RIGHTS AND GENDER ISSUES:
A PHILOSOPHICAL INVESTIGATION OF INEQUALITY
OF OPPORTUNITY TO OWNERSHIP OF WEALTH, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN IN KISII.

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSTY OF NAIROBI.

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## DECLARATION

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

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The rights and gender issue is probably one of the topics that preoccupies the minds of people at various levels world wide. Governments and non-government organizations are engaged in various heated debates trying to solve gender related problems that have existed in their society for centuries. One of these problems is inequality of opportunity on the part of women either to participate in the production of goods and services or to enjoy the ownership of wealth generated from their labour.

This thesis addresses itself to this problem of gender inequality.

It attempts to analyse critically some of the reasons that have been advanced in support of inequality. To do this, the study has selected a specific community in Kenya, the Abagusii, who, to this day, culturally practice gender inequality against women as regards ownership of wealth.

The study has focussed its attempts to that specific inequality of ownership of wealth partaining to land and livestock. It has critically analysed the reasons given by this community for the perpetuation of this inequality.

The analysis has revealed that all the reasons advanced in support of this inequality are unjustifiable. The analysis shows that, if anything, the reasons advanced are intended to promote and perpetuate male chauvinism. The study has also shown that the emergency of feminism, though its main aim is to fight for gender equality in all aspects of life, helps, to some extent, in propagating inequality.

In summary, the layout of the thesis is such that Chapter One begins with an ethnographic survey of the Abagusii as they are the subject of the study. Then it sets the problem and lays the objectives of the study and the methodology applied.

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Chapter Two deals with the Literature review in which a critical analysis of some of the reasons advanced in support of gender inequality by some of the eminent scholars is attempted. Chapter Three focusses attention on property ownership among the Abagusii as a community.

Chapter Four critically examines some of the cultural beliefs about land and livestock among the Abagusii and Chapter Five attempts a critical examination of the reasons advanced by the Abugusii in support of gender inequality.

In conclusion, Chapter Six examines the issue of feminism and its role in the propagation of gender inequality.

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#### CHAPTER ONE

#### INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 ATHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Before we enter into the issue of inequality of opportunity among the sexes, it is only natural to say something about the background of the Gusii people.

The Gusii people are a bantu speaking community living in Kisii District in the South-West of Kenya. Kisii District covers an area of around 2196 sq km bordering Kericho District to the East and North, Nyanza District to the West and Narok District to the South.

Kisii District lies largely above 1500 m above sea level except for the highlands and plateaus rising up to 1800 m above sea level at Keroka and Manga.

The area receives an annual rainfall total of nearly 1000 mm with annual maximum temperature ranging from 26° - 28°C.

According to the 1978 census, the Abagusii people totalled nearly 900,000 as compared to 600,000 in 1969.

Farming is the main economic activity of the people. The leading agricultural enterprises in the district include coffee, tea, pyrethrum, bananas, sugar cane and dairy farming.

Traditionally land was communally owned. The society was the main Land-holding unit. Inheritance of land as well as other forms of property is patriarchal. Today, the nuclear family is the main land-holding unit.

Division of labour, like in many other African Communities is based on age and sex. The routine work of agriculture falls mainly to women. That is, roles as manual work being regarded as degrading by men are done by women. Stock-keeping is the man's tradition province. Among the Abagusii, patrilineal descent provide the organisational framework for all social behaviour. Men retain a virtual monopoly of all power and wealth. This will be clear, as we continue examining the social status of man and woman among this people.

The culture of this people, does not given women any opportunity to own any property in society. The reasons for this are to be examined later.

#### 1.2 Statement of the problem: Gender Inequality

Gender is an essential factor in determining the social status of individuals in any society. This is particularly true when it comes to the opportunity to ownership of property. Throughout history, gender seems to have been used to perpetuate what is now seen as unjustifiable male chauvinism, where inequality of opportunity to own wealth, among other things, has been defended along gender line.

Down through the ages, one finds elaborate reasons advanced in support of the inequality of opportunity among sexes. But, are these reasons justifiable, or they are as a result of male chauvinism? This study seeks to find an answer to this question.

In order to tackle the above question one community in Kenya which practises this inequality is selected and reasons that community

gives for supporting this gender inequality are critically analysed.

This community is the Abagusii (Kisii people) of South-West of Kenya.

The Gusii community practises gender inequality of opportunity in all aspects of the lives of its individuals. This study does not intend to examine all that, since it is not possible to do so in a study of this nature. The study will focus only on the inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth as partains to land and livestock.

#### 1.5 Methodology

This study is entirely based on library material; there is enough written literature on this topic that is sufficient for the purpose. The study sets off from an analytical footing, making an attempt to analyse the reasons given for gender inequality in general and inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth among sexes in particular. This is to critically reconstruct the issue of gender disparity with a view to laying the path for a correct understanding of the supposed inferior status of women.

The following chapter places the ideas developed above in perspective. In Chapter III the concept of woman vis-a-vis that of man is introduced as it is revealed in the thoughts and ideas of the Gusii people. this is the basis of the author's belief that men and women should be treated equally. In Chapter IV the cultural beliefs about land and livestock are examined. This is in view of the fact that these two things (land and livestock) affect the social status of man and woman.

In the final analysis the argument is that it may not be known why women have since time immemorial been treated differently from men. But it is known that rules always serve the powerful and the ruler. Since men dominated women in this community, all rules were passed by men and hence favoured them.

# 1.3 Objectives

In this study the specific objectives are:-

- 1) To examine critically some of the reasons that have been advanced by some different scholars especially philosophers, in support of sex inequality in general.
- 2) To analyse the main reasons given by <u>Abagusii</u> themselves against female acquisition of wealth in the form of livestock and land.
- 3) To find out whether there is a link between the socialization processes of the Λbagusii and the perpetuation of gender inequality in the ownership of land and livestock in that society.

# 1.4 Theoretical Framework

In tackling our problem of inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth among the sexes, a philosophical theoretical model of the German philosopher Ute Klingemann'is addopted. The philosopher behaviour. The way we value

or relate with others, is determined by, as he puts it "the concept of self". This concept in relation to others constitutes identity formation which helps to define the boundaries of possible behaviour, particularly in regard to other people. It is this very concept of self which determines the various inter-personal interactions amongst different individuals.

How does one come to develop this concept of self? According to Klingemann, the concept of self develops from the kind of socialization process a person goes through. For example, a man with a high self-esteem who regards himself highly must have been brought up in a social environment which encouraged confidence in himself. Similarly, a man with a low self-esteem must have been brought up in an environment that rediculed him and made him feel worthless. In other words, the socialization process which an individual goes through and which consists of reward and punishment makes people develop attitudes towards their social and physical environment. These attitudes, in turn, determine the manner with which they react to these environments.

Thus if a person has been brought up to develop despising attitudes towards the opposite sex, he/she treats the opposite member in such a way that those attitudes are reflected in his interaction with him/her. And since every individual is mainly a product of some society, with well defined gender feelings, it is inevitable that these gender feelings or attitudes are always reflected in the malefemale interaction.

Therefore, it is not suprising that scholars down the ages reflect this attitude. Eminent philosophers such as Schopenhauer, Hegel, Kant, Rousseau among others, do manifest the kind of attitudes (ant-feminism) in their intellectual works.

With all this anti-feminism feelings, gender inequality is inevitable. This is particularly true as concerns inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth. It develops into a stage where it is mistaken to be something natural, something to be appreciated and valued. Scholars have laboured to justify this mistaken naturalness, as will be seen in later chapters in this study.

### 1.5 Hypothesis

(i) Gender inequality of opportunity to own wealth in Gusii community is indefensible.

#### CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Since ancient times, philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and economists have been deeply concerned with economic, social and political inequalities. Philosophers, (like anthropologists, sociologists, economists, political scientists and psychologists) have theorized about the naturalness or non-naturalness, permanence or non-permanence and inevitability or non-inevitability of sex inequality in general.

The literature in this subject of inequality of the sexes is abundant. In fact, going down the corridors of history, one finds plenty of evidence of degradation of the female sex. This degradation is explained in terms of biology (Aristotle, Plato, Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Murdock) psychology (Freud, Ortner, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer) physiology (Aristotle, St. Thomas, St. Augustine, Kant, Hegel) nature (Freud, Woelfl, Aristotle, Plato, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Locke, Hobbes) etc. It is not possible to review all of it in a study of this nature. The intention is to examine only the material relevant to this study, and it is befitting to start with the philosophers.

Starting with ancient philosophers who were in the forefront in this subject, the names of Plato and Aristotle stand out clearly. In ancient Greek philosophy, we readily come across the conception of the inferiority of women to men.

Plato's and Aristotle's distinct conception of society as an organic whole hierachically structured on a principle of proportional equality certainly admitted class distinction and essential inequality (Okin, 1979:25)

Fortenbaugh (1975) quoting Aristotle observes:

"Women are the result of a physiological failure at the moment of conception" (p.16)

The politics is quite clear that men are by "nature" better than women, men are by nature better fitted to command than women. (Okin, 1976:504). This view of women is also inherent in the Abagusii — culture (see Levine, 1979:9) as will be seen later.

Aristotle also related women to the distinction between the logical and alogical halves of the soul and contrasted women with both the slaves and children (Okin, 1976:507). Slaves are said to possess no deliberative faculty. Women are said to possess it but children are said to possess it incompletely (p.507). Even if women are claimed to possess the deliberative faculty, their deliberations and reflections are likely not to control their emotions (p.507).

Hudson (1970) in line with the above view, notes that women are the cleverest contrives of every evil. In the service of emotion, their deliberative faculties are most effective at discovering means to achieve a desired goal. But in controlling and altering unreasonable desires, their deliberative faculties lack authority (p.55f).

According to Aristotle, slaves do not possess the deliberative capacity and that is why they have the role they do as slaves. They lack the capacity to act with forethought. This view is also found among the Gusii people in relation to women (LeVine: 1979:9), (Okin, 1976: 302).

Aristotle uses the women's psychological and biological make-up to explain and justify their role within the household. That is, in comparison with man's psychological and bodily condition, the bodily and psychological condition of woman is one of weakness.

This comparative weakness, points towards a retiring domestic role within the home. False though this belief is, it is in absolute consonance with what most scholars believe (Tiger 1972:20-35) (Freud, 1922:46) etc.

It is clear from Aristotle's explanation that just as he looks within the slave to explain his social position, so does he look within the woman to explain her role.

Obviously biased, Fortenbaugh (1975), in agreement with the above view, notes that:-

Having not yet reached intellectual maturity and developed practical wisdom, women lack the perfect virtue which is demanded of a man in authority. While a man is able to look ahead thoughtfully and so plan a course of action, a woman cannot. It is to her advantage to be ruled and guided by a man. Woman, lacking the capacity to reflect and think ahead, needs to be guided by persons who enjoy this ability. (p.58)

This view, which is also shared by Allen (1985) of course, is not Fortenbaugh ex Nihilo. It is a common view of women and one part

often expressed in most literature. For instance, according to the Greek tradition, wives and daughters were overlooked. Indeed, wives and daughters were not regarded as fit to participate in serious discussions, with the consequence that this denial of intelectual experience continued through adulthood, which is exactly the same thing that the Abagusii do.

This female degradation was not unique too Greek tradition, for even among the French people, women were not given equal opportunity with men, as will be seen especially when examining Rousseaus' political philosophy.

McMillan (1982) quoting Aristotle, notes that women were denied access to all those places where the boys and men discussed and learned about civic and intellectual affairs. Women were valued only as the instrument of reproduction of legitimate heirs (p.15). This claim, is also affirmed in many other societies. Women rarely had equal opportunity with men.

A lot of Greek anti-feminism is manifested in Aristotle's belief. His views about women may be explained in terms of Greek cultural tradition of misogyny. Thus, women are classified by Aristotle and Plato as they were by the culture in which they were brought up. The two philosophers express emphatically, in a spurious intellectual terminology, the cultural mythos of a Greek civilization. They express a common place prejudice of a male dominated society.

in different words when they observe that culture often has profound influence on people. Culture influences the way individuals perceive and conceptualize things and reality as such. Aristotle's views which seem to be supported by the other writers mentioned above, can be challenged though.

The unequal placement of males and females in his society already disqualifies any debate on sex inequality. We can talk of equality versus inequality of sexes, if men and women are given equal opportunities to expose their abilities right from the beginning. The supposed male superior and female inferior natures do not belong to their make-up, they are not innate. Rather they are as a result of the socialization process which these two sexes go through.

Aristotle, like many others, does not pause to reflect that the inferior qualities which he attaches to women, just as much as any of the other existing differences between man and woman, might be, at least partly, due to environmental factors, particularly the conditioning that results from customary modes of socialization.

Plato's ideas about women have attracted considerable attention for many years. This is not surprising, since his proposals for education and role of female guardians, as expounded in Book V of <a href="The Republic">The Republic</a>, are more revolutionary than those of any other major political philosopher. However, on the subject of woman, Plato appears to present his reader with an unresolvable enigma, especially when his other dialogues are taken into account. It

is clear that in the Republic Plato prescribes the same exercises for women as for men. He dispenses with individual family. It is his dismantling of the family which, not only enables Plato to reconsider the question of women and their potential abilities, but forces him to do so.

Lee (1987), writing on Plato, notes that in the ideal city, since there is no private wealth or marriage for those in the guardian class, and since their living arrangements are to be communal, there is no domestic role such as that of the tradition housewife. Thus, women can no longer be defined by their traditional roles (p.335). Marx and Engels is said to share the same view (Haralambos - 1980:390).

But the above idea seems to be contradicted by Okin (1977) when she writes that "in the Laws, by contrast the reinstatement of property requires monogamy and private house holds, and thus restores women to their role of private wives with all that this entails" (p.19).

Plato's prescription of the same exercises for men as for women is not justified because, reading his other dialogues, one might question how the same generally consistent philosopher can, on the one hand declare that the female sex is created from the souls of the most wicked and irrational men and, on the other hand argue that if young girls and boys are trained identically their abilities as adults will be practically the same (p.17). In Lee (1987) Plato is said to have written that "our male and female guardians ought to follow the same occupation" (p.337). How can

and irrational men and women are by nature twice as bad as men be reconciled with the radical idea that they should be included among the exalted philosophic rulers of the ideal state? Here Plato appears to be inconsistent about the nature and proper role of women, perhaps due to his ambivalent cultural background.

There is abundant evidence in classical Greek literature that wome of Plato's society, were valued for silence, hardwork, domestic frugality and above all, marital fidelity. Confined to the functions of household management and the bearing of heirs, they were neither educated nor permitted to experience the culture and intellectual stimulation of life outside their secluded quarters in the house. Accordingly, it was almost impossible for husbands and wives to be either day-to-day equals or emotional and intellectual intimates.

Okin (1977) observes that a Greek woman was not permitted to choose her sexual partner, any more that Plato's guardians were. Moreover, in her case the partner had not only the absolute right to copulate with an reproduce via her for the rest of her life, but also all the powers which her father had previously now rested on the husband's hands (p.28). Once married, a woman had no condoned alternative sexual outlets, but was entirely dependent on a husband, who might have any number of approved hetero — or homosexual alternatives, for any satisfaction that he might choose to give her (Okin, 1982:362f).

It is clear that in <u>The Republic</u>, women still remain in their position of the fourth century. They remain with their traditional roles, and they are regarded as an inferior gender. They are unable to own or inherit property in their own right, and they are perpetual legal minors always under the authority of male relatives or guardians.

Republic seems revolutionary, he fundamentally remains within his Greek cultural conception of a woman as an inferior sex. Despite, all his professed intentions in The Laws to emancipate women and make full use of the talents that he is now convinced they have, Plato's reintroduction of the family has direct effect of putting them firmly back into their traditional place. His admitted belief in male superiority robs his argument of any real force. Since he wants sexual equality purely in order to increase the efficiency of the state, and not because inequality is wrong in itself, the authenticity of his demand for sex equality is obscure.

Claims such as men are more skilled than women whites are more intelligent than blacks, are indeed absurdly biased. The general claim that apparently men are physically stronger than women is just as irrelevant as the obviously false one that they are more rational.

Plato's concern is precisely with the needs and capacities of the individual, he has a vision of a society in which each person leads the life for which he or she is best suited. Even if very few women are as good at running the state as are the men, those

few women should still, both for their own sake and for the sake of the community, be given the opportunity to share in the government. Since there are no specific male and female competences, men and women should follow the same pursuits, and women who have natures suitable to be guardians or leaders, should, therefore, be appropriately trained.

It is remarkable in a work which makes proposals about women as radical as <a href="The Republic">The Republic</a>, and which has as much to say about justice as <a href="The Republic">The Republic</a> has, that inequality of the sexes is not presented as an injustice and that the proposals to treat the sexes equally are not presented as measures which will make the state, more just than its rivals. Men and women, like right and left hands would be far more equal in ability, if they received equal opportunities.

Coming to medieval era, one finds the same unjustifiable bias so glaringly clear with the classic philosophers. St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas were equally intent on prescribing the proper mode of arranging men in hierarchical orders and also in understanding why human society everywhere was characterized by such distinct and sharp gradation in power, property and prestige. Influenced by Greek and Roman cultural prejudices and historical forces of their time, the two medieval scholars were also caught up in the maze. In Plamenatz (1963) Aquinas is noted to have said that males are naturally superior because in the the discretion (prudence) of reason predominates. Woman's part in the scheme of things is to bear children what classical philosophers as well as the majority

of the modern ones such as Hegel, Kant, Rousseau etc have said.

In The City of God, St. Augustine (1987 is said to have written of the miserable and poor as follows:

In as much as they are deservedly and justly miserable they are by their very misery connected with order ... they would ... be more wretched if they had not that peace which arise from being in harmony with the natural order of things. (p.2)

St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas shared the Greek and Roman, for women of their time. It is clear from what Augustine says that nature has ordained things in such a way that inequality among human beings is inevitable. According to his view, the difference between disabled and normal persons, strong and weak persons, good and bad people etc, should be naturally explained. Nature has arranged things to be the way they are, sex inequality included. If we comply with this view, any question of gender equality is invalidated. For, according to the doctrine of Augustine, sex inequality has to be explained in terms of nature.

This view is rather interesting. One would have expected that this theologian philosopher, like his contemporary Aquinas, would argue in support of gender equality. Unfortunately, he falls victim to the same criticism levelled against the classical philosophers above.

Nor do the philosophers of modern era escape the same prejudice of male chauvinism. Hume, in support of sex inequality, is quoted to have said that it is nature that has given man a superior status over women (Plamenatz, 1963:305). He draws a list of the amiable weaknesses and traits that he falsely believes characterises femininity: They include submissiveness, bashfulness, timidity and exaggerated affectionate nature, amorous, gallantries and jealousy.

Hume is not alone in this view. For other scholars express similar ideas, though in difference terms. Hume, and others with similar view, clearly display indefensible biases. To establish that women are inferior to men by nature, Hume needs to show that their inferiority is innate and not simply a result of socialization process. His line of arguement is rather contradictory. For example, he makes several observations that show that inferiority is accidental and not essential to the feminine make-up. this means is that Hume together with his contemporaries, admit the fact that women are what they are due to the socialization process. Thus, he admits that women's education is different from that of men and that women are generally much more flattered in their youth than men. He observes that women are prized more for different qualities than men. Men are congratulated on their courage and women on such attributes as chastity, modesty and fidelity. Hume is even said to have remarked that women's inferiority is due to the fact that their domestic life requires no high capacities either of mind or body. (Plamenatz, 1963:310).

All these, as can be seen is nothing but different forms of socialization process which it is believed he means by the term accidental and not essential. If this be the case, then why does

he continues to cling to the idea that women are inferior by nature?

This seems to be contradictory.

While Hume on the one hand sees sex inequality as something given by nature, Hobbes (Plamenatz:1963), on the other hand, argues that individuals are equal. By equality he means that individuals are equal in the strange basic sense that they are equally, capable of killing each other, because of their natural approximate equivalence, prudence and strength (p.135). He does not argue that women are unequal to men. He only disagrees with Hume's position about natural sex inequality.

However, despite all this, Hobbes recognizes the fact that families in the society of his time were not matriarchal, but patriarchal. In his attempt to legitimize paternal power, he lost his defence of women completely. He accepted their perpetual subordination. One wonders, given his initial premises of human equality, how he could again turn round to support the inferiority of women. This leaves him inconsistent and quite unable to justify the unequal position of women in the society of his day. He upholds the institutions of patriarchy, but he provides no logical argument to justify them.

Sir Robert Filmer is said, to have asserted that parental power must be paternal power and wives must necessarily be completely subjected to their husbands (Okin, 1979:19).

In Plamenatz (1963) Locke, on the contrary, seems to disagree with him when he is said to remark that both reason and revelation demonstrate to us that mothers have an equal title with fathers to exercise

power over their children (p.210). But having argued against Filmer that parents have equal authority over their children, Locke slips back into an appeal to nature to justify the subordination of wives to husbands with regard to those matters that are of their common interest e.g. property and other matrimonial things. (Okin, 1979:56), Plamenatz (1963) writing on Locke notes that falsely argues that since men have been made by nature abler and stronger they rightfully have the power to make final decisions within the household.

However, the extent to which Locke upholds family patriarchy forces him into problems of self-contradiction. For the whole of his political theory fundamentally rejects the rule of the stronger and attributes it to the relations among human beings. He also argues that excellency of parts and merits do not justify the subjection of any man to the will or authority of any other. Why, then, does the supposed great physical strength or ability of husbands legitimize the subjection of their wives to their authority, even with respect to the things of their common concern?

In justifying, even to the extent he does, the sub-ordination of women to their husbands, Locke contradicts the basic premises of his philosophy. He keeps in line with his contemporaries, a biased conception of women as subordinate to men.

Nor is Rousseau (1962) spared this bias. Despite the fact that he was a firm advocate of equality, personal independence and the right of direct self-government for men, he violates these principles, which are central to his philosophy, when it comes to the case of women. Like many of his predecessors, he considers

women as innately imbued with qualities that indicate their inferior status. For instance, according to Rousseau, women have a limited capacity for rational thought, their proper duties being within the family.

In the above claim, Rousseau proves to be quite inconsistent. For how can his firm ideas of equality and personal liberty of man, be reconciled with his other teaching that women are inferior to men? Does he intend to show that man, as a human being, is of a more intrinsic worth than woman? Rousseau does not offer any justifiable substantial reason as to why man and woman may be treated differently given the fact that they are both human beings who deserve equal treatment as humans.

Bock (1959) writing on Kant indicates how Kant
was clearly influenced by Rousseau on the subject of woman as he was in so many other ideas. Following Rousseau,
Kant's conception of the sentimental domestic family makes him
violate (probably unaware) the most fundamental tenets of his
ethical theory when he discusses women. He stresses the importance of the universality of his moral and political philosophy.
He says that this should hold true not merely for men, but for
all rational beings as such.

Fundamental to his moral philosophy, of course, is the notion of the equal freedom of rational beings and the closely related idea that persons are never to be treated as means, but always as ends in themselves. In other words, persons are not to be treated as objects because he believes they are ends in themselves. What, then did Kant have to say about the contemporary

position of women given all these principles?

In his discussion of marriage, one finds a striking example of the very inconsistency between principles and their application that he himself advocates. He has compelling reasons to view women in theory, at least, as being equals to men. He sees marriage as a relation of equality based on mutual possession of the goods. However, in his debate about the husband/wife relationship he supports the law which contradicts the principle of this equality — the law that advocates that the wife obeys her husband as her master. In doing so, Kant contradicts the very principle that he supports, because there cannot be equality between master and servant. Moreover, the reason he gives for the support of the law is itself inconsistent with the fundamentals of his entire moral philosophy.

Kant is not alone in this view that man's right to command may be deduced from the very fact that he, unlike woman, is characterized by deep reflection of thought. This is the same view, held by a number of philosophers (Hegel, Schopenhauer, Rousseau etc.).

Kant's conclusion is, of course, in line with the inequality reflected in marriage laws of his time. But in order to reach it, he has to descend from the lofty heights of the categorical imperative into a kind of argument that he himslef refuses to tolerate when other philosophers advance it. The subordinate position of the wife with which Kant claims to see no problem, is just like that of the immature and passive subjects of the benevolent despot, whose position Kant himself regards as intolerable because

it is inconsistent with human dignity and freedom. Why he cannot see the master-slave relationship between husband and wife as intolerable is not clear.

Kant goes even further than Rousseau in arguing that men and women are not similar but entirely complementary in their natures. Men are the noble sex characterized by profundity of understanding, deep reflection requiring exertion — in general, the sublime; women are the fair sex characterized by sympathy, fineness of understanding — in general the beautiful. Like Rousseau, Kant falsely believes that these differences between man and woman are largely innate (Okin, 1982:79-80).

As can be seen, what clearly happens to women in this lyrical discussion of their wifely role, is that they are excluded from that category of all rational beings to whom Kant has said his moral theory must apply. He writes that the characteristic of women is not to reason, but to feel (like some western philosophers including Hegel, Kant, Nietsche, among other, believe that Africans do the same). Their (women) virtue is based on beauty and their moral behaviour is to be inspired only by the desire to please. When Kant declares categorically that, for women, there is to be nothing of ought; nothing of must, nothing of due, it is clear that their dehumanization is complete. In this very declaration, comes out his anti-feminism attitude.

Considering all that Kant has said above one finds a lot of incoherence in his work. For example, if women are, and should be characterized not by rationality but by the sensibility and

delicacy of feeling that makes them charming wives and devoted persons, then Kant's moral theory that he says applies to all rational beings does not seem to include women. This affirmation goes against his universal applicability of his moral and political philosophy which he claims, is valid for all rational beings, unless one excludes women from rational beings, as it appears he does. If human intelligence is one of the qualities that all human beings are believed to share in common, one fails to understand what Kant implies when he holds that women should not be characterized by rationality but by sensibility, delicacy and such low qualities, bringing in unjustifiable differences.

In these differences one finds Kant's position, not reflecting a serious and objective treatment of the male and the female.
His stand reflects, just as his contemporaries do, the old biased
traditional misogyny of his people. Women are regarded to be
inferior to men, not because they innately really are so? but
just because of the socialization process they go through. A
lot of Kant's ideas about the female sex, reflect much of his
cultural background, they are prejudices of a male dominated
society.

Along similar lines, Hegel, too, is reported to undervalue women's intellectual ability. He sums up his ideas about women in unusually plain language: that the physical difference between the sexes has an intellectual and ethical significance based on rational grounds. Women are certainly capable of learning, but they are not made for the higher forms of sciences, such as

philosophy and certain types of artistic creativity: these require a universal ingredient, which women do not have. According to Hegel women acquire knowledge "we" know not how almost as if by breathing ideas; more by living than actually by taking hold of knowledge. The status of manhood on the other hand, is attained only by the stress of thought and much technical exertion (O'Faolain, 1979:302).

As can be understood, a woman is depicted as infused with feelings but devoid of reason. It is as if women can attain certain knowledge of reality, but they do not reach the point of conceptual understanding, that is, the ideal cognition.

Since women, for Hegel, differ greatly from men on the assumption that they have different mental structures, this should imply that women, in contrast to men, must <a href="ipso facto">ipso facto</a> have a diametrically opposed ways of knowing. But this can only be true if Hegel can conclusively show that they have different cognitive structures. So far this is not shown in Hegel's argument. In failing to indicate this, Hegel, like other scholars, also fails to demonstrate that women are intellectually inferior to their counter-parts.

According to Hegel, it is as if only what is intuitive, present and immediately real truly exists for women. They cannot grasp what is knowable only by means of concepts, what is remote, absent i.e what is not empirical.

beings possess this quality, it is not clear how Hegel as a philosopher would make such a claim that women are without intellect!

Okin (1982), quoting Bentham, observes that for reasons of principle as well as pragmatic considerations, women should be denied all political rights to vote, to hold office, even to observe the proceedings of parliament. First because women's judgements are based on sympathy and feelings but men's on reason. Secondly, the feminine seductiveness of their very presence would distract men from the serious and rational activities of public life (p.87).

Bentham's argument is rather curious and renders the claim of male superiority rather questionable. If a mere presence of a female can distract and render men ineffective in their work, one can question male superiority. In his (Bentham) second claim above, he fails to foresee the inconsistency between what he claims man to be (superior and rational), and man's relationship with woman (the inferior and irrational sex), a relation which apparently suggests that man is not as superior to woman as Bentham tends to think, given that a mere presence of a woman can distract all his attention and render him ineffective in his duties.

Having done his utmost to characterize women as persons guided by their feelings and sympathy Bentham, like other philosophers unjustifiably adjudges them to be lacking in both the need and the capacity to participate in public life. The exclusion of women from the arena of public life, such as politics, voting and

other spheres, on the pretext that their life is normally controlled by feelings rather than reason, cannot be justified.

For instance, in contemporary times, women have proved Bentham's claim invalid, for they have shown to be competent in the world of politics just as in other spheres — intellectual, economical, religious just but to mention a few. Think of Margaret Thatcher who is also known as the "iron woman", for she has proved internationally to be tough in the world of politics. Likewise, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Corazon Aquino of the Philippines, Prof. Wangare Mathai of the Green Belt Movement and other Maendeleo ya Wanawake women in Kenya such as Mrs. Onsando, among many others. This is already a sufficient proof that women can occupy positions mistakenly defined as male.

It is not only in modern society that individuals are trying to change their biased attitudes and beliefs about the female sex. In the past there were some critics of society who did not share wholly traditional beliefs of their societies about women. Among these critics was John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) who thought contrary to his contemporaries and held that human beings as human beings were equal. Therefore the emancipation of women to a level of equality with men was not, for Mill, aimed at increased happiness of women themselves, although this could have been an important part of it. This emancipation was also a very vital prerequisite for the consistency and justification of his utilitarian theory aimed at the improvement of mankind.

All his ideas were somehow aimed at one word: Justice. For, justice for him indicated a crucial idea, i.e., all persons are deemed to have a right to equality of treatment (Crorker 1967:55).

Many of his contemporaries attributed excessive importance to environmental factors in the formation of human character and intellectual capacity. This is particularly the case with the French educational theorists of the Englightenment (Helvetius and Holback). But Mill himself believed that most, and probably all of the existing differences of character and intellect between the sexes, were due to the different attitudes society has towards the members of the two sexes and the vastly, different types and qualities of education afforded them (Mill 1969:55).

But this seems rather interesting. It is not clear whether the French theorists ideas of environment is the same as Mill's idea of attitudes. Are not the two saying: the same thing? Surely attitudes are often a product of the social environment which Helvetius and Holback are talking about.

Nevertheless, be that as it may, what Mill is saying here is that individuals are socially what they are due to socialization processes. That is, individuals are brought-up to acquire certain patterns and the result of this socialization is labeled feminine (which is equivalent to an inferior sex) or masculine (the superior sex). Utc Klingemann (1990) expresses the same idea. These socialization processes determine individual's self concept, as will be made clear later.

But Mill is not consistent with his idea of human equality. For although he is for equality of the sexes, all the same he pays little attention to women's own preferences. He states that the great occupation of females should be to make the home beautiful and to diffuse beauty, eligance and grace every where since women are naturally endowed with great elegancy and taste (Mill, 1859:607).

His acceptance of traditional sex roles within the family seriously limits the extent to which he can apply the principle of freedom and equality to women. It should be that until conditions of true equality exist, no one can possibly assess the natural difference between women, distorted, as they have been by men throughout history. What is natural to the two sexes can only be found out by offering both of them equal opportunity to develop their potentialities, and use them freely and fully. Unfortunately, in many societies the socialization process of the two sexes does not seem to give equal opportunity for male and female to expose their abilities freely. This imbalance, creates a condition of inequality from the beginning and renders any debate on sex equality to be invalid.

Griffiths (1987) recalling Niet: che's ideas on women argues that women should not even talk about themselves. Women are not to be given access to the stand point from which they are ruled (p.51).

Such convictions, erroneous though they are, are likely to lead a man like Nietzsche, not to see a woman as his equal in any sphere. Not even Mill's revolutionary idea of equality of consideration can make sense to such a person. To Nietzsche, a woman will always remain an inferior sex. This seems to be the guiding principle underlying his debate about women. The men in the Gusii community hold similar views, with the consequence, that these views are extended to the acquisition of wealth as will be seen later.

Being a product of the German culture, which to a large extent was anti-feminism, Nietzsche found it rather hard to break through the circle of a male dominated society so as to have an objective independent evaluation of the female sex. His conception of woman as nothing, as an inferior creature, is as a result of his socialization process. A process as we have analysed it all through, which was anti-feminism.

While Nietzsche saw a woman from a negative point of view,
Engels is said to have perceived female subordination from an economic
perspective. He saw gender inequality as a result of the emergence
of private property, particularly the private ownership of the forces
of production. Monogamous marriage according to Engels, emerged
to protect the insititution of private property. The predominance
of man in marriage is simply a consequence of his economic predominance (Haralambos, 1980:322).

Marx and Engels thought that the demand for female wage

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labour would raise the status and power of proletarian women within the family. That is, female employment would largely free women from economic dependence upon their husbands and so from male dominance. Private house keeping would be transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children would be the concern of the state (re-echoing what Plato had said in The Republic)

What these scholars hold may or may not be true because, despite the increasing entry of women into the labour force, this development has not had the beneficial effects which they predicted. The employment of the wife outside the home did not appreciably alter power relationship within the family because it was and still is man who made and still continues to make important final decisions in the family. Despite Marx's and Engels idea, it seems that working wives have only marginally more power than full time house-wives. Employment outside the home helped to restore to some degree a woman's sense of usefulness and renewed her self-confidence. Yet, mother house-wife role remained primary. Home and family are the focal point of their interests, and are regarded by themselves as well as by men as their main responsibility. So, paid employment produced no demands for freedom from traditional roles, although now, it is slowly beginning to do so.

From the above argument, it may be logically concluded that

Marx and Engels overestimated the significance of women's entry

into the labour market. They failed to foresee that women would

enter a specifically female labour market and this could not have

changed their traditional roles. In fact, Benston (1972) in support

of the above view remarks that:- "in their roles as secondary breadwinners' married women provide a source of cheap and easily exploitable labour, because they have been socialized to comply and submit, they form a docile labour force that can be readily manipulated and easily fired when not required" (p.391).

From this observation, it would appear that the traditional roles remain paramount, whether a woman works or not, because prejudices about their place in society still linger in the minds of many people. However, for these prejudices to go, true equality between the sexes must be achieved. According to Marx and Engels this equality could be achieved in a socialist society, in which the forces of production were communally owned (Haralambos, 1980:397)

However, communism alone, though a necessary step, is not sufficient to abolish sex inequality. Collective ownership of the forces of production may be necessary but not a sufficient condition for gender equality because there are societies (communist ones) where such practices prevail yet the problem of gender inequality persists. Communal ownership of forces of production may reduce sex inequality but may not necessarily abolish it all together.

Even in the political sphere, it is only recently that
women were guaranteed the franchise and the right to public offices.
Unfortunately, the constitutional right to vote in many countries,
has not led to any substantial increase in political participation
or political equality. Instead of their vote being used to bring

changes for women in society, it (vote) has often been manupulated by male politicians, for their selfish ends. A good example is the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organization in Kenya which has been manupulated to become an arm of the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU). Wipper (1971) observes that voting rights alone do not ensure political participation they have to be accompanied by active participation in politics, especially in gaining decision making offices (p.220).

Be that as it may, this review has so far dealt mainly with the views of those eminent philosophers who have tackled the issue of gender inequality. This should not be surprising, because this study is mainly a philosophical one. However, it is not only the philosophers who have dealt with this issue. Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have also tried to write on this subject, some exhaustively.

For example, sociologist, such as Oakley begin from the assumption that human behaviour is largely directed and determined by culture (see Haralambos, 1980:376 f). This is also the position most anthropologists such as Malinowski (1966), Murdock (1949) and Evans Pritchard (1970) hold.

But unlike the above, psychologists, as examplified by Freud (1922) and Morgan (1975) do not begin by such an assumption. Rather, they believe behaviour is the function of internal mental forces from within.

sion that they try to explain and justify gender inequality by emphasizing accidental qualities of the sexes, such as biological differences and the cultural influences.

Unlike the sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists, Engels and Marx, as was seen earlier, suggest something else that they believe determines gender inequality. According to these authors, man's predominance over woman is as a result of his economic predominance, (Haralambos, 1980:398). Since man controls all the forces of production, he naturally becomes the master and hence the provider and dominator. The woman becomes the dominated and the one cared for.

As already seen, this Marxian view is challenged because there are wealthy women who are still dominated by men, an indication that gender inequality does not seem to depend on the control of the forces of production as Marx suggests nor does it depend on biological differences as most sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists tend to believe. It depends on something else, and, as has been argued earlier, it would appear that this inequality, at least to a larger extent, is the whole socialization process that the two sexes go through.

Apart from Marx and Engels views, which seem to offer something different, the general picture that emerges from all these other authors seem to be a biased one. Although they have attempted to justify their reasons for gender inequality, upon close philosophical reflection, their views, as already seen do not stand a

logical scrutiny. Their views seem intended to perpetuate and protect male chauvinism.

## 2.2 Conclusion

The foregoing literature review has examined and analysed the works of some of the eminent scholars down the corridors of history, starting from the classical period to contemporary time.

As can be seen, the classical scholars as examplified by Plato and Aristotle, saw a woman as an inferior sex and their views seem to have been influenced by the Greek anti-feminism culture of their time.

As for the Medieval scholars, it has been shown that they, too, saw woman as an inferior human being. This is clearly stated by Aquinas and Augustine. These scholars were influenced by not only their own culture but also by the Greek and the Roman culture.

The modern scholars such as Locke, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Rousseau, also saw woman from a negative point of view. A woman is represented as incapable of any serious intellectual discourse, she is understood to be intellectually inferior to man.

With the contemporary scholars as represented by Bentham and Schopenhauer it has been shown that a woman is a person who is led by emotion. This fact, renders her incapable of being a political leader.

Marx and Engels understand the inferior status of woman from an economic point of view. Her supposed inferior nature is due to the fact that man has managed to put all the forces of production under his control. Woman is left with no alternative but to accept the dictates of man so as to enjoy the protection of man (both psychological and material).

However, upon critical analysis, it has been shown that the reasons advanced by all these different scholars down the ages (philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and economists) for gender inequality, boils down to one basic reason - male chauvinism. That means, these reasons were essentially intended to protect and perpetuate the primacy of male chauvinism.

After surveying the views given for gender inequality in general, attention should now be turned to a specific group to examine gender inequality in this community and later see whether it can be justifiable. This group is the Gusii people of South-West Kenya.

## <u>CHAPTER</u> THREE

## PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AMONG THE ABAGUSII

Since gender inequality in Gusii community seems strongly linked to ownership of wealth, the main interest in this chapter is to consider the issue of property ownership; Who owns what and why?

In the Gusii life plan, social status of an individual is determined soon after birth. When a baby is born, its sex is a matter of primary interest to the community. Baby boys are honoured more than baby girls. This comes out clearly in the ceremonies which are performed to mark the birth of a child; these ceremonies differ in matters of principle for both sexes. To mark the birth of a baby boy, a he-goat is usually slaughtered while for baby girls normally nothing is slaughtered. (Already, the importance of livestock can be seen here). In respect to the former (baby boys) people come freely and openly to celebrate with the members of the newly born baby in contrast to the latter. Finally, elders give thanks to the ancestors for such a favourable reward to the community. Unless one comes from a wealthy family, not all those who are born boys will have he-goats slaughtered to mark their day. Less wealthy families slaughter roosters instead of he-goats and this equally serve the purpose.

The above picture already anticipates, in a way, what will happen when these people grow older. For instance when boys become elders (circumcised and married) they join the ranks of advicers they become controllers and care takes of wealth. They own every-

thing (in their respective homesteads) from land and its products to livestock, children and wives. Even unto this day, if one visits a particular home and asks any one in that home such questions as, whose home is this? whose property is this? The most obvious answer will be, This is so and so's home and all these is his property. "So and so" in this case is always the head of a homestead, the man.

Now this leadership of a homestead, this ownership of the various forms of property is perhaps a sign as to why goats are slaughtered only for baby boys as if probably to indicate that - baby boys in their future life, qualify for the ownership of property and guidance of homesteads.

From the above discussion, it is apparently clear who is to own what; in reference to land and livestock. The question of land does not come out clearly, it is implied. For to keep livestock, land is a pre-requisite.

In the view of the Gusii people as seen above, it seems that land and livestock are male attributes. This fact is affirmed by Mayer (1950) when he notes that a married woman in Gusii can ask for divorce if persistently ill treated but she has little personal liberty, no right of property, traditionally no claim against, the husband for the custody of her own children even if they are not, physically his. When the husband is alive the property is loosely said to belong to the wife. They are in some sense her children, her cattle, her land, goats though of course the overriding right of inheritance in all of them rests with the husband

who has given bride wealth for the acquisition of the woman and everything she may produce (p.63).

In agreement with the above view, LeVine (1979, observes that Gusii women own no property in a situation where property is the basis of social power (p.8).

## 3.1 The Concept of Woman among the Gusii people

The concept woman is fundamental, for it seems to be a determining factor of who is to own what. Women are usually regarded as Abaaeti (literary people on transit or strangers) in their parents home as much as that of their in-laws. In their maidenhood they are considered to be impermanently with their family for they are sooner or later going to be married and leave them. Even in the families to which they are married they are still considered as Abarwa isiko (new-comers or visitors). This new comer or visitor address, is used to indicate a transitory or a non-belonging position of a woman in her husband's family. She is an out-sider. In consequence, it implicitly follows that as a new-comer, she may not have equal rights with her husband. It is clear why they are regarded as new-comers; for they come from other exogamous clans as reluctant brides. This implies husbands are related by blood to their neighbours, but wives are related by blood only to their own children. This fact of wives non-belongingness to their husbands clan, make women fear their husbands. They deeply know that if anything goes wrong between them, they will always be 'blamed for that. This is because there is nobody (relatives, brothers) who can defend them since they are outsiders,

Throughout their life time, women are always taken to be like children, dependent emotional, soft hearted, unreliable etc. This view of women, is similar to that of philosophers as Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Bentham, Rousseau and many more others (see Chapter II). In this respect, the Gusii people share the above misconceived ideas, with some of the most renowed scholars. As can be understood, this rather biased perception of the female sex, prevails in most societies in the world.

LeVine (1979) has noted that the Abagusii men in line with the aforementioned - scholars, hold: that women are morally and emotionally immature, irresponsible and lacking in sound judgement (p.9). In fact, women in the Gusii community are referred to as "children" people who cannot be entrusted with any important responsibilities.

What next? As a result of all these biased ideas about the female sex, women in general develop feelings, attitudes of themselves which tend to support the very picture men have of them. This is actualized through socialization processes. In this community, man stands out to be the standard measure of everything.

Going back to the earlier argument, it now can be understood why the concept of woman in Gusii is crucial in the whole process of who is to own what and why. For it seems that, from this very concept woman, the inequality of opportunity of wealth among the sexes in Gusii is rooted.

Earlier, it was pointed out that women are regarded to be impermanent members of their families. This may be understood, granted that all females are supposed to get married. As impermanent members, they may not claim equal rights and privileges with permanent members. So, this concept of woman as impermanent, already suggests something in connection with the question of ownership of wealth. That is, disentitlement of women to own land and livestock among the Gusii people, gets part of its explanation in the forementioned concept woman.

It logically follows that, as an impermanent member, a woman cannot be allowed to own things which society consider to be important. Among the Gusii people, land and livestock are among the most important things. In consequence, land and livestock ought to rest permanently in the hands of permanent members of the society.

The above reasoning sounds convincing. But can be refuted in that, it does not seem to be catering for those females who for one reason or other, do not get married.

In concurance with the foregoing, Odera (1990) remarks that:

nowadays there are many girls who for good reason, choose not to

marry. There are others who marry poor people while their own

parents are people of great wealth. It would be unfair to deny

such women a right to inherit, properties of their parents (p.108).

Likewise, the Gusii community is no exception, that all girls get

married or marry wealthy husbands so as not to have a right to

inherit properties of their parents. The disentitlement of women to own land and livestock on the pretext that they are impermanent members, strangers, outsiders immature etc, does not seem to offer a substantial justification. The rationale behind female disentitlement to own wealth seems to be rooted in the Gusii men's biased concept of woman.

No wonder, the word woman in the Gusii community has almost in all cases, a negative connotation. This is very clear in this community, so much so that the word omokungu (woman), is always understood negatively. To call a man woman is to belittle him.

A man who is taken to be like a woman is one who does not, own anything, a dependent person. This explains why men react in a hostile manner when they are abused as women.

This biased concept about women is now being disapproved slowly with the passage of time. Indeed, there are a number of women who own land and livestock, land not necessarily inherited from relatives, but acquired through their own effort. This clearly indicates that land and livestock should not be taken as male attributes only, females can also own.

How do males in Gusii come to think they are the only rightful owners of wealth? The up-bringing of these people, instils in them this feeling.

## 3.2 Socialization process: The root of gender inequality

Child rearing practice has a very important bearing in acquiring attitudes of inequality in Gusii community. It instils in both sexes certain feelings towards each other. The up-bringing of male and female children creates in them an awareness of difference in their social position. Male children are encouraged to identify themselves with fathers, while the females identify themselves with mothers. This identification with either sex, has a lot of psychological impact on the lives of both sexes. For instance, male children identification with fathers leads to the acquisition of characteristics portrayed by the fathers. These traits include a sense of independence, dominance, controller of all family affairs etc. Female children take up from mothers and acquire characteristics of dependency, meekness and such despised qualities.

Naturally, from such up-bringing, one's sex is bound to develop a feeling of being superior to the other. This feeling of superiority or inferiority, is enhanced by the duties conducted by the two sexes. For example, while female children carry out duties intended to keep them indoors and hence under the guidance of somebody, male children perform duties aimed at instilling in them a sense of independence. They go out looking after livestock all by themselves, this makes them develop a sense of self-confidence in themselves unlike females.

This different ways of rearing the two children, favours males more than females. It puts the male children on the advantage and leads to the prejudices they (males) have about the females. The climax of this feeling of despise is reached with the circumcision period of the two, when the two sexes are initiated to adulthood. While male initiation process is aimed at instilling in them a sense of courage, self-confidence and domination, female initiation is intended to help one grow and learn how to be a future faithful, polite and uncompetitive mother.

Right from the first day of circumcision, when he is expected to display extreme courage by facing the circumcisor's knife all by himself, without shedding a tear, the songs sung on the way home from the circumcision place, specifically instruct him on how to be lord over the woman, guiding him on how to achieve this (Monyenye, 1977:324).

During the seclusion period when the novice undergoes intensive process of rites of passage, the type of education (socialization) given here particularly aims at preparing the young man to take up position of being a leader to a woman and protector of the family, the clan and tribe (LeVine, 1966:170). Throughout this period the novice never sees his parents. He is completely left alone to design and execute his own life. To give him the opportunity to acquire habits of independence of thought and action, he is required to keep vigil and maintain alive the ritual fire and to tender for the ritual plant esuguta throughout the seclusion period.

On the contrary the girls circumcision (cliteridectomy) is done with the help of somebody. She is helped to sit on a stone, her legs held aside and her hands tightly restrained back while the operation is being conducted. The circumcision song sung while escorting her home clearly instruct her on how to be submissive to a man from now hence forth. During the seclusion period, which she spends in her mother's house, she is under the protection and care of her mother. The ritual fire and plant are dutifully guarded and cared for by the mother. She is secluded only from men, who at this period are not allowed into the mother's house. Throughout this time, she gets instructions on all matters pertaining to womanhood. But the instructions specifically emphasize all those aspects which instil attitudes of dependence upon the man, hence the unequal placing of the two sexes in this community.

As can be understood, a woman is continuously taughtto believe that she is inferior to man. This inferiority reaches its apex when it comes to the question of ownership of livestock and land. Women have no rightto own anything especially livestock and land. This is due to the very concept woman.

In the subsequent chapter, the importance and the beliefs associated with livestock is going to be indicated.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SOME GUSII CULTURAL BELIEFS ABOUT LAND

#### AND LIVESTOCK

This chapter attempts to make a critical examination of the cultural beliefs associated with livestock and land among the Gusii people. Livestock and land plays a vital role in socioeconomic and religous life of this community. This is so not only among the Abagusii, but also among other societies such as the Masai, the Kipsigis, and the Karamojong and Acholi of Uganda, just to mention a few. However, for the purpose of this study, only those cultural beliefs with a bearing to inequality of opportunity to acquire land and livestock will be examined.

Below, are some religious beliefs associated with livestock.

## 4.1 Spiritual Beliefs

Cows, sheep and goats are used for various spiritual (religious) ceremonies, festivals and purification rites. For instance, whenever an elderly person dies (circumcised and married), goats, depending on the gender of the deceased, are slaughtered to propitiate the deceased's spirit. Other examples in which animals play such like functions include cases whereby there are specially dedicated animals, normally bulls, to <a href="chisokoro">chisokoro</a> (grand parents). Such animals are carefully selected out of the person's herd and are subjected to special care; they are normally secluded to avoid

contamination which is believed to be contracted through sexual intercourse with female animals. Seclusion retains the animal's purity; this state qualifies it for the purpose of appearement of the ancestors who are equally considered to be pure spirits since they have no physical bodies which may induce them to sexual desires.

The ancestors are to be appeased because they are treasured highly and considered as cornerstones of people's existence. They are regarded as founders and protectors of the living people. The Abagusii believe that the ancestors spirits remain with those left behind alive and if neglected (not propitiated) can gravely haunt Spirits of dead ancestors are believed to be principal causers of possible disasters; disease, immature deaths, drought, famine, etc. On the contrary, ancestors could be, a source of blessings. This is witnessed in the form of good health of both people and animals, good yield of food crops, peace and stability with the family. A balance of fair relationship must therefore be maintained to enhance continuity of that mutual (healthy) relationship between the living and the "living" dead. To bring about all this, livestock features alot. Other examples which show the spiritual importance of livestock is death. Cattle are believed to have a very close relationship with their owners. This is shown by driving heads of cattle over the dead man's grave. This is (literary) intended to make them share in this human grief. The reason may be, livestock is among the most valuable wealth a man can own. As such, animals have to be exposed to show that the dead man is in peace with his ancestral spirits. For if the ancestors are not

in peace with him, all his wealth should have been destroyed. The driving of animals over his grave is also an assurance to the community that there are animals to propitiate his spirit. This in turn, reassures the living members of the deceased and community at large, that, there will be no disasters since the deceased is appeared.

Another spiritual importance of livestock is witchcraft, witchcraft is widely dreaded among this people. Every one individually tries to take protective measures to preserve his/her life (and of his people) by turning to witchdoctors. These are presumably specialized persons with the knowledge of extra-ordinary powers. They are believed to protect one against evil powers. They are believed to protect one against future misfortunes - death, disease etc. Death is really understood as a natural phenomenon. When a person dies, people believe that his/her death is caused by either sorcery, witchcraft or by magic. Therefore, when one dies, people often try to find out who/what the cause might be.

The curative fee metted out for such professionals (witch-doctors, witch-smellers, medicine-men, sooth-sayers etc.) is always in the form of living creatures, especially domestic animals which are seen as the standard currency. It should not be forgotten that this however is being replaced by the modern monetary system as more and more people have come to appreciate the value of money.

Due to time factor, it is not possible to exhaust the cultural values associated with livestock. However, before this chapter ends,

it is worthwhile considering the importance of livestock in expressing hospitality.

Livestock plays an important role in the daily life of this people. Abagusii just like other Africans, strongly treasure the idea of extended kinship relationships. Members of extended families be it through bloodlinkage or marriage, receive special recognition from the other's families. For instance, visiting parent-in-laws matrilineal kin etc. are entertained by their host(s) slaughtering an animal, a goat or a cow as a sign of respect or recognition of the paid visit. Quite often the animals are goats, but occasionally, especially when visitors come in large numbers a cow is killed.

Goats are also slaughtered when peer-groups visit one another. In such and many other occasions, only animals are slaughtered.

While chickens are regarded as what they are, birds, and hence undignifying to people with special regard. A chicken unlike an animal, is something of little value, and does not give a sign of respect to those to whome it is slaughtered. A chicken is easily affordable and as such despised.

#### 4.2 Socio-Economic and political beliefs

Besides spiritual beliefs, livestock is an important element in the socio-economic and political spheres. Material affluence is determined by the number of animals one owns. According to the belief of this people, wealth in terms of living creatures count most. This is the case for a number of reasons. For example livestock is essential when it comes to marriage. If a man has cash money and wishes to get married, he must, in the first place buy some cattle or goats because the parents of the wife-to-be will not accept cash money only. This amount has to be accompanied with some heads of cattle. The rationale behind this belief is paper money or coins have little meaning and have no emotional or sentimental associations within the people's custom. The owner of a large number of cattle is sentimentally satisfied by praise names conferred upon him by the community. He feels communally inflated and well placed.

The real value of money is only realized when it is exposed to external usage, that is, when a man takes it and buys a cow or sheep and goats otherwise, money as such, has little function inside the Gusii community. In line with the above view, Mayer (1949), writing about the Gusii people, remarks that since cows are the most costly and valuable property owned by this people, they are a great source of ambition, jealousy, quarreling, litigation and are loaned, bartered, sold, inherited and stolen (p.17).

Granted the socio-economic and political value associated with livestock, it goes without saying that those who have a "right" to own these animals, are socially, economically and politically well placed. All this may be explained through some cultural forces revolving around stock-keeping. Due to this cultural values attached to livestock, men are ready to do anything in order to acquire this

great wealth. There are frequent homicide cases arising from cattle raiding. People are said to be bewitched by others because of livestock. Others are murdered for the same reason. In fact no man is counted as truly wealthy powerful who does not have a sizeable herd to draw on for his plural marriages, and those of his sons as well (LeVine, 1979:22). Cattle are thus, marriage licenses, savings health insurance, and prestige symbols.

Though females in general are overlooked in this community, there seem to be an aspect which renders them to be very valuable. This aspect is a socio-economic one. Daughters are seen as sources of wealth; wealth that they have no hand in the division of it. Their value is placed in connection with bridewealth. Poor homes are often uplifted to wealthy positions by the bride-wealth of daughters etc.

As can be seen, animals play a very vital role in/the whole life of this people. Livestock is important in both spiritual, religious and material aspects. Since they determine indidual's social placing, it follows that those who are to be leaders, powerful people have to be people who own a number of these animals. As was mentioned earlier, female domination has been due to male predominance in the economic sphere, (Haralambos 1980:398).

Among the Gusii people, inequality among the sexes could also be explained in terms of the unequal distribution of worldly things. Men in this community have managed to dominate women for years, because they have put everything in their hands for women

to enjoy these things, they have to subject themselves to the "owners" of this wealth.

Since livestock is a male attribute it inevitably follows that females are disadvantaged especially in their socio-economic status, men being the controller of livestock, they also turn out to be the dominator of society and so, women are placed under them.

What about the importance attached to land! The beliefs associated with land.

As can be understood, land and livestock are inseparable in that without land stock-keeping is impossible even zero grazing, requires a piece of land.

As agriculturalists, the Gusii entirely depend on land for all their material needs of life: food, shelter, trade etc.

Land ownership is communal although each individual has a right to land ownership when he has acquired certain social status (marital). Every Gusii man desires to own a piece of land on which he can build his home and from which (as already mentioned above) he and his family can get the means of livelihood. The importance of land, is not only for the provision of daily requirements, land is equally necessary, for effective political administration — that means, for any political activity (for instance, the organization of people into various clans, homesteads or regions) to be possible, land is a necessary requirement. People without land, may be difficult to govern e.g. refugees.

Besides, the provision of food, shelter, and effective political administration, land also plays a crucial role in stock-keeping. As already seen, livestock is indespensable for these people; since stock-keeping is not possible without land, it but only logically follows that, land ought to be highly valued among the people. Land is therefore important, because, it serves many functions within the life of these people. It is the basis upon which social status of individuals can essentially be traced.

Think of man's daily requirements, stock-keeping, marrying of many wives, political administration etc. all these are backed up by land. No wonder, among this people, land has an essential cultural value – a value of life – without land, the life of people and animals is at stake.

## 4.3. Identification with Land

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By land identification, is meant that people are usually identified with certain territories. For example, what meaning do words such as Kenya, Italy, Canada, Colombia or India have if not the territory occupied or not occupied by the people in these states. When talking of Kenya, Italy and so on, it means in essence geographical location of these territories. People tend to identify themselves with their mother-land, for this is the place where they essentially belong.

The Palestinians endless fight is mainly triggered by the fact that these people are not recognized as a state as such. There seems to be no land which they can claim to be theirs. They lack a

territory on which to practi eir nationhood. Identification with land, is the problem behind their struggle. The struggle for independence in Africa, is simed a liberating this land, from foreign domain. People in general are dissatisfied when their land is under foreign control. South-, ica serves as a best example - why the endless fight there?

As already stated, among the Abagusi land is communally owned. This makes the whole tribe collectively lefend their territorial boundaries. This communal defend is as a result of identification of this people with a certain territory, which is understood to belong to them as a group. The recension flict between this people and their neighbours the Masai, is a lissic example to show how the Abagusii value land. Many lost the lives because of land in this war, LeVine (179) notes that, and is so valuable among the Gusii people, that a family with enoughland is considered as a wealthy family (p.13).

LeVine is talking of the modern Abagusii, who now unlike before, value land not because it allows one to keep more animals, to marry many wives or to uplift one's social placing, but because land has acquired a new value - a monetary value - whereby, to buy a small piece of land, can cost one a fortune. This monetary value which land has acquired, is not unique to Abagusii quite often, there are land disputes, no wonder in Kenya, there is a Ministry of Land and Settlement. Land, now as before, is highly valued by the Abagusii. Land is connected with various cultural beliefs, e.g. death.

The Gusii people as many African communities, are closely attached to nature. This may be because, all their daily requirements, are provided by nature. Needless to say, land is part and parcel of this nature. In relation with their dead, land is crucial for the spirits of ancestors are said to lie buried on land. To own land means, to have a place where to be buried. Members of one ancestral spirit, are usually buried on one piece of plot. This applies to parents, sons, grand-sons and all male off-springs from this lineage plus all females who die before they get married. This phenomenon of being laid to rest in one piece of land - whether to the north, south, east or to the west of that same plot, essentially expresses a profound sense of belonging of members of one ancestor. All those (male) who belong to one lineage are kind of supposed to be buried on the same soil with their fore-fathers. For communion with one's ancestral spirits, is perpetuated through contact with the soil in which his ancestors lie buried. This union with one's ancestral spirits in the soil, fundamentally emphasizes an element of inseparability - a sign of continuity of that particular existence of the dead people. The living are not only united with ancestors when alive (by appeasing them through animal sacrifices), they are even more united with them, when they die and acquire their similar spiritual existence. In this form of existence, like them, they are also appeased by the living so that they may be in a good relationship with them (the living).

This feeling of belonging to a certain ancestrol spirit, is so strong among the Gusii people, that, they find it difficult (even now) to accept a dead member of their group to be buried in

foreign land. The belief is, the ancestors may be unhappy, as a result, they can bring misfortune to the community. The reason is clear, whether alive or dead, they have to be united with their ancestors whenever they are resting. This clarifies the above explanation.

This issue of the importance of where one is to be buried is clearly illustrated in the recent S.M. Otieno case. The struggle between Otieno's kinsmen to have the dead body buried at Otieno's birth-place and the demand of Otieno's wife to have her husband's body buried in their newly acquired home, may be reflected in our above discussion. The request of Otieno's kinsmen portrays a spirit of communion, somehow, Otieno has to rest where his ancestral spirits are laid and the wife, does not seem to penetrate into the very essence of the claim made by Otieno's clansmen, and this creates conflict.

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As can be inferred from the foregoing discussion, both livestock and land seem to be essential in the daily lives of the Gusii people. They are so important that it has always been a desire of every socially successful man, to own land and livestock. This desire to acquire land and livestock, may be motivated by the very reasons already discussed in previous pages.

Granted the value and importance attributed to land and livestock, it naturally follows that those who have a right to own the two things stand a better chance than those who do not have a similar chance. In consequence, the former (those allowed to own)

can easily control the latter. Now, when it comes to ownership of land and livestock, the Gusii culture does not (as alredy pointed out) give equal opportunity to men and women. This cultural created imbalance, socially places the male sex on the advantage. Men capitalize on this social fact and consider themselves to be naturally superior to women.

From this inequality of opportunity among the sexes, one wonders if it can be justified by concluding straight away that, men or women are superior or inferior sex! This socially created disparity between the sexes, rules out any discussion of superiority or inferiority among man and woman. Indeed, inequality of opportunity to ownership of land and livestock among the genders itself, serves as an explanation as to why women are easily controlled by their counter-parts; but not because men are naturally superior. But, the big question remains:— Is this inequality justifiable? This part, will be dealt with later.

The issue of inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth is one where the dispute is about whether there should be any grounds for denying women access to wealth. On what relevant or irrelevant grounds are women denied equal chance to own property? Some of the reasons are already given, but the denial for women to own property is somehow intended to foster male superiority and power in society. Property is usually regarded as an avenue to power, dominance and prestige. While in the past, title to wealth would not have been so much an issue among men and women, it has now become important mainly because

it gives one power. It provides outlets to areas of life that enhance one's social position. Wealth confers on the owner the freedom to determine his destiny and that of others. This fact is well reflected in the relationship between developed and developing worlds. The "developed" determine their own destiny as well as the destiny of the developing countries and there is no way the developing countries can resist this control; for they have been marginalized and made to be perpetually dependent, technologically, medically etc. In a similar case, by denying women an opportunity to own land and livestock, the Gusii men ensure continued dominance over women and the dominance forestal any possible defiance. A situation measuring up close to dictatorial regimes. Whereby dictatorship lasts as long as the ruled are sucked of any potential abilities for revolt. Upon this sucking of any potential abilities for revolt, inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth among sexes does not per se guarantee male superiority or female inferiority.

Since women have been usually denied chance to own material wealth, it goes without saying that their social power has been equally weakened. Is discrimination on the basis of sex (that is, taking gender into account in making decisions about the distribution of property) justifiable? What arguments might be used to justify discriminatory practice on the basis of gender? According to Dworkin (1974) the answer would lie in a utilitarian argument and might take the following form: "inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth" benefits men as a whole, and any resulting disadvantage to women, is simply

the unfortunate price that must be paid for the over all gain (p.320). Such claims may have had considerable plausibility in the past, and may indeed point to the conclusion that inequality of opportunity to ownership of wealth among sexes offers a means of satisfying a greater majority of people than any alternative. Unfortunately such a utilitarian argument relies usually and most crucially on the preferences of its people, preferences that preclude members of a certain group in this case women, from certain opportunities because those people are according to this view worth less human.

Considering the cultural values and beliefs associated with livestock and land, it may be clear why the author decided to pick sex inequality as practised in the ownership of land and livestock. The reason is simple, for inequality of opportunity among sexes is most pronounced here.

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As already indicated, gender disparity gradually grows to a point where it is taken for granted. This is because male and female children are brought-up in a way that make them realize that they are socially unequal. That means, from the age of six onwards the small girlstarts to learn the type of work (inferior) that is done by women. She remains close to her mother at work. The methodology in teaching boys are instead aimed at instilling inthem a belief that all they do is of a superior nature. Sex inequality begins to be practised from an early age. When the two sexes become adults, they find it easy to accept their social status as superiors or inferiors.

One wonders if sex inequality as practised in this community can be logically defensible. This will be the next point of interest.

## CHAPTER FIVE: INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY:

#### A DEBATE

# Can the inequality of opportunity as practised by the Gusii Community be justifiable?

As pointed out in the previous chapter, children all over the world have that natural impulse to imitate adult life. The Gusii children are no exception. Boys become little "fathers" and carry out duties of fathers. Girls become little "mothers" and take up mothers' responsibilities. This imitation of adults role in society can be explained to mean only one thing, that of identification.

With the above view in mind, it is only inevitable that children have to perpetuate values and beliefs advocated by those they imitate. Such a method ensures conformity to the way of life of the society. Children are brought-up to conform to the values and beliefs of the society however unreasonable they may be.

Granted this foregoing system of rearing children, inequality of opportunity may appear justifiable. The society is arranged in a manner that it favours the male sex on the expenses of the females.

The science of psychology teaches that what people believe, think, or feel largely determines what they do. In other words, people's beliefs about each other are shaped by their culture.

Remember it was mentioned that individuals are products of their . culture. Their world - views are determined by culture. Culture may lead to indoctrination in that it can easily reduce individuals to mere conformists and deny them intellectual capacity to explore deeper into the reasons (if any) behind inequality of opportunity among sexes. In line with the above view Ketuchum (1980) writes:-

The culture of mankind is a culture of indoctrination, which has led to the perpetual domination of the female sex. This culture, is one of repeated injuries and unsurpations on the part of men toward women, having indirect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her ... He has endeavored, in every way he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life, (pp.151-52).

Culture has made most people to wrongly believe that women are inferior to men. From this general inferiority, inequality of opportunity among sexes, may also draw its origin. This belief is very evident in the Gusii culture. Men in this community have managed to manipulate ideas about women to clarify their supposedly superior nature. In this male centred conceptual world, man is the bread winner, the doer of decds the thinking being and woman remains the other — a passive recipient (LeVine 1959:114).

If only man can be the bread-winner the doer of actions, the thinking being in society, it is obvious that his actions and thought, will always be for his own well-being. In such community man develops feelings of being the controller of everything.

Now, since the Gusii community is patriarchal, since man

has been the one to determine a culture's overall outlook; its philosophy, morality and its social theory, this led to the unequal placing of the two sexes in this society. This masculine tendency of this people, may have helped to create societal opinion that women are not as capable as men with man setting himself up as the superior gender.

## 5:2 Male Prejudicial Chauvinistic Attitude Root of Gender Inequality

As already indicated earlier on, not even philosophers are spared of male prejudicial chauvinistic attitudes towards women. They equally fell victim of their biased cultural belief against women.

For instance, Pythagoras, one of the earliest Greek Philosophers influenced by his culture arranged the ten basic principles of things into two columns: one one side he listed right, male, straight, light and good, while in the other column he included left, female, crooked, darkness and evil (Bullaugh, 1973:6)

Pythagoras's distinction indicates a Greek anti-feminist back-ground. Even as a philosopher, he was unable to transcend his culture's prejudices against woman, so as to be objective in the analysis of the qualities of man and woman. He simply fell victim to this culture.

Pythagoras is not alone. The so called philosophers of freedom declared that nature herself has decreed that woman both for herself and her children, should be at the mercy of man's judgement (Okin, 1977:139).

As already indicated earlier, the denigration of women in Nietzche (1986), is very deep. This philosopher looked on women as property, destined to serve man. When writing on women he notes:-

To go wrong on the fundamental problem of man and woman, to deny the most abysmal antagonism between them and the necessity of an eternally hostile tension, to dream perhaps of equal rights, equal opportunity, equal education, equal claims and obligations that is a typical sign of shallowness ... A man on the other hand who has depth, in his spirit as well as in his desires, including the depth of benevolence which is capable of severity and hardness and easily mistaken for them, must always think about women as a possession, as property that can be looked, as something predestined for service and achieving her perfection in that(pp.166-7)

This view, re-echoes the Gusii concept of woman.

As can be understood, Nietzsches's idea about woman, expresses nothing else than the German prejudices of a male dominated culture.

In Hartsock (1970) John Stuart Mill is said to have argued for an end of male prejudices against women. Mill's life long companion and eventual wife, H. Taylor helped him develop his feminist position. Taylor argued that the liberal requirements of equal rights and opportunities should be extended to women, women ought to own, to vote, to receive education, and enter into any profession for which men were qualified (p.67)

These views are the height of radicalism in mid-nineteeth century England.

Various rationalist philosophers continued to maintain
that women are defective in rationality however admirable in other
respects, such as beauty of sensitivity. In Germany, the influential

philosopher, Kant, is quoted to have developed a moral theory based on reason alone. Seeing the fundamental principle of morality as a requirement of rationality. That is to be moral is to be rational and to be rational is too, to be moral, (O'Neill, 1969:33)

According to this view as already seen, since women are emotional rather than rational beings, they are not capable of proper moral action, for this presupposes rationality.

Thus, the great moral principles enunciated so forcefully by Kant and which provoked the liberal tradition are simply not applicable to women, and here lies Kant's inconsistency.

Among various critics of Enlightenment optimism about human reason, the defamation of women is deeper still. Enlightenment philosophers deliberately rejected notions of original sin and of the innate inferiority of some men compared with others, They emphasized instead the essential equality of men and the importance of liberty (Ketuchum, 1980:45f).

Wollstonecraft (1972) is perhaps the first woman philosopher to make a place for herself in history, although few histories of philosophy mention her. Wollstone Craft argued forcefully against the view that women are inferior to men. In her book A vindication of the right of Woman 1972 Wollstone-Craft writes:-

Men indeed appear to me to act in a very unphilosophical manner when they try to secure the good conduct of women by attempting to keep them always in a state of subordination and of childhood (pp 50-51).

To Wollstonecraft the principles of the Enlightenment are correct principles that must apply fully to women as well as to men.

Now, if philosophers and scholars in general were not able to evaluate effectively female position in society, one can easily excuse the Gusii men with their biases against women. With the influence of society, men had to develop feelings of superiority over women. Inequality of opportunity to own land and livestock becomes almost inevitable.

The question may be, is it logical to assume in advance that man is innately superior to woman and hence, inequality of opportunity to own land and livestock is quite in order with the law of nature? The first premise seems to contradict the principle of the Enlightenment philosophers which rejects the notion of the innate inferiority of some men compared with others.

This same principle, is positively expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter of 1948, which clearly states that all human beings irrespective of colour, sex and creed, are born free and equal in dignity. It emphasizes that human beings qua human beings must be treated equally.

On the basis of this fundamental equality of all human beings, inequality of opportunity to own land and livestock on the pretext that man is innately superior to woman is inconsistent. This inconsistence that men are innately superior to women and all human beings are equal, leads to an examination of fundamental human equality.

## 5:3 Fundamental Human Equality: Basis for Equality of Opportunity among Sexes

In examining this concept of fundamental equality, there are two views from which "man" maybe regarded:— these are scientific and philosophical. In the former, man is a member of the human species and an individual of a particular type (Bantu, Asian, Extrovert, woman etc.). So considered man is a given-born naturally like that or made like that by an environment a finished product, forever unchanging. There is no escape in the matter, no unbounding from one's natural past or socio-cultural environment.

Philosophy has paid particular attention to lack of freedom expressed by science on behalf of man. while recognizing scientific effort, philosophy teaches contrary to science that man is endowed with liberty, basic liberty, in as far as he can either accept himself as complete, a finished product or he can see himself as incomplete and as a result make himself, realize or determine himself and his world. Only "man" has this freedom to stand out of the general run of being as a human being, because none except him can raise the question: Who Am I? (Griffiths,, 1987:85ff).

To exist, to stand out from the general run of being is a perpetual, task to everyone as human. As it is a task to everyone to realize himself/herself, to exist, so it is a task to each one of us to exist with others. Existence necessarily means coexistence so, man needs to recognize the rights of other men to exist, to exist as human beings. This implies he should know and treat his fellows, as equals, equal in a very fundamental sense namely; that equality that belongs to all human beings because they are human. Which means, the perception of man as a human species

lays the foundation for a conception of fundamental human equality that seems inescapable. This very equality renders the apparent male innate superiority invalid. It (equality) also indicates that no one shall be presumed in advance to have a claim to better treatment than another.

If there is this oneness in all human beings that warrants a presumption of fundamental equality, then this same oneness tends to fade away in any debate on sex inequality. The socialization process of the Gusii people does not seem to have penetrated into this fundamental human equality. In consequence, man thought of himself to have more rights than woman hence, the contradiction with this fundamental equality.

As seen all through, it is not that man is innately superior to woman so as to claim to have better treatment than her, it is not that only man qualifies to own wealth, the whole problem seems to lie in the lack of understanding of that which equalizes the two sexes - their shared human nature.

If men and women can transcend some of the cultural prejudices against each other, if they can penetrate to the very fact that fundamentally they are equal, even their very concepts of each other will be likely to change: The issue of gender inequality and inequality of opportunity among sexes, may be viewed with a different eye.

Sidgwick (1967) notes that the paradigm case of inequality is that in which there are two human beings and one of them is treated

better or worse than the other (p.49).

Sidgwick intends to suggest that for inequality of opportunity to be justified, men have to show some relevant dissimilative with women which make them think that they are only the rightful owners of wealth. So far, men have not shown this.

Inequality of opportunity among sexes in Gusii, does not seem to measure up to the above requirement. There are reasons given for this inequality but they are not fundamental enough to guarantee the disentitlement of women to own land and livestock and hence male innate nature.

On deciding who to own what, all should depend on which relevant similarities and dissimilarities of men and women are taken as a basis for similarity or dissimilarity of treatment. For instance, as women are disentitled to own wealth there should be some descriminable features or qualities of men which women lack and which constitute a ground or reason for the disentitlement. What will be called a reason for men to own livestock and land will also be some aspect under which men are viewed as rightful owners of these property. Yet the reasons for this inequality of opportunity do not guarantee this.

Going deeper to the question of inequality of sexes to own land and livestock, one finds that this problem if it is to be dealt with fairly, cannot be treated singly. It seems to be inter-connected with the general attitude the Gusii men have of a woman. As already

seen, a woman is taken to be "naturally" subordinate to man. No one expects a slave to own the same wealth owned by his master nor will the two be treated equally. This was the same relation which tended to exist between husband and wife and the culture of this people re-enforced it by honouring male qualities more than those of females.

According to this people, woman is but a part of nature, a property or an object on which and by which man, who is the only human, and conscious being acts. Man is active and competitive, woman is passive and uncompetitive just as the rest of nature.

(LeVine, 1977:9).

In line with the above view, De Beauvior (1953) in examining the origin of gender inequality observes:-

Once the subject seeks to assert himself, the other who limits and denies him, is none the less a necessity to him; he attains himself only through that reality which he is not, which is something other than himself. is why man's life is never abundance and quietude; it is dearth and activity, it is struggle. Before him, man encounters nature; he has some hold upon her, he endevours to mold her to his desire. she cannot fill his needs. Either she appears simply as a purely impersonal opposition, she is an obstacle and remains a stranger; or she submits passively to man's will and permits assimilation, so that he takes possession of her only through consuming her - that is through destroying her. In both cases he remains alone; he is alone when he devours a fruit. There can be no presence of another unless the other is also present in and for himself: which is to say that true alterity - othersness is that of a consious separate from mine and substantially identical with mine (pp 139-40).

Thus, in order to understand himself as a human being, man, the subject, needs other human beings rather than merely nature. Other men do not serve this purpose because according to Wollstonecraft (1972) men have a very strong sense of independence and self-mastership, they only present him with an interminable conflict. Each man aspires to set himself up alone as sovereign subject. Each tries to fulfill himself byreducing the other to slavery. Due to this struggle among men, conflict is constant, (pp 50-52). The next step is, for man to look for a solution so as to end this permanent conflict. Since another man cannot be the solution he turns to woman, who he feels is less rebellious and easily controlled.

Lewin (1967) notes that: Through a unique privilege, a woman unlike nature, is a conscious being and yet, it seems possible to possess her in the flesh. Thanks to her, there is a means for escaping that implacable dialectic of master and slave. Woman thus seems to be the absolute other (p 45).

The above conviction is dear to the male and every creation myth has expressed it. Woman presents man with neither the hostile silence of nature nor the opposing will that leads other men to strive to master. She is defined exclusively in her relation to man. But such definitions are truly man-made, they are meant to enhance their female domination.

It is a fact that for a long period Gusii women have known themselves through the eyes, languages and theories of men and this has led to a misconception of reducing women to passive nature, which can be dominated and manipulated by men for their selfish motives.

The foregoing chapter has critically analysed the reasons given for inequality of opportunity to ownership of livestock and land among sexes in Gusii. The general picture that emerges from this chapter is women should be inferior to men. But upon close critical analysis, one sees that these reasons do not touch on that which unifies and hence, makes human beings equal. On this basis, it has been argued that gender inequality and inequality of opportunity to own land and livestock is indefensible.

## CHAPTER SIX : FEMINISM

## 6.1 How do women see themselves

Feminism being a movement for recognition of the claims of women for rights - legal political educational etc. - equal to those possessed by men is as sexist, biased as Male chauvirism. When feminists in general address themselves to the problem of sex in equality, they do it from their own biased position. Their views about themselves and about men are often triggered by some inherent prejudices against men.when feminists debate about their underprivileged position in society, man is usually the target to attack. Man is blamed for female degradation as for the other misfortunes.

In their attempt to fight for sex equality, feminists end up substituting one form of sex inequality with another; they substitute male prejudices against women with female biases against men. This substitution does not offer new insights in the attempt to struggle for gender equality. In fact, feminism itself becomes to be a strong propagation of sex inequality albeit in a different sense. It neglects to consider the other side of the same coin — the male side.

Feminists have failed on their side, and in their struggle for sex equality because of their femini-centricism. This female centeredness, does not seem to leave room for being objective in dealing with the problem of sex inequality. It is as if, only man has contributed toward the propagation of sex inequality; yet, both men and women are to blame as regards the same problem

Strictly speaking feminism is propagation of sex inequality rather than a struggle for sex equality. Women as individuals as well as a group tend from an early age to develop a certain concept of themselves vis-a-vis men, they perceive themselves as "the inferior sex", "the underprivileged" "the dominated" etc. and this become defining concepts for women. This self - concept influences their world - view and determine their relation among themselves as well as with others, men. This is possible because the perception of self has very strong impact on the individual. It reveals the subject inner-self, his identity etc. particulary as this relates to behaviour toward others.

The concept of self in relation to others constitutes a cognitive framework which defines the boundaries of possible behaviour especially in regard to other people.

Granted that behaviour results from self-concept, this would suggest that male biased attitudes versus women and women prejudices agains menseem to be a result of their respective self-concepts.

Self identity which is formed so early in life is central in interpersonal relations. If any possible progress is to be made towards sex equality, the self-concepts of both sexes ought to be open to each other. Their respectiful identity perception of individuals as part of a common humanity as opposed to more specific - personalistic ties to difference in gender, colour etc. may assist individuals (male and female) consider each other as equals.

This perception of one as a member of a bigger entity seems to lack in both feminism and male chauvinism and this puts a limitation to the views advanced from either side. Consequently, men defend their position against women and vice versa.

The common bond among human kind seems to be a much more fundamental equalizer of all rather than the accidental gender difference which tend to make individuals unequal. Human beings belong to the same species - every other person is basically me. So, human beings ought to be considered as equals because they are humans.

On this ground of self-concept based on a common shared humanity equality is rooted. And on this same base, unlike feminism and male chauvinism, a total approach is taken as regards sex inequality.

The self-concept which does not transcend gender differences, sexist attitudes, gives a subject a rather false identity. It gives him an obscure

identity, an identity rooted in belief systems, cultural prejudices, material acquisition and so forth. This self-concept based on these accidental elements, enhance sex inequality.

Now, while acknowledging the importance of cultural belief systems, material possession as vital in the recognition of one's status, sex equality ought not to be determined by the same.

# 6.2. Conclusion and Discussion

From ancient times to contemporary period the prevailing belief has been that the female sex is of an inferior nature. This has been explained from different perspectives i.e. from the psychological, intellectual and biological make-up of the two sexes. The rationale for this difference is the claim that men are innately supperior to women. But it has been shown that all these various reasons advanced for gender inequality are essentially directed towards the protection and perpetuation of male chauvinism.

In the Gusii community, it is very evident that women are not considered to be the equals of men. This has also been examined in connection with the issue of who owns what and why.

In the final analysis, it has been indicated that inequality of opportunity among sexes in this community is a product of the entire socialization process the two sexes go through. It is not that men are born superior or they are born as rightful owners of wealth, all this male superiority claim takes shape as they (men) enter into the world of experience of this community, where, only men are supposed to own wealth. While women are seen as mere parasites who have to depend on men for their survival. Laws favouring this belief are incorporated in the Gusii social guiding principles, e.g. principles governing laws of inheritance; these tenets become the underlying factor in the socio-economic interactions of man and woman. Individuals mistake such laws for natural laws. They fail to understand that

these are laws intended to foster male domination in this community.

From this socialization process, the general picture that emerges from this community is men and women are unequally placed. This false belief that men are superior to women runs through the thoughts and ideas of men in this community.

In the previous argument for equality of treatment among sexes, one may get an impression that the author is trying to propagate sex inequality by substituting male superiority with female inferiority. But such an impression would be wrong because his demand for equality and particularly equality of opportunity to ownership of wealth among the sexes, is not intended to make women as much like men as possible. His intention is rather directed against the denial of access to various things thought desirable on the irrelevant grounds that one is a woman. With this irrelevant denial, the belief and the illogical conclusion that men are innately superior to women is reached.

As already indicated in previous chapters, men have been socialized to believe that they are the only rightful owners of wealth. This socialization process which leads men to this belief, is emphasized in the Gusii community. This has a very strong impact on women. Women are wrongly led to believe that land and livestock are male attributes.

Earlier it has been pointed out that to the Gusii every mature man has a life interest in land and livestock. This

interest is a result of the cultural beliefs associated with land and livestock. So, the ownership of these two things is highly valued, and it naturally follows that those who for one reason or other are denied chance to own the two things are denied an essential opportunity through which social aggrandizement is anchored.

As can be understood, women are not allowed to own wealth and this leaves them lagging behind men in proprietary control, just as in other areas - political, educational, just to mention the common ones. Men put wealth in their control and hence, ensure female domination. As already pointed out they have also highly preferential access to those tasks to which this community accords the greatest value and the exercise of which, permits a measure of control over women.

So, given the condition in which the two sexes are brought-up, inequality of opportunity to own wealth may appear justifiable. But today with formal education, with feminists reaction against the belief that men are superior to women, the Gusii community is now trying to question some of its biased beliefs about women.

Indeed no social structure economic or otherwise can be said to be static. Changes are always occurring from within or without. This is to indicate that a belief system, a custom etc may be appropriate at a certain period of time, but it might not be so appropriate at another time. Inequality of opportunity among sexes might have been acceptable in the indigenous Gusii

community but now, it might not be acceptable.

With external influences women in this community are now trying to assert their rights, rights which have been obscured for a long time. They are pressing for equality of consideration among sexes. Those women who have gone far enough in school are often respected and become sources of new values. They own wealth. These women slowly are challenging the Gusii community, they are giving new insights and new ideas about women's position in society. They are showing that in the outside world, the kinship values and the inequality of opportunity among sexes as practised in this community, are superceeded by may be more rational, just, glamorous, humane and prestigious life styles worth of emulation. What is required is a change of psychology towards each other. Individual women have to be valued for what they are, and not to reduce all women to one class - inferior class. Male attitudes towards women and vice versa must be restructured and this will enable men to evaluate women objectively and to accord them what they may deserve.

Despite all this struggle for gender parity, what can be said is that whether there will ever come a time in history, when both sexes will be equally treated no one can ascertain this because, any society is fractured into men of the past (conservativists who believe that men are superior to women with their deaths grip on the old days, and men of the present, rambunctiously pushing for change of attitudes towards women. This leads

to a continous conflict and no one can assure the rest of the world that one party is definitely going to win.

But one thing should be clear, even if the issue of inequality of opportunity to own land and livestock among the sexes has been very popular in this community, it has equally to be clear that the apparent basic principles which have always been considered ample grounds for treating women differently from men in favour of the latter, do not seem to be founded on good reasoning. The supposed female inferiority does not belong to the feminine make-up. This renders the whole question of gender inequality unjustifiable.

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