very local) for funds.

Q. What are the channels available for women's participation in politics?

A. There are many channels open to women. All party levels. The KANU committees are helpful in elections. All of these are open to men and women. Women are well represented at bottom levels but not at the top. Another place is to start at the
city level. To get elected as councillors and then move up.

Q. Do you think money is important?
A. No. Money is not the key issue, it is acceptancy by the constituency. It is very important to do your major ground work in the local areas. We have to look at their needs. What kind of social and economic development is needed. One has to have an appreciation and understanding of their problems. One has to be able to get their ideas and approval of projects that you may want to start there. Of course, I have to do this and project the policy of the government.

Q. What do you attribute your political success to?
A. There are three things that I think are important. First of all, I have an understanding and personal commitment to community and national development issues. Secondly, I have the ability to work hard and to work continuously. I work not for show but for a purpose. I am deeply committed by my political career. And thirdly, I have the ability to act as a leader not as a woman or a mother or a wife when I am speaking to the public. Of course, my family still takes central position in my life, but there has to be give and take. The family's support is
crucial. I feel that any aspiring women politician must be prepared to balance her family with politics. Our maternal responsibilities are special. A man can never be a mother. What has contributed to my success is that I can work harder because I am a mother, a wife, a leader and a politician. Also I have the ability to socialise with people of all walks; with grassroots people and top class people. When I visit my constituency, I go and sit in the villagers' huts and eat with them and sit on the floor. I do not act superior and I make them comfortable.

Q. Do you feel that women have a special role in the development of Kenya?

A. Yes. Collectively, as citizens of Kenya and as the majority of the population, they have a special responsibility in development as the labor force. Secondly, as women, they have the ability to pave the way to more balanced citizenry. The mother moulds the child and the child is our future leader and the nation.

Q. Do you feel that Kenya is doing enough to integrate women in the developmental process?

A. Yes. Opportunities for integration are available. But, these opportunities are not utilised because we need a high speed of social change. We have to
get women to change from traditional to modern attitudes, so that they can join in development. There is a lot of social and economic change needed. Given time women are going to catch up.

I see that the educated women are adjusting very fast. There is a large number of women in the education pipeline so we have the success as they climb up the educational ladder. This should not be interpreted to mean that the male must be stopped from development.

Q. What is the contribution of women in Kenya political life?

A. Substantive in quality and in terms of voters in quantity. So in the lower positions they bring up a strong force and have a role as voters. Also in our early political struggle women participated. There was a large contribution inspite of small number of women. Unfortunately women's role has always been tradition-bound. This has not given her a position to be a leader and this is what has perpetuated women's political role today.

Q. How can women increase their representation among Kenyan leadership?

A. Certainly not be decree or by force. It has to come
gradually. It has to come through voluntary acceptance of leadership responsibility of individual women, rather than by mass acclimation or rights. But they lack training in leadership. Educational institutions should help progress by laying emphasis on leadership training of women. I have been in programs which deal with exposing young women to components of leadership. To show then what makes a leader and to arouse their latent leadership qualities. The Ministry of Education does this on an academic level. But we also have to do it on a practical level so that academically trained people can have an idea of qualities that are necessary for becoming a politician.

Q. What do you perceive to be your personal contribution, as a female, to the welfare of women and the development of Kenya in general?

A. Mine is minimal. I have worked with men to do complementary work on women. Perhaps, becoming a leader has helped eradicate misconceptions in the minds of women and men too. They know that a woman can come to power. Especially country women appreciate me working with men. They are amazed at the way the P.C.'s and D.C.'s, who are all men, cooperate with me. This helps to break the image that women can't gain and hold power.
Q. Why does MYW have such close links with the government?

A. During colonial days MYW was part of the government. MYW had strong political role in independence, therefore the colonial government wanted to keep a check on the women's activities. This political function led to MYW being linked with the government. After independence we were for the African government. Closely linked with the ruling party KANU. During the colonial struggle we made people aware (politically). We had a strong role in bringing independence. MYW went to see Mzee to relay political messages. The effect of our role is seen in the KANU Manifesto, page 14, in which they promised us (women) a role in politics.

I personally had several discussions with Ngala (KADU) and Mboya (KANU) to decide which party we should support. In the end KANU was our choice. We wanted one Kenya. I have written a history of MYW which was published by East African Publishing House in 1963. Also in June '65 Sauti ya Mbibi issue, Jael Mbogo wrote about MYW.
Q. Are you comfortable with the way women's organisations are set up in Kenya?

A. I am very happy with the women's organisations setup. I have been exposed to many women's organisations. We are free to organise as we wish in Kenya. Not like Tanzania. There the organisations are controlled by the government. Too dictatorial.

Every organisation in Kenya has its own function. We are not really duplicating. I feel that the Women's Bureau should serve to channel funds to the women's organisation. Also the Bureau should be at a higher level of government. It does not have enough power and authority. The National Council of Women in Kenya should only coordinate and assist. It should not work as an organisation. It is moving away from its original purpose.

Q. What about the political influence of women's organisations?

A. In the past women's organisations especially MYW had a lot of political power. The nation was struggling for independence. But our priorities have changed. They are different now. The emphasis has changed to development.
Q. Are you involved in the women's organisations?
A. I am not too deeply involved with women's organisations because they are boring, shallow. I don't particularly care for their leadership. If I see any women as dynamic and who should be in the lead, they are Micere Mugo and Muthoni Muthaiga. I work with Maendeleo because they need me. The MYW membership consists of ordinary women and I contribute my service to MYW because I care for the ordinary women; I want to help them. I don't have any time for the elite women. The MYW members don't have their new cars to show me. They are genuine women. Most of the other women's organisations are a showpiece. They don't do anything to help the ordinary women, i.e., the Nurses Association is hopeless.

Q. What about the Women's Bureau? How can it help to improve the lives of Kenyan women?
A. It seems to be a good thing. It is meant to help all women. The most independent women are women in business—they are in control of their money. Women have to be encouraged to get into government. They should get government positions,
especially if they are better qualified than the males.

Some of our traditions were good. Female circumcision was very meaningful. It meant that the girl had matured into a woman. She could jump from being a girl to an adult woman. But my family was Christian and we were discouraged from circumcising our females. It is not necessary now.

I cannot be a women's lib. There is a limit to what women can do. Their political consciousness is very low.

Q. Why didn't you win your election?

A. I failed because I did not join the big shows. Also I did not ask the big guys for help. I learned a lot from running for Parliament: In politics you have to be a crook to succeed. Two things that spoil politics in Kenya: Tribalism and Money. No one is judged for what they are—your qualities are not counted. I did not use money or tribe so I did not succeed.

I did not approach the tribal associations. As a matter of fact, I don't belong to these associations, and I certainly did not use money to buy votes.
This is very wrong. We will end up having thieves as leaders. All a politician has to do to win elections is throw beer parties.

If I was given 1 million shillings I would feed the people not get them drunk.

Also I did not go to my area to seek a nomination. Julia Ojiambu went to her area in the countryside. Thus, it was easier for her to get elected. My constituency was here where many poor people live—Bahati. There are different tribes and it was really rough.
Interview Number: BVW3

Q. How can a woman get into business?
A. Not all women can be in business. They have to be good and tough to join the business world.

Q. Why did you get into business?
A. I have always worked hard and hard work is necessary to become a successful businesswoman. I don't feel that I planned to become a businesswoman. It was tough. Initially one has to work very hard. However one cannot neglect one's family.

Q. The business world is male-dominated. How do you handle yourself?
A. In terms of the men who work for me you have to be firm with them but you must always remain feminine. Men are ready to cooperate and this is necessary because business is very hard. One way that I handle it is by getting my male employees' opinions before I make any decision. Man has a superiority feeling and so you let him believe that. Also I feel that it is inborn in men to be superior. Thus, in terms of my male employees I discuss with them rather than direct which makes them feel that I am not ordering them around. I utilise the same approach with women but it works better
for men.

In fact, I don't mind my husband to be the boss. My children and I must accept his authority. American women are very domineering but American men do not accept this behaviour, thus you have a lot of divorce in America. Equality causes problems. Males have an inborn feeling of superiority and we must accept it.

Q. Do you feel that your family has helped you in getting into business?
A. To start business you have to have your husband's assistance. Originally the husband has to guarantee the loan.

Q. However, when you call a banker and tell him who you are, doesn't this influence the banker to make a favorable decision?
A. An influential husband and family helps. Since my cousins, etc., are also involved in banking business, it is very useful. However, when you start the bank has to have security (collateral) for the loan and my husband's property backed my loan.

My husband has been most cooperative and is a very
understanding man. He also has to be a very mature man because my work means travelling alone, having lunch and dinner dates with men. If he was the jealous type and immature, he wouldn't accept this. Often he joins me in my business dinners as much as I also join him to entertain his associates.

Q. What do you see as the problems that face women in business?

A. Male bank managers are very skeptical about giving money to women. They feel insecure. Other businessmen do not accept you as a business colleague. They often leave you out of functions. They see you as a woman first. It is tough to entertain them because I cannot pay for the restaurant bills. So I ask the restaurant to bill me at my office.

I feel that every woman is going into business but they are not all cut out for it. It is tough work; it is not easy to become a success at it.

Q. Does the political environment in Kenya help the business world?

A. Kenya's political environment is very healthy.
Q. Do you feel that the women's organisations have helped to improve conditions for the women in Kenya?

A. I feel that women's organisations are doing their part. We have had 14 years of independence—this is a very short time to put women at the level of Western women in terms of political awareness. MYW, NCWK and East African Women's League are all doing their best. But the problems are enormous. We have to educate and emancipate women. We need to educate rural women. Adult literacy is very important because the majority of women are illiterate.

National values and traditional ideas have hindered women's progress. Western values don't help the situation either. For example eating Western food is considered to emancipate us. Thus education in all spheres is crucial especially in rural areas. We cannot advance ourselves without informing women about family planning, farming, nutrition, etc.

In terms of the individual organisations, especially NCWK and MYW there seems to be a conflict of interest in terms of personalities. They seem to be organising projects to get publicity. This
publicity is either for themselves or their husbands. This personal advancement is detrimental to their work. Jane Kiano and Edda Gachukia are accused of seeking publicity. Even the projects they get involved in are related to this publicity—tree-planting, water projects.

In Tanzania there is only one women's organisation. This is very good.

You are not interested in power struggles but in doing the job.

Q. Has it been tough for you to get into business? How can we get more women in business?

A. The place for women to start is in the small shops. We can't have enough women running small shops. The business world is a man's world, more in Kenya than any other place. I can get any loan I want to because I have proven myself as a businesswoman. However men won't accept me as a partner. There are very few businesses where woman is a partner.

It is interesting that if you are single or widowed it is easier to do business. But if you are married there is a need to drag your husband into deals to gain credibility. For example, my sister
and I owned a farm and were having problems managing it because we were in Nairobi. So we offered to sell the farm to the Wheat Board. However, they would not make any transactions with us without the presence of our husbands. They refused to buy the land from us without the husbands' authority. It is ironical considering that women are the farmers of Kenya and Africa.

I as an individual have no problems working with men. I have always been the only woman in my jobs. I behave like a man or a human, not a woman. Our society accepts the fact that man normally orders. I am lucky to be in the man's world. I was emancipated at a very early stage in my life.

Our training process is woman-oriented at all social institutions. Women are full of apathy. Therefore they are ignorant of chances they have in business. They would rather not take part. If we could reorganise girls' socialisation we could emancipate women.

Of my three children two are girls, they have no problem standing up for their rights. I instill confidence in them. Confidence is crucial and parents and schools should help girls to gain it.
MYW should involve female university students and rural students to help in projects. University students do not care for women's organisations because they are not involved in this.

Q. Is Kenya's political environment conducive to women joining businesses?
A. Definitely. There is room for women to join businesses thanks to our government.

Q. What about women's role in politics?
A. Grace Onyango is the only real female politician. Julia is not a politician but she is in the limelight because of her position as Assistant Minister of Housing and Social Services. We cannot assess her as a politician because she is too much in the limelight.

Grace Onyango should get a big post in the government. But she belongs to the wrong tribe. Also she is too threatening because of her association with Odinga.

We don't even have an Ambassador, a Permanent Secretary even an Under Secretary. Women are to blame because they will say in front of men that a certain woman is not capable of being an ambassador.
Mary Gichuru could become an ambassador, or Emma Njonjo, or Emma Murai—Deputy Protocol.

I hate women's groupings because they talk nonsense— they are always gossiping; or talking about clothes or who is with who.

Women have always had a tough time following careers. Even universities discourage women. At Makerere Mrs. Nyamo, Mulhiani, and Tasabara were all thrown out because they became pregnant. Till 1954 if you became pregnant, regardless of being single or married, you were kicked out.

A pregnant girl even now is thrown out after 6 months in law because of the medical problems.

Even I had to leave the university because I was pregnant.

When I was at the university I had a real battle to change some of the regulations for women but they had a code of morals to follow and it was tough. Liz Njroge left because of pressure from family and institution.

Q. Are you a feminist?
A. Yes, if it is supporting the role of women in society.
Not if it means opening up positions for women specifically. I looked after cows when I was a child. I did everything a boy did. All women can change but too petty, they don't read enough. MYW should create reading classes to disseminate information to women.
Q. How did you get involved with MYW?
A. I have always been extremely active in voluntary organisations. I have had close links with Jane Kiano and other African women. I also believe that MYW is doing an excellent job for women in Kenya and thus I give it my full support.

Q. Do you think that MYW leadership has any problem accepting you?
A. No. I have worked together with African women and have had no problems. Pheobe Asiyo, Muthoni Likimani, Mama Saida, and Jane Kiano have treated me as an equal and have appreciated my helping them. Asian women need to get involved with African women if they want to live here. We have been too close a community and we cannot continue to do so.

Q. But the main problem is that the Asian community is not a single unit. There are so many religions and cultural groupings. Each one goes its separate way. Out of all the Asian women's groups only the Ismailia and the Muslim women are members of the NCWK. Surely this is an indication of their lack of interest in the general promotion of women's status in Kenya. Also it represents the divisive-
ness of Asians in Kenya.

A. That is true. However, this is what gives us a bad image. We are busy in our small groups, and not getting involved in the national development of Kenya.

Q. You speak excellent Swahili. Do you think that other Asian women are unwilling to join African women, because of their language problem?

A. Perhaps. Especially MYW emphasizes communicating in Swahili and thus some Asian women would have a difficult time. However, NCWK conducts its meetings in English? Why haven't they joined them?

Q. Don't forget that a lot of the Asian women's organisations have religious affiliations and their membership is of the older generation - many of these members cannot speak English. Perhaps, representatives, such as you should talk to these women and encourage them to join.

A. Yes. I have been trying to do that.

Q. Do you think that MWY and NCWK have had effective leadership?

A. Yes. Jane and Edda are very good in their work.

Q. Wouldn't it enhance the women's cause if they worked together?
A. First of all NCWK is run like an organisation, it is not supposed to. It is to coordinate the women's organisations. I also wish that they would join hands instead of looking for power.
Q. How does everyone react to your position as bank manager?
A. I have had no problems. Everyone accepts my authority. I have the expertise in my field and thus everything works out. My male clients are a little difficult especially if I am entertaining them. I have to handle them carefully when I pay the bills.

Q. How can women get involved in the national development of Kenya?
A. Women are capable of doing anything they want. They can do any job if they have the support of their husbands. It is the men and traditions that keep women down. I have no problems working because my husband is supportive of my job. I am dedicated to my career but my family always comes first.

Q. Do you think that the Kenyan government creates a good atmosphere for the banking business?
A. Very much so. The government is supportive of the banking industry. Our economic system is capitalistic and this is very good for us.

Q. Do you think you would like to be involved in politics?
A. No. I have no political aspirations. My brother and family have been politically active but not me.
Q. Why are you not involved with the women's organisations anymore?
A. I have served voluntary organisations for 10 - 15 years. I feel I have made my contributions. I have made many sacrifices—my children, my family. There was a time I would spend my weekends and take leave to do voluntary work. Now I feel it is time I did something for myself. It's time I made some money.

Q. How do you think MYW has changed since you were involved with it?
A. It is doing a good job. We used to make a special effort to stay out of politics, now it is not possible--MYW is too closely linked to politics. Also it is moving away from our real work--the rural women.

Q. What do you think of MYW building a nine story head-quarters?
A. This is exactly what I am talking about. Maendeleo is not what it used to be. We used to spend all our time with rural groups. I have never done so much traveling in the country as I did then. Today Maendeleo leaders are so busy attending and arranging
conferences, and getting money for their headquarters that they don't have time to take care of rural group problems. How will a headquarters help the rural women's group? Their money will be used to pay for the building but they will get nothing in return.

Q. You are such a dynamic person, why haven't you joined politics?

A. It is a difficult game, very costly. As I told you, I'm finally working to do things for me--make money for myself. Everybody else is, why shouldn't I?
Q. What do you think will be the outcome of the Naivasha Leadership Conference (April 1st and 2nd, 1978).

A. This I feel is one of the few times that different women's organisations have come together to define their common goals. They are all involved with similar work, but they seem to work against each other rather than with each other.

So far each one is going its own way, vying for power. Constantly in search of agencies that will sponsor them and give them grants. In other words they are competing to get funds from international agencies. If women follow the guidelines of this conference they will really get ahead. As I told them if they don't get together no one else will care. They will keep hurting the women instead of helping them. Men in Kenya will not take the initiative to do anything for the women of Kenya. If the women fail in their endeavours they fail for themselves and all women.

Q. I have observed that at every meeting, conference, women tend to emphasize the needs of the family. They cannot relate the ideal that family commitments can become oppressive for the women?
A. The conference has a heavy orientation on family as being of prime significance to the woman. Women cannot see women being oppressed by their family commitments. Our culture and western culture make sure that this association of woman with family is a deep-rooted value and women and men would be threatened by those women who want to change this.

Q. Do you feel Jane Kiano and Edda Gachukii provide good leadership for women in Kenya?
A. They are dynamic women but unfortunately their rivalry interferes with their work. Also they spend their energy seeking publicity for themselves or their family, which deters from their work.

Q. What about the organisations?
A. I am not too familiar with their operations. Whipper has done a good study of MYW.
Q. What do you think of the female elite in Kenya?

A. If we are talking about the Kenyatta's and the Mama Ngina type--I would say that they are mostly shallow, unthinking women. They are basically public figures and have no depth. They have no concept of what women's problems are all about. They merely pay lip-service to the cause of women. They only want to acquire wealth.

Q. What about the women who are in politics?

A. I feel that women are involved in similar approaches in gaining power as men are. Politicians seem to think that putting up water projects in rural areas will give them support in those areas. All water projects are for a purpose--political. Basically they are meant for publicity-seeking. If I wanted women in a village to get a water hole or a pump, why should I run to the press?

Q. Have you had a hard time in your job?

A. Yes. It is difficult for a woman to be in this business. Women are treated differently. They are not given the difficult assignments. When I joined the Daily Nation, I was sent to all the flower shows, dog shows, and children's parties.
Things have changed for me now. I have paved the way for women in the newspaper business in Kenya. Now I am sent all over including the U.N. Assembly. I am also sent to report on such things as the American national elections.

Q. What can we do to solve the problems of rural women?
A. Rural women don't have time to think of their rights. They have too much to do. Anyone who wants to uplift the status of women has to make sure that rural women are informed in all areas—education, rights, nutrition, etc.
Interview Number: PRO3

Q. You have been involved with NCWK for many years, why haven't you joined their executive committee?
A. I really don't have the time. I used to spend more time with them before. Now I have too much to do, so I cannot work with them. I am more involved with charities.

Q. Do you think that NCWK has good leadership?
A. Edda is very dynamic. She is a good speaker. She has grown with her job. When she was first appointed she was not as effective and strong. Last year before the AGM she approached me and others because Jane was trying to get rid of her. She had put up her own candidate for NCWK chairperson. Edda was not as popular as she is now. She spent a lot of time seeking support. This year she has confidence and she is unopposed. Last year she had asked me to get more Asian women's organisations so that they could support her during the elections. I did talk to the ones that are in NCWK and urged others to join.

Q. I understand that your religious women's organisation cannot join because they are not listed as a separate organisation—they are registered along
with the men's organisation, and they can only join if they register as a separate organisation.

A. Yes. Unfortunately this has stopped them. Also they don't seem to be very much interested in NCWK. Our community is too wrapped up in their own problems. They are not as foresighted as the Ismailis who are always trying to be with African women, so that they are considered part of the Kenya development.

Q. I still cannot see why this should stop individuals like you to work with African women?

A. Edda has often approached me to join. But even though I am a life member and very supportive of NCWK, I haven't played a very active role. You see I don't need to prove anything so I will work and participate from the background. I am not only to show off and win a popularity contest.

Q. Do you see any weaknesses in the women's organisations?

A. Yes. They are too competitive. Especially Edda and Jane. You know Edda was under Jane at MYW. She was an unknown. When Mzee decided to appoint a MP for women, they consulted Jane. She could not become a MP, because her husband is a Minister and a MP. So she put forth Edda, in the hope that
she would control Edda. However, Edda became her own person and gained as much if not more confidence and popularity in her job as Jane.

Edda still has far to go. She speaks well and handles meetings well, but she does not have the capabilities of a Jael Mbogo. I have worked with Jael on the Freedom for Hunger campaign and she is really great. She is a fantastic orator. She speaks extremely well and has command of the whole audience. She once addressed a large crowd and had full control of the meeting.
Q. What can we do to improve the status of women in Kenya?
A. The basic problem is lack of education. Women are not well informed because they are illiterate. Thus, to involve women in projects becomes very difficult. Development cannot be talked about without education.

Q. What about women's participation in politics?
A. I would look at women's political participation in two categories. One is local politics. Here you find women do participate. They work hard with campaigning for the candidate and have a strong role. The second category is national politics—here women do not participate too much. In the three elections, change was observed in the last two elections. Women are beginning to tackle politicians and take an active interest.

Q. What do you think of the role of women's organisations?
A. Organisations should be politicising women—Making them take part in politics. They do not reach out to all women. Most effective in Nairobi where there is upper class women. NCWK is non-effective.
There are too many negative aspects of women's organisations. They would be a better force if they converged for certain projects. Right now each goes its own way often doing the same thing. There is a need to plan.

We have to define the roles of the Women's Bureau, NCWK and MYW. There is a real need to examine the role of women's organisations. Co-ordination is not easy. Since they are all going their separate ways, they cannot be a strong force like in Tanzania.

Selfish motives have often made women join organisations. They are seeking power and this leads to their struggling for power and not attacking the real problem.

I support the organisations, but I cannot join them. It has become too cumbersome because too much politics. I only want to serve. The organisations are crucial for the welfare of poor women, but they are all messed up because of politics.

Q. What does your job entail?
A. I am mostly administration, but I also teach occasionally. I am keen to have women trained here, especially to take on leadership roles. Especially for the rural areas.
Q. What do you think about the women that are in top positions in Kenya's political and civic life?

A. You will not find any radical women here. Most of the women are traditional. Margaret Kenyatta, who is our UNEP representative, has little idea of what environmental problems we are facing. There is a lot of lip-service to the cause of women. Julia Odjiambo is trying to do her job, but she is not making any special efforts to improve the lives of women. Edda Guchukia has been given a job--appointed M.P. for women. She is doing her job. She takes it seriously. However, if you talk to her about women's issues, she has very little idea. Most of the women here do not understand what is feminism. To them it is a disease to be avoided like plague.

I am not sure how you are going to interview these women, but you are not going to get much information form them. They are all afraid to talk.

Q. You are right. I have noticed that it is very difficult to talk to people about controversial issues. The atmosphere around here has become even worse after Ngugi's arrest. Except for someone
like Micere, no one is willing to talk. The paranoia is unreal.

A. Yes. Especially if you are in a high post—and most of the women you are interviewing are in very high posts—you will see a reluctance to talk. Politics can be very dirty here.

Q. Why aren't you involved with the women's organisations?

A. What are they doing for women? I don't want to participate in these exercises in futility. The organisations are shallow, doing silly little things to promote the image of individuals and gain publicity. I don't have any time for them. I sometimes feel that I don't belong here. Even the Asian women are so shallow. Their main interest is coffee parties, clothes and jewelry. I think I will move to the States and do my Ph.D.

Q. Are you saying you are too radical for Kenyan society?

A. Yes. And you know that in the West I would not even be considered a radical. The revolutionary spirit has been dampened with age.
Q. Do you think that the International Council of Women meeting which is to be held in Nairobi will help the women in Kenya?

A. Certainly. We are lucky that they have chosen Nairobi as the site for the conference. The members of the Board of ICW are very important women. It includes prominent European and Third World women. The President is a princess from Thailand. You know that Mrs. Ayodo has been attending their meetings and is a board member. We want to make a good impression on these women. We don't want these prominent women to have a bad impression of us.

Q. How does the leadership of NCWK compare to that of MYW?

A. You can probably tell by the education and calibre of most of our executive that we are a different type of group. We have some of the most highly educated women in Kenya who are helping us organise our projects. Edda is a great leader. She is very good in the way she conducts meetings and especially how smoothly the AGM was conducted. You remember the list of problems Damaris brought to the NCWK executive committee meeting, just before the elections.
Edda managed to handle her very well.

Q. What do you see as the main functions to the NCWK?
A. The major function is to help improve the life of women in Kenya. Our main effort is to fund self-help projects for women. We try to help women that are involved with women's activities. As you can see NCWK under Edda's leadership is doing extremely well. We are serving an excellent function for our country.

Q. Do you think that the legal status of Kenyan women provides them with social emancipation?
A. No. Women in Kenya are not even aware of the laws that are meant to give them their rights. Besides these laws need to be expanded and put into practice. For this we need greater political representation of women. This is the only way women can have a voice in the government. Women can hold any position that a man can. She has the same mental capacity that a man has. There is nothing that should stop her. Unfortunately, we do not have women coming up into important positions. We don't even have any P.C.'s and D.C.'s that are women. However, if women are to go fully into the job market, we cannot forget that we are also the mothers. We have to keep the harmony in our house and raise our children.
Q. You consider yourself a Kikuyu by marriage, how do Kenyans see you?

A. Most of my friends, colleagues and my husband's family, I have no problems with. They accept me. It is an incredible feeling to be in a place where there is a majority of Blacks.

Q. What about the people on the street, or in the rural areas?

A. I have had some problems with them. They do not accept me as one of them. My husband had some land which I am trying to utilise. I have some people who work this land. Every month I go to pay these people and I am very prompt about payments. I hear that these people say that I am a Wazungu because I am always on time.

Q. In other words, they associate your Western values as belonging only to whites and thus seeing you as a white.

A. Yes. That I find very difficult to take. It bothered me a lot to hear them say this.

Q. You are on the executive committee of NCWK and KAUW, do you have any problem in working with these organisations?
A. Not at all. I was elected to KAUW. The KAUW, as you know, is an organisation for university women. We have a good mixture of women. These are the highly educated women of Kenya. Thus we accept each other for our abilities not for our colour or background. Even the NCWK has a very highly educated membership. My ideas there are well supported. I am totally accepted. Of course, my Swahili is not very good and it is just as well that all our meetings are conducted in English.

Q. What are the main functions of the KAUW?

A. First of all, it is the meeting ground for all women that have a university education. This has caused some problems. We have been criticized by some to be elitist, because our membership is basically based on education. So we are making efforts to keep in touch with other women. One of our main interests has been education of girls and women. We have scholarships for girls to attend schools. We are also involved, along with NCWK, with tree-planting and water projects. We are generally interested in the welfare of women in Kenya -- women that are underprivileged. We also arrange social meetings, luncheons where we invite speakers from different fields.
Q. Do you think that the legal status of women in Kenya provides them with their rights?
A. Only to a certain degree. We have to improve the legal status of women in Kenya along with education which is our society's main goal.

Q. Have you as a woman had any problems working with Kenyan men?
A. Not at all. I have a very specialised duty. Also, I have men working under me who have no problem accepting my expertise.

Q. So you have personally never had any hindrance from men in pursuing your career?
A. No. As long as you are capable and can be professional there is no problem. My husband was always very good and supportive about my work. As a matter of fact, I completed my studies after my marriage.

Q. Do you think that we need to encourage more women into positions of power and authority?
A. Definitely. We just don't have enough women in power. There are so many positions that can be filled by women. It is not that we don't have women with qualifications. It is just the attitude. That is where we have to improve the rights for
for women. They cannot contribute to this society until they can become active in the power structure.
Interview Number: PRO8

Q. You have been deeply committed to the status of women in Kenya, why is it that you have not joined the women's organisations?

A. I feel that in fulfilling my duties in my job, I am doing a lot for women of Kenya. The NCCK is doing a lot for poor women. Our magazine is bringing to the attention of everyone the problems of women. We recently ran an article about women in the Mathare Valley and the conditions they live under. I am fully committed to eradicating some of the conditions that make life for our women unbearable. So I am very much involved with improving the life of women. I want to gain contact with other women so that I can keep up with what is going on in this country. Unfortunately, I am reluctant to join the women's organisations because of my work and family commitments. I also feel that sometimes the organisations are not functioning in the interest of women that need their help. The leadership of these organisations is more concerned with power than with doing the right thing for the women of Kenya.

Q. What do you think the government can do to improve the status of women?
A. First of all, we need new laws for women's rights. These have to come from the government. These laws have to be enforced so that women can gain from them. Sometimes women are not even aware of their rights.

Q. How can we inform women of their rights?
A. That is what the organisations should do. We do it through the NCCK. Educated women should inform the uneducated women. Also we have to educate more women. Without education we cannot get far. However, education alone cannot do it. I know many women who are educated and won't do anything. They have to make efforts.

Q. But women have very little power. How can they bring change?
A. We have to bring more women into responsible positions. They have to get into politics. Otherwise, we cannot help develop our country. Women can do any political job if they get the opportunity.
Q. Who do you think are the most emancipated women of Kenya?

A. The most emancipated women in Kenya are those that have high incomes. Economic independence is the key factor for a woman to make it in life. We are getting a lot of women involved in business. They are successful, often because they have rich families and husbands who support them to start.

Q. So you feel that the extended family is beneficial for women because it provides financial support for them in their business ventures.

A. Not really. Mostly it is the immediate family, i.e. husband, father who will finance. The extended family does not come in unless they gain. Really extended family today means supporting leaches. Relatives expect to live with you for nothing. They don't even contribute services. I have this female relative who sits in front of the T.V., while I, after a full day at the office, clean and cook. It is merely exploitation of another in the name of the family. Relatives who come in to live with us are leaches, they are lazy and a burden on me and my family.
Q. Do you think that NCWK has good leadership?

A. It is fairly good. The women work very hard. We take time from our free time to work on projects. Most of us are working women.
Q. How can we improve the status of women in Kenya?

A. My immediate reaction is that nothing really significant can be done to change the situation of women in Kenya when we are living in the sort of system that we have chosen for ourselves and this country. I am referring to a capitalist system in which those who have got the power, those who have got the strength, and those who have got the money can continue enriching themselves and making more and more money-grabbing a lot of the land and wealth of the country. The major portion of the population is not the recipient of the wealth, they just accept a few tokens here and there and in that way remain satisfied. Women in this country are a part of the 80% of the population that you can call the oppressed and exploited people of Kenya. If you look at many customs whether you are dealing with land, whether you are dealing with professions, whether you are dealing with businesses, woman is definitely a participant and in actual fact you find a lot of places in which the legal system in Africa supports cases of women serving a subservient role. I am sure if you have talked to someone like Okoth Agendo he will tell you how
even in the land laws you can specifically see sections in which women are given no chance to own land. Even in institutions, such as the University of Nairobi, a woman is not entitled to housing if she is married. A single woman is, but not a married woman. You have to put a very, very special case if you are married woman to get housing. I am seeing when we are dealing with bourgeois law, and by bourgeois law I mean the law that protects those with property, those who are already in power, those who are already in privileged positions. Mind you I am not talking as if I am not one of the privileged. It is very difficult to talk of improving the position and the role of women. Take the National Council of Women -- very, very well intended, a lot of time and money are spent to try and raise the status of women especially in the rural areas with the water project and the tree-planting and so on.

Q. How does tree-planting help?

A. Oh, it helps a great deal because you know a lot of people are cutting down trees. This creates a sort of semi-desert -- a situation which creates problems by changing the rain patterns and so on and as you can appreciate 80% of the women are the
rural families. The male farmers are out for jobs in the cities.

Q. Some women feel that these efforts in tree-planting, water projects, etc., are efforts that are publicity-seeking rather than functional?

A. You know of course you cannot rule out publicity purposes and local tensions, but as a kind of illustration it could be a good programme—it could be a profitable programme. However, the rural women must wonder how tree-planting will help solve the problems that they are facing. In the long run the fundamental problem that these women face is landlessness, or having no capital to develop this land. So this work becomes a kind of charitable work. We really refuse not to question the structure of our system, for whose benefit it is -- is it really for all of us the majority of the people, or is it just for a few. This really is the fundamental process, and unless this structure can be changed basically even the little things we do here and there will not help the individual. By following the bourgeois consciousness, so called in a liberal way, to alleviate the problem we won't get anywhere. This is not the real solution in the final analysis.
Q. How can we make the society accept change?

A. But it depends upon again on which society you are talking about. Which society are you saying will accept it, because I am quite sure that those 80% of the oppressed people from the working and peasant masses are the very people who would be very glad to see the changes. And they are the society because they form the majority.

Q. But the politics of liberation are not simple. There is so much confusion and there is so much chaos involved in this kind of political situation that I see tremendous problems, firstly for our country—who will bring the change and how will it be implemented. These ideals are intellectually very beautiful and very utopian but cannot be implemented quickly. The Kenyan government wants change from within—change that is slow and gradual.

A. Yes, it is true. I cannot believe in just changing within the system because this cannot work. I believe in questioning the fundamental structure and I think that the time that was best for changing the situation, the rule of the women, would have occurred in the time of independence. If at that time we had really sat down and done a lot of stock-taking and probably centered our interest mainly on how we can
structure the society, it would have been so easy because there were no really defined classes at that time, it would have been very easy to choose the type of government that is going to settle itself on programmes that will raise the condition of women and children. We don't talk very much of the children; they form another important feature of the society that is a large section and I think really until we are honest to address ourselves to these issues we cannot succeed. I am talking in terms of producing more Barnado homes, etc. Of course, you are right; this change would not be accepted by the women elite. They would not like to see it come. But you cannot stop change. It is impossible to arrest the student and arrest other people and stop these people. The South African situation is similar.

Q. Do you think that the tribal politics has anything to do with the problem?

A. I think that tribalism is being exploited by certain power structures to make sure that they retain the power they hold. Only two to three percent are very rich and it is in their interest to persuade the masses that there is tribalism and there is something great about being Kikuyu. People in the countryside are getting cynical about all this.
Last year with the membership drive Kikuyus wanted to protect whatever was Kikuyu. Now they are recognized as Kikuyus owning 20 busses and 20 buildings.

Q. Do you think Grace Onyango did not receive the ministerial post because of tribal politics?

A. Of course, there is no question about it. That is why I am saying that tribalism is crucial--who controls the ministries, who are the main ministers. These things are very political even for Ngugi--he was an assistant lecturer since 1967 and was only promoted last year. He has produced materials that are used in the universities all over the world but he is not recognized here because he was questioning the government. If you are a Luo, you will also be questioned.
Q. How do you perceive the role of women in politics in Kenya?
A. Very little activity.

Q. You spend a lot of time with politicians. Do you think the female politicians are effective?
A. No. There are not enough of them and the five women in Parliament are not very successful.

Q. Why do you think Julia Ojiambo was made an Assistant Minister and Grace Onyango is only an M.P.?
A. Because Julia Ojiambo is harmless. Grace Onyango is too closely linked with Oginga Odinga to have a good appointment with the government. They will not trust her. Julia is non-controversial—she does her work and is a good token. She is not tribal. Grace is too tribal.
Q. How do you compare MYW's role to that of the NCWK's?
A. NCWK is not an organisation it is merely to bring organisations together. MYW is the main women's organisation in Kenya. We are all over Kenya. We are the first Women's organisation to reach rural women. We have over 2,000 women's clubs that are in rural areas. They support us and we try to help them. We have close links with grassroot women, we don't just stay in Nairobi and gain our support from rich women alone.

Q. Why is it that the MYW files show that the club membership of MYW has been going down since the early 70's?
A. Up to 1973 the MYW was funded and well supported by the government. So we had more money and larger membership. But, now we have fewer clubs because government field workers are not available to us; we don't have funds for transportation and communication.

Q. What about individual membership?
A. There is no motivation for individuals to join, because we cannot reach them to help them.
Q. What happened to all the club leaders who were paid by the government?

A. In 1974 all the women were sacked because of no money. Their work was taken over by workers from local government.

Government is now using community Development Officers from the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. But the CDO's cannot render full service to women's work -- so we are worse than before. Ministry of Health still use MYW women for bringing good maternal care to rural areas (Explains Jane Kiano's and Pheobe Asyio's meetings with the Minister of Health.) With Women's Bureau coming up we hope we can revive MYW clubs.
Q. Are the women's problems brought into the limelight in Kenya?
A. Yes. We have had a lot of publicity on the problems of women. The International Women's Year has helped women, because it asked all governments to help women's problems.

Q. What are the reasons for women joining organisations?
A. The main reason for women's organisations is that women can unite. So that they can know their position is society. How do we do this? We visit all types of women and give them talks. Women need to hear from more educated—more fortunate women who can give them information on their rights and give them information on laws that can help them.

Q. Do you think that the Kenyan government plays a role in helping women?
A. Yes. The government recognizes the effect that we have on women's development in Kenya. They see all the projects we start for women. Women's 'umoja' is through the spirit of 'Harambee' which has been given to us by Mzee. This spirit has been part of traditional values—working together as a team.
Q. What do you think has been the effect of women's organisations?
A. We have uplifted the standards of women. Wherever women have joined together their influence is greater. We are a voluntary organisation. If we were paid by the government we could work better. Most of the members are volunteers. We do not have enough people who can give time freely.

Q. Has MYW had any political influence?
A. In 1956 MYW moved from government because they were not heard. Their power was reduced because they joined the local government. We have been a strong political force. Some men have tried to use MYW for political influence.

Q. Which ones?
A. We have discouraged using MYW for political purposes.

Q. Would you be willing to support female candidates?
A. Some women have come into politics. For women to be elected we must help. If the women identify with our cause they will get our support.

Q. How do you think we can get more women into politics?
A. The organisations cannot do much because the women in power do not associate themselves with women.
They do not associate themselves with groups.

Mwendwa and Odjiambo have worked with women's organisations and they have been helped. It is crucial for us to identify the candidate so we can let our rural women know. Our main work is with rural women. All our projects are in rural areas---tree-planting and water projects.

Q. How does tree-planting help rural women?
A. Tree planting helps women because women need them for fuel for daily use.

Q. How can women's organisation make a better contribution to the welfare of the women?
A. We need financial help, without strings attached. We have to get money from outside sources.
Q. Why is MYW's Annual General Meeting stretched over three days?

A. Our AGM is not only a meeting for elections but an opportunity for women from all over Kenya to meet. All MYW district women are represented. They come from long distances. So we made a programme that is worth their trip. We like to use the AGM to inform the rural leaders of women's problems and assist them. We like to use the AGM to give these women information to take back. We have to serve a purpose. Our AGM is very informal. We communicate in Swahili. This has to be because our women are the real women of Kenya. They are not the educated elite. We have to cater for their need. Our AGM cannot be conducted like that of NCWK. We are not only dealing with elite educated women of Kenya. Ours is a grassroots organisation. The true representation of Kenyan females.

Q. Yes. I did notice the difference in atmosphere between the NCWK and MYW AGM's. But surely the difference is due to the type of leadership and purpose?

A. That's true. But NCWK worries more about leadership than what it should do. It is supposed to organise
the women's organisations in Kenya. It is not a women's organisation. So many times it acts like an organisation. It should act as a coordinator.

Q. What are Maendeleo's main functions?
A. We are here to improve the life of Kenyan rural women. We want them to get involved in self-help projects. We want to get water to them. We encourage them to join businesses. We are trying to sell their handicrafts. This way we are making women work for their own rights, so that they can take part in developing Kenya.

MYW is also helping women to understand new ideas about health and child care. We are talking to the Minister of Health to help us get programmes of health for rural women.

We want rural women to get educated, so that they can understand their rights. Many of them cannot read or write.

Q. Do you think that we need more women in politics and in high posts and if so how do we get them in there?
A. Yes, we have to have more women in politics and all other fields. But they have to deserve the position. I think a woman should not hold a position just as
a woman, but somebody capable and with equal rights. She has to be fit for the part. Women are capable of holding any post if they are qualified.
Q. How long have we had women in the police force in Kenya?
A. We had some women in the police during colonial days. However, they were only used for searching women and taking care of female prisoners.

Since independence in '62 more and more women are employed in the police. Also they are in different jobs, also on patrol. Women are in G.S.U. combat, CID, traffic, patrol and operations.

Q. Are the majority of women in operations?
A. No. All departments have the same number of women.

In the 60's only 50 women were in the police. That was 1% of police force. Now we have 5% in police force. There are 700 women.

In 1965 we recruited 9 women as officers. They were put through for 4 years out in the field. They were attached to the crime branch.

Q. Does the public accept a female officer as an authority figure?
A. Yes, the public respects police women because of their uniqueness and the uniform. Initially, women officers were accompanied by male partners.
Not because they were not capable of taking care of themselves, but because going in pairs is a general rule. Police men respect the women because police force is dependent on ranks so the respect is due to rank rather than man or woman.

A woman is trained to do everything that a man is. Women are represented in all ranks.

I am the only Senior Superintendent. There are three women who are Superintendents. There are four Chief Inspectors. There are only 20 Inspectors—they enter the police force with university degrees and work up from there. But these are not very successful because they don't come up from lower ranks, so they lack the experience. There are 30 Sergeants and 30-40 Corporals. We also have women prison officers and there is the Womens Corps in the army. The Corps is not part of the police force; however, if they have problems they consult with me.
Q. How can we get more women into politics?
A. One of the most important things in politics is money. So for a woman to get into politics she has to be rich or have a rich family or she has to be attached to an important man. I know what it is like to be in politics. It can get very dirty and women are not going to find it easy to get in.

Q. Do you think that women will support female candidates?
A. I feel that the majority of women in Kenya are not politically aware. To get political awareness the first thing we need is education. We have to educate women to make them aware.

So many women do not know why their husband buys and reads a newspaper. Till they know why he buys it they cannot get awareness. Till they themselves learn to read and buy it and inform themselves about politics, about women's projects, they are not going to be politically aware.

Q. When I meet dynamic women like you, I wonder why more women like you are not in politics and making the decisions for the country. I feel
that you are more than capable of being in the forefront. Do you have any political ambitions.

A. I do have political ambition. I do get the urge to do something for my people. However, my family holds me back from politics. Politics can ruin one's life. I know how Julia Ojiambo's children suffered when she was campaigning. Perhaps when the children are older and don't need me as much.

Q. You are not working with MYW as actively as you used to? What is MYW's and NCWK's future, especially in light of the development of the Women's Bureau?

A. NCWK and MYW are involved in a power struggle between themselves and the Women's Bureau. The Women's Bureau is probably going to become stronger --especially with their expansion with 1.6 M. Shillings from the UNDP. Terry has to become more political, to handle all these women's organisations. If she succeeds in her programmes she will bring in the rest of the women.

She is capable but she needs to become more powerful in her position. Edda and Jane will not be too wise if they don't support Bureau. But
they don't seem to be too happy about UNDP supporting Bureau.

I do hope that this will all be sorted out. Women's organisations are not functioning very well and we need a central force to lead them. Tanzanian government has only one women's organisation and it works very well.
Q. Do you feel that women in Kenya have a special role to perform?
A. Certainly. Women are a major part of this country. They are contributing to the development of our nation. This is true especially of rural women. They are the providers of food. Women in rural areas support each other in both agricultural and community development. I do a lot of traveling in my job and I have had a lot of opportunities to observe rural women. For example, the women in Machakos have built homes, etc., all by their own efforts. These women are not even literate. But this is a fallacy we have to eradicate. Illiteracy does not mean ignorance. Rural people have a lot of common sense and they have used it to benefit themselves. Unfortunately, there is so much development taking place in rural areas that women's importance is over-shadowed by urban affairs. Their work is not written about. We need more people like you to write about women in rural areas.

We don't have enough women working for the rural women. We need more women in Parliament pushing for women in rural areas. Five female M.P.'s are

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not enough to put through legislation for rural women.

Q. What about the women's organisations? Do you think they are doing something for rural women?

A. Women organisations are crucial in rural areas because they have reinforced the idea of women's role in their own community. Rural women organise themselves and choose leaders from among themselves. These are uneducated people, but they have the ability to organise and do things for themselves.

Q. Do you think that rural women are hurt by the power struggle that is going between the women's organisations in Nairobi?

A. No. Because the power is only in Nairobi. It is between personalities--Jane and Edda are not in rural areas. There they are interested in getting the work done. Therefore, the localised power struggle is not really determining the work of rural women's organisations.

Q. Some of the leaders of the women's organisations have been accused of seeking publicity through their projects. Do you agree?

A. We should be more interested in doing the job than
trying to gain popularity. However, I strongly feel that tree-planting is beneficial to rural people. It increases agriculture, because it controls soil erosion by increasing the water catchment areas. This will eventually help women.

Q. Do you have any political ambitions?
A. Not really. I like what I am doing. I am serving a function. One's effectiveness does not depend on being a politician. Besides you have to have a special personality for politics. I don't have my father's charisma to lead people so I don't want to be in politics.
Q. What do you think of the women's organisations' contribution to the development of Kenya?

A. They have been good in some economic projects. They can do work that is assigned to them but they don't have good attitudes. Women are not bold. In our society it is the man's position that determines the social status of women. I find that our men need more liberation and education. The man in Kenya is the one who controls women's life. For example, Black American women are very independent. They make the family planning decisions. But not in Kenya. In Kenya it is the man who makes the family planning decision. Family planning in Kenya cannot succeed because they concentrate on women and they cannot even make the decision without the man. Our whole society is organised by men.

Q. What about the female politician?

A. You will find that the female leadership in this country is dependent on men in one way or the other. Women's participation in politics is very small. Women don't even use their vote. We need to utilize our votes. This is not their fault because although the traditional values are
important and have a function in life—the traditional schooling is important to become a human being, we find that this often makes women subjugated. Traditionally men and women were prepared for their roles in marriage. Not any more. Our society is very mixed up. Traditional life kept men out of the family. The men were not incorporated in the family. The women were to cook, clean, and raise children. Western standards demand a family life from men. Traditionally men and women worked separately. Thus, men continue to do this. Also women do not show an interest in what the man is doing. They are not interested in property. Of course, men don't want to share property with women.

I watch working women make decisions at work and do excellent jobs, but, at home they become totally dependent.

I believe that family harmony is very crucial. It determines national harmony. So the family is very important. The individual's values evolve from national values also.

Q. How can women increase their contribution to national development?
A. As I said before, women's attitudes are bad. If I had an economic concern, I would not employ women. They are not reliable. They have to learn new values to be part of development.

Q. What do you think of the leadership of the women's organisations?

A. They are doing a good job. I went to school with Edda and she was not in the forefront. She has been assigned a job and she is working hard at it, but it will be interesting to watch her political career, especially when it is time for her to run for Parliament. How she does in the elections will show what is her calibre.
APPENDIX III

List of Organisations Affiliated to the National Council of Women in Kenya*

1. Muslim Women Organisation
2. Ismailia Women's Organisation
3. Salvation Army
4. East African Women's League
5. Kenya Girl Guide
7. Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation
8. Inner Wheel Club
9. American Women's Organisation
10. Young Women's Christian Association
11. Kenya Association of University Women
12. Kenya Women's Society
13. Kenya Home Economic Organisation
15. Nairobi Business and Professional Women's Club
17. Machakos Home Makers
18. Nyeri Women's Association
19. Zonta Club of Nairobi
20. Kenya A.S. Worker

*As published by the National Council of Women in Kenya in 1978.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Women Corana Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Women's Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Kawadegu W.W. Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Visa Oshwal Youth League Women's Wing</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Rabai Women's Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Kenya Association of Secretaries</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Bukhayo Women's Association</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Ikinu H.I. Co-operative</td>
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<td>30.</td>
<td>Mother's Union</td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>Methodist Church in Kenya</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>Bahai Women</td>
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APPENDIX IV — Prestige Scoring of Occupations

The occupations of the respondent and respondent's husband were scored according to the prestige level of each occupation. Each occupation was given a score between 1 and 99. The higher number represents higher prestige and vice versa.

**Respondent's Occupational Scoring**

**Political**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Assistant Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Kenya's UNEP Representative</td>
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**Business**

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Bank Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
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**Administrative**

<table>
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<th>Score</th>
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<td>78</td>
<td>UNDP Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Principal Nursing</td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Editor and Community Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Administrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Operations Assistant Administrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Income Tax Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Public Relations Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Administrative Police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secretarial

19 White House Secretary
18 Executive Secretary
16 Secretary
14 General Secretary YWCA

Untrained Teachers

8 Nursery Teachers

Husband's Occupational Scoring

96 Cabinet Minister
85 Company Director
     Medical Doctor
     University Professor
     Businessman
83 Lawyer
82 Businessman
80 Architect
75 Engineer Other Professionals
74 Administrative Professional
70 Journalist Professional and Accountant
60 Semi-Professional and Accountant
45 Teacher, Kenya Army
40 Semi Professional -Lab Tech., Officers
37 Small Businessman
36 Small Businessman
34 Executive Officer
30 Farmers
25 Non Professional
### Legal
- Magistrate
- Executive Legal
- Prosecutor
- Lawyer

### University
- Professor/Lecturer
- Registrar
- Assistant Registrar
- Librarian
- Administrative Assistant

### Teachers-Trained
- Deputy Principal
- Teacher

### Civil Servant and Police Women
- Director of Women's Business
- Chief Inspector
- Civil Servant
- Price Controller
- Police Women

### Social Worker, Semi-Professional
- Housekeeper, dorms
- Counsellor
- Community Development Assistant
- Hairdressers
- Nutritionist
- Social Worker
APPENDIX V

List of Respondents Contacted for an Interview or for Filling out the Questionnaire

TUESDAY 3rd January - NCWK office
Terry Kantai - Women's Bureau

WEDNESDAY 4th January - Kamala Sikund - NCWK

FRIDAY 6th January - Edda Gachukia, Chairperson - NCWK

MONDAY 9th January - Audrey Smock, Central Bureau of Statistics

TUESDAY 10th January - Mrs. Kamau, Institute of Developmental Studies
Dr. Achola Pala, Institute of Developmental Studies

WEDNESDAY 11th January - Mrs. Kibisu - MYW
Mrs. Kanyua, Planned Parenthood - MYW

THURSDAY 12th January - Mrs. Damaris Ayodo - NCWK, MYW
Nairobi Professional and Business Women's Luncheon
- Mary Kamau
- Mariam Bradfield
- Elizabeth Mwari
- Dilshad Mohamed
- Mrs. Ladak

FRIDAY 13th January - Mrs. Alouch, Magistrate

MONDAY 16th January - Neera Kapila - NCWK

TUESDAY 17th January - Terry Kantai - Women's Bureau

THURSDAY 19th January - Edda Gachukia - NCWK

MONDAY 23rd January - Wanja Thairu - NCWK, KAUW
Mary Kimani - NCWK, KAUW
TUESDAY 24th January - Rose Waruhiu - NCWK, KAUW
WEDNESDAY 25th January - Mrs. J. Anderson - EAWL
THURSDAY 26th January - Mrs. Obel - NCWK
FRIDAY 27th January - Sunita Kapila - UNEP
MONDAY 30th January - Mrs. Okello, Barclay's Bank Manager
TUESDAY 31st January - Mrs. Ismail, Secretarial College
THURSDAY 2nd February - Miss G. Githu - NCWK, KAUW
FRIDAY 3rd February - Terry Kantai - Women's Bureau
MONDAY 6th February - Dr. Micere Mugo, University of Nairobi
WEDNESDAY 8th February - Dr. Achola Pala, Institute of Developmental Studies
THURSDAY 9th February - Kamala Sikund - NCWK
Executive Committee Meeting of NCWK
- Mrs. Madoka
- Mrs. Ayodo
FRIDAY 10th February - NCWK luncheon at Parliament Building, Speaker - Achola Pala.
- Kamala Sikund
- Mrs. Obel
MONDAY 10th February - Mrs. Loan - VIVA Magazine
TUESDAY 14th February - Anil Vidyarthi - VIVA Magazine
THURSDAY 15th February - G. Fazal - Ismailia Women.
FRIDAY 16th February - Wilkie Onsando - MYW, Executive Secretary
MONDAY 20th February - Mrs. Jane Kiano, Chairperson - MYW
WEDNESDAY 22nd February - P. Walji - Sociology Department, University of Nairobi
THURSDAY 23rd February - M. Kamau, Business and Professional Women's Club

SATURDAY 25th February - Nairobi Business and Professional Women's Dinner

TUESDAY 28th February - Mrs. Mbithi - YWCA
- Mrs. Onyango - YWCA

THURSDAY 2nd March - Executive Committee Meeting of NCWK
- Edda Gachukia
- Mrs. W. Chiuri
- Dr. Mathai
- Mrs. Z. Mohamed
- Mrs. N. Kapila

FRIDAY 3rd March - M. Kamau - Business and Professional Women
- J. Kiano - MYW

MONDAY 6th March - Mrs. Gethi, Planned Parenthood

TUESDAY 7th March - Professional and Business Women's Executive Committee Meeting
- M. Kamau
- D. Mohamed

WEDNESDAY 8th March - KAUW Luncheon
- Speaker - Mrs. Okello

THURSDAY 9th March - Dr. Achola Pala, Institute of Developmental Studies
- Miss Kagundu, IDS Librarian - KAUW

FRIDAY 10th March - Luncheon NCWK

SATURDAY 11th March - Parviz Giga, First Chicago Bank

MONDAY 13th March - Professional and Business Women's meeting at Car and General

TUESDAY 14th March - Mary Kimani, Chairperson - KAUW
WEDNESDAY 15th March - Mrs. Ndirango, Chairperson - KCO
FRIDAY 17th March - Sunita Kapila - UNEP
SATURDAY 18th March - Annual General Meeting of NCWK
- Edda Gachukia
- Mrs. Sheik
- Mary Gichuru
- Muthoni Likimani
- Grace Githu
- Jane Kiano
- Rose Waruhui
MONDAY 20th March - Rose Waruhui - NCWK, KAUW
- Sunita Kapila - UNEP
TUESDAY 21st March - Jael Mbogo - People's Magazine
- Rebbeca Enjau - NCCK
WEDNESDAY 22nd March - Mrs. Ndirango - Kenya Consumer's Organisation
- Magisu - Magistrate
TUESDAY 28th March - Jael Mbogo - People's Magazine
WEDNESDAY 29th March - Mrs. D. Luseno - KIA, NCWK
THURSDAY 30th March - Mrs. J. Kiano - MYW
FRIDAY 31st March - Mrs. Beth Mugo, Beth Ltd.
MONDAY 3rd April - Rebecca Enjau - NCCK
TUESDAY 4th April - KAUW Executive Committee Meeting
- Mrs. Mwinde
- Mrs. Ogwapit
WEDNESDAY 5th April - Kenya Association of Secretaries, Executive Committee Meeting
- Pamela Onyango
THURSDAY 6th April - Rebecca Enjau - NCCK
- Mrs. Nyoike - Matron Kenyatta Hospital
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<td>Margaret Kenyatta - UNEP</td>
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<td>TUESDAY 25th April</td>
<td>Miss Gathoni, Assistant Superintendent of Police</td>
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WEDNESDAY 26th April - Terry Kantai - Women's Bureau
THURSDAY 27th April - Litt, Police Headquarters
FRIDAY 28th April - Pheobe Asiyo - NYW
TUESDAY 2nd May - Jane Kiano - MYW
- Miss Karimi, M.P.
WEDNESDAY 3rd May - Muthoni Muthiaga, Meta Meta
FRIDAY 5th May - Mrs. Mwendwa, M.P.
- Muthoni Likimani, Noni's Advertising
SATURDAY 6th May - Jane Kiano - MYW
- Mrs. Mwendwa, M.P.
- Mrs. Grace Onyango, M.P.
TUESDAY 9th May - Rose Waruhiu
- ZONTA Executive Committee Meeting
- Khalda Dar
- Njeri Wambaa
WEDNESDAY 10th May - Muthoni Muthaiga, Meta Meta
- Grace Onyango, M.P.
THURSDAY 11th May - Rose Waveru - Women's Bureau
- Fibi Munene - NATION
FRIDAY 12th May - Mboya - UNDP
- Mazereo - UNDP
MONDAY 15th May - Dr. Micere Mugo,
- University of Nairobi
TUESDAY 16th May - Dr. Mathai, University of Nairobi
- Dr. Mbaya, University of Nairobi
APPENDIX VI -- A Capsule of Women's Organisations whose Executive Members were Interviewed*

1. Kenya Association of University Women

KAUW is an affiliated member of NCWK and the International Federation of University Women. KAUW has a multi-racial membership and their constitution requires these members to be university graduates. The objectives of KAUW as stated in their constitution are:

a) To encourage goodwill, friendship, understanding and unity amongst all the University women irrespective of their race, religion or political opinion.

b) To co-operate with other associations and societies having similar aims and objects.

c) To stimulate the interest of all University women in duties of citizenship and in public and voluntary service.¹

The present activities of KAUW revolve around their third objective. KAUW has tried to focus on the development of education for women in Kenya. This includes recommending women for scholarships overseas, assisting girls in Kenya to pay fees for their secondary education (32 girls have been supported in 1978), and generally encouraging the training and education of women. The Association holds monthly luncheons where speakers are invited to talk on various intellectual and social issues. Two issues that have been dealt with recently are --

* This information was gathered from the members of these organisations, their official files, documents, reports and constitutions.
women's legal position in Kenya and the handicapped children of Kenya. At a KAUW meeting that was attended by this researcher, Mrs. Okello, the only female Bank Manager in Kenya, made a presentation. A major concern was the unavailability of bank loans for women.

The funding for the Association is by means of shows, raffles, dances, sales and walks. KAUW participates with other organisations, especially NCWK in fund raising projects. Recent criticism of the KAUW as an elitist association has led to their keen involvement in rural area projects. Their most recent projects in this regard have been tree-planting and water projects. KAUW members have been going to rural areas and are working on changing their image as an elitist group.

2. Zonta Club of Nairobi

Zonta is an affiliate of Zonta International as well as NCWK. Zonta's major activities are related to providing a meeting ground for women to be involved in social and charitable work. In this regard they have several social functions such as balls, raffles, etc. In addition they cooperate with NCWK in their water and tree-planting projects as well as in fund raising activities.
3. Kenya Consumers Organisation

This voluntary organisation is not only for women but since the expatriates stereo-typed females as the users of consumer products KCO has become associated as a women's organisations and belongs to NCWK. It was originally organised by expatriate women to keep the high quality of the small number of products being produced in pre-independent Kenya. Even today the executive committee is dominated by expatriate females. There are only two token African members of the executive committee: the Chairperson Mrs. Ndirango, who is also the person in charge of the price control section at the Treasury; and a biology lecturer from the University of Nairobi, both of whom were being patronised by the expatriate women.

The membership of the organisation has been reduced to 700 members because of the departure of the expatriates and the difficulty the KCO has in encouraging Africans and Asians to join. This was a major concern at the executive committee's meeting that this researcher attended. Another major concern at this meeting was that the publishers of the organisation's magazine were not paying them the amount that had been stipulated in the contract. It was ironical that the very organisation that helps to protect consumers was being cheated by a business firm. Other activities
Of KCO include visitations to food industries to impress upon them the need for quality control and the publication of a magazine for members containing consumer information.

4. **The National Nurses Association of Kenya**

NNAK was established in 1968 to represent nurses and their profession; to promote nursing as a profession; and to promote cooperation between NNAK and other national and international bodies. It is affiliated to NCWK. The recent activities of NNAK have included taking a contingent of 18 nurses to Tokyo, Japan in 1977 for the International Council of Nurses Conference. Along with the usual fund raising activities NNAK has donated money and supplies to hospitals and organisations. Their major plans for 1978 were related to hosting the International Council of Nurses meeting in Nairobi.

5. **The Young Women's Christian Association of Kenya**

The YWCA membership drive pamphlet states that the purpose of YWCA is:

To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realising in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians.

YWCA of Kenya is active in Nairobi as well as other parts of Kenya. It is a member of NCWK. The major
The objectives are to improve the life of underprivileged girls and women. Their main activities involve setting up community centers, nursery schools, hostels, literacy classes and training personnel for these activities. More recently some YWCA centers have also been involved with water development and tree-planting projects.

6. Nairobi Business and Professional Women's Club

This club is an affiliate of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women and NCWK. The objectives of the organisation are to provide an opportunity for professional and business women to meet and exchange ideas which would help to advance them in their work. NBPWC has also been active as a philanthropic organisation. It has been supporting women's rural projects by giving funds, supplies, clothes and food. It has also been involved in giving financial support to the Salvation Army Lion Girl's Hostel. In collaboration with NCWK, this club has been involved with supplying water tanks to the rural areas as well as planting trees.

This researcher attended four of NBPWC's meetings. The first one was a luncheon where members were to meet and chat over lunch. The second meeting was a demonstration at the Car and General, an appliance dealership.
The basic purpose was to demonstrate washers, dryers, vacuum cleaners and advertise the products available at Car and General for these women. The third was a dinner dance where the Mayor and other elite attended to celebrate the organisation's silver jubilee. The fourth meeting was that of the executive committee where the major concern was the arrangements for the dinner dance.

7. The Ismailia Women's Association

This organisation is one of the two Asian religious organisations that is affiliated to NCWK. The association's main concern is the Ismaili woman. The IWA holds several functions for its members which include hostess training courses, cookery lessons, sewing classes, beauty demonstrations, etc. The association is also involved with philanthropic work. This includes giving old clothes, and other supplies to charitable organisations. IWA works closely in supporting the NCWK's events. Thus it is the most publicised Asian women's organisation in Kenya.8

8. Women's Fellowship Methodist Church of Kenya

This organisation which is basically a church group that only allows Methodists to be members, made an appeal to become affiliated with NCWK at their 1978
Annual General Meeting. Among their reasons for joining NCWK they mentioned the fact that by their affiliation to NCWK and working through them "they will be able to enter into some areas of an organisation without suspicion." Of course their main concern was to identify with NCWK so as to promote the welfare of women and the Kenyan nation.

1. Appendix VI -- Notes
2. Interview number: PRO 7.
4. The researcher gathered the information about the organisation from the Chairperson, Mrs. Ndirango, and by attending the Executive Committee Meeting of KCO.
6. YWCA Pamphlet
7. The information was gathered by attending the Executive Committee Meetings of the NBPWC and from a pamphlet on the Salvation Army Lion Girls Hostel.
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