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Women in Development

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September 1977

Date of Acquisition 9/77

Source ICRW

Abbott, Susan

1974 Determinants of stress among married women in a rural Kikuyu community-Kenya. Staff Paper, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi. (Originally presented at the Southern Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, 1974.)

This article examines the relationship between certain aspects of socio-economic change and individual stress among married women in Kagongo, a rural Kikuyu community in Kenya. Degree of stress was measured by a revised version of Macmillan's Health Opinion Survey which was orally administered to all married women and co-resident married men within the community. A comparative sample of 89 male and 89 female secondary school students was drawn from five schools within a 25-mile radius of the study community.

Analysis reveals a generally high stress situation which affects all adults but is most severe for women. Some of the major contributors to stress in women are integral parts of the domestic or life cycle--e.g., periods in which a woman is an older daughter-in-law or mother-in-law, a widow, or an elderly person. Others are the result of sociocultural or economic changes initiated during the colonial period--e.g., alterations in the patterns of economic differentiation within the community, decision-making, and control of productive resources. Further correlations with stress include young women with no formal education or older women with some formal education, women judged to be traditional in outlook, those with more than five children, and those who did not participate in women's groups for which they were eligible.

Concludes by noting that while the degree of stress varies individually, the broader social system at both the local and national levels constrains possible adaptive strategies. As a result of these constraints and the instability of new patterns, this study does not attempt to predict positive adaptive strategies.

Abbott, Susan

1974 Full-time farmers and week-end wives: an analysis of altering conjugal roles. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (Mexico City, November 1974).

This paper explores the fit between sex role expectations as cultural ideals and as actual behavior within the context of family decision-making and control of resources in a Kikuyu community in rural Kenya. To obtain "ideal" descriptions, Abbott selected 10 married male and 10 married female informants and asked them who should make decisions regarding the control of capital and the disciplining of children within a household. The result-

ing areas of high consensus support descriptions of traditional Kikuyu family organization and cultural patterns found in the literature--i.e., the male is dominant in the domestic sphere and controls the family's resources and income. Women's areas of influence are sharply differentiated from this male sphere and include some control of subsistence crops and the socialization of young girls. Joint responsibility is limited to decisions concerning the baptism and school attendance of children. Areas of low consensus in which each sex claims preeminence for itself include control over money derived from the sale of eggs, chickens, or excess subsistence crops; responsibility for the clothing of children; and responsibility for the disciplining of young sons and older daughters. Although the reasons for these areas of disagreement are unclear, it is suggested that the divergences may reflect: 1) two separate realities, 2) cultural norms which affect spouses differently, or 3) disagreement about proper behavior in the face of changing circumstances which are not adequately addressed by former norms.

To elicit data about actual behavior, a sample of 58 married women were interviewed and asked who last had done particular tasks related to the control of resources and the socialization of children. These interviews indicated a decrease in the domain which men controlled and an increase in that of women and of joint decision-making. It is unfortunate that the author did not also interview men at this point as it seems that a comparison of perspectives would have provided a more adequate view of "reality." Further, it is unclear if questions were asked regarding who made the decisions and who actually did the tasks.

Abbott concludes by asking whether or not there is a predictable relationship between cultural expectations about family structure and actual family structure as it emerges from the second series of interviews. She argues that both the correspondence and lack of correspondence between the two can be systematically linked to features of social structure. The two factors which affect decision-making appear to be the presence or absence of the husband in the household (67% of the adult males are absent except for brief visits every two or three months) and the stage of the domestic cycle that the household occupies. This material suggests that women living in the later stages of the domestic cycle--i.e., nuclear family households--have broader decision-making powers than women living in extended households whether or not the husband is present.

Abbott, Susan

1975 The modern environment of all Kenyan women. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 62-68.

As a result of similarities in early socialization and the pervasive impact of the capitalist market economy on Kenyan societies, the problems and responsibilities of educated, urban elite women and less-educated rural women are very similar.

The strategies of both are constrained by traditional values and expectations concerning their roles as mother, wife, daughter, and household provisioner within the context of the extended family system. Their degree of participation in formal education is the primary factor which differentiates these two groups of women. By exposing women to alternative world views and allowing access to formal sector employment, advanced education increases their personal autonomy. Thus, it is the degree of direct access to and control over valued economic resources that determines possible responses to similar problems.

Abbott, Susan

1975 Women's importance for Kenyan rural development. Community Development Journal. Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 179-181.

The centrality of women to the Kenyan farming system requires their active involvement in any efforts to improve smallholder farm production. Argues that the Kenyan government would be ill-advised to rely on a progressive farmer development strategy which might increase inequity or to assume that extension services and training function independently of social, psychological, and cultural factors. In addition, warns against the internalization of an inappropriate European male farmer model.

Suggests that any development projects should be introduced on a small scale and evaluated for each area prior to replication. Specifically recommends the training and employment of women as farm extension workers and the use of local women leaders as extension liaison figures.

Barnes, Carolyn

1975 Women in Kenya's rural economy. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 35-46.

As a result of male migration to urban centers in search of wage employment, there is a significantly larger proportion of women than men in the rural areas of Kenya. In fact, one-third of the rural households have female heads. As a consequence, the success of rural development programs is heavily dependent upon the positive involvement of women. This article briefly surveys the current economic situation of rural women, including access to land, management and decision-making powers, participation in indigenous agricultural work groups, agricultural and non-agricultural economic activities, and income and expenditure levels. Barnes then identifies constraints on the full integration of women into rural economic development programs. While she primarily notes the lack of easy access to formal education and to agricultural training and extension services relevant to women's responsibilities and needs, she also cites the labor responsibilities of women which increase with the introduction of labor intensive crops, formal education for children, and off-farm employment of men. Barnes recommends the assembling of extant data into a form readily usable by development planners; data collection in specific, immediately useful high-priority areas; and the institutionalization of a monitoring system for the evaluation of on-going and proposed projects to ensure women's full participation. This monitoring program would be carried out within the relevant ministries under the overall coordination of the Women's Bureau in the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

Beaman, Anne W.

1977 Rendille women and the male age-set system. Institute of African Studies Discussion Paper. Presented at the I.A.S. Conference on Pastoral Societies in Kenya (Nairobi, March 1977).

An essentially descriptive paper examining the relationship between women and the male age-set system among the pastoral Rendille of eastern Kenya. Interesting information concerning marriage, contraception, and abortion is included.

Rendille males pass through three primary social stages--i.e., uninitiated boyhood, warriorhood, and elderhood. Although women do not participate directly in the male age-set system, its cycles clearly affect their lives.

The social identity of a woman is a product of her marital state and her relationship to men of particular age-sets. For example, when a young girl marries an elder, her social age and status changes to suit that of her husband. Further, there are certain accepted relationships between men and women based on male positions in the age-set cycle. For example, unmarried girls and warriors engage in recognized, long-term lover relationships which seldom result in marriage. When a warrior age-set becomes elders and marry, a whole cohort of young girls are circumcised and become married women. Women most affected by male age-set cycles are sabade, the daughters of a particular age-set line called teeria. As these women may not marry until their brothers marry, sabade may be forced to delay the establishment of a household, childbirth, and full social adulthood into middle age. In old age, the marriage of a woman's last daughter leads to a kind of retirement symbolized by her small, ill-repaired house.

Women's participation in age-set rituals is indirect and supportive emphasizing the complementarity of male and female roles.

Berger, Jennifer and Abigail Krystall

1975 The Women's Group Programme: a strategy for education and rural development. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 53-61.

In 1971, the Ministry of Housing and Social Services (then, the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services) initiated the Women's Group Programme to assist local women's groups to increase both their use of locally available resources and services and their contributions to local-level development. Pilot-tested from 1972-1975 in the six Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) areas, the program currently includes fourteen additional districts with plans to expand nation-wide.

To date, the program has emphasized the need:

- 1) to coordinate the efforts of relevant ministries and organizations at all levels in the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects;
- 2) to improve the training of extension agents at all administrative levels;
- 3) to involve the members of the women's organizations in planning and implementation in order to sensitize field officers to group needs and goals.

In mid-1974, Programmes for Better Family Living (PBFL/FAO) conducted a survey of the six SRDP areas to evaluate program progress. The evaluation noted that while there was a high level of participation by various ministries and organizations at the planning and training stages, actual field involvement has been limited to a small number of departments. Positive changes resulting from this field work include: increased group membership, diversification of activities, and benefits to individuals in the group. The primary aid requested by groups included assistance with group organization and management, instruction and extra resources, and support and action beyond the local level.

The success of this program in its positive impact on rural development and its achievement of a more integrated approach to planning and implementation warrants continuation and replication. Suggests that the self-monitoring component be continued and that greater national-level involvement be stressed.

Bookman, Ann Edith

1973 The changing economic role of Luo women: an historical and ethnographic approach. A Special Paper in Social Anthropology submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

An interesting paper in which the integration of historical and ethnographic factors provides the dynamic framework within which economic change among Luo women in Nyanza Province of western Kenya is understood. This approach attempts to remedy basic weaknesses identified in early works which treat colonized peoples as ahistoric, static entities and ignore the impact of the colonial rule that the studies were often designed to facilitate.

Bookman identifies two major historical changes which significantly affected the economic role of Luo women: 1) the change from a transhumant semi-pastoral economy in the Sudan to a sedentary agricultural adaptation following migration to Kenya between 1490 and 1600, and 2) the beginning of a capitalist mode of production which accompanied colonization by the British. The economic importance of the male contribution to subsistence--i.e., fishing and cattle-keeping--decreased after migration to Kenya. At the same time, the greater importance of agriculture and the benefits of trade with surrounding Bantu peoples increased the productive role of women. As the Luo system became more dependent upon the colonial capitalist system, however, this trend was reversed. The draining away of male labor to develop the European sector of the colonial economy; the artificially low wages which left salaried workers still dependent upon rural households for subsistence; the lack of land tenure security as a result of the decreasing availability, increasing fragmentation, and individual ownership of land; the extraction of agricultural surplus for sale in European markets; and the training and education of males in preference to females for entry into the modern sector economically confined women to a low-prestige, stagnant backwater.

In the development literature, the limited participation of women in the modern sector has been attributed to their lack of education and resulting inability to engage in wage labor, the absence of an appropriate technology relevant to women's problems and activities, and the belief that women are change-resistant bastions of tradition. Bookman argues, however, that the productivity gap between Luo men and women which began during the colonial period:

... was not produced by the neglect of women by extension agents, or the lack of educational or vocational training for women (this was an effect, not a cause) but was generated historically by the fact that Luo women's labor power was concentrated in the most underdeveloped, rural, satellite areas of Kenya, while Luo men's labor power was concentrated in the relatively developed, urban, "metropolitan" areas of Kenya (1973:30).

For Bookman, the decline in the status of Luo women is an integral part of the process of underdevelopment in Kenya.

Browne, D.L. and A.O. Pala

1975 Case study: Kwale. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 52-61.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in South Kwale done as a part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of

Nairobi in 1975. Emphasizes the environmental, ethnic, and religious diversity of the area which complicates both women's participation in the Programme and project replicability. In attempts to replicate projects it must be borne in mind that the success of particular activities may vary with geographical location--e.g., access to roads, transport, and markets facilitate the sale of handicrafts. In addition, the possibility that on-going projects have already saturated the market must be considered.

Although there are presently 23 groups with a total membership of 280 in South Kwale, male opposition has restricted the number of women who attend leader's training courses. Those who do come are often poorly selected and there is a high drop-out rate. The courses offered tend to be too diffuse and superficial to provide adequate training. Suggests a course emphasis on family planning and nutrition. In addition, South Kwale lacks adequate staff for effective training and follow-up activities. There is a need also for greater cooperation between relevant ministries, particularly with regard to transport. Finally, the negative attitude of many government officials posted to South Kwale is counterproductive and may account for the lack of cooperation on the part of the local community.

This paper also appears as Working Paper No. 232, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Browne, D.L. (Condensed from a longer draft by S.B. Westley.)

1975 Case study: Tetu. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 80-91.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in Tetu done as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi in 1975.

More than half of the women's group leaders interviewed in Tetu belong to self-help organizations called mabat groups. In addition to their primary function as savings institutions, these organizations provide social interaction, channels of communication, and opportunities to exercise leadership and to participate in community development. A number of women interviewed indicated their membership in Maendeleo ya Wanawake clubs. However, since these clubs are not registered with the national organization, it is unclear if the name is being used in a generic sense or as a representation of group aspirations. While a national women's organization involved in community development could benefit rural planning programs, the national Maendeleo ya Wanawake lacks necessary grassroots involvement and support.

Tetu's first training course had a high attrition rate because participant selection was inadequate and the course coincided with a peak labor period for women. A brief description of the participants in the second training course is given. Although a wide range of topics was explored, the majority of class time was devoted to family welfare considerations. Only token attention was given to agriculture, small business management, and cooperative development.

Recommends that a baseline social survey be done in Tetu to determine community needs. The training program should be modified to reduce the number of topics covered by concentrating on those most relevant to the community context. Suggests the increased use of visual aids in training. The extension aspect of training might benefit from the provision of cassette tape recorders so that groups could listen to vernacular lessons and ask questions of the teacher via a blank tape. In addition, the regular scheduling of joint group meetings with extension staff would increase the number of women reached, reduce competition between groups, and facilitate govern-

ment follow-up evaluations. Local nutrition could be improved through the promotion of home gardens and the purchase of grade cows by group members on a rotational basis. Home improvement efforts could be aided by the introduction of permanent materials for walls and floors. Suggests that women's group leaders be paid a salary for their extension services, perhaps collected from group members under the supervision of the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. Recommends the re-hiring of Community Development Assistants and an increase in qualified family planning staff. Staff mobility could be increased and expenses decreased by the sharing of vehicles.

Bujra, Janet M.

1975 Women "entrepreneurs" of early Nairobi. Canadian Journal of African Studies. Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 213-234.

Bujra examines the active and independent role played by women in the process of class formation and the development of urban institutions which contributed to the establishment of a socially viable, though ethnically diverse, urban African community in Nairobi in the early decades of the 20th century. The prominence of women was primarily a function of their economic strength in urban centers where the demographic and socioeconomic situation made prostitution a lucrative and almost inevitable occupation for many women. Other possibilities for self-employment--e.g., beer brewing and petty trade--were less profitable and more difficult to engage in independently. The former was controlled by the city council and the latter by a de facto Asian monopoly. In addition, most wage employment was restricted to men or required an unequal competition with them. The other major option for women, marriage, offered no long-term security and resulted in a dependence upon the limited resources of a particular man. Property, especially houses, provided more security. Bujra argues against western assumptions that prostitutes are necessarily behaviorally disturbed, degraded women who are organized into brothels to be exploited by men. Instead, in the Nairobi context, prostitution allowed women a degree of independence, equality with men, and freedom from exploitation which was not possible in other available roles.

Bujra notes that the women in her sample tended to be more cut off from their rural origins than were the men. Many were not welcome back home having left as the result of family conflicts--e.g., after bearing an illegitimate child, following marital discord or arguments with parents, etc. In addition, coming from patrilineal societies most women had no rights to productive resources in their natal areas. Consequently, women in towns were more urban oriented than men. For them, urban centers were not simply temporary places in which to earn money to afford to marry the girl back home or to permit a later retirement in rural Kenya. Women needed to establish secure, socially viable urban relationships to replace rural lifeways. Three primary mechanisms were employed--i.e., conversion to Islam, adoption of pseudo-kin, and acquisition of urban property. Islam provided a framework which structured social life on a basis other than rural models or ethnicity. Conversion itself was a kind of symbolic adoption into a new set of social relations which provided security and a model for success in an urban context. While Islam provided a general sense of community, more individual needs--e.g., someone to care for one in their old age and finally to bury one and inherit property--were met by pseudo-kin acquired through ties of blood brotherhood, fosterage, and woman to woman marriage. Investment in urban rather than rural property formalized the long-term commitment of women to urban life. Within these institutions, women manipulated social and legal codes to facilitate their urban lifestyle--e.g., contrary to Islamic law,

inheritance was not male-biased and woman to woman marriage differed from customary law in that it produced heirs in the female line rather than the male. Such procedures created new institutions more suitable to the urban environment.

Although not all women were successful in the urban setting, those who were formed a surprisingly important part of an emerging urban petty bourgeoisie. Bujra attributes this participation to their ability to earn money independently of men and to the lack of institutionalized male control in Nairobi at that time.

Butler, Lorna M.

1973 Research needs concerning the role of women in African rural development. Paper No. 18, presented at the Annual Social Science Conference of the East African Universities (Dar es Salaam, December 18-20).

Although drawing its illustrative material from Malawi, this discussion of the need to understand the role of women in African rural development and to select research techniques adequate to this task is applicable to Kenya also. Butler warns that the assumption that men are the central figures in rural life has contributed to a polarization of sex roles and has limited the generation of data which would permit the positive integration of women into rural development planning and implementation. She argues that family units, rather than isolated individuals of either sex, are the basis for interaction and communication within the broader community system. Consequently, the contributions and potentialities of both men and women must be understood within the context of the family. Family education is identified as a central task of women which is closely related to their decision-making roles within the family. Since an understanding of the decision-making process is critical to the design of successful development strategies, Butler argues that the educator/communicator role of women and its relationship to decision-making should be a priority area for data collection.

In designing a study, the researcher should take into consideration ecological, demographic, and socioeconomic factors within the study community. In addition, consideration should be given to the integration of ongoing governmental programs and research projects and the possibilities for developing women's leadership capabilities, educational opportunities, and employment experience. Two samples are suggested--i.e., a large, systematically chosen group of women to respond to structured interviews on real and ideal role performance and a smaller key informant subsample for more intensive interviewing. The latter would include the collection of life histories, administration of Thematic Apperception Tests (TATs), and participant observation. To reduce ethnocentric biases, data-gathering should be done by indigenous enumerators who are resident in the area and fluent in the local language. They should be able to read and write English and understand agriculture and home-making. The enumerators should receive careful training which covers the technical aspects of interviewing and observation but also encourages an identification with the objectives of the study and an understanding of the goals of the work. Unfortunately, the methodological considerations are dealt with very superficially and do not take into consideration problems arising from the suggestions--e.g., will informants be willing to provide accurate personal information to enumerators who live in their community and are related to local friends and rivals?

Butterfield, Cynthia

1977 Women and the modern wage sector: a study of female participation in commercial banks and finance companies in Nairobi. Discussion Paper No. 256, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Describes sex-linked employment patterns and employer attitudes toward women's participation in commercial banks and finance companies in Nairobi, Kenya. Two questionnaires were completed by over 80 percent of the two selected industries. The first questionnaire was an open-ended attempt to assess the level and biases of employer information while the second was a structured attempt to quantify the real participation of women in these industries. Personal interviews were then held with the general manager or personnel director of 17 of the 20 companies surveyed.

Occupational segregation by sex was extensive resulting in the clustering of women in low-prestige, low-paying occupations offering little chance for advancement to managerial positions. Identifies four major barriers to the greater participation of women in higher levels within these companies. Educational barriers resulting from the low attainment of appropriate specialized education by women. Employer resentment of the money and time lost as a result of two-month, employer-paid maternity leaves also serves as an obstacle to women's employment. Although there are no longer legal barriers to the equal employment of women in Kenya, employers consider certain occupations inappropriate for women. Socialization barriers reflected in both employee self-selection and employer preferences are the most significant barriers from the employer's viewpoint.

Concludes that equalizing educational opportunities for the sexes will not decrease necessarily sex-linked disparities in the modern wage sector, since any gains may be offset by increasing educational requirements for employment. Suggests legal pressure and government incentives to encourage employers both to hire women and to promote them into managerial positions.

Carlebach, Julius

1962 Juvenile Prostitutes in Nairobi. Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research.

A study intended both to further understanding of juvenile prostitution in Nairobi, Kenya and to serve as a pilot for the in-service training of African social workers. The project involved 13 African social workers who collected 25 case histories from young prostitutes, interviewed 28 Kenyans regarding their attitudes toward prostitutes, surveyed 100 Africans attending V.D. clinics and obtained details from those identified as prostitutes, interviewed 100 European soldiers undergoing treatment for V.D., and observed cases involving adolescent girls in juvenile court.

Although the author warns that the study of prostitution is complicated by the emotional nature of the topic, this work is made suspect by an uncritical acceptance of hearsay and conventional wisdom. For example, although economic considerations are not totally dismissed, it is assumed that prostitution is a result of behavioral disturbances (1962:26). The possibility that it may be the occupation of choice based on a realistic assessment of the urban economic situation is not seriously entertained. As a result, aberrant behavior becomes the focus of the study. For example, when interviewers evaluate character, there are only two categories--i.e., "fair" and "bad." The former is characterized by the girl's consciousness of "doing wrong in her prostitution" (ibid:21). In addition, prostitutes are assumed

to have homosexual tendencies. Although no overt signs of homosexuality were uncovered, Carlebach identifies the comforting behavior observed between young girls awaiting their turn in the dock as evidence of homosexual orientations rather than as attempts to allay fear and confusion. Carlebach's ability to evaluate the reliability of "expert" opinion is called into question by his uncritical acceptance of medical officers' statements that "... it is doubtful if any African girl over the age of nine would be a virgin ... partly because it appears to be quite common for adult males to rape or seduce girls at a very early age" (ibid:9). In addition to conceptual problems, the project is plagued by an inadequate research design with particularly poor sampling techniques. One wonders how representative the attitudes of a small group of haphazardly chosen people really are (ibid:34).

The study concludes with recommendations to guide agencies which deal with juvenile prostitution. While potentially a promising experiment, this project is disappointing in its biases and poor research design.

Carlebach, Julius

1963 The position of women in Kenya. Paper prepared for the Economic Commission for Africa. Workshop on Urban Problems: the Role of Women in Urban Development (4-14 September) E/CN.14/URB/9.

Identifies five factors which have determined the position of urban Kenyan women including:

1. The transplantation to an urban environment of women's traditionally low status. The author's basis for assuming traditionally low status here is in need of clarification.
2. Their low level of education.
3. The decline in women's economic contributions accompanying a shift from primarily subsistence farming to an urban monetary setting.
4. The tendency for women to remain in rural areas with their children while husbands migrate to urban areas in search of wage employment. These separations cause family stress and leave women economically disadvantaged.
5. The more conservative nature of women which makes them more reliable guardians of tradition than men, but also results in a reluctance to adopt modern methods of agriculture or to relinquish degrading customs such as female circumcision. Carlebach also fails to substantiate these points adequately.

Suggests that the reunification of the urban family is a vital step in improving the status of urban women. Recommends the suppression of prostitution to cause urban men to demand that their wives join them in the city. Carlebach seems to over-emphasize the value placed on sexual variety by urban males. He fails to consider other possibilities for split families--e.g., the lack of adequate family housing in urban areas, low salaries requiring food subsidies from home areas, or the need to maintain usufruct land rights.

Argues that women's low level of wage employment and limited political and trade union participation leaves them with little power as wage-earners, consumers, lobbyists, or public figures. Identifies elite Kenyan women as potentially a major source of change in women's status but warns that their physical, social, and psychological separation from non-elite women coupled with the heavy western influence on their thinking may result in some approaches which are irrelevant to the needs of the majority of Kenyan women. Suggests that this imbalance could be corrected by the involvement of non-elite women in decision-making through seminars held throughout Kenya.

Also recommends that the number of women in certain middle-level employment categories--i.e., nursing, teaching, and clerical work--should be increased to broaden women's influence without creating hostility by infringing on male labor markets. Here, the author argues that it is a virtue for women to remain economically segregated from men by specializing in fields he recognizes as "feminine." However, since his own data indicate a preponderance of men in these very areas, it is not obvious why entry into these fields infringes less on the male labor market than entry into other fields. Nor is it obvious that men, women, or the economy would fare better if occupations were divided into "male" jobs and "female" jobs.

Warns that as monogamy increases and more mothers enter the wage labor market, psychological adaptations must occur. Most significant may be the problems faced by children who spend less time with their own mothers and more with hired child care.

Cobb, Gayleatha B.

1975 Women and economic development in East Africa. Journal of the School of Advanced International Studies. Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 16-22.

Women played a significant productive role in the pre-colonial economies of East Africa which includes Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. However, changes accompanying modernization, urbanization, and industrialization were often economically disadvantageous to women. The primary planning issue, therefore, is the need to develop programs which counteract the decrease in the economic importance of women and expand their participation in the modern sector.

It is difficult to assess the economic productivity of women in any sector at the national level in East Africa. The amount of economically vital agricultural labor that women do is undervalued and most subsistence activities--e.g., food production and processing for home consumption--are not included in national compilations. As a result, such records are distorted and hamper planning efforts by misrepresenting the economic participation of women.

In East Africa, women are concentrated in the rural areas where they constitute the primary labor force in agriculture. Male migration to urban centers in search of wage employment and the loss of school children's help in the household have increased labor and management demands on rural women. In addition, the lack of adequate access to extension services and agricultural training has confined many rural women to an essentially stagnating sector of the economy.

As women's positions in the countryside deteriorate, women are increasingly migrating to urban areas. Even though East African women now have many political and legal rights, men dominate the modern urban sector. This is partially the result of attitudinal biases which restrict the employment opportunities of women--e.g., men's dislike of another's authority over their wives or daughters and employer's preference for male employees. In addition, higher education is a prerequisite for modern sector employment. The lack of sexual equity in educational opportunities is a primary constraint on women's employment possibilities. This disparity is partially a result of greater home labor demands and earlier marriages for girls plus the higher valuation frequently placed on educating boys. Both Kenya and Tanzania have made positive, if limited, efforts to encourage mass education, the former by abolishing school fees for the first four years of primary school and the latter by attempting to provide universal primary education by late 1977. However, Cobb observes that plans for mass education for the

rural population, which is mostly female, have often been superseded by development projects favoring male urban elites. Some vocational training is available for women but programs are limited and primarily direct women into "feminine" fields such as domestic science and child care.

Cobb notes that female involvement in the wage sector reflects trends within the sector as a whole--i.e., the percentage of women in the industrial labor force increases almost exclusively when the total economy is growing rapidly or when the occupation is defined as "feminine." Thus, the employment of women is particularly sensitive to the economic weakness and instability which Cobb feels are characteristic of East African economies. It is argued that inequity can be alleviated only if the productivity of existing resources is increased and employment activities are undertaken by each government to absorb the ever-growing labor force.

Increased access to formal education and rural services is suggested as a way to address women's problems more specifically. According to Cobb, women need agricultural training, easily accessible water, child-care facilities, environmental hygiene, extension services, nutrition and health care, and a universal literacy campaign.

Of the three nations considered, Kenya is felt to typify many of the problems mentioned. Tanzania is perceived to be making attempts to remedy inequities but to be far from final success. Uganda is dismissed as too concerned with keeping Amin in power and crushing dissent to be very concerned with women's role in economic development.

Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society

1975 Conference report. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 88-92.

In March 1975, a seminar entitled "Developing Concepts, Methods, and Approaches to the Study of Women in Eastern African Societies" was held in Nairobi, Kenya. Seminar participants recognized a need to collect and assess existing data on East African women. The necessity of identifying data gaps and defining research priorities was particularly stressed.

The following August, a second seminar, the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society, pursued these issues. Seminar objectives included:

- 1) the preparation of reports summarizing existing data on women's working conditions, their education and training, their legal status, and their image and self-image;
- 2) the designation of research projects which would identify major problem areas for women and provide recommendations to alleviate inequity;
- 3) the development of guidelines for the effective collection and dissemination of relevant information on women.

A complete list of conference themes is included.

Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society

1975 The education of women (group discussion report). Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 88-92.

This report is concerned primarily with the degree of women's participation in formal and non-formal education. In the formal sphere, a smaller

proportion of girls than boys enter primary school and this gap widens at higher certificate levels. In addition, in both academic and technical training institutions, opportunities vary by sex--e.g., there are fewer places for girls and girls are excluded from certain types of training. The educational and career aspirations of women may be further constrained by biased career guidance, employer discrimination, perceived conflicts between particular careers and married life, and a low sense of self-worth.

Notes the low participation of women in non-formal education. Criticizes these programs for their emphasis on homemaking skills to the exclusion of income-generating enterprises and for their failure to adopt methods of communication which are sensitive to women's responsibilities and time schedules.

Recommendations for change in the formal education system include:

- 1) a pilot program for the compensatory enrollment of women in science at advanced levels coupled with an increase in the number of schools offering science and math to girls;
- 2) the inclusion of material at teacher training colleges on women and the social system;
- 3) the exposure of both boys and girls to Family Life Education courses;
- 4) an increase in information on career opportunities for women in the Ministry of Education's Careers Information Booklet.

Within the non-formal education system, it is suggested that:

- 1) adult literacy courses include materials related to the home and Family Life Education;
- 2) the number of female agricultural instructors and extension officers be increased;
- 3) all extension officers receive Family Life Education as well as practical work in data collection on rural families;
- 4) a close liaison be maintained between staff at training institutions and staff and research workers in academic institutions.

A comprehensive research program is recommended to explore the impact on girl's education of: domestic decisions, the characteristics of the education system, employment opportunities, women's self-concepts, and attendance at mixed-sex secondary schools.

Concludes by recommending the following research on women's participation in the non-formal sector:

- 1) the evaluation of present non-formal education programs for possible replication;
- 2) the identification of personal qualities which promote success in non-formal learning;
- 3) an assessment of methods used to train rural extension officers;
- 4) an evaluation of the impact of home economics, agriculture, and rural extension programs on women;
- 5) documentation on the degree of women's participation in on-the-job training programs;
- 6) identification of constraints on women's participation in higher levels of extension training.

Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society.

1975 Image of African women (group discussion report).

This group urged Kenyan women to increase their participation in national development by sharing their ideas, problems, and strategies and avoiding the formation of divisive factions. Attitudinal factors were

discussed. It was felt that although men often encouraged their wives and daughters to seek responsible positions, they also held stereotypic views which restricted women to certain occupations, interfered with promotions to managerial levels, and attributed low moral standards to working women. Many of these prejudices have been internalized by women as well.

Recommends that women become actively involved in worthwhile training, education, and economic activities. Suggests further research into marriage and divorce laws and practices and argues for the establishment of a politically and legally powerful women's group to pressure the media about their portrayals of women and to fight for women's rights.

Concludes with abstracts of two papers presented orally to the group but unavailable for distribution: 1) The changing image of women over three crucial historical phases, by Ngugi wa Thiong'i; 2) Women's perceptions of themselves and other women, by Grace Ogot.

Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society

1975 The legal system (group discussion report). (Nairobi, August 1975.)

Interpretations of family law in Kenya are complicated by the existence of a plural legal system. Recommends the establishment of family courts to reduce conflict by providing specific guidelines for statutory procedures.

Notes a need for an effective women's pressure group to disseminate information on legal rights and to lobby for or against particular legislation. Suggested areas of concentration include:

- 1) the implementation of acts which have received Presidential assent but have not been put into practice--e.g., the Succession Act of 1972;
- 2) the reinstatement of protection in areas where laws have been repealed--e.g., the Affiliation Act (repealed 1969);
- 3) the repeal of discriminatory laws--e.g., the Vagrancy Act;
- 4) the proposal of laws particularly relevant to women--e.g., those concerned with maternity benefits, equal access to health insurance services, etc.

Such groups could also initiate further research or discussion on complex issues such as the advantages and disadvantages of polygamy or legalized abortion.

Discusses the ways in which women's usufruct rights to land have been jeopardized and their control over the allocation of surplus resources lessened. Measures suggested to decrease discrimination in land ownership include: defining land as a trust property held by the head of the family for the benefit of all members; mandatory review of all land sales by the Land Control Board; the registration of land titles in common; and the necessity to obtain the consent of wives prior to the alienation of land.

Also recommends an end to discrimination in the provision of extension services and access to credits and loans.

Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society

1975 Women in rural development (group discussion report). Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 98-104.

This paper warns against over-simplified conceptualizations which underestimate the economic importance of rural women. Argues for systematic and

standardized data collection to provide reliable information on the participation of women in the economy.

Priority areas for data collection include:

- 1) an accurate, historical account of the division of labor and decision-making within the rural household;
- 2) information on wage rates and the availability of work in the agricultural sector by sex and season;
- 3) exploration of the potential use of women's groups as information channels to rural areas;
- 4) an examination of women's access to information, training, or employment provided by extension services;
- 5) a comparison of women's liability for loan repayment with their access to credit;
- 6) documentation of women's marketing activities, strategies, and needs;
- 7) collection and organization of available data in form which can be communicated to relevant audiences.

Recommends:

- 1) greater attention to the dissemination of information on government services to rural women;
- 2) increased efforts to reach women with extension services by training women's groups leaders or using itinerant teachers to work with clusters of neighboring farmers;
- 3) the training of extension officers in data-gathering techniques in rural areas;
- 4) the training of more women in agricultural education;
- 5) that the training of District Development Officers emphasize the importance of including women in project planning;
- 6) that a monitoring system be developed in central ministries to ensure the inclusion of women in government programs.

Concludes that all the recommendations be initiated on a pilot basis. Those chosen for replication should be incorporated into a minimum package program which includes necessary inputs and marketing outlets. Follow-up monitoring and evaluation should be included as a part of this package.

Conference on the Training of Women and Girls

1975 Conference report. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No.2, pp. 79-88.

A Ministry of Finance and Planning and Programmes for Better Family Living (PBFL/FAO) seminar entitled "Conference on the Training of Women and Girls" was held at the Institute of Adult Studies, Kikuyu, Kenya in July 1975.

Prior to the conference, 45 agencies offering training to women and girls were sent a questionnaire concerning their curricula and the degree of participation of females in each field. Data from the 28 responses indicate that:

- 1) the training emphasis for females is homemaking to the exclusion of other important spheres such as agriculture;
- 2) the primary income-generating course available to women is secretarial training, although courses in driving, dress-making, and tailoring are occasionally available;
- 3) business management training is unavailable with the exception of some courses for cooperative women's groups;
- 4) there is more job-oriented training available for males than for females.

Suggestions for recruitment and adjustments in training priorities were submitted to the Ministry of Finance and Planning (August 1975). On the basis of this report, agricultural education was selected as a priority area and the development of an agricultural curriculum for young women at village polytechnics was recommended.

Dobson, Barbara

1954 Women's place in East Africa. Corona 6, pp. 454-457.

An article more valuable for its revelation of colonial European attitudes toward the education of East African women than for its actual suggestions regarding the improvement of the education process. Even though the author recognizes the need to be sensitive to the cultural context of Bantu women, emphasizes that Bantu women have considerable social and economic independence, and suggests the incorporation of positive features of indigenous education into the colonial system, the particular biases of this system vis-à-vis women are clear.

Attempts to understand the cultural backgrounds and experiences of women students are not proposed to enable these students to participate more actively in the direction of their own education and future. Rather, they are suggested to allow colonial administrators "... to clarify our proposed destination for them (the women) in the future" (p. 454). The emphasis on domestic subjects, child welfare, and the development of a strong sense of family unity for the girls is defended. Although the author argues that she is in favor of women entering all of the professions, she sees this as a very distant goal. For the present, a woman's major area of influence is the family. Her most important function is as child-bearer. This, coupled with her natural conservatism compared to men, causes women "... to cling more to their families" (p. 455) and justifies both the homecraft emphasis in the girls' curriculum and its absence from the boys'.

Expresses concern regarding the marriage possibilities of women taking professional training. Suggests that a hostel be set up for unmarried professional women with a responsible woman in charge to protect reputations by ensuring "a regular and virtuous way of life" (p. 456). Also discusses the impossibility of overseeing the marriages of all educated girls to ensure that they marry educated men. Identifies suspicious husbands as an important obstacle to wives' attendance at schools or club meetings. However, feels that this is a passing problem which will correct itself as men observe women becoming more industrious and solicitous of their well-being as a result of education.

Edgerton, Robert B. and Francis P. Conant

1964 Kilipat: the "shaming party" among the Pokot of East Africa. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 404-418.

Among both agricultural and pastoral Pokot in western Kenya, marital relationships are characterized by hostility and conflict. For women, the primary sources of antagonism include: ideological conflicts with males, the greater access of males to the authority structure, radically curtailed sexual freedom following adolescence, negative comparisons of marital with premarital sexual relationships, and forced marriage. The following techniques are commonly employed by Pokot women to resolve marital conflicts: nagging arguments, gossip, fighting, running away, and divorce. If these techniques do not resolve the problem, women may intensify their efforts by initiating a kilipat or shaming party. Kilipat, which may involve verbal

abuse alone or moral and physical torture, is a legitimate weapon recognized by both sexes which nonetheless violates all norms for reasonable and proper conduct. Unlike men, women lack membership in sexual solidarity groups, the support of kin, and effective appeal to neighborhood councils. Thus, kilipat is their only alternative to more drastic measures such as sorcery, poisoning, and suicide. It is argued that males sanction kilipat because it is a more desirable choice than injury or death from poisoning or sorcery or the financial loss and social condemnation which accompanies a wife's suicide. Kilipat is seen here as an effective weapon for women who seem otherwise disadvantaged by the formal power structure.

Edwards, Carolyn and Beatrice B. Whiting
1974 Women and dependency. Politics and Society. Vol. IV, No. 3.
pp. 343-355.

The authors note that the predominant view of both men and women writing of feminine personality is that women are more emotionally passive and dependent--i.e., have greater need for help, support, and reassurance--than men. The primary sources for this position are psychoanalytic tradition which holds that the process of becoming a woman is the acceptance of the definition of self as a dependent and passive being and the literature of social criticism which decries the situation and attributes it to the infantilization of women by society. Attempts to verify this position by clinical methods--e.g., Thematic Apperception Tests, Edward's Personal Preference Schedules, etc.--which test verbal responses to stimuli have been unsuccessful since the test results bear no clear relationship to the actual behavior of the subjects. Nevertheless, the results have been used to claim that women are more dependent than men.

Edwards and Whiting propose that observations of actual behavior provide more reliable and valid data on dependency than indirect personality assessments or rating-studies based on behavior as it is filtered through another's memory. As corroboration, the authors present cross-cultural data on dependency in children based on observations of actual behavior. This material is coded with the Whiting's behavior code of 60 categories of which eight represent different aspects of dependency--i.e., behavior in which the child seeks comfort, help, information, attention, material goods, permission, sociability, or physical contact. The samples include:

1) 134 pre-school children from the Six Culture study of B. B. Whiting and J. W. M. Whiting (Children of Six Cultures. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975) which provides data from Kenya, Okinawa, India, the Philippines, Mexico, and the U.S.;

2) 52 Kikuyu pre-schoolers from Ngecha in Kiambu District, Kenya;

3) 30 Luo children of school age living in Oyugis in western Kenya.

The behavior of the children in these samples was compared to discover what percentage of their total behavior was dependent. The averages of boys and girls were then compared.

The results of this analysis are combined with the data from 13 similar studies done in the U.S. and one project undertaken in India. On the basis of this data there is no indication that girls are more dependent than boys. For children under the age of 16, which is the age of the eldest children in these samples, age and cultural setting are better predictors of dependency than sex. Further, girls do not become more dependent as they mature, rather there is a tendency for both sexes to begin equally and for boys to become more dependent as they get older. The major differences between the sexes is

in dependency styles. Boys tends to choose more aggressively toned forms and girls more positively toned forms. There is no literature to indicate if these trends continue into adulthood, but the authors think it unlikely that they would suddenly reverse.

Observing that these results contradict the pervasive western idea of female dependency, the authors suggest that the western stereotype may confuse women's special sensitivity and nurturing behavior with dependency. The authors believe that these behaviors, which are felt to be the result of universal training for girls, are the opposite of dependency. The desire to be "independent" of some of these responsibilities reflects the unequal burden that women have had to bear rather than their previously "dependent" state.

Edwards, Carolyn and Beatrice Whiting

1975 Feminine dependency: myth or reality. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 105-110.

A slightly abbreviated version of Edwards and Whiting, 1974.

Ember, Carol R.

1973 Feminine task-assignment and the social behavior of boys. Staff Paper 27, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi.

Many studies attribute behavioral differences to the sexes--i.e., boys are more aggressive and egotistical while girls are more nurturant. Since boys and girls are usually socialized differently, attempts to explain this variation are complicated by the confounding of biological and sociological factors. As the manipulation of child-rearing practices is impossible, this researcher used a natural situation in which the assignment of tasks to children did not completely vary with sex.

In the study site, a Luo community in South Nyanza District, Kenya, approximately half of the boys had been assigned work which was considered appropriate to women or girls. Comparisons were made between the social behavior of boys who did a great deal of "feminine" work, boys who did very little such work, and girls. Random observations made by Luo assistants indicated that the social behavior of boys who did a great deal of "feminine" work was intermediate between girls and other boys. However, for boys, various types of "feminine" work were differently related to social behavior. Boys doing "feminine" work within the house were more feminine in social behavior than other boys. However, boys who did "feminine" work outside the home were frequently more masculine in their behavior than other boys. In discussing the explanatory power of three possible interpretations of the data, social learning theory which holds that a child acquires certain social behaviors because they are necessary to the adequate performance of certain tasks seems the most reasonable. Further work needs to be done in similar natural situations.

Eshiwani, George

1975 Sex differences in the learning of mathematics among Kenyan high school students. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 111-119.

Western researchers attribute the tendency for girls to score lower

than boys on arithmetic reasoning tests to attitudinal factors and cultural expectations. The research described here compares the mathematical achievement and retention scores of boys with those of girls in the sample group and tests the prediction validity of the following variables: attitudes toward mathematics, mathematical reasoning, vocabulary of mathematical terms, vocabulary of scientific terms, and computation.

The sample consists of twelve Form II classes drawn from four Nairobi high schools. Pre-tests of the variables listed above were given to each group. Three Form II classes were randomly assigned to each of the following types of teaching: Programmed Instruction, Conventional Classroom Approach, or Integrated Programmed Instruction. Using assigned techniques, each group was taught a two-week unit in probability, introduced by a pre-test and punctuated by achievement tests at the mid-point and conclusion. Then, classes resumed their regular course of study for six weeks at which time a surprise retention test was administered.

Results indicate that there are sex differences between Kenyan high school students with boys having a more positive attitude toward mathematics than girls and scoring higher on tests of mathematical reasoning, computation, and comprehension of mathematical and scientific terms. However, these differences appear to be the result of modes of instruction rather than attitudes of students or cultural expectations. Girls did better with a human teacher in the introductory part of the probability unit and with programmed instruction at the more advanced stages while the reverse was true for boys. On the retention test, girls taught through programmed materials scored higher than boys. Boys taught by human teachers scored higher than girls in similarly treated groups.

Results suggest that girls are better readers than boys and can learn more effectively from programmed materials than from a teacher. Perhaps negative or inferior teacher-pupil interactions in girls' schools also influence girls' achievement. Neither the covariates used in this study nor attitudinal test scores were effective predictors of achievement.

Fleming, Jacqueline

1975 Fear of success imagery in urban Kenya. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 129-142.

A shortened and revised version of Hamilton (1972) in which Afro-american comparative material is deleted and the interpretation of findings is narrowed.

Germain, Adrienne and Audrey Smock

1974 The status and roles of Ghanaian and Kenyan women: implications for fertility behavior. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association on "Women's Status and Fertility Around the World" (Sept. 1).

This paper uses available ethnographic and fertility data from Kenya and Ghana to examine the relationship between women's status and roles and the number of children they bear. Certain broad similarities in the situation of women in both the pre- and post-colonial periods of the two countries are apparent. Although women are restricted in their control over productive resources and even their own labor and procreative powers, they have major economic responsibilities within the household. By giving men priority in education and employment, colonial policies have left women underrepresented in the modern economic sector. Women's civic participation is low and neither

country has a cohesive women's movement primarily concerned with women's issues. However, in Ghana a less strict status difference between the sexes has resulted from the greater economic independence available to Ghanaian women who are able to engage in very lucrative urban and rural trade and are thus not as economically handicapped by their lack of formal education as are Kenyan women.

Both countries have rapidly increasing populations (ca 3 percent per year) which are believed to be a result of decreasing mortality with continued high fertility. The authors argue that women's desire to have a large number of children will persist as long as women are defined primarily as wives and mothers and their economic status and security depends upon the support of their children. Data limitations restrict the testing of this model to two indicators of status--i.e., education and employment. It is hypothesized that women's education is correlated with lower fertility primarily because it delays marriage and/or first births and is a prerequisite to modern sector jobs which are increasingly necessary for economic independence and may provide alternative satisfactions to the bearing of children. Employment may be associated with lower fertility because of its correlation with increased education but it also decreases economic and security dependence upon children and increases their opportunity costs.

Germain and Smock observe that available data does not always support the inverse correlation between education or employment and number of children. For Kenya and Ghana any lack of correspondence may be the result of an employment situation in which working women are concentrated in low prestige jobs which lack security and often require help from children to be successful. In addition, since most women of childbearing age have less than a primary school education, the possible effects of formal education might not yet be apparent. Further, family planning programs are too narrowly focused on the provision of contraceptive information and services which affect women only as reproducing agents. Clearly, a primary goal of family planning must be the reduction of women's dependence upon their children by integrating women more fully into the development process.

Gutto, S.B.O.

1975 Legal constraints on female participation in the economy. Paper presented at the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society (Nairobi, August 1975).

Preliminary version of Gutto 1976.

Gutto, S.B.O.

1976 The status of women in Kenya: a study of paternalism, inequality and underprivilege. Discussion Paper No. 235, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi (ca Gutto 1975).

"The study aims at establishing the extent to which females are discriminated against and underprivileged in law and how this reveals itself in social practice. Women are seen as victims of the whole social system that has legalized and institutionalized inequalities, thus making the struggle for women's liberation essentially a class struggle. The study is based almost entirely on a micro-social survey using public documents such as government publications, institutional records, legislative enactments, legal regulations, and decided court cases. It reviews the size and structure of the population by sex, and establishes the constitutional legal framework

and the contractual legal capacity of individuals which provide necessary background data for understanding the presence and magnitude of the analyzed substantive law and practice concerning females. A brief analysis of the large body of family law which includes laws of marriage, divorce, guardianship of infants, custody of children and illegitimacy is made, followed by a short synopsis of women discriminative aspects of criminal law provisions, social security, and welfare laws. This is succeeded by a critical exploratory description of the distribution of education, employment and wages, and the legal regulations or legal lacunae affecting women in these areas. Because of limitations of time and expense, the scope of this study has been confined largely to the formal sectors of these areas and the obviously important informal sector is omitted. The last section analyzes data that shows the trend in the actual female control of property followed by some broad conclusions and suggestions for reform in the light of these findings." (Abstract by IDS.)

Hamilton, Jacqueline Fleming

1972 An investigation of the motive to avoid success in urban Kenya. Staff Paper, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi.

Achievement motivation studies generally exclude women because their responses are internally inconsistent and conflict with the theory itself. However, prediction is possible if one recognizes that the fear that successful competition with men will lead to social rejection and spinsterhood creates anxiety in women who value both traditional and modern goals.

This paper compares fear-of-success data from white and Afro-americans with that from 22 (191 males; 131 females) university and secondary school students in Nairobi, Kenya. The Kenyans responded to Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) cues by writing a story about successful same-sex figures. To assess cross-sex attitudes, a second sample of 55 students (32 male; 23 female) wrote on opposite-sex figures.

Fear-of-success imagery was higher for university women (36 percent) than for university men (20 percent) but was low compared to white American women and Afro-american men. The scores of Kenyan women suggest that the more traditional wife/mother role is feared to be incompatible with that of a modern career woman. Hamilton speculates that the higher fear-of-success scores found among women and Afro-american men may be correlated with the degree to which institutional or normative limitations restrict the achievement of a particular group.

It is evident from male responses to female success cues--in which 33 percent reacted negatively--that many men also believe success to be incompatible with desirable womanly qualities. In the face of internal doubts and male antagonism, many Kenyan women continue to seek higher educational attainment. Unlike white American women and Afro-american men, their anxiety decreases with proximity to their goal. Hamilton suggests that women are seeking economic security through education and employment and, at least for those motivated enough to obtain limited places in higher education, this overcomes the negative social pressures. Anxiety decreases as they approach their goal because attainment becomes more certain. In addition, some conflicts may be resolved through marriage or the encouragement of a significant male.

The author concludes by asking at what point economic concerns become a strong enough motivation to overcome fear of social rejection. Further, what happens to fear-of-success when economic expectations change?

Hamilton, Jacqueline Fleming.

1973 The legal status of women. Ford Foundation. Unpublished paper.

A superficial and somewhat disjointed discussion of women and the legal system, education, employment, social welfare organizations, and conjugal relationships in Kenya. The author notes a lack of unity in the national law code which leads to ambiguity in women's status. Concern is expressed that the Kenyan constitution does not forbid laws which discriminate on the basis of sex. Mention is made of certain legislation of particular concern to women--i.e., the Succession (inheritance) Bill; the Marriage and Divorce Bill, and the Affiliation Ordinance (re maintenance and custody of illegitimate children).

Access to formal education is a major issue in Kenyan domestic politics. Since it is a prerequisite for salaried formal sector employment, competition for limited places is keen. Even though the enrollment of girls has increased rapidly since independence, complex socioeconomic and attitudinal factors hinder their full participation at all levels.

While employment opportunities for women are increasing, the majority of employed women are found in agriculture and unskilled wage labor. This reflects both the colonial bias against wage-earning women and the present-day lack of equal access to educational and vocational training. Reports that women are paid lower wages than men in the private sector and often are not promoted in line with their abilities and experience. Even in government service where salaries are equitable, there are few women in decision-making positions.

Within Kenya, a large, well-organized network of essentially urban women's voluntary organizations are concerned with remedying many of the problems mentioned above. These groups, however, appear to be weakened by in-fighting and lack of support from rural women.

Concludes by noting that changes in the relationship between men and women are evident in both rural and urban areas. In the former, male migration to urban areas increases women's responsibilities and creates new strains in the familial relationship. In urban areas, a non-working wife faces boredom and significant loss of her economic importance. Where both spouses are employed, women are more economically independent. However, male attitudes toward educated women are ambivalent. An educated wife may be a social and economic asset but she may also be considered too independent and assertive.

Hanger, Jane and Jon Moris

1973 Women and the household economy. In Robert Chambers and Jon Moris, eds., Mwea: an Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya. Weltforum Verlag Munchen, Afrikan Studies No. 83, pp. 209-244.

A useful comparison of household organization on the Mwea Irrigation Settlement Scheme (Embu and Kirinyaga districts) with off-scheme households in the Nembure area of Embu District in Kenya. Scheme managers anticipated the following changes in tenant household organization: an increase in income levels, reinvestment in on-scheme improvements, and adoption of rice as a staple food. In addition, administrators assumed male household heads who were both the principal decision-makers and primary laborers.

Although all tenants benefited to some degree from easier access to government services--e.g., health clinics, nursery schools, short courses, women's groups, and self-help projects--the reactions of women to scheme living depended upon their backgrounds and the physical lay-out and facilities of the particular village they joined. However, all situations resulted

in a high degree of stress for women.

It is not a Kikuyu or Embu custom for husbands and wives to pool their incomes. However, wives do have major economic responsibilities within the household. Through their control of garden plots or trading, off-scheme wives try to meet these responsibilities without depending on their husbands. On the scheme, however, household garden plots are limited or non-existent and markets are distant. In addition, rice has not been adopted as a staple food, thus most food is purchased at high-priced on-scheme markets. These factors make tenant women dependent on the generosity of their husbands who, by virtue of their designation as household head, receive the only regular cash income from the scheme. Even though women do the majority of the demanding labor, men receive the payment. In addition, with the exception of harvest, women determine the allocation of their own labor without relying on male decision-making.

Mwea tenants have adapted their lifestyle to deal with a periodic scarcity of labor, a perceived insecurity of tenure, and changes in women's access to productive resources. Although decreasing in importance in off-scheme areas, the maintenance of kin ties for reciprocal labor is of major import on the scheme. Of secondary importance are women's reciprocal work groups and locally organized groups who do piecework. Rather than investing in on-scheme improvements, Mwea settlers react to perceived tenure uncertainty by investing in off-scheme enterprises and the education of their children. As a result of women's lack of access to an income of their own coupled with their lack of legitimate claim to money paid to their husbands by the scheme, black market sales of rice by women are common. Although the amounts are small the income is important.

Argues that these adaptations may be effective in the short-run but will be less so as the socioeconomic situation changes both for tenants and non-tenants. Points to the need for systematically organized inputs--e.g., a household credit system, safe water, available firewood, adequate land for subsistence crops, and a means of channeling half of the rice income to women.

Concludes that the undervaluation of women and the consequent failure by management to recognize their particular needs and contributions is a primary weakness of the Mwea Scheme which calls into question the value of replication.

Hay, Margaret Jean

1976 Luo women and economic change during the colonial period. In Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds. Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change. California: Stanford University Press, pp. 87-109.

Hay describes the response of Luo women to the steadily deteriorating economic conditions of the colonial and post-colonial periods in Kowe Sub-location of western Kenya. Within the context of a large-scale withdrawal of male labor, increased taxation, mounting population pressures on land which was declining in fertility, and the fragmentary nature of Luo land-holdings, the colonial government expected rural Kowe families to maintain or increase agricultural production in order to meet their staple food needs and to produce a surplus for sale or export. The worsening economic conditions coupled with the absence of adult males increased the labor and management demands on women.

Hay convincingly portrays a dynamic agricultural system in which new ideas, techniques, and inputs are exchanged by women traveling between markets or visiting relatives and friends in their natal communities.

Through a process of experimentation and selective innovation in both agriculture and trade, Kowe women have maintained adequate agricultural production and some possibility of capital accumulation. After 1945 which marked the beginning of long-term absences by men, most viable innovations were labor-saving rather than attempts to increase production. Women have tended to reinvest such labor in trading activities.

Kershaw, Greet

- 1975/ The changing roles of men and women in the Kikuyu family by
1976 socioeconomic strata. Rural Africana, No. 29, Winter, pp.
173-194.

From data gathered in four southern Kikuyu villages established by the colonial government as a result of the Mau Mau movement, Kershaw traces changes in sex-linked decision-making patterns concerning the economic and extra-domestic integrative aspects of the family.

In the pre-colonial system, women controlled the biological sphere including food crop management, labor, marketing, and allocation, while men were concerned with maintaining the social and ritual order.

With the advent of the colonial period and its extensive land alienation, many people became landless while a few gained control of both land and relevant modern skills. As a result of a number of factors associated with land scarcity, a process of socioeconomic stratification occurred. Differences in lifestyle and areas of male and female decision-making within the family accompanied this stratification.

Kershaw identifies three strata and briefly characterizes each. Group I, which includes over half of the population considered, is composed of families who possess little or no land and marginal access to modern agricultural or employment skills. Although poverty limits possible choices, women's decision-making powers have increased along with their economic burdens. The scope of male decision-making has decreased with the loss of traditional activities and in an increasing dependence upon women. Group II is made up of families with land adequate to provide their everyday needs with some surplus income from land or wages. Although both sexes have lost certain areas of control and gained others, these families maintain the strongest continuity with the pre-colonial situation. Group III contains families with sizable pieces of land and knowledge of modern agricultural methods. In this group, women have lost a good share of their economic control to their husbands but have gained greater decision-making power in the social sphere. Men have increased their involvement in economic decision-making and have become incorporated into new social, ritual, and political institutions.

Kinyanjui, Kabiru

- 1975 Education and formal employment opportunities for women in
Kenya: some preliminary data. Kenya Education Review. A
Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi.
Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 6-25.

This paper notes that unequal access to formal education and thus to formal sector employment contributes to the underrepresentation of Kenyan women in positions of leadership and power.

The author defines three educational regions in Kenya--i.e., educationally advanced rural and urban centers, less advanced rural districts, and educationally backward areas. The degree of educational achievement

in these regions corresponds to their level of socioeconomic development. Since general educational advancement and the degree of participation by women are positively correlated, the economic status of an area and advances in women's education are associated also. Therefore, progress for women in both education and employment is most likely in a society committed to social, economic, and political equality.

Uses data from the School Leaver's Tracer Project to discuss women's recruitment into formal sector employment. Concludes that when women do exceptionally well in the School Certificates--i.e., Division One--they compete on equal terms with males. When their performance is lower, the labor market discriminates in favor of males. While inequalities in access to formal education and wage employment are reflected in income levels, it is unclear if men and women with the same qualifications and experience earn different amounts. It is primarily in promotions that biases are displayed and income gaps between the sexes widen. These patterns are obvious within the field of education where the proportion of women teachers declines at higher levels.

Grants that biases in the school selection process may select against women but argues that such inequities have their origins in social attitudes and expectations rather than in the educational system per se.

Concludes that women's education in Kenya is making progress which should be reflected in employment and income patterns.

Krystall, Abigail

1976 The education of Kenyan women since independence. Report prepared for the National Committee on Educational Policies and Objectives.

A brief examination of women's participation in formal and non-formal education in post-independence Kenya. Outlines major positive and negative trends and suggests possible remedies for the latter.

Even though the proportion of girls in primary school has increased in the last decade, certain economic, cultural, and educational factors mediate against higher education for girls. This affects their economic choices. Less than 20 percent of those employed in the formal sector are women. The majority of women remain in the rural areas engaged in small-scale agriculture and informal employment. It is argued that primary school curricula should reflect these realities by stressing agriculture, budgeting, family welfare, and community development.

Although girls' enrollment in secondary school is slowly increasing, their wastage rate is significantly higher than that of boys. Again, these trends result from economic, cultural, and educational factors. Government action is recommended to equalize opportunities for girls at higher school certificate levels. An increase in the number of mixed-sex secondary schools is suggested both to lower the cost for girls by increasing the number of places available in government-maintained or assisted schools and to ensure comparable science education for both sexes. In addition, it is proposed that pregnant girls be permitted to continue and that sex and family education courses be made a standard part of the curriculum. Further, the particular needs and possibilities of women should be a focus of counseling services as well as pre- and in-service training of teachers. Finally, girls should be helped to develop practical skills relevant to their local community.

As a result of an emphasis on homemaking and cash crops rather than small-scale enterprises and food crops, a lack of access to appropriate

extension services, and a failure to take women's particular needs and time demands into consideration, women have less access than men to economically relevant non-formal education and services. Notes a need for more female extension agents plus pre- and in-service training which would sensitize extension workers to women's role in rural development. A shift in extension emphasis from the simple transmission of information to the development of communication, planning, and leadership skills at the local level is recommended. Finally, this paper recognizes a need for an organized channel extending from the local to the national level to plan and implement locally meaningful programs and to coordinate the provision of information and inputs.

Lindsay, Beverly

1975a Social and cultural factors influencing career choices of Kenyan women students. Ford Foundation. Unpublished paper.

Although the presently understaffed science and technical fields are vital to Kenyan national development, most women students train in overcrowded fields in the liberal arts. This study attempts to determine the factors which influence women's career choices, particularly as these choices relate to equity and national development. Lindsay cites related studies in developed nations which are suggestive but not directly applicable to Third World nations. Contextual differences in Kenya include: an emphasis on the extended rather than the nuclear family, colonial restrictions on education and access to certain professions, and different perceptions of women's abilities and potentials. Two relevant studies have been done in Kenya. J. Fleming Hamilton's (1972:1973:1975) examination of male and female anxiety regarding success is criticized for assuming that all occupations are accessible to educated Kenyan women. B. Whiting's study (1973) is limited by its small sample and failure to systematically relate and evaluate the relative significance of sociocultural variables.

A questionnaire was administered to a stratified sample of women university, college, nursing, and secondary students to determine the influence of certain sociocultural factors on their decisions to enter present fields of study and to assess expectations regarding their future professions. The major variables explored were drawn from similar western studies but have taken into consideration the Kenyan historical and social context. These factors include:

- 1) family influence--e.g., socioeconomic status, desire for daughters to pursue specific careers, and interest in educating one sex over another;
- 2) educational institutions--e.g., influence of curriculum biases in girls' secondary schools, attitudes of teachers toward teaching science to women students, and an examination system which mediates against beginning to study the sciences;
- 3) women's perception of their own roles--e.g., view of own intellectual ability to pursue scientific subjects successfully, particular perceptions of achievement, and beliefs that some professions hinder marital possibilities.

Concludes that influences on women's career choices are complex, multidimensional, and interrelated. Points to the need for more empirical research to analyze the effect and importance of these major variables. In addition, studies need to focus on subcomponents such as: the influence of the extended family, the importance of primary education to career choice, and the individual psychological dimensions of women's roles.

Lindsay, Beverly

- 1975b Social and cultural factors influencing career choices of Kenyan women students. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 120-128.

The same paper as Lindsay (1975a) with minor editorial changes.

Lindsay, Beverly

- 1976 Sociocultural factors influencing Kenyan women's career choices: some preliminary findings. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Conference Panel on "Sexism, Racism, and Multicultural Education," Toronto (February 24-27).

An extended version of Lindsay (1975a) which outlines some of the procedures and questions utilized in the study and provides a preliminary analysis of the data. Findings indicate that the sociocultural factors examined influence women in a similar manner regardless of their field of study.

The influence of parents tends to be practical--i.e., financial contributions--perhaps because they may themselves be uninformed regarding possible career choices. Direct advice is received more often from siblings. Families seem to send children to school on the basis of ability rather than sex. With favoritism, the tendency is to select the eldest child. Although women do not seem to feel discriminated against in career opportunities just because they are women, curriculum biases of girls' secondary schools and performance on subsequent examinations exert an influence on career possibilities. Women themselves do not see a conflict between marriage and professional work outside of the home. Most considerations regarding the continuation and direction of education appear to be pragmatic--e.g., financial status, examination performance, etc.

Further factors to be analyzed include socioeconomic status, religion, and ethnicity.

Maleche, Albert

- 1972 A new status for women in Kenya. East Africa Journal. June, Vol. 9, No. 6, pp. 28-31.

A general discussion of the factors affecting the growing number of Kenyan women attempting to combine homemaking with careers outside of the household. Access to education is a necessary component of these aspirations. Factors mediating against girls' education, particularly in the rural areas, include heavy time and labor demands at home, lack of dedicated teaching staff and facilities for girls, and attitudinal biases favoring the education of boys. Girls themselves may be taught that as they are inferior to men, their primary goal should be to marry and serve their husbands. However, a desire for economic security and social prestige for the family may lead to great sacrifices to educate girls.

This transitional period in which women's roles are being redefined is difficult and ambiguous. Although educated women may be more economically independent, they are faced with the construction of a new model of marital relationships. Principal problems include attitudes toward premarital chastity, monogamy, and the quality of the relationship between husband and wife. At the present time, many influential African women view these relationships in terms which are unacceptable to the majority of Kenyan women.

Educated Kenyan women find themselves caught in a paradox. Those who accept the ideals taught in school find that men may refuse to play the

necessary complementary roles and thus continue to retain control over their enhanced social and economic abilities. Women who reject the ideals and who, according to Malache, may constitute the majority of emancipated women, are excluded from educational institutions and face united opposition.

Suggests that change will occur slowly through the education of the public rather than the development of a western-style women's movement.

Mboya, Pamela

1964 Sideview of a women's seminar. East Africa Journal. June, Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 15-16.

A report on the East African Women's Seminar, entitled "The East African Women Look Ahead," held in Nairobi, Kenya in April 1964. Discussion emphasized the importance of women in national development. A primary concern was how to integrate women into nation-building without conflicting with their domestic responsibilities or creating friction and competition with men.

Educated, urban women were criticized for their failure to serve as effective channels of communication with rural women. Women were also felt to embrace western ways too quickly thereby denying the value of African culture. When concern was expressed that these values were being passed on to children by their mothers, it was noted that men should take a more active role in their children's upbringing. Employment was a major issue. Suggested that uneducated or untrained women seek self-employment in trading or handicrafts. Proposed that women's organizations in Kenya unite into a single body to liaise with the government. Encouraged women to have a real choice in pending legislation by becoming members of government.

Concluded by setting up a steering committee to organize more forums of this nature.

Migot-Adholla, Shem E.

1974 Some sociological aspects of family law in Kenya. Joliso (Journal of Literature and Society). Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 125-133. (Originally prepared for the Conference of the Kenya National Council of Women and the University Women Association at the Kenyatta Conference Centre, Nairobi, February 1, 1974.)

In Kenya, discrepancies between social behavior and the law contribute to conflicts within the institution of marriage particularly among educated urban elites. These disjunctures have been exacerbated by changing social conditions--e.g., the erosion of community controls over individuals which has accompanied the increased physical mobility of the population, the enhancement of opportunities for women to become economically independent, and the availability of effective contraception. In addition, a multiplicity of marriage laws permits syncretic marriages which attempt to ally alien Anglo-Saxon principles with often radically different indigenous belief and value systems. Disputes over bride-wealth, polygamy, divorce, and the division of marital property reflect the resulting tensions. Present resolutions tend to be detrimental to women with men reaping the benefits of both statutory and customary laws without accepting their concomitant responsibilities.

Concludes that many of the problems cannot be resolved by legal reform alone. To be effective, legislation must be accompanied by attitudinal changes.

alienated men from the household economy. Previously vital male activities have been replaced by cash or have become the responsibility of women and children. Thus, while male labor inputs are marginalized, women's workloads are increasing and the labor of children remains significant. Women, with the assistance of children, carry the major burden for the reproduction of labor which includes not only biological reproduction but also the provision of food, clothing, and socialization for the coming labor force.

Mønsted, Mette

1977 Conditions for a changing family size in selected rural areas of Kenya. Centre for Development Research Project Paper. Rural Families in Kenya, D. 77.3.

Using 314 case studies drawn from eight districts of rural Kenya, this paper examines the impact of the socioeconomic costs and benefits of child-rearing on desired family size. Perceptions of costs and benefits are influenced by present family size, age of mother at interview, population density, mode of production, labor patterns, and social strata.

In poor to middle-level peasant households, the wish to maintain present family size is positively correlated with a large number of existing children, higher ages for mothers, the expense of school fees, and high population densities. No relationship is noted between amount of child labor and desired family size. Economic factors influence fertility considerations in areas of high population density while a more traditional view--i.e., having as many children as possible--characterizes other areas.

Although the relationships between desired family size and number of children, age of mother, and school fees reported above are found in middle to rich peasant households, they are not as strong. Where economic constraints are less significant, traditional norms regarding large families persist.

In the few households of landless laborers sampled, the substantial economic contributions of children result in a desire for as many as possible.

In pastoral households, there is no correlation between number of existing children or age of the mother and desire for more children. Nor does dependence on child labor covary with attitudes toward family size. Since benefits from children are high and costs are relatively low, economic pressures from large families are not a problem.

Concludes that the economic aspects of fertility are important in changing attitudes toward large families in households with limited resources. While recognizing that economic factors are mediated by social variables, argues that changes in fertility attitudes will not take place without an economic rationale. Therefore, family planning propaganda will not reduce family size unless accompanied by basic socioeconomic changes which mediate against large families. Unable to assess shifts in attitudes within a single generation or variations in the costs and benefits of child-rearing from the birth of the child to the death of its parents, as a diachronic study is required.

Moock, Peter R.

1976 The efficiency of women as farm managers: Kenya. Journal of Agricultural Economics. Vol. 58, No. 5 (December), pp. 831-835.

As a result of extensive male out-migration in search of wage labor, a high proportion of the farms in Vihiga Division, western Kenya--i.e., 38 percent--are managed by women. This paper investigates the relationship between

Mønsted, Mette

1976 The changing division of labour within rural families in Kenya. Centre for Development Research Project Paper. Rural Families in Kenya, D. 76.1.

In rural Kenya, contributions to the household economy by age and sex are undergoing changes which must be understood within a context of economic, social, and ecological variation. The immigration of European settlers, increased population pressure on land, restrictions on hunting, cattle raiding, and warfare, and increased commercialization of crops and services have influenced present patterns.

Data from 299 case studies regarding the division of labor, patterns of decision-making, and responsibility for income generation are presented. Sample areas include: peasant farms in Bungoma, Kakamega, Kisii, and South Nyanza districts; middle to rich stratum households in Trans Nzoia and Kericho districts; primarily pastoral families in North and South Nandi districts; and a small sample of landless families.

In peasant households, farms are divided into commercial and subsistence crops. Although women and children provide the primary labor force for both, men control the profit from the former while women sell or trade surplus food crops. Men also control livestock although women milk and children herd. Peak periods of labor demand are met by the reciprocal labor of relatives. Hired labor may be employed for cash crops. With the exception of some occasional male labor such as fencing, women and children do the non-farm chores. The amount and type of work that children do is determined by their age and sex and the economic status of the family. With the exception of Kakamega and Kisii, the importance of children's labor is felt to offset their high cost in school fees. Men earn cash by wage labor and the sale of cash crops while women engage in small-scale trade, wage labor, and beer or liquor brewing. There is great seasonal variation in income and low capital accumulation for both sexes. Women are becoming increasingly more responsible for the economic support of the household with limited support from males.

The middle to rich stratum families in the sample possess larger and more commercialized farms in former white settler areas. The family is the main labor source supplemented by hired labor during peak periods. Consequently, children's labor is still important. Men are active in supervising farm work and handling livestock. Non-farm division of labor is similar to peasant farms. Commercial farms are not divided always into cash and subsistence crops. If surplus food crops are not grown, women lose their primary source of income and become dependent upon their husbands to provide household necessities.

In the primarily pastoral households sampled, male-controlled animal products provide the major portion of family subsistence needs. However, with the growing importance of agricultural products, households are becoming more dependent on women's labor. Women and girls do the household chores and boys help with agriculture and herding. Although women may generate some income by small-scale trading or illegal brewing, men are responsible for school fees, farming inputs, and household necessities.

Landless families are uncommon in peasant farming areas, but will be an increasing problem for future generations. In commercial farming areas, landless individuals provide casual labor for the large farms. Women may engage in petty trade as well. Children work as early as possible and rarely go to school.

For all the areas surveyed, Mønsted argues that the increasing importance of cash and the declining role of men in food production has

sex-linked differences in production knowledge and maize output in Vihiga.

Moock determines that although using marginally higher labor inputs, women managers in the sample are more technically efficient maize producers than the males surveyed. Women's outputs do not vary significantly from men's even though women receive fewer government extension services and use fewer physical inputs--e.g., chemical fertilizer, insecticide, and hybrid maize seeds.

Mugo, Micere Githae

1975 The role of women in the struggle for freedom. Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society (Nairobi, August 1975).

Although the nurturing role played by women within the family may be praised and even venerated, most societies also espouse pervasive, negative stereotypes of women. Usually men are depicted as the central figures of history while women remain peripheral or disappear altogether. Mugo argues that this is a misrepresentation of historical processes and cites evidence of the importance of Kikuyu women during the Emergency in Kenya. She notes, however, that historical accounts virtually ignore the role of women who went into the forests to risk their lives with the male freedom fighters. Following the fighting, women who suffered and lost their families were forgotten and never compensated. While men found outlets in political offices and other responsible positions, women were forced into the background.

Advocates the reexamination of the present system to correct these injustices. Urges that women question the very foundations of nations in which the female image is so eroded that women become second-class citizens defined by their relationship to particular males. International Women's Year should emphasize the identification of women with the larger, exploited family of working peasants of the capitalist world.

Munroe, Robert L. and Ruth H. Munroe

1971 Male pregnancy symptoms and cross-sex identity in three societies. Journal of Social Psychology. Vol. 84, No. 1, pp. 11-25.

Presents findings on the relationship between cross-sex identity and husband's symptoms during wife's pregnancy among lower middle-class American males, Black Carib males in British Honduras, and Logoli males in western Kenya. While techniques varied slightly with each cultural group, in every case both covert measures designed to elicit non-defensive responses and overt measures of sex identity were employed. As anticipated by the basic hypothesis, the study found that men who experienced symptoms during their wife's pregnancy provided female-like responses to covert measures and exaggerated masculine responses to overt measures. The latter were understood to be defensive reactions to cross-sex identity. Among the Americans and Black Caribs sampled, the presence of symptoms was associated with the absence of an adult male in the household for a significant part of the first ten years of life. An association between positive attitudes toward child care and male pregnancy symptoms was apparent among American and Logoli males. Although some of the data are unclear, it is suggested that the presence of male pregnancy symptoms may be a useful cross-cultural measure of male cross-sex identity.

Mutiso, G.C.

- 1971 Mbai Sya Eitu: a low status group in centre-periphery relations. Paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (Denver, Colorado, November 3-6).

In the study of local level, intra-tribal political processes, more attention should be given to low status groups which are organizationally independent of national political structures. The ability of these groups to adapt traditional modes to serve modern needs could be a potent force in rural development.

As a result of changing circumstances in Ukamba, including male absenteeism and colonial adjustments to the authority structure, Kamba women began to take on male work and to play an increasingly significant political role. Although Akamba are patrilineal, in 1961 women in Machakos District began to organize into political groups based on their matrilineal clan affiliation. This gave rise to Mbai Sya Eitu (literally, clans of girls). Initially, women leaders were recruited from all locations and the procedures and goals of Mbai Sya Eitu were explained. These leaders returned to their locations to recruit other women into the organization. The result was a well-organized female hierarchy with strong political and economic power at the local level. This power lies principally in their influence over voting and their control of self-help fund-raising. The prominence of these women in the traditionally male political arena has contributed to the withdrawal of some men from politics.

Concludes that with adequate governmental recognition and support such groups could form the basis for rapid rural development.

Mutua, R.W.

- 1975 Women's education and their participation in the changing societies of Africa. Paper prepared for the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society (Nairobi, August 11-15, 1975). Also appears in slightly edited version in Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 26-34.

A paper which argues that modernization and western education have depressed the status of African women by marginalizing their economic contributions.

In traditional African societies, women gained respect and a measure of economic independence by the skill with which they performed and taught the recognized tasks of women. The sexual division of labor was clear-cut and emphasized the complementary roles of men and women. With the advent of western formal education and wage employment, however, a production gap developed between the sexes which decreased the economic import of women and increased their dependence on men. Present-day education--both formal and non-formal--seems structured to maintain this gap.

In Kenya, economic, cultural, and attitudinal factors contribute to the low enrollment and high drop-out rate of girls. Limited educational and training opportunities for women have restricted their access to the modern sector. In the rural areas, however, women have retained primary responsibility for food production and processing and their contributions to nation-building are vital.

National Interagency Working Group on the Pilot Women's Group Programme
 1977 Group extension through women's groups. Programmes for Better
 Family Living/FAO Report 26.

Summarizes the findings of a workshop held in Kenya in November 1976 to evaluate the extent to which women's groups have been utilized in group extension. The workshop follows field visits to certain women's groups participating in the Women's Group Programme initiated as a part of the Special Rural Development Programme. Fourteen districts were visited by teams from the national-level Interagency Working Group on the Pilot Women's Group Programme, composed of representatives from Programmes for Better Family Living/FAO and the Ministries of Agriculture, Cooperative Development, Finance and Planning, Health, and Housing and Social Services.

Joint reports evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the interagency approach to group extension, suggest improvements in government infrastructure and policies at all levels, and offer recommendations regarding project selection and implementation. In addition, the viewpoints of each ministry are presented separately. The women's groups visited are briefly described. The final section summarizes data collected from more intensive discussions with women's group members and divisional extension staff in five selected districts. Data include background information on the groups visited and indications of the degree of interagency involvement in group projects.

The program was felt to be progressing well and worthy of replication. However, suggests the need for:

- 1) improvement in vertical and horizontal channels of communication;
- 2) well-developed, specific objectives at all levels of administration;
- 3) rigorous record-keeping;
- 4) more extensive training of staff and group members;
- 5) increased funding for equipment, transport, and staffing;
- 6) a broadening of the program to include other women's groups;
- 7) increased interagency cooperation;
- 8) improved marketing facilities.

Nelson, Nici

1975 Some aspects of informal social organization of female migrants in a Nairobi squatter neighborhood: Mathare Valley. Paper I: Strategies of female migration to Mathare Valley. London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 75.1.

An historical and sociodemographic description of immigrant women and the adaptive strategies they employ in Mathare Valley, a primarily Kikuyu squatter settlement on the outskirts of Nairobi, Kenya. The population of Mathare Valley (ca 70,000) is predominantly landless, unemployed, and uneducated with a high proportion of independent female heads of household. While studies of male urban migrants attribute moves primarily to economic factors, female migrants in Mathare emigrated to strengthen domestic unity or to escape domestic discord through economic independence and freedom from the control of male kin.

Female migrants to Mathare attempt to exploit their new situation by adapting familiar rural patterns to an urban setting and by adopting new urban forms. The building of traditional houses to rent, the brewing of African beer and liquor to sell, and the cultivation of available land to supplement the family's diet are individual rural activities modified for urban life. Two important rural institutions--i.e., the Elders and the

kinship network--have been altered to suit Mathare living. The Mathare KANU Committee of Elders, which unlike its rural counterpart is 50 percent female, tries local cases and settles disputes over contracts which the Nairobi Courts would consider illegal. Kin ties assume a matrifocal emphasis in Mathare--e.g., when cooperative sibling clusters develop, they tend to be of sisters rather than brothers. Urban activities which have been adopted include paid employment, temporary marriages, and family planning. New urban institutions such as nursery school associations and savings, land, building, and dance societies are also appearing.

Although the majority of Mathare women are poor, a few have become wealthy and powerful both within the Mathare system and in interactions with the wider society. It is suggested that Mathare may provide a case study of emerging stratification in the most exploited segment of society.

Nelson, Nici

1975 Some aspects of informal social organization of female migrants in a Nairobi squatter neighborhood: Mathare Valley. Paper II: The operation and continuity of personal networks in the process of buzaa (beer) brewing. London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 75.2.

A large percentage of the women in Mathare Valley, a squatter neighborhood in Nairobi, Kenya, illegally brew and sell buzaa, a maize beer. While successful home brewing is both convenient for women with children and lucrative, it requires hard work, expensive equipment, and a thorough knowledge of marketing and credit within the community. In addition, there is a constant risk of fine or imprisonment.

Although women brew independently, the successful production and distribution of buzaa is facilitated by complex personal networks based on cooperation and reciprocity. Two types of personal networks are described. An "effective" network based on proximity develops from the daily reciprocal interactions of neighbors during the process of buzaa brewing and selling. An "extended" network is made up of links of greater emotional content and durability. These friends and relatives provide more intense social interaction and aid during serious or long-term misfortunes. The functions of this network include help with the buying and selling of wholesale buzaa, the payment of bribes or court fees, and the procurement of extended credit.

After comparing the efficiency of these informal networks of independent brewers with the potential advantages of cooperative brewing, the author concludes that the less formal system is preferable. The poverty, limited formal education, residential instability, and lack of organizational skills of the majority of Mathare women are obstacles to the successful formation of any women's organization. In addition, with daily police raids, it is virtually impossible for a formal, visible association to maintain large stores of buzaa or to sell from extensive premises. Independent brewing and selling within the context of existing networks minimizes risks and provides support without high visibility.

Concludes that the cultural behavior and symbolic patterns which create and maintain these networks define a specific buzaa-brewing subculture. Mechanisms for the maintenance of cultural continuity are found among these informal, partly invisible groups as well as among more formal institutions.

Nelson, Nici

- 1975 Some aspects of informal social organization of female migrants in a Nairobi squatter neighborhood: Mathare Valley. Paper III: Management of uncertainty in reciprocal and credit relationships among women in Mathare Valley. London University, School of Oriental and African Studies, 75.3.

This third section of Nelson's paper on the female migrants of Mathare Valley focuses on interpersonal relationships which require a measure of trust. The intensity of the evaluation process prior to forming the dyad, depends upon the degree of risk involved, the traceability of the other party, and the availability of effective sanctions.

When risks are small, parties are easily traced and effective sanctions are available, little or no evaluation is necessary. Interactions requiring larger amounts of credit--e.g., those between wholesalers and retailers or between shopkeepers and credit customers--require moderate evaluations of reliability. The restriction of credit to known customers residing in the same village in Mathare minimizes risks. Sanctions include verbal damage to the individual's local credit rating and the more active intervention of the Youth Wing or the KANU Committee of Elders. The most intensely evaluated relationship is that between a retailer and her credit customers. Since customers are seldom residents of Mathare, their traceability is low and they are less vulnerable to pressure from the Youth Wing or Elders. A public outcry is the only sanction available. While this may keep the defaulter from the creditor's part of Mathare, it seldom results in the payment of the debt. Retailers minimize their risks by selecting credit customers by their home areas, length and type of relationship with the retailer, existence of mutual friends, and the customer's job. Occasionally, sanctions may be applied through rural ties.

Credit is vital in Mathare. Risks are weighed and social control mechanisms activated through personal networks and voluntary associations such as the Youth Wing or Elders. These informal organizations are flexible, local solutions to problems not met by national institutions.

Concludes with two aspects of the Mathare situation which are important to an understanding of the informal organization of poverty. First, there is a counter-culture aspect of Mathare which is expressed in a lack of belief in most national institutions and authority structures, but does not result in political radicalism. Secondly, the intense social solidarity coupled with the strong consensus regarding normative behavior associated with buzaa brewing denies the too easy characterization of urban life as almost pathological, lacking social solidarity and stability.

Njiiri, Ruth S.

- 1975 New roles for women in modern Africa. Presented to the African-American Scholars Council, May 10, 1975, Washington, D.C.

The unequal participation of Kenyan women in economic and social spheres is partly the result of colonial policies which favored males and discriminated against females. This inequity is particularly obvious in the education system. As a consequence, a large proportion of rural women are illiterate or semi-literate which restricts their economic possibilities. Women farmers also face discrimination with respect to land ownership and access to farmers' training. Although active involvement in voting makes women a political force, lack of confidence and male resistance has meant minimal representation in Parliament. Even so, women have been a progressive force

pressing for education for themselves and their children and joining together in cooperative societies which strengthen their economic and political potential by pooling resources. However, one must not mistake Kenyan women's desire for equal opportunities as a rejection of their roles as wife and mother. Rather, it is a creative attempt to combine new careers with family responsibilities.

Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O.

1975 The changing system of land tenure and the rights of women. Paper presented at the International Women's Year Tribune's Panel on The Family (Mexico City, June 27, 1975).

Argues that social institutions should be evaluated in terms of their appropriateness to a particular socioeconomic setting rather than simply characterized by value-laden labels such as "traditional" or "modern." However, in post-colonial nations such as Kenya, it must be remembered that imported and indigenous institutions do differ. They have risen from specific historical background in response to particular sets of problems and both must be assessed in terms of their suitability to deal with present problems of Third World development.

In pre-colonial Kenya, political and economic power was based on familial control of land. Although women did not possess the power of land allocation, they had usufruct rights which provided security of tenure. Their power in the economic system derived from their monopoly of agricultural skills and their control over the processes of production and the allocation of surplus.

By expropriating agricultural land, introducing commercial agriculture, and siphoning off male labor, the colonial economy seriously disrupted this system. As increased land pressure lessened the security of usufruct tenure, female labor demands increased with the addition of cash crops and the loss of male labor, and colonial agricultural extension services were channeled to males rather than females, women lost effective control of the family economy. Such changes have affected basic socioeconomic relations within the family. In fact, many aspects of this institution--e.g., marriage, divorce, and land tenure--have become exploitative of women.

Argues against ill-conceived attempts to resolve such problems through the adoption of "modern" institutions based on English family norms. Warns that social change does not occur by legal fiat. Concludes that there is a need to address the issue of alternatives within the context of an equitable and integrated political and economic program rather than to insist uncritically upon either the continuation of indigenous institutions or the imposition of alien ones.

Ominde, Simeon H.

1975 The Luo girl from infancy to marriage. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau. (Originally published in 1952 by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.)

A 1947 survey of the socialization of Luo girls undertaken by a Luo man near Kisumu, Kenya. Primarily concerned with the factors which shape social attitudes and instill behavior appropriate to a Luo wife and the impact of these factors on the acceptance and relevance of western education for Luo girls.

The pamphlet outlines the social development of Luo girls from infancy through marriage and child-bearing with reference to both monogamous and

polygamous households. The author comments on feeding practices, physical and mental development, disciplinary procedures, and interpersonal relations appropriate to each sex at various stages of this cycle.

The socialization of boys and girls is primarily differentiated by the family's pragmatic preparation of the latter for life as a wife and mother. While boys have few responsibilities, from an early age girls' training is very utilitarian. The economic return to a family of a daughter at her marriage is based on her ability and willingness to do domestic work efficiently and to conduct herself in a decorous manner. In addition, hard-working daughters both reflect well on their mothers and decrease their household responsibilities.

Within this framework, formal education is seen to withdraw the needed labor of girls from the household, to interfere with important practical training as wife and mother, and to cost the family money while at the same time delaying their economic return from marriage. In return for this, the girl receives an education which is felt to be irrelevant to her future. These are factors which, Ominde argues, must be considered in planning and introducing women's education into such areas.

Ominde sums up Luo women's life as follows:

Girls are born into a ready-made pattern of life and they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. ...

A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even when civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. [P. 30]

However, he also notes a number of changes which are radically affecting Luo life--e.g., the introduction of a monetary economy, greater land pressures, and the advent of modern household goods. Women are responding to these changes by increasingly engaging in business and the formation of women's cooperatives and social organizations. It is therefore unclear whether Ominde's view of Luo women as passive bastions of tradition caught in a timeless vacuum is the typical Luo male's perspective or if it is an adoption of the prevailing colonial understanding of African women.

Pala, Achola

1974 The changing economic position of women in rural areas: case studies from Kisumu District, Kenya. Working Paper No. 156, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Two opposed perspectives concerning the effects of colonialism on the economic and political participation of women in African societies are examined. On the one hand, it is argued that colonial policies emancipated African women and, on the other, that they seriously eroded women's position. In reviewing previous research concerned with the integration of women into pre-colonial and post-colonial social systems, the author recognizes two major types of analysis:

- 1) bourgeois approaches which include conjectural evolution, structural-functionalism, and culture change;
- 2) neo-Marxist studies which focus on the contradiction between colonized and colonizer as a result of unequal access to the means of production.

Evolutionary studies suffer from ethnocentric interpretations of isolated customs which provide little information about women's economic participation. From the more systematic analyses of structural-functionalism, it is clear that the political and economic strength of women arises from their importance in food production and their control over the allocation of surplus food crops. However, structural-functionalist studies fail to explore changes in social organization and relate them to the colonial context--e.g.,

the introduction of cash crops and wage labor. Even during the upsurge in culture contact studies following World War II, the relative emancipation of women often was obscured by indices which were inappropriate to their contexts.

The neo-Marxist position, as represented by Walter Rodney (How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), contends that colonialism damaged the position of African women by reinforcing the exploitative tendencies of pre-existing social forms, disrupting the division of labor, and institutionalizing an anti-feminist bias which restricted women's access to formal education, extension services, and wage employment. As a productivity gap between men and women developed and widened, women's contributions to the economy were marginalized and their dependence upon men increased.

Recognizes a need for in-depth studies of the effects of the colonial experience upon women's relationship to the means of production and their own perceptions of that relationship. Recommends that a case study be undertaken among Luo women in Kisumu District, Kenya. Suggests several data-gathering techniques including archival research, participant observation, individual interviews, and discussion groups.

Pala, Achola O.

1974 The role of African women in rural development: research priorities. Discussion Paper No. 203, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

"While African women have always made important contributions to rural economies in cultivation, cattle-tending and trade, attempts to integrate this fact into rural development strategies remain very limited. Exhortations are made by politicians and women's organisations urging women to 'join in building the nation', but these are rarely accompanied by specific strategies for giving a more productive role to the majority of women who live in the rural areas under relatively poor conditions. The paucity of research on women's economic role in the countryside has been lamented by several scholars.

"The discrepancy between the recognition and apparent concern for women's potential in rural development and the relative poverty of planning and implementation to speed up the realisation of this potential can be explained at least in part by two factors. In the first place, during the colonial era in countries such as Kenya all research and investment were concentrated on large-scale, export-oriented farms owned by the white settlers. The extractive nature of colonial production, its exploitative production relationships with regard to Africans and the resultant stagnation of areas designated as 'native' is well documented. Since independence, those agricultural production sectors which had been unduly favored have been taken up mostly by men, and those sectors which historically suffered from neglect have mostly been left to women.

"In the second place, research on African women has been dominated by people and agencies outside the African production and development process, such as expatriate researchers who quietly take their findings back to Europe or America, international agencies which have no means to implement the changes they recommend and Africans who because of their training and privileged position are unwilling to approach rural development problems from the point of view of the peasants they seek to influence. This situation has tended to widen the gap between theory and practice.

"In this paper a rationale for the role of women in rural development is presented. A historical analysis of the contribution of women in

subsistence production is made the basis for a critique of both the conceptions and strategies of rural development. It is essentially argued that an adequate conception of development in general and rural development in particular must include the role of women as an integral part of rural improvement that is equal and complementary to the role of men.

"African women must be trained in the social sciences, agriculture and related fields of inquiry so that the nature of rural societies and the changing social and economic position of African women can be analysed more fully. In line with these aims, a series of broad outlines of research areas are presented. It is hoped that this will indicate the types of data about women's activities which are needed to aid the planning of rural change. The stagnation and exploitation of the majority of women is one of the major factors contributing to the underdevelopment of the countryside, and the social costs of this situation may soon prove very great." (IDS abstract.)

Pala, A.O.

1975 Case study: Migori/Kuria. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 70-79.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in Migori/Kuria done as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, in 1975. From a brief profile of women's group leaders in Migori/Kuria, this report concludes that selection is based on the woman's conduct, marital status, age, and position within the community. Perceptions of the latter appear to be influenced by the occupation and status of the woman's husband. In fact, some of the leaders may have attained their office as a result of their husband's position.

Since 1971, leadership training in this area has involved a number of short courses for both trainers and group leaders. Available records indicate that as a result of haste and lack of coordination, little attempt has been made to tailor the training specifically to the Migori/Kuria context. As a result of the size and remoteness of the area, poor and irregular remuneration of locational Community Development Assistants, and transport problems, follow-up procedures have been inadequate. In addition, because of the inadequate follow-up, the lack of salaries for women's leaders, and transport problems, the drop-out rate for training courses is quite high. The number of groups in Migori/Kuria seem to fluctuate dramatically and it is argued that the success of the Programme must be judged through follow-up reports rather than based on the total number of groups.

Group activities include a variety of income-generating and social welfare projects. However, financial problems frequently prevent the implementation of promising projects. In addition, the Migori/Kuria Programme suffers from communication problems at all levels. The women themselves have limited access to communication media--i.e., while a number listen to the radio with some degree of frequency, few read newspapers regularly, and very few have seen the mobile cinema unit. At a group level, leaders need to keep their members informed about the objectives and finances of the Programme. However, if the leader was not actually selected by her group, alienation and resentment may interfere with the exchange of information. In such a situation, access to knowledgeable government officials is especially important. Any lack of cooperation between relevant ministries which disrupts communication or coordination at the field level is particularly damaging. Suggests that communication problems would be reduced by frequent contact between field officers and women's groups and by the encouragement of leader selection by group members.

Pala, Achola O.

- 1975 A preliminary survey of the avenues for and constraints on women in the development process in Kenya. Discussion Paper No. 218, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

In Kenya, women comprise the majority of the rural population and play significant roles in food production; family health, nutrition, and education; and community-centered activities. These are crucial spheres, particularly in a country with an agriculturally based economy, high fertility, and a narrowing land base. The recognition of emerging patterns of women's participation in the development process and the identification of constraints on that participation are vital to national and local level planning in Kenya.

Detailed data on the economic participation of women are limited. National statistics focus on the formal sector, providing scant information on the agricultural activities or informal sector employment of women. The resultant picture underestimates the economic participation of women and implies a female reluctance to engage in innovative activity. In an effort to clarify these issues, the author identifies several factors which affect men and women differently and determine their reaction to changing circumstances. These factors include: occupational socialization, replicability of experience, literacy level, available technology, leadership or organizational capacity, availability of capital, and access to credit. In addition, women's participation in development efforts is constrained by their limited access to formal education, to cooperative membership, and to adequate extension services and training. Further, their potential integration is affected by their legal position with regard to marriage, divorce, employment, and control of productive resources.

The Government of Kenya administers three main programs which focus on women. These include the:

1. Women's Programme which attempts to strengthen existing women's groups and to initiate others. There are presently pilot programs in the six Special Rural Development Programme areas (Mbere, Tetu, Kwale, Migori, Vihiga, and Kapenguria).
2. Functional or Adult Literacy Classes which are highly attended by women but frequently lack relevant reading material.
3. Family Planning Programme which attempts to educate both sexes regarding the medical and economic rationale for child-spacing, rather than focusing on birth control per se.

Notes a need for further programs, including: loan schemes which do not require ownership of large assets, development of women's non-consumer cooperatives, and increased government provision of capital to women's self-help projects in less wealthy rural areas. Concludes with further long- and short-term recommendations drawn from Winans (1972).

Pala, Achola O.

- 1976 Women and development: an overview on Kenya. Paper presented at the American Council on Education, Overseas Liaison Committee Seminar on "Women in Rural Development" (Washington, D.C., April 21-23).

Historical and demographic factors coupled with the sexual inequity of some aspects of development in Kenya justify an analysis of the changing economic position of Kenyan women. There is a need both to summarize available data and to identify significant gaps in knowledge. The effects of

land reform and changes in women's economic responsibilities at the farm level are of particular import.

Available material indicates that women control the skills related to food crop production, propagation, and storage and form a more stable element in agricultural decision-making than men who are often urban-oriented. The positive involvement of women in the rural economy could be encouraged by increasing their access to a cash income, improving transport and marketing, increasing access to the benefits of cooperative membership, and providing relevant agricultural education to women. A lack of concern with these issues has increased the workload of women and resulted in a shortage of female labor particularly in the smallholder agricultural areas where women predominate. In these areas, women continue to perform traditional economic roles which no longer offer adequate returns. The primary result has been their increasing dependence on men.

Within Kenya, the central government has both encouraged and initiated rurally based women's groups to serve as two-way communication channels. In addition, the government has established a Women's Bureau within the Ministry of Housing and Social Services to effect policy changes of benefit to women. Further, the National Christian Council of Kenya, in conjunction with the Women's Bureau, is evaluating the potential of small-scale labor-saving devices to reduce women's workload. The Ministry of Health is administering programs of curative medicine and education of both sexes in family planning possibilities.

Recommends:

- 1) the establishment of a research center in addition to the Women's Bureau, to collect documents from overseas and other African research centers and to recommend qualified local women as consultants to other African countries;
- 2) the sponsorship of research workshops on African women to be held in Africa;
- 3) the initiation of policy-oriented, nation-wide studies by research teams.

Pala, Achola O.

1976 African women in rural development: research trends and priorities. Overseas Liaison Committee, American Council on Education, OLC Paper No. 12.

The design and implementation of development programs are influenced by the human and natural resources, technical capabilities, and ideological commitments of the country in question. However, since 70 to 90 percent of the populations of sub-Saharan Africa depend on agriculture for their livelihood, inadequate agricultural productivity and limited participation in the market exchange system are development problems common to many African countries.

The significant contributions of African women in agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and trade emphasize the need to integrate women into rural development programs, both to increase the productivity and return of present work patterns and to identify more productive possibilities. An emphasis on research and investment in large-scale, export-oriented endeavors rather than smallholder sectors producing food for domestic consumption, the inaccessibility of much relevant data, and problems with readily adapting available data to action programs appropriate to the national context, all pose obstacles to the successful integration of women into national development.

Argues that an adequate conception of rural development must maintain an historical perspective, narrow the productivity gap between men and women, and demonstrate awareness of the real economic and political constraints within the country at a national level. Development strategies must be sensitive to the differential impact of programs on men, women, and children at the local level. For example, the shift in emphasis from normative usufruct rights in land to individual titles may give men absolute control over the use and disposition of land, jeopardizing the tenure security of women.

Research efforts need to focus on:

- 1) the training of African men and women in the collection and analysis of data;
- 2) the collection and synthesis of available material on rural African women;
- 3) the establishment of research priorities which identify key issues.

Basic research should be undertaken in the following areas: access to land, labor allocation, time-budgeting, decision-making in the household, male outmigration, agricultural training, participation in marketing and cooperative societies, women's self-help and work groups, nutrition, family planning, and community health. Participant observation, the collection of life histories, and discussion groups are suggested as appropriate data-gathering techniques.

Some parts of this paper are based on data collected for Pala, 1974b.

Pala, Achola and Abigail Krystall

1975 Women and education. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 1-5.

This issue of the Kenya Education Review attempts to bring together information on women's participation in formal, non-formal, and informal education in Kenya. Stresses the importance of developing women's abilities and skills, particularly in activities where they have primary responsibility--e.g., the socialization of children, labor and management on rural farms, and small-scale rural and urban economic enterprises.

Notes that in both formal and non-formal education women have less chance than men to enter, complete, or utilize their education. Cultural expectations and attitudinal factors coupled with realistic evaluations of male versus female earning potential have limited women's participation in education. In addition, the existing system of formal and non-formal education is oriented toward male needs rather than the usual activities of women and thus reinforces the belief that education is less important for women than it is for men. There are a few notable exceptions, however, such as the Ministry of Housing and Social Services' Women's Group Programme which is geared to women's needs.

Concludes with recommendations drawn from the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society. The education of women (group discussion report) 1975.

Pala, A.O., J.E. Reynolds, and M.A.H. Wallis

1975 The women's group programme in the SRDP. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 1-28.

A summary report based on research undertaken as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by

the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, in 1975. In order to facilitate the integration of women into national development, the Women's Group Programme chose to develop indigenous institutions and to train a limited number of women's group leaders to provide extension services in their local areas. Attempts were made to coordinate the activities of various ministries and agencies in planning, administering, and following up the training offered. In addition, a group approach to extension was utilized in which larger numbers of women were reached in an environment which fostered collective consideration of the material presented. Attempts were made to link groups with available resources and to coordinate their activities with family welfare and community development orientations.

Although some problems exist, the Women's Group Programme is generally successful and worthy of replication. The increased participation and cooperation of relevant ministries and agencies is recommended. The Women's Bureau of the Ministry of Housing and Social Services should be used in a coordinating capacity. To increase the decision-making and policy-implementing powers of this body, it is suggested that the Bureau be restructured to include high-level representation from all ministries and departments involved in the Programme. In addition, the training offered to women's group leaders should focus on significant material which can be adequately covered during the short training period. Methods of income generation particularly should be stressed in addition to family welfare. Follow-up procedures should be vigorously pursued and supplemented by available means such as the mobile cinema unit. Since Community Development Assistants have a pivotal role in the linkage between central government and women's groups, steps should be taken to ensure their continued, paid employment. Further, women's groups leaders themselves should receive a small honorarium for the important extension work they do. Finally, the monitoring and evaluation system needs to be improved. See PBFL (FAO) Women's groups in rural development, Report No. 15 1974, for suggested standardized planning procedures and progress summary forms. Concludes with brief recommendations for the Women's Programme in each SRDP area.

This paper also appears as Chapter Fifteen of Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme, Occasional Paper No. 12, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, and as Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 230 which was presented at the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society (Nairobi, August 11-15, 1975).

Pala, A.O., J.E. Reynolds, M.A.H. Wallis, and D.L. Browne
1975 The women's group programme in the SRDP. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

See annotations for individual chapters as follows:

- Pala, A.O., J.E. Reynolds and M.A.H. Wallis
1975 The women's group programme in the SRDP.
- Reynolds, J.E.
1975 Case study: Kapenguria.
- Browne, D.L. and A.O. Pala
1975 Case study: Kwale.
- Wallis, M.A.H.
1975 Case study: Mbere.
- Pala, A.O.
1975 Case study: Migori/Kuria.

- Browne, D.L.
 1975 Case study: Tetu.
 Reynolds, J.E.
 1975 Case study: Vihiga/Hamisi.

Programmes for Better Family Living/FAO

- 1972 Training women's leaders. Report on the National Workshop for Trainers of Women's Leaders. Adult Studies Centre, Kikuyu, Kenya (Oct. 2-8, 1972). PBFL Report Series No. 4.

This workshop initiated the second part of a UNICEF-sponsored training program for women's leaders begun in October of 1971. Phase I consisted of a two-week course in home economics, child care, and nutrition attended by leaders from each Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) area who returned to their local areas to teach others what they had learned. After three months, these leaders met again to evaluate their training.

Following national-level government input and precourse interviews with trainers in the six SRDP areas, this Phase II workshop was designed. Key extension personnel working with women's groups in the SRDP areas met at the Adult Studies Centre, Kikuyu, Kenya in October 1972 to plan Phase II courses for women's leaders in their areas and to explore the ways in which women's groups could contribute to development.

The workshop covered the development of the teaching, extension, planning, and evaluation skills of the trainers themselves; an exploration of the nature of development and the parts women play as individual members of the family and as members of women's groups; an analysis of local groups and leadership needs; and the preparation of objectives for Phase II training including the design of a curriculum to meet these needs.

Provides recommendations for the development of a national women's program. Suggests the need for a structure reaching from the national to the local level to provide clear communication channels, facilitate interagency cooperation, and oversee a standardized reporting system for monitoring and evaluation purposes. There is a need for government support of women's groups, including public encouragement as well as funds, staffing, training, and family life counseling.

Finally, an evaluation of the workshop by participants is presented.

Programmes for Better Family Living/FAO

- 1974 Women's leadership in rural development. Report on a National Workshop to Coordinate and Plan for the Women's Group Programme (August 1974, Institute of Adult Studies, Kikuyu). Report Series No. 14, PBFL/FAO.

This report presents a summary of the Women's Group Programme in the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) from 1971 to mid-1974. It describes the Programme as an effort to increase cooperation and coordination between relevant government agencies, to encourage local-level involvement in planning, and to effectively utilize women's groups as extension resources for development.

Prior to this workshop, the Programme had been tested in the six SRDP areas--i.e., Kapenguria, Kwale, Mbere, Tetu, Migori, and Vihiga/Hamisi. In these pilot programs the primary approach had been to train women's groups leaders in group management and program planning and to suggest income-generating projects which would reduce dependence on external financial aid. This work was to receive administrative support through the

development of a committee infrastructure reaching from the local to the national level. The purpose of this workshop, organized by the Department of Social Services with the assistance of Programmes for Better Family Living/FAO, was to consider the feasibility of replicating the pilot projects and to develop a plan of action to expand the Programme into other areas of Kenya. The report includes a detailed description of workshop proceedings.

Concludes with an appendix which provides district reports on women's group activities in the pilot districts and proposed areas of expansion; district-level plans of action; standardized planning procedures; the text of the opening speech of Mr. M. Mbathi, Commissioner of Social Services; the text of the closing speech of Mr. L. Ngugi, Senior Planning Officer, Ministry of Finance and Planning; a list of workshop participants; and a workshop timetable.

Programmes for Better Family Living/FAO

1974 Women's groups in rural development. Report No. 15.

A brief evaluation of the Women's Group Programme in the six Special Rural Development Programme areas--i.e., Tetu, Kwale, Mbere, Kapenguria, Migori, and Vihiga--undertaken between June 19 and July 31, 1974. Primarily concerned with program development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Includes data from interviews with women's groups leaders and members as well as participating government officials and field staff.

The aim of this evaluation is to develop a prototype planning procedure as a guide for program expansion. Contains recommendations for planning, training of trainers, selection of leaders, determining program content, development of lesson plans and teaching aids, field work, evaluation and monitoring.

Concludes with appendices including: a summary of the SRDP approach and projects, standardized planning procedures and progress summary forms, a comprehensive list of subjects taught in women's leaders courses, and a list of field staff relevant to the program.

Rado, Emile

1975 Education and occupational aspirations for women: aspects of a Kenya study. Paper prepared for Investment in Women: A Planning Perspective, held at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (April 5-10).

This paper is concerned with the extent to which educated women in Kenya are able to utilize their educations fully to benefit themselves and the nation. Although a number of factors influence this situation, the focus here is on women's occupational aspirations. The data presented are based on a 1969-1970 survey of 1,250 Form 4 students, 20 percent of whom were female. Within this sample, male and female occupational aspirations differed significantly. Males aspired to graduate professional, administrative, managerial, and skilled manual occupations, while females were oriented toward teaching, nursing, and subordinate office jobs. Females were more optimistic than males that ideal choices and reality would coincide. On the basis of expressed preferences, the author concludes that female occupational aspirations are lower than male.

Hypothesis: Certain personal or background attributes of girls are significantly different from those of boys, and these attributes interact with examination performance, and through performance with aspirations.

Analysis indicates significant differences in family background between

the sexes. However, although certain background variables are correlated with male academic success, they have no statistically significant effect on the academic performance of females. Nor is the level of female aspiration associated with actual academic performance. In fact, females tend to under-aspirate in spite of superior academic achievement.

Asks if differences in occupational aspirations between the sexes are related to the types of schools attended. Recognizes three types of Kenyan secondary schools--i.e., nationally selecting government schools, locally selecting government schools, and Harambee schools. Although all three types were sampled, no girls were included from the latter type.

Concludes that the effect of school type on male aspiration is much greater than the effect of academic ability. A similar situation obtains for females, but the effect of school type is much weaker. Therefore, females have lower aspirations than males, in part because better schools have a relatively smaller effect on both performance and aspirations for females.

Read, James S.

1969 Marriage and divorce: a new look for the law in Kenya.
East African Law Journal. Vol. 5, No. 1 (March-June), pp.
107-140.

As a result of the complications arising from the multiplicity of co-existing laws on marriage and divorce in Kenya, in 1967, the Kenyan government appointed a Commission on the Law of Marriage and Divorce to recommend appropriate modifications to the legal code. Read presents a precise recapitulation and critique of the report submitted by the Commission in 1968.

The report attempts to unify marriage and divorce laws at the national level but to permit individual choice of marital type--i.e., civil, customary, Islamic, or religious.

Recommendations for the contracting of marriage include: requisite prior public notice of intention, a minimum age for both parties, a standardized prohibition regarding permissible degree of kindred and affinity, prior agreement to the monogamous or potentially polygamous nature of the marriage, and the separation of the payment of dowry (bride price) from the validity of marriage. Read's criticisms primarily concern technical matters--e.g., how and when to indicate the monogamous or polygamous nature of a marriage. However, he also expresses concern over the vagueness of definitions regarding customary law--e.g., what constitutes customary marriage?

Regarding the effects of marriage on status, legal rights, and obligations, the Commission urges the abolition of corporal punishment for spouses, the rejection of community property in favor of each spouse's rights to all property he or she acquired before or during the marriage, and the recognition of adultery as a criminal offense for both parties. Read notes that regardless of the Commission's attempt to follow the "African way of life" in its suggestions, this section does not correspond very closely to customary law. In fact, its treatment of property relations between spouses is frequently in opposition to customary practices.

With respect to matrimonial causes, the Commission suggests regularized divorce procedures which include referral to a competent conciliatory body, the registration of divorces, and the basing of child welfare on the court's decision regarding the welfare of the child.

Although Read identifies shortcomings of substance as well as technical problems in the Commission's proposals, he concludes that the recommendations are essentially viable and worth pursuing in revised form.

Redlich, Leslie C.

- 1971 Preliminary report: the role of women in the Kamba household: a study of comparative behaviour in direct relation to variance of social structure. Occasional Paper, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.

Presents the preliminary results of a three-month study of four Akamba villages in Machakos District, Kenya. Explores the relationship between social structure and women's role, comparing the pre-colonial situation with present adaptations. The study concentrates on the decision-making powers of women within the extended family unit. Of particular concern are women's contributions to the labor force, auxiliary income, and family management.

Within the villages sampled, the sexual division of labor was similar to the pre-colonial situation with a significant overlap of women into formerly male activities. Women earned incomes from the marketing of crops, sale of milk and eggs, pressing of sugar cane juice for beer, and production of charcoal.

The differential involvement of the sexes in management decisions dependent upon household type. Data suggest four patterns of decision-making which are correlated with variation in household type. Kisooni Village is identified as a divergent household type in which female labor and management predominates to a burdensome degree. Kithia Village is described as traditional with males as primary household decision-makers. Mithanga is in a transitional state and decisions are made jointly by both sexes. Kalunga Village is considered progressive with cooperative or balanced decision-making patterns in which female control over agricultural production is increasing while males still dominate decisions regarding land purchase and the use of money.

Concludes that development planners must understand the particular labor and management roles of the sexes in order to channel inputs properly and to realistically evaluate labor constraints. Although she does not provide direct empirical or theoretical support, the author argues that development can only occur in areas where the sexes share decisions and responsibilities.

Reynolds, J.E.

- 1975 Case study: Kapenguria. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 29-51.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in Kapenguria (West Pokot District) undertaken as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi in 1975. A brief discussion of group membership, activities, and leader's training is followed by recommendations for Programme improvement.

A significant and innovative aspect of the Programme in this district is the formation of a coalition of Kapenguria women's groups called the Kiletat Women's Organization. On its own initiative, this coalition has added a maternity wing to the district hospital and has plans to develop a cooperative shop to sell consumer goods and handicrafts. However, this latter project has stagnated from a lack of informed guidance. In addition, UNICEF has provided the organization with a petrol posho mill. Unfortunately, the posho mill is too small and too expensive to compete with diesel-powered commercial mills and its feasibility needs to be reassessed.

It is suggested that:

1. Participants for leadership training courses be more carefully selected, that the curricula be simplified and tied to available or provided resources, and that a more extensive follow-up program be maintained.

2. a serious attempt be made to coordinate transportation for extension officers to improve communication and extension services;
3. systematic gathering of data for monitoring and evaluation be instituted;
4. adult literacy be emphasized;
5. well-designed income-generating projects be encouraged;
6. the Kiletat Women's Organization be assisted both to follow through on its present activities and to undertake less ambitious projects with more immediate rewards.

This paper is a revised version of Working Paper No. 231, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1975.

Reynolds, J.E.

1975 Case study: Vihiga/Hamisi. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 92-104.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in Vihiga/Hamisi done as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, in 1975.

Begins by summarizing interviews with women's group leaders attending the second training series of the Programme. Group activities include home management and improvement, the growing and selling of farm produce, adult literacy classes, and the production of handicrafts. Women also engage in sports, collective farm work, and self-help projects. Participants praised the Programme for bringing women together and for introducing new domestic and agricultural skills. The primary problems cited were inadequate finances, material resources, and marketing channels. In addition to the collection of membership fees, projects are financed through the sale of handicrafts, vegetable and farm produce, and agricultural labor. Unless individual members are able to make large contributions, major purchases depend on outside help.

Supervisors and extension officers within the Programme identified internal problems in information exchange, transport, staffing, and training. A proposed bimonthly newsletter may improve the flow of information to local-level extension officers. The greater utilization of available public transport would increase staff access to women's groups in more remote areas. Staffing suggestions include the re-hiring of locational women's leaders and locational day care center supervisors along with the hiring of Divisional Community Development Assistants to supervise the entire Programme. Finally, field staff have noted that a limited knowledge of community styles and preferences coupled with a language barrier has hindered Programme development.

The range of topics covered in leadership training should be reduced and resources concentrated on areas related to specific local needs. In Vihiga/Hamisi women's group activities tend to over-emphasize the domestic sphere. There is a need to integrate women into large-scale, income-generating activities which are attuned to local needs and market demands. In addition, it is necessary to create more effective collection, transport, and marketing channels and to alleviate competition and redundancy in craft production. Toward these ends, it is recommended that a liaison be formed between the women's groups and experienced organizations such as the National Christian Council of Kenya and Partnership for Productivity. Government personnel should look into other income-generating projects as well--e.g., the feasibility of women growing pawpaw for the nearby papain extraction plant. Finally, plans to develop a division-wide marketing structure for vegetables

and handicraft production by women's groups through the proposed MANYATIBU cooperative should be dropped or pursued more vigorously in a substantially revised form.

Shannon, Mary I.

1954 Women's place in Kikuyu society: impact of modern ideas on tribal life--a long-term plan for female education. African World, September, pp. 7-10.

Written during the Emergency (the Mau Mau) in Kenya by a missionary educator concerned that White negative feelings toward Africans generated by current conditions might jeopardize the progress of African education within the country. The author emphasizes the importance of placing African men and women in cultural and historical context vis-à-vis both Christianity and western formal education. She particularly stresses the differential impact of these institutions upon the sexes. Although describing women as more "conservative and instinctive than men" (p. 8), Shannon also observes that women are not beasts of burden, sold to their husbands, but are economically important individuals with recognized religious and political influence. In fact, moves to change women's lives have been bitterly resisted--e.g., attempts to suppress female circumcision and tribal dancing. Even during the Emergency, women have a good deal more freedom of movement and choice than men.

Rejects as administratively unfeasible and reactionary suggestions that African insurrection would be decreased if teaching were restricted to Europeans. Recommends increasing the number of girls' boarding schools and the number of African women teachers. While supporting the goal of eight years of schooling for all Africans, urges that consideration be given to the nature and availability of vocational, technical, and homecraft training following initial schooling. Expresses confidence that "this setback" (the Emergency) will not interfere with educational progress.

Smock, Audrey Chapman

1977 Women's opportunities for education and its impact on their roles in Kenya.

Documents women's participation in formal education in Kenya and assesses its impact on certain aspects of women's role--i.e., influence on family decision-making, rate of formal sector employment, and levels of fertility. Includes recommendations for further research.

Argues that women's opportunities for formal education and its effect on their roles depend upon sociocultural factors, the social stratification system, and the structure of the education system. Significant sociocultural factors in Kenya include a colonial past which restructured sex role interaction in favor of men and the preferential education of sons over daughters. The latter is attributed both to the greater potential economic return and lower opportunity costs of educating sons and to the belief that education is irrelevant to daughters and may impair their marital chances. To a great extent in Kenya, formal education rather than hereditary social position determines occupational status, mobility, and income. As a result, socioeconomic background has less effect on academic performance than school facilities and teaching quality. Although Kenya has a centralized education system which standardizes curricula, syllabi, and examinations, its stratified nature and the institutionalization of negative sex role stereotypes preclude equal educational opportunities for girls. Girls are disadvantaged by the larger number of places available to boys, especially in the better-equipped, less

expensive, financially assisted schools. Sexual streaming results from the lack of science courses and facilities in the lower quality schools in which girls are more often enrolled, the legal exclusion of women from government technical and vocational schools, and the placement of girls in homecraft and boys in trade-oriented courses. In addition, the lack of female role models, greater attention given to male students, and syllabi and texts which reflect negative sex role stereotypes, may instill negative attitudes in women.

Initially suggested that the relative influence of each spouse in family decision-making was based on access to individual resources. Therefore, if education increased women's access to resources, it should also increase their influence. However, traditionally, influence was based on community and clan sanctions rather than individual resources and decision-making spheres were usually sex specific. Increasing individualization has altered the relative status of men and women by vesting men with greater resources. Thus, even if influence becomes tied more directly to individual resource bases, educated women may be in a weaker position than their husbands. Education, particularly if it increases income, may provide the potential for change in family decision-making patterns. However, it will not increase necessarily women's sphere of influence.

Although women's post-independence participation in education is increasing, their economic standing in both rural and urban sectors is decreasing. In the former, smaller landholdings, less secure land tenure, and disparate access to modern agricultural inputs have meant lower incomes for rural women than for men. Formal education may improve women's ability to compete for resources, but it is not directly applicable to small-scale agriculture or to other rural economic activities. In fact, post-primary education may direct women into non-agricultural pursuits. In addition, women's participation in formal sector employment has declined. Employed women are found in lower paying, less prestigious jobs than comparably educated men. Clearly, the economic return of higher education is greater for males than for females. Further, occupational segregation by sex results from historic inequities in the provision of education to men and women, differential treatment of women in hiring and conditions of service, and self-selection and employer prejudice. While education opens new occupational roles, it still incorporates sex-typing and new forms of sexual stratification.

The relationship between education and fertility in Kenya is curvilinear--i.e., with education beyond the primary level, fertility declines dramatically while women with primary educations have significantly higher fertility than those with no education. It is unclear if these differences result from individual and community differences or a weakening of traditional means to depress fertility. Suggests the introduction of sex education in primary school, discussions of problems associated with rapid population growth in civics classes, and the wider availability of subsidized contraceptives in rural areas.

Concludes that the rapidly expanding Kenyan education system has increased the number of women being educated at all levels, but male opportunities have increased so rapidly that their relative status remains the same. Further, an education does not endow women with the same potential for earnings or status mobility as it does men. In fact, rather than functioning as a catalyst expanding women's role options and enhancing their status, education has often served to socialize women into subordinate positions within Kenyan society.

Suggests a need for baseline data related to sex differences in the education process. Particular priority areas to include:

- 1) the nature and determinants of sex differences in academic performance, particularly science and math;
- 2) the relationship between social background and educational opportunities;
- 3) the causes of the decline in the proportion of women attending university;
- 4) sex role differences in the relationship between education and economic roles;
- 5) causal relationships between the number of years of female primary school education and resultant family size.

Although sexual equality in education would require basic and pervasive change at the highest political levels, non-governmental agencies might engage constructively in the following programs:

- 1) sponsorship of the research suggested above;
- 2) revision of curricula to include more material on women's role and the development of programs more relevant to women's needs;
- 3) investment in science facilities, particularly laboratories;
- 4) establishment of compensatory programs to increase the number of women science students at the University of Nairobi;
- 5) experimentation with pilot programs which provide science and math teachers who focus on female pupils at the primary level;
- 6) improvement of secondary school guidance programs;
- 7) development of family planning programs in rural communities with primary school educated women as both their target group and communication link.

Stamp, Patricia

1975/ Perceptions of change and economic strategy among Kikuyu women
1976 of Mitero, Kenya. Rural Africana, No. 29, Winter, pp. 19-43.

Discusses the socioeconomic activities of rural Kikuyu women in Mitero Sublocation of Ngenda Location in Kiambu District. Explores women's perceptions of change and identifies strategic responses to new conditions.

Although affected by factors frequently associated with a loss of socioeconomic status by women--e.g., land consolidation, the introduction of cash crops, and male migration to urban areas--Mitero women retain a fair degree of social autonomy, political influence, and economic control. This situation is attributed to the limited scope of change which has allowed a certain continuity of socioeconomic patterns.

In general, Mitero women feel that life is becoming more difficult--i.e., workloads are increasing while living standards are reduced, land productivity is dropping, and rising standards of child care and education mean increased financial burdens. In addition, the easy transferability of cash and male absenteeism have reduced the interdependence of household members. As a result, women have become more independent in some spheres but have also taken on the major financial responsibility for the family.

Women's primary economic strategy has been to adapt indigenous self-help organizations to present needs. By joining small-scale, cooperative cultivation groups at a local level, women are able to pool their resources and skills to mediate some of the handicaps resulting from male-oriented patterns of property ownership and unequal opportunities for education and employment in the modern sector. In Ngenda Location, these local groups make up a network of women's organizations which ultimately bring women into the modern sector of the economy. Through these groups, women are able to maintain a degree of solidarity, control over resources, and community stability.

Staudt, Kathleen

1974 The effects of government agricultural policy on women farmers in Kenya: a research proposal. Working Paper No. 200, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

A proposed study concerned with the effects of government policy on local level attitudes and behaviors, particularly with respect to the access of women farmers in agricultural services. Argues that the design and implementation of successful rural development strategies necessitate an explicit understanding of the labor and management roles played by women in the rural economy, the sex-linked variation in access and equity to relevant government services, and the differential effects of development strategies on the sexes.

Suggests a controlled comparison of the delivery of agricultural services to male and female farmers within selected samples from Nyeri and Kakamega districts of Kenya. Proposes an initial survey to probe the perceptions and experiences of farmers and to discover links between government services and farmer behavior. The second phase concentrates on informal interviewing of agricultural staff and archival work to identify administrative constraints on the delivery of services to women and the effect of organizational and political activities on the delivery of such services.

Staudt, Kathleen

1975a The effects of government agricultural policy on women farmers: preliminary findings from Idakho Location, Kakamega District. Working Paper No. 225, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Presents preliminary findings from research into the relationship between farm management type--i.e., female-managed versus jointly managed farms--and the receipt of agricultural training and services in two areas of Kakamega District, Kenya.

Conducted a comparative survey of 200 households, 40 percent of which were female managed, in two sublocations of varying service density. Agricultural knowledge and services evaluated include enrollment at Bukura Farmer Training Centre, attendance at demonstration plots, individual farm visits by extension staff, and access to credit.

In both sublocations, female-managed farms are less well served than those with a resident male. Attributes the greater integration of jointly managed farms into the agricultural services network to male participation in baraza and other aspects of the formal communication system, contrasting with women's reliance on secondhand information from neighbors and friends, and to additional time available to households with more than one responsible adult. Notes that women's participation in training and services is higher at a multipurpose society in one sublocation which actively attempts to involve women and to serve their interests.

Even with less access to technical, informational, and financial inputs, the rate at which women adopt innovations does not differ significantly from that of men. The author wonders what women's progress would be if they were granted the same access to services as men. Argues for the strengthening of service trends which presently operate in an equitable way and for the development of new approaches to reduce the service gap.

Staudt, Kathleen

- 1975b Agricultural training for women farmers: a case study from Kakamega District. Kenya Education Review. A Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 47-52.

A shortened version of Staudt 1975: deleting the theoretical background, specific comparisons of the two sublocations surveyed, differences in access to credit by sex, and further tabulations of data.

Staudt, Kathleen

- 1975/1976 Women farmers and inequities in agricultural services. Rural Africana, No. 29, pp. 81-94.

Explores aspects of the justification for and the extent and consequences of sex-linked bias in agricultural policies. Data are drawn from a geographically stratified sample of small-scale farm households in Kakamega District, Kenya. Agricultural services evaluated include individual farm visits by extension staff, training through attendance at demonstration plots or enrollment at Bukura Farmer Training Centre, and the availability of loans.

Analysis reveals a negative bias in the provision of these services to women which increases in intensity with the value of the service. The author attempts to relate this bias to perceptions of women as too poor to take advantage of opportunities or too conservative to undertake proposed changes. However, the bias remains regardless of income levels, degree of innovative activity, or size of landholding. Despite these handicaps, women farmers have maintained pace with male farmers regarding the adoption of innovations. Warns that without receiving proper services and training, women will not be able to continue to maintain farm productivity levels and the agriculturally based economy of Kenya may suffer as a consequence.

Staudt, Kathleen

- 1977 Inequities in the delivery of services to a female farm clientele: some implications for policy. Discussion Paper No. 247, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Drawing on data from a geographically stratified sample of small-scale farm households in Kakamega District, Kenya, this study examines the extent and consequences of sex-linked biases in the provision of government agricultural services and recommends policies to reduce these inequities.

Agricultural services evaluated include individual farm visits by extension staff, enrollment in Farmer's Training Centres, attendance at demonstration plots, and access to credit. Analysis indicates pervasive discrimination against women as a result of bureaucratic and communication biases. These prejudices hold regardless of income levels, size of landholdings, and degree of innovative activity and their intensity increases with the value of the services offered. Despite these handicaps, women farmers compare well with men farmers in the adoption of innovations. However, lacking adequate services and training, it is unlikely that women's productivity levels can be maintained.

Recommends that women's access to extension advice could be increased by altering male staff attitudes toward serving women farm managers and increasing the number of female extension staff. Also urges an increase in group training opportunities offered equally to both sexes.

Stichter, Sharon

1975/ Women and the labor force in Kenya 1895-1964. Rural Africana,
No. 29, Winter, pp. 45-67.

Discusses the participation of women in the capitalist colonial economy of Kenya, focusing on three major productive systems--i.e., semiproletarianized migrant labor on European agricultural, commercial, or industrial enterprises; "squatter" or resident labor on European farms; and independent peasant cash-crop production.

The already substantial contributions of women to the pre-colonial agricultural economy increased with the entry of males into the migrant and non-migrant colonial labor force. The low wages paid to migrants meant that the rural people, particularly women, subsidized migrant labor by bearing the cost of reproducing the next generation of laborers and caring for workers in childhood, old age, and sickness. Further, women's maintenance of the household provided an essentially unrecognized portion of the total production of non-migrant labor. The large-scale entry of women into the paid labor force was not compatible with low-wage employment of males and thus was not promoted.

As more men left for lengthening periods of wage employment, the burden of their support grew. Simultaneously, African agricultural production for domestic and foreign markets increased. Since no major changes in African agricultural techniques or organization occurred during this period, these facts suggest that the additional agricultural labor fell to women. By 1918, similar changes were apparent in squatter households on European farms as laws were introduced requiring men to work half-time for their landlords. As a consequence, women had to take on greater responsibility for the livestock and gardens of the household. As a result of the colonial utilization of male labor, a new division of labor was generated. Women began to take on tasks previously defined as "male." In contrast, men's role in agriculture increased only when the introduction of cash crops made full-time farming possible and when pastoralists were forced to adopt agriculture for subsistence.

Prior to 1945, women's participation in wage labor was restricted to unskilled agricultural work on European farms and to compulsory labor on public projects. The number of female agricultural workers was small compared to males and most were relatives of squatters working on the farms where they were resident. In urban areas, women often worked as concubines or prostitutes, frequently combining the latter with the illegal brewing and selling of beer. Legal occupations were restricted to nursemaid-ing children and providing lodging for men.

After World War II, as the demand for male migrant labor decreased, the number of women in wage employ increased. Although the pattern of employing women in unskilled agricultural work remained, the growth of secondary industry provided some non-agricultural jobs. During the Emergency (1952-56), a shortage of male workers was filled by females who were displaced by males when the crisis was over. From the Emergency until 1963, women continued to be employed primarily in the agricultural rather than the formal sector. Subsequent entry into professional and technical fields are attributed to greater access to education and the Africanization of a number of occupations as independence approached.

Although the employment prospects of women in Kenya have improved, women are still found in the lowest paying and least skilled jobs. Recogn-

nizes that women played a significant but unrewarded part in the colonial economy and wonders whether the present government will design programs to allow women an equal role in development.

Strobel, Margaret

1975 Women's wedding celebrations in Mombasa, Kenya. African Studies Review. Vol. XVIII, No. 3, pp. 35-45.

Swahili culture arose in a stratified social setting with clear distinctions between slave and freeborn. Over time, the women of Mombasa have contributed to the blending of elements from different social strata and the changing of patterns of stratification. The focus here is wedding celebrations as reflections of and vehicles for this process of integration.

Examines three historical periods--i.e., late 19th century to World War I, World War I to the early 1950s, and the 1950s to the present. In the early part of the first period, social relations were firmly based on the slave-freeborn dichotomy which reflected the main socioeconomic division. Although female slaves had particular roles in freeborn wedding celebrations, their own weddings were separate. In addition, the sharing of dance styles was unilateral with slaves performing freeborn dances but not vice versa. With the introduction of the lelemama dance form permitting participation by and combining symbolic elements of both strata, strict role differentiation began to break down. However, status differences were maintained by certain norms--e.g., freeborn women did not dance publicly and slave women did. During the second time segment, lelemama dominated wedding celebrations and began to change its form, most importantly in the adoption of public dancing by elite women. Although status differences did not disappear, another barrier was lowered which facilitated social mobility. In the final period, women of slave ancestry began to dance slave-originated dances at elite weddings and, more significantly, elite women began to perform the customary dances of slaves. This is indicative of a change in elite women's attitudes and is a clear example of the inclusion of slave elements in Swahili culture.

This data suggests that as a result of their position in Mombasa society, women have functioned as change agents integrating disparate elements into Swahili culture. Social and cultural integration has progressed furthest where women of different social strata are linked intimately through household and neighborhood ties. The centrality of such ties to changes in the relationship between slave and freeborn argues that the domestic activities of women are crucial to the broader social context.

Strobel, Margaret

1976 From lelemama to lobbying: women's associations in Mombasa, Kenya. In Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds. Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change. California: Stanford University Press, pp. 183-211.

This article discusses the functions, motivations, and continuities of four predominantly Muslim women's groups in Mombasa, an ethnically and religiously diverse port on the coast of Kenya. Of historical interest are Ibinaal Watan and Banu Saada both of which were devoted to dancing lelemama, a style brought from Zanzibar at the close of the 19th century. Individual women found the dance groups a source of entertainment, mutual aid, and prestige enhancement. In addition, during their heyday (ca 1920-1945) such groups

functioned as social control mechanisms, informal training centers, and as a means of expressing rebellion and promoting change through competition. The latter seems to have contributed to the decline of the dance groups which presently exist only in attenuated form.

Some of their previous functions, however, are being fulfilled by women's organizations which have developed more recently within the context of an increasing awareness of the condition and possibilities of coastal Muslim women. Although not direct outgrowths of lelemama groups, organizations such as the Muslim Women's Institute (begun 1957) and the Muslim Women's Cultural Association (begun 1958) have benefited from the organizational and management skills learned within the former groups but have also suffered from their legacy of factionalism. Through the provision of adult education courses, scholarships for both men and women, and financial assistance to community development projects, both groups have engaged in positive efforts to educate and assist both Muslim women and the community at large. These organizations, however, have not given first priority to the needs of women. In fact, concern with women's needs is justified as a kind of community service--i.e., progress depends upon mothers taking a responsible position vis-à-vis the community as a whole. Those projects which specifically focus on women tend to stem from purdah--i.e., women's literacy classes are set up because the entire community should be literate and men and women cannot study together. By remaining silent on relevant issues such as Kenya's marriage, divorce, and succession bill and male dominance in religious life, these groups fail to function as pressure groups for important women's issues. Therefore, it is concluded that while both lelemama and the newer organizations meet certain personal and community needs, priorities are not feminist so they "remain organizations of, rather than specifically for, women" (1976:211).

Swedish International Development Authority

1974 Women in the rural areas of Kenya and Tanzania. In Women in Developing Countries: Case Studies of Six Countries. Stockholm: Research Division, SIDA, pp. 23-37.

Based on a SIDA research project (1972-73) to explore the effect of social change on women in India, North Viet Nam, Kenya, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Chile. Within the Kenya/Tanzania context, the shift from subsistence to commercial agriculture has had a major impact on the position of rural women. Of particular import are changes in the role of the individual within the kinship system and in the sexual division of labor. With increased individualization, both sexes have lost a measure of security offered by kin group membership. However, men have gained the security of individual land ownership while women have obtained no equivalent compensation. With changes in the division of labor, women continue to have primary responsibility for cultivation while men have control of cash crops and greater access to informational, financial, and technical inputs.

Notes that neither government has done a thorough analysis of the economic roles of women nor have they provided specific plans to ensure the integration of women into the development process. In fact, women are disadvantaged by unequal access to education, loans, and the benefits of cooperative membership. Argues that the full participation of women in development depends upon their ability to compete equally with men. Specifically, women must be able to participate equally in productive work and to have equal access to education and training.

Includes information concerning the contributions of the United Nations and other international organizations to the integration of women in development.

Thairu, R. Wanja

- 1975a Documentation. Paper presented at the Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society (Nairobi, August 1975).

See Theiru 1975b for revised version.

Thairu, R. Wanja

- 1975b Women of Kenya: a bibliographical guide. Maktaba, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 83-99.

Although women are significant participants in the economic, political, and social development of Kenya, there is not yet a systematic guide to existing resources regarding Kenyan women. The author provides a preliminary survey of available resources including a description of the general characteristics of extant material, primary data sources, bibliographical and general works on African women, serial publications, oral literature, biographies, and bibliographical services.

Primarily notes the scattered, incomplete, and sometimes biased nature of the material and suggests that a systematic attempt be made to increase accessibility, improve dissemination, and intensify efforts to collect missing information.

Wachtel, Eleanor

- 1974 Minding her own business: economic enterprises of women in Nakuru. Part I, Working Paper No. 189, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

As a result of administrative limitations, unequal access to education and training, and certain aspects of socialization, women's involvement in the rural and urban sectors of the Kenyan economy is marginal. Although informal sector employment often produces low, irregular incomes, an increase in women's participation may provide significant opportunities to develop entrepreneurial skills and to obtain greater economic entrée.

This study focuses on the background, work experience, and motives of women operating individually owned small businesses in Nakuru, a medium-sized Kenyan town. Women shopowners surveyed had little or no business training or previous experience and seemed less likely than men to benefit from available informational and technical inputs, appropriate training, or access to business loans. The reasons advanced for entering a particular business--i.e., it is cheap and easy to run--reflect the shortage of training and capital. In addition to areas in which female shopkeepers are particularly disadvantaged, there are problems they share with businessmen--i.e., the shortage of capital, the newness of business, and the difficulty of obtaining credit from wholesalers coupled with the necessity of extending it to customers. However, in spite of the problems identified by the researcher, the businesswomen themselves did not perceive their sex to be a handicap. The author notes that low-cost child care, flexible hours, and the possibility of caring for children in the shop itself ease the problems of working and raising a family.

Wachtel, Eleanor

- 1975/ A farm of one's own: the rural orientation of women's group
1976 enterprises in Nakuru, Kenya. Rural Africana, No. 29, Winter,
pp. 69-80.

Most Kenyans are rural born and recognize rural land ownership as a primary source of security. In fact, for many, urban living is an interlude in which wages are sought to buy land. However, the high cost of urban living coupled with low wages mean that it is difficult for most to subsist and few can accumulate capital for investment.

As a result of a number of historical and sociological factors, women occupy a particularly peripheral position in Kenyan towns. In Nakuru, Kenya, a major response to this marginality and the insecurity it generates is the formation of women's cooperatives. The exclusion of males is a result of women's recognition of themselves as a special interest group which cannot depend on males for advancement. The groups themselves are a product of women's rural strategies and patterns of interaction adapted to an urban environment.

Discusses potential pitfalls for women's income-generating groups within the context of four brief case studies, including two successful societies, one failure, and one inchoate organization. While joining cooperatives permits women to engage in business ventures far beyond their individual means, there are certain risks involved. Chief among these are organizational problems, including the lack of reliable, capable leadership. Although women's groups may make bold moves, they are essentially conservative, favoring long-term security over short-term profit-taking. In addition to their economic concerns, the author notes a tendency for these organizations to assume an implicit ideological commitment to unity and common purpose among women.

Wachtel, Eleanor and Andy Wachtel

- 1974 Groups and co-operatives: economic enterprises of women in
Nakuru. Part 2, Working Paper No. 190, Institute for Development
Studies, University of Nairobi.

Examines the genesis, structure, and success of women's cooperatives in Nakuru, Kenya. Suggests that such groups form in recognition of women's shared interests and in response to their lesser economic opportunities relative to men. Mentions a variety of women's organizations in Nakuru including non-economic social and discussion groups which provide a forum for problem-sharing and informal economic organizations--e.g., mutual aid associations, rotating savings societies, and investment groups. Provides brief sketches of four women's societies and a detailed case study of the Kangei na Nyakinyua Consumer Cooperative Society to illustrate the problems and potentials of larger formal economic groups.

From these cases, notes a trend toward secure, income-generating activities and an emphasis on the coming together of women as women. Particular problems faced include women's relative isolation and immobility, their low level of formal education and lack of political and business experience, the paucity of proven leaders, the potential failure of personal responsibility within collective activities, the development of opposition as groups become visibly successful, and the danger of cooption by big men.

Wakhungu, G.S.

- 1975 Women's working conditions and access to services. Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society, Nairobi, August 11-15.

Sampled 16 businesses in Kenya exploring women's working conditions and access to benefits. Although all companies denied wage differentials based on sex, opinions varied regarding the right of husbands and/or wives to benefits--e.g., housing allowances, marriage allowances, etc. Even though the criteria for promotion was held to be the same for both sexes, a scarcity of women at managerial and supervisory levels results in indirect discrimination in both wages and pension benefits. In addition, women suffer from the frequent failure to implement the President's 1974 decree regarding paid maternity leave.

Reservations were offered regarding the suitability of women for certain jobs--e.g., bus driver. Women employees were criticized for their high rate of sick leave and inefficient use of time on the job. On the other hand, their honesty relative to male employees was praised. Married women were preferred by some companies for their stability, reliability, discretion, and maturity. Others favored unmarried women who did not have family responsibilities and did not require transfers to follow their husbands.

Concludes that even though there are inequities, working conditions and opportunities for women are improving.

Wallis, M.A.H.

- 1975 Case study: Mbere. In Occasional Paper No. 13, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, pp. 62-69.

A case study of the Women's Group Programme in Mbere done as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, in 1975. Begins with a brief characterization of the social backgrounds of 14 women's group leaders attending a 1973 training course. After summarizing the topics covered by the course, suggests that the scope of the syllabus be reduced to permit greater areal concentration. Topics should be selected on the basis of the particular social and economic needs of women in the area. The continuity of both training and leadership has improved considerably with a recognition of group preference for more-established, older women leaders rather than the younger, better-educated women selected for training by government officials in the earlier stages of the Programme.

Although the number of functioning women's groups in Mbere rise and fall quickly, there is a higher proportion of groups in the SRDP areas than in non-SRDP areas. All of these groups face major problems. A primary constraint on women's activities is the lack of a reliable water supply. In addition, many farms have insufficient labor which means that women have little time to devote to off-farm activities. Even so, Mbere's low level of economic development means that fund-raising projects do not fare as well as those requiring contributions of labor.

Suggests that handicraft sales using the Izaak Walton Inn as a marketing outlet might bring needed revenue into the area. In addition, incorporating at least partial solutions to the water problem into women's group projects would reduce considerably the labor demands on women. In regard to the administration of the Programme, the cooperation and involvement of relevant government officials is vital for success. The loss of the Community Development Assistants has been a serious handicap and their replace-

ment is recommended. Mbere has also suffered from a high turn-over of Assistant Community Development Officers, meaning that coordination is frequently in the hands of someone just learning the job. Finally, there is real need to explain the Programme to local chiefs and assistant chiefs, some of whom have felt that the women's groups were politically suspect. Care should be taken not to alienate men from the Programme or its projects.

This paper also appears as Working Paper No. 233, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Whiting, Beatrice B.

1972 Work and the family: cross-cultural perspectives. Paper presented at the Conference on Women: Resources for a Changing World, Massachusetts. Also, Staff Paper, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi.

Briefly reviews elements of family life in various types of preindustrial economies, including the Samburu of Kenya, in an attempt to isolate universals which contribute to women's feelings of self-esteem and competence. Concludes that women's sense of well-being derives, in part, from a balance between boredom and overwork; involvement in productive tasks which provide a measure of economic independence; the availability of other women for advice, emotional support, and child care; the opportunity for part-time work outside the physical and social confines of the household; and the chance to discuss common work interests besides children.

With the move to an urban environment, life styles are affected dramatically. For example, rural women who accompany their husbands to Nairobi, Kenya, often are bored, socially isolated, economically dependent, and confined to a household with complete care of restless children. Notes that being housebound daily with the same people increases irritability.

Suggests further cross-cultural research to explore the effect of women's work patterns outside of the household--i.e., full-time, part-time, not at all--on the self-esteem of family members. If the factors described above do contribute to the improved quality of family life, recommends that an interdisciplinary team design experimental lifestyles for industrial societies which encourage women to undertake part-time employment, to interact in spheres outside of their own households, and to reduce economic dependence on their husbands.

Whiting, Beatrice B.

1973 The Kenyan career woman: traditional and modern. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 208, pp. 71-75.

Compares the backgrounds, experiences, and expectations of Kenyan university women with their U.S. counterparts and relates these factors to differences in ability to cope with sex role inequities.

Generally speaking, women's education is more valued by Kenyans than Americans and lacks the ambivalence which characterized the U.S. in the early 20th century. In addition, unlike the American role model for women, the Kenyan equivalent includes productive work outside the home, delegated child care, and the expectation that women will be independent and capable in their spheres of influence. Kenyan women feel less ambivalent about marriage and motherhood than American women. Suggests that since Kenyan women do not face intense competition with men until university, they may be more intellectually and psychologically secure than American women.

Argues that it may be easier to achieve sexual equality in a situation like Kenya's in which sex roles and associated status differences are

clearly and overtly defined, rather than in the U.S. where the myth of equality is belied by discrimination. Kenyan women have learned to work within their system while many American women dissipate their energies in frustration and anger. In addition, since the problems in the U.S. are primarily at an unconscious level, it is difficult for American women to recognize and discuss them. They lack the clear definition of "female" which binds Kenyan women together.

Whiting, Beatrice B.

1973 Rapid social change: threat or promise? Staff Paper, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi. (Originally published in 1972. In *The Neglected Years: Early Childhood*. New York: UNICEF.)

In countries, such as Kenya, which are undergoing rapid social change, families face profound problems which affect their total environment. The growing of cash crops increases labor demands and may decrease the acreage devoted to food crops. Formal education depletes the family's labor pool and increases their financial burdens. If men seek wages elsewhere, wives are left with all the household responsibilities, sons lose their male role model, and family solidarity is weakened. On the other hand, if women accompany their husbands to town, they find a crowded, strange, monotonous environment with little to occupy or stimulate their children.

The rearing of children in town presents particular problems. Western education substitutes competence in symbol manipulation for the ability to perform basic subsistence tasks. In addition, there is an emphasis on individualistic goals rather than the needs of the family as a unit. While western-educated urban elites encourage this type of training for their children, newly arrived rural mothers may neither understand the need for these skills nor be competent to transmit them.

Planners must evaluate the consequences of the western deemphasis on extended family and the mastery of practical skills in terms of the children's future--i.e., how many children will be absorbed adequately into urban life and how many will return to agriculture? Further, urban mothers themselves need a replacement for the extended family to provide emotional support and guidance in a strange setting. In both rural and urban areas, there is a need for planners to join together with local inhabitants to discuss current changes and associated problems and to devise alternative lifestyles which take the total socioeconomic environment into account.

Wills, Jane

1967 A study of time allocation by rural women and their place in decision-making: preliminary findings from Embu District. *Rural Development Review*, No. 44, Institute for Social Research, Makerere University College.

Presents the results of a five-month study in Embu District, Kenya, of women's participation in farm labor and management and its relationship to rural development. Argues that since male and female labor units are not equivalent, the former may be underemployed while the latter is in short supply. Factors which may contribute to a shortage of female labor include: the unilateral substitution of female labor for male; a decrease in the number of polygamous households; an increase in school attendance; and the adoption of different standards of living and new agricultural and husbandry practices. The following changes may decrease or improve the quality of

female labor: the introduction of certain forms of mechanization; access to health facilities; the consolidation of land; the provision of water transport, milling, and beer brewing services; and the utilization of hired labor. Extension services often fail to serve women adequately as they focus on cash, rather than food, crops. Since men generally control the returns from cash crops, women have little incentive to increase their labor. In addition, the introduction of new techniques may not decrease women's workload if lack of cash restricts them to labor-intensive innovations.

Suggests that women would benefit from the improvement of cooking facilities, the encouragement of vegetable gardens and small animal husbandry, the availability of transport for water and fuel, the adoption of tin roofs and concrete floors for houses, and the provision of sewing machines. In addition, argues that agricultural labor inputs by women would increase if women benefited from cash crops sales.

While recognizing the problems in designing an adequate study of decision-making, suggests the need for questionnaires which test people's knowledge, discover what they want to know, ascertain decisions made and who made them, determine the stage at which decisions are made, and reveal what sources of information are utilized for specific decisions.

Includes appendices on the traditional Kikuyu sexual division of labor, the sexual division of labor in Embu, the areas where additional labor might increase production, and factors which might affect decision-making.

Winans, E.V.

1972 Migration and the structure of participation: an investigation of the effects of migration on small farms and the role of rural women. Technical Paper prepared for the ILO Mission for Kenya.

There is a high rate of rural to urban migration in Kenya, particularly among young, educated males in search of wage employment. Consequently, women predominate in rural areas where approximately 525,000 households--i.e., over 30 percent--are headed by women. The urban migration rate for women is much lower than that for men because women are less likely to obtain employment and they are recognized as the proper persons to do agricultural work and to maintain usufructory tenure.

Technological and socioeconomic changes have altered both the degree of male and female labor input and the sexual division of labor within rural households. Government economic surveys suggest that a decline in the participation of men in subsistence farming has been accompanied by greater male involvement in the wage earning sector and an increase in women's labor in food production and processing for home consumption. Further, high rates of female, vis-à-vis male, labor are associated with less economically successful farms.

The following problems arise from this situation: the draining away of male labor from the rural areas, low incomes for smaller farms, and the confinement of women to relatively unproductive farms. Suggests that technical innovations might raise farm income levels, lower the rural-urban real income gap, and decrease urban migration. However, such action is constrained by the already high labor demands on women which preclude the successful introduction of innovations requiring additional labor and the difficulties of reaching decision-makers on small farms.

Describes government actions which address certain aspects of these problems--i.e., the development of settlement schemes, Kenyanization of the wage-earning sector, the establishment of a national family planning program, the provision of vocational training through the National Youth

Service, the expansion of extension services and farmers' training facilities, and the institution of the multifaceted Special Rural Development Programme.

Recommends additional long-range measures including: the intensification of the family planning program; an increase in the number of small-scale, high-density settlement schemes; the introduction of extension programs focusing on the training of women as extension workers; agricultural research into food crops; the development of an integrated homecraft, health, and agricultural extension package aimed at rural women; the establishment of informal and formal programs to train young women for wage or self-employment; and experimentation with agricultural extension work directed toward men in towns.

Suggests the following short-range measures: the more extensive abolition of school fees; community development programs directed specifically at female farmers whose husbands have migrated to urban areas for wage employment; the improvement of agricultural input marketing so that small farmers are more effectively served; and the easing of legal restraints which limit many small-scale enterprises offering rural self-employment.

Wipper, Audrey

1971a Equal rights for women in Kenya? Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 3 (October), pp. 429-442.

Explores issues, tactics, and leadership of the post-independence women's equal rights movement in Kenya which has arisen from the government's failure to provide promised socioeconomic and political equality for both sexes. Focuses on the national leadership which consists primarily of a small number of educated urban women, many of whom attended the same schools and are related to the political and professional elite. Most exhibit a deep commitment to the women's movement and a strong sense that their dedication is vital to the achievement of equality.

Women's groups concentrate on decreasing the traditionally heavy labor demands on women and revising rules of deference. Men are criticized for their failure to fulfill their obligations, particularly for unemployment, drunkenness, adultery, and brutality. In addition, women's groups have denounced customs thought to be harmful to women--e.g., female circumcision--and have promoted valuable innovations---e.g., maternity hospitals.

At present, the women's movement is developing organizational skills and laying the groundwork for future action to attract broadly based rural and urban political support. So far, the movement has been more efficient at proselytizing than in fighting institutionalized political and economic discrimination, but Wipper argues that this is a necessary first step to basic structural changes. Recognizes that women's groups have made rapid progress but questions whether they will continue as reformists, become more militant, or fail to exercise new possibilities as their economic position improves.

Wipper, Audrey

1971b The politics of sex: some strategies employed by the Kenyan power elite to handle a normative-existential discrepancy. African Studies Review, Vol. XIV, No. 3, December, pp. 463-482.

There exists in Kenya a disjuncture between an official government commitment to sexual equality and the private and public actions of the

male power elite. The focus here is on certain strategies utilized by male politicians to maintain simultaneously traditional male prerogatives and the support of women's groups while expending a minimum of resources.

Primary strategies include: ceremonial affirmation of women or women's projects rather than substantive rewards; token placement of conservative women in public positions unaccompanied by a real attempt to integrate women into the national political party; and the promotion of conservatism through official support of women as wives, mothers, and political auxiliaries rather than as equal political participants. Specifically notes strategies employed by the power elite to avoid substantive support of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, a national women's voluntary organization, and to attack women's attempts to gain political representation.

The lack of consensus regarding official norms strengthens male strategies by stranding women between conflicting role norms which permit criticism of any role performance choice.

Wipper, Audrey

1975 The Maendeleo ya Wanawake organization: the co-optation of leadership. African Studies Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, December, pp. 99-120. Also, in Edna Bay and Nancy Hafkin, eds., Women in Africa. California: Stanford University Press.

Early leaders of Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MyW), the largest women's voluntary organization in Kenya, were militants committed to sexual equality and vigorous public lobbying of the central government. Recent leaders, however, have adopted a patron role, pursuing a European urban elite style which accords self-satisfaction but is irrelevant to most rural problems and needs. New tactics and emphases have accompanied the change in leadership style--e.g., sexual equality has been deemphasized, charitable and welfare projects have replaced self-help promotion, and the rural focus has given way to more urban concerns. Perhaps most significant for MyW's rural membership is the close association between the present national executive and the personnel and interests of the political elite. Rather than serving as an advocate for the rights of rural women, MyW is becoming increasingly identified as a handmaiden of the government.

Although the national leadership of MyW and the central government are lavish in reciprocal praise, there is a growing discontent in the rural areas with the existing situation. The government is criticized for its failure to honor promises of aid while MyW is felt to provide insufficient resources and inadequate leadership. As a consequence, the rural/urban gap is widening and MyW is losing its rural base. A burgeoning number of independent, local self-help groups are replacing MyW clubs but are incapable of providing rural people with a direct channel to the national government.

For MyW to be an effective voice for rural women, it needs strong, militant leaders to strengthen women's political bargaining position by encouraging bloc voting and building an adequate economic base. In addition, there must be a greater commitment of resources from the top--e.g., competent and committed technical and supervisory staff, greater coordination and direction, and increased personal involvement in the countryside by national leaders.

Wipper, Audrey

- 1975/ The Maendeleo ya Wanawake movement in the colonial period: the
 1976 Canadian connection, Mau Mau, embroidery and agriculture.
Rural Africana, No. 29, Winter, pp. 195-214.

The appearance of Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MyW), the largest women's organization in Kenya, coincided with the beginnings of the Emergency (1952-57) in that country. While there is evidence that the colonial government wished to use the clubs to reduce subversive activities and to assist in the rehabilitation of Mau Mau detainees, the actual involvement of MyW groups in these activities is doubtful. Even so, they were identified as colonial instruments of suppression by the Kikuyu and members were labeled as Loyalists. In 1961, this identification contributed to an unsuccessful attempt to change the group's name and a successful bid to Africanize the leadership and remove the organization from the direct control of the colonial government.

Prior to the Africanization of the leadership, European women played an important part in building the organization and ensuring the inclusion of African women in the development plans of the colonial government. These European women were aware of the central role played by African women in both the farming system and the general welfare of the family. Consequently, MyW concentrated on improving farming and husbandry methods as well as family health and hygiene. In the face of missionary opposition, it also encouraged the preservation of certain African customs, dress, and dance.

In general, the colonial development program included a long-range, multidimensional approach to the improvement of rural life which emphasized the provision of competent, committed field personnel who lived and worked in the rural areas. In addition, the program made good use of volunteers.