A Life of One’s Own: Women’s Education and Economic Empowerment in Kenya

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# Table of Contents

Page

3 .......... Introduction

8 .......... Chapter 1. A Walk through Mombasa

30 .......... Chapter 2. Gender Roles and Opportunities Traced through Kenya’s History from Colonialism to 1990


73 .......... Chapter 4. Education and Employment Trends in Kenya Today

87 .......... Conclusion

90 .......... Appendix 1. Methodology

92 .......... Appendix 2. Secondary Schools in Mombasa, Kenya

93 .......... Appendix 3. Profile of my 30 Interviewees, Students and Non-students

95 .......... References
Introduction

The world is shrinking. With the spread of the Internet and the increasing number of computers and phones, global communication has become a much easier task. Yet what we do really know about our fellow brothers and sisters across the world? Do we even care to get involved with other countries’ issues when our own country has enough problems to deal with? How would you feel if every single day, a woman from your community was set on fire by her husband or relative? By official statistics, every day in India, sixteen women endure a phenomenon known as bride-burning\(^1\), and by unofficial statistics, sixty-eight women in India die from bride-burning or dowry-related deaths every day (Lakhani, 2004, p 46). How would you feel if it was normal for almost half of the teenage girls in your community to give birth each year? In developing countries\(^2\), one-quarter to one-half of girls become mothers before age 18 (United Nations Population Fund, 2005). How would you feel if one out of every four girls in your community was not in school? In developing countries, approximately 25% of girls are not in school (Llyod, 2005). We hear about these issues from the news, online blogs and articles, and word of mouth, but we often do not realize their severity.

I used to be interested in issues of poverty and gender equality when I was introduced to them as a teenager, but I did not become passionate about these issues until I realized what truly happens in our world every day. Through an “Africa and Development” class at Duke University that I took last year, I learned about The Girl Effect, an organization that reveals stories and statistics about the lives of women and girls in developing countries and works to keep girls in school longer (Girleffect.org, 2008). Through a “Narratives of Development” class that I am

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\(^1\) “Bride-burning is the practice of dousing a new bride with kerosene and setting her ablaze to die. It is considered the most common form of dowry deaths” (Lakhani, 2004, p 3).

\(^2\) Although a controversial term, “developing countries” in this paper refers to all low- and middle-income countries as classified by the World Bank (World Bank, 2011).
currently taking, I have read stories and watched documentaries about how poverty and social customs affect the lives of people. This class reminds me that we often become wrapped up in statistics and forget that real people live behind the numbers.

A desire grew within me to learn firsthand about peoples’ lives and opportunities, which led me to Kenya. Over the last four years, I have become especially interested in women’s opportunities in developing countries, because women there seem to be much more disempowered compared to men as are women in developing countries. I have also become very interested in education as a form of empowerment. As a freshman at Duke, I joined a student organization called the Women’s Institute for Secondary Education and Research (WISER). The WISER student group partnered with several community members from Muhuru Bay, Kenya, to build a secondary school for girls in Muhuru Bay (Wisergirls.org, 2007). We now work to provide full scholarships to the girls enrolled at WISER and to promote awareness on Duke’s campus regarding girls’ education. The students at WISER are so excited to be part of this school, and they possess big dreams; their excitement and dreams have further inspired me to invest my passions in girls education. Research shows that the longer a girl stays in school, the less likely she is to marry and have a baby as a teenager. Studies have shown that girls who marry later and bear children later have healthier children (Bicego & Boerma, 1993) and report higher wages (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002).

Last summer an opportunity arose for me to work in Muhuru Bay with a group of Duke students, but Duke administrators were forced to cancel this opportunity due to an unexpected legal conflict, so they flew us to Mombasa, Kenya, instead. Although disappointed, I was excited to have the opportunity to learn firsthand from Kenyans about their life experiences and perspectives. I wanted to know more than just statistics. I wanted to learn about the lives of real
people living in a poverty-stricken country. I knew that life in Mombasa would be much different from my life in the United States, even if it wasn’t the most poverty-stricken part of Kenya, so I eagerly arrived and really listened to people that I met, soaking in all that I could. Their intriguing life stories led me to conduct thirty formal interviews\(^3\) that formed the starting point for this thesis. My thesis explores the education and economic empowerment of women; I arrived in Kenya interested in these issues and my first walk through Mombasa sparked a curiosity within me when I noticed more girls-only schools than boys-only and saw women in business suits walking around the city’s business center alongside men. The first chapter of this paper reflects on that first walk through Mombasa and shares life stories from men and women that I interviewed, while the remaining three chapters explore research on women’s and men’s opportunities in Kenya as a whole. I chose to write my thesis on Kenya as whole for practical reasons (limited information exists on Mombasa specifically), but the information I learned from my interviewees in Mombasa, as presented in Chapter 1, aligns with my findings on Kenya and thus serves as a useful, and interesting, lead into my thesis.

As I researched men’s and women’s situations in Kenya, I became curious about how life for women in Kenya’s neighboring countries compares to the lives of Kenyan women because I felt that learning the context of these other women’s lives would enrich my exploration of Kenya. Through brief research, I realized that Ethiopia and Somalia\(^4\) have experienced very different developments compared to Kenya. After further research, I decided to integrate information regarding Ethiopia’s and Somalia’s educational and economic developments into chapters two through four. By discussing these developments in relation to Kenya’s developments, I was

\(^3\) See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the methodology of these interviews.

\(^4\) Any use of “Somalia” in this paper refers to the presently-disputed territories of Somaliland, Puntland, and Somalia. While Somaliland and Puntland are each self-governed, they are not officially recognized by the international community, and thus are still part of the country of Somalia.
better able to understand how differing political, economic, and social environments impact men’s and women’s opportunities. Furthermore, I gained a deeper understanding as to how certain changes in Kenya – changes that have not occurred in Ethiopia or Somalia, or occurred in a distinctive manner – have shaped women’s advancement in relation to men’s.

Essentially, this paper argues that women in Kenya today have more educational opportunities and more diverse job opportunities than do women in Ethiopia and Somalia due to Kenya’s stronger economy, political support for women’s advancement, and changing social values in light of the increasing exposure among Kenyans to Western ideas and values. Chapter 2 gives background to the present-day situation of Kenya by presenting a history of Kenya from colonialism to 1990 (when major shifts in development practice began taking place) focusing on education and economic empowerment for women and men; in this chapter I argue that Kenyan women had better opportunities than Ethiopian and Somali women mainly because it was spared the government overthrows and battles that took place in the latter two countries. Chapter 3 focuses on changes that have occurred in Kenya (particularly from 1990 to today) and argues that Kenya has experienced more social changes that favor women’s advancement than Ethiopia and Somalia have, changes rooted in Western values that are transmitted through the widespread reach of television, media, and NGO work in Kenya. Chapter 3 also argues that Kenya has experienced stronger economic growth than Somalia and slightly stronger growth than Ethiopia, which helps to empower women. Additionally, it argues that Kenya has pushed for more policies in support of women’s advancement than Somalia has, while Ethiopia has also pushed for similar policies. Lastly, Chapter 4 presents education, employment, and income data and argues that

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5 In this paper, the “West” will refer to the countries of Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and all organizations and groups associated with these nations.
women in Kenya today have better educational opportunities and more diverse job opportunities than women in Ethiopia and Somalia. Ethiopian women participate in the labor market at a higher rate, but they are more limited in the types of jobs they can acquire than Kenyan women.

Another part of my argument, as revealed throughout the chapters, is that Kenyan women’s opportunities for education and economic independence have lagged compared to men since colonialism. However, women in Kenya have made advances in the last decades, and the future looks promising as they strive for educational equality in enrollment and performance and equality in the labor market. With more and more women emerging into the labor market and becoming economically independent, they are certainly on their way towards achieving “lives of their own.”
Chapter 1

A Walk through Mombasa

Sunshine envelops Mombasa on a typical afternoon in early July. Cars are honking, jam-packed vans, called “matatus,” are speeding, and people are shuffling around the city as they carry on their daily routines. On my first extensive walk through the city, I cannot help but notice several girls-only schools. In a city with 36 secondary schools, 7 are girls-only, while 3 are boys-only (see Appendix 2). Furthermore, I notice plenty of women in business attire walking around the city alongside men. In my classes at Duke I had learned about the United Nation’s Millennium Development goal to “Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women” and about scholars who discussed the oppressed, disadvantaged state of women in Sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations, 2010; Johnson-Odim, 2007; Blackden & Wodon, 2006). Now, I begin to doubt whether these reports are accurate for Mombasa. The higher number of girls schools alone does not reflect quality or opportunity, but it is a sign that girls’ education is at least a concern among the people and officials in this city. The number of businesswomen I notice seems fewer than the number of businessmen, but women walk with their heads held high beside men. I see men and women in business attire sitting together at an outdoor restaurant, talking and laughing. I see male and female teachers wandering around a schoolyard surrounded by students. I see older women selling trinkets along the side of the street, and further along I see a man selling shoes. These interesting dynamics that I witness cause me to become even more curious about women’s opportunities in Mombasa. I wonder, Is Mombasa a place where women have equal, or nearly equal, opportunities for education and economic independence as men, or a place where gender disparity is just as great as reported for the rest of Africa? This stimulating walk during my first
week in Mombasa, along with my background interest in poverty and gender equality, prompted me to research women’s opportunities in Kenya, in part through conducting interviews with Mombasa residents. These interviews have enabled me to better understand life in Mombasa by connecting my research to real peoples’ perspectives. However, it is important to note that Mombasa is not representative of Kenya as a whole. Twenty-two percent of Kenya’s population lives in cities, while 78% lives in rural settings (Central Intelligence Agency, 2010). As the second largest city in Kenya, Mombasa offers resources and opportunities that other places in Kenya do not offer, such as greater access to the internet, electricity, schools, jobs, etc. Despite these differences, trends described by my interviewees align with my thesis argument that Kenyan women’s opportunities for education and economic empowerment historically lag compared to men’s opportunities, but women have made significant advances in the last few decades.

In this chapter I first describe the city of Mombasa in order to paint a picture of the environment that has shaped the lives of my interviewees. By understanding the environmental factors that influence their lives, we can better understand their life experiences. Furthermore, this background on Mombasa helps us better understand my argument regarding gender equality in Kenya as a whole because the interviewees’ stories reflect trends of this argument. This chapter then shares four stories from the people I interviewed and explains how they relate to the other people I interviewed and to the trends in Kenya as a whole. I chose the four specific people highlighted in this chapter based on the amount of information they provided, how accurately I could describe their lives, and whether their life experiences represent those described by my  

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6 See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the methodology of these interviews.
other interviewees. The experiences and views of these four people reflect the most common experiences and views of all thirty of my interviewees.

*Mombasa, City of Cultural Flavors*

Mombasa is located on the coast of southeast Kenya. The numerous trading ships that visit its port bring in people and goods from all over the world, as does its international airport. Mombasa has been connected to the outside world for many centuries. Arab traders frequented Kenya’s coast beginning in the 1st century AD and founded Mombasa in the 8th century; even today, Kenya’s coast has a greater Arab population than the mainland (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2010). Also, according to numerous people I spoke with in Mombasa, Europeans, especially Italians, frequently vacation in Mombasa.

Geographically, Mombasa Island contains most of the city’s land and population, while the North Coast and South Coast each contain significant portions. The North Coast is divided from the main island by Tudor Creek and is connected by the Nyali Bridge, and the South Coast, where I lived, is divided from Mombasa Island by Kilindini Harbor. Since no bridge exists across Kilindini Harbor, the Likoni Ferry transports people back and forth free of charge, courtesy of the Kenyan government. This ferry was not one of my favorite experiences in Mombasa. Cars and large trucks would park in the middle of the ferry, while people squished into the side aisles and upper level of the ferry. Every time I rode the ferry to meet my intern
friends who all lived on Mombasa Island, hundreds of people uncomfortably pressed against one another to make space for everyone; this happened regardless of the hour – except for one instance at 6:00 in the morning when only about a hundred people surrounded me. I heard stories from my host mother about women’s purses being stolen, and as a foreigner, I had to be especially careful. If not for my extreme caution, lack of space, and wariness of teenage guys asking for my number, I would have thoroughly enjoyed the ferry rides. From the upper level, the water glistened and the open sky instilled a sense of adventure within me.

The streets in the business center of Mombasa Island are paved and lined with sidewalks, while surrounding streets in residential areas feature dirt, rocks, and mud. Transportation is an important component of people’s lives, especially for the men and women who work in the business center of Mombasa and must travel to work (few living quarters exist in this area), for people visiting friends and family in other parts of the city, and for people (primarily women) who travel to market. The most common form of transportation in Mombasa is the matatu. Large,
colorful vans that often transport sixteen squished passengers at one time, matatus are cheap and relatively quick. They begin and end at set destinations, making frequent stops along the way, pausing only long enough for a person to jump out while another person jumps in. The tuktuk is the second most common form of transportation, although in Likoni where I lived (South Coast), motorcycles were the most common form. Kenya’s version of taxis, tuktus hold up to three passengers and take people directly where they want to go. A tuktuk consists of a seating compartment attached to a three-wheel motor vehicle and costs about three times the amount of a matatu. Bodabodas are an increasingly uncommon form of transportation in Mombasa, although they are cheap and very common in rural areas of Kenya. Essentially, one passenger rides on the back of a bicycle and is taken directly to his or her destination. Men and women alike ride in matatus, tuktus, motorcycles, and bodabodas. Cars appear on the paved streets of Mombasa slightly more often than matatus, but only the wealthiest families can afford a vehicle, so matatu-riders far outnumber car-riders. In families that do have cars, the men typically own them and use them to drive to and from work, although wives and daughters sometimes ride in them, too. This demonstrates one example of gender inequality in Mombasa. I remember one evening walking home, my host mom rushed by me in the alley by the house, then
she turned and loudly whispered, “Aislynn, come! Come ride with me!” A big smile lit up her face as she proudly held up her husband’s car key. We rode around town, and she constantly laughed and smiled about how she was free and had no kids to worry about and could drive as she pleased. She had driven before, but only a few times since her husband always had the car. I could tell that she loved these moments when she could escape with the car on her own, with the window down and her head scarf blowing in the wind. While this memory makes me smile, it also brings to light the financial control that men have over their wives. Even in this family, in which the husband and wife both work outside of the home and make money (although, he makes much more money than she does; I interviewed them both), the husband controls the family’s assets, including the car and the deed to the house.

Regarding food, people do not eat much meat in Mombasa because it is expensive. I lived with a wealthier family than most; even so, we ate chicken only four or five times during my eight weeks there. Ugali, a dry, puffy bread that essentially has no taste, is very common, usually eaten with sukuma wiki (collard greens) or cooked bananas and potatoes. Beans, often flavored with coconut sauce, and chapati, a fried, tortilla-like bread, was my favorite meal. Rice is also commonly served in Kenya, with beans or maize or occasionally chicken. Women prepare the meals every day, which usually takes between 2-4 hours. I never heard of or witnessed a man cooking, and from my experience I think any woman in Mombasa would laugh if I asked about men cooking. Women’s role as meal-preparer, laundry washer (washing machines are practically non-existent in Mombasa), and house cleaner is a socially understood fact in modern-day Mombasa. This reflects another form of gender inequality, because women’s time spent on household duties limits their opportunity for economic independence. They must rely on their husband’s income to buy food and clothing. Women with jobs and aspirations usually hire a
“house-help” to take care of household chores. House-helps are almost always girls between the ages of 12-18, which reinforces the socially accepted notion that women should take care of household matters. My host mother works in her shop from 8 AM to 8 PM each day, and thus hires her 17-year-old cousin as a house-help, paying her 2,000 shillings a month (approx. $25) for about 6 hours of work per day, including weekends, which is a very low salary. Of course, house-helps often live and eat with the families they work with, so that is a form of payment as well, but their opportunity for economic empowerment is also limited.

Houses in Mombasa are relatively simple compared to most houses in the United States. Almost all houses only have one level, and designs range from single room to multi-room, dirt floor to tiled floor, and flat roof to slanted steel roof. Extremely wealthy families live in houses modeled after those in Western countries. Schools range from large one-room classrooms (rare in Mombasa) to multi-level buildings that rival public schools in the United States. Private schools boast the more elaborate designs with better-maintained facilities, while public schools tend to be more physically run-down, although they too have multi-levels with hallways, offices, and concrete floors. All Kenyan students wear uniforms to school, which can be a financial obstacle for families and another source of gender inequality. I met two women, on separate occasions, who told me that their parents sent them to school a few years late because the parents could not afford to pay for their school uniforms and fees. However, these same parents sent their sons to school at the appropriate age, which may or may not be an indication of their higher regard for their sons’ education. Either way, scholars report many instances in which parents in Kenya favor their sons’ education over their daughters’ (Barng’etuny, 1999; Eshiwani, 1993).
Unemployment certainly exists in Mombasa (I could not find the specific rate), but unemployed people often contribute to society in one way or another, at least this is what I observed and was told by several people. Unemployed individuals contribute by helping relatives with their work or by volunteering at an NGO or other service organization. Disabled people usually become beggars, who often hang around the ferry gates or major street intersections, clanging their tin cans for coins. The most common types of jobs in Mombasa, based on my interviews, observations, and research, include: small vendor, teacher, businessman, NGO employee, public sector employee, and matatu or tuktuk driver. Males and females work in each of these jobs, although slightly more women tend to be vendors, teachers, and NGO employees, while vastly more men are businessmen, public sector employees, and matatu/tuktuk drivers. Within NGOs and the public sector, men tend to hold leadership positions (President, Vice President, and Treasurer), while women work in lower positions or as part-time staff. According to my research, these trends reflect those of Kenya as a whole, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Various levels of education are needed for each of the aforementioned jobs, which factors into the reason why men in Mombasa hold more leadership positions. Teachers, businessmen,
full-time NGO employees, and public sector employees must hold a secondary school certificate, while executives tend to have a university degree. Vendors and matatu/tuktuk drivers do not need to complete secondary school. Since men in Kenya (in general) stay in school longer than women (see school enrollment trends, Chapter 4), they have more qualifications for leadership positions. Furthermore, longstanding patriarchal values favor men for leadership positions as they are considered the financial providers of the family (see Chapter 2), which may influence employers during the hiring process. Thus, educational opportunities, as well as social norms, empower Mombasa men in their pursuit for economic independence more-so than women.

For recreation, families often go to one of Mombasa’s five beaches; teenagers browse the internet in one of Mombasa’s many internet cafés or watch television at a wealthy relative’s house. Children play with toys and run around outside, and adults often socialize with neighbors. Wealthy adults can enjoy a trip to the movie theater, which costs approximately 6.25 US dollars per person at the Nyali Cinemax in northern Mombasa. Interestingly, almost everyone at least sixteen years old, whether wealthy or poor, owns a cell phone, which I believe reflects the importance of relationships that I witnessed in Mombasa. People seem to really care about staying in touch with one another. My host mother frequently visited her friends and family while I lived with her, and her family and friends often came by her house, too. Other interns in my group said that they witnessed the same thing in their families. Women particularly prioritize relationships, which may be due to the fact that they
stay home longer than men do during the day. Perhaps since televisions and computers are not as prevalent in Mombasa as in the United States, people rely on their relationships to occupy their time. This would explain why almost everyone owns a cell phone, although cell phones could also be a matter of convenience.

_Her Story_

It seems natural to begin with my host mother, Adila, with whom I conversed nearly every morning and evening. Adila’s story is one of economic opportunity – opportunity resulting from the growth of NGOs in Kenya, which extends to many other Kenyan women – but also one of gender inequality in terms of education, household duties, and voice in society, which represent longstanding sources of inequality in Kenya.

Adila and I met because she had signed up with a local organization that places foreign interns with Kenyan families, and I was assigned to her house. On the day I met Adila, she wore a long, baggy black gown and hijab (head scarf) lined with printed leopard skin, which reminded me of the leopard print that had long been in style in the United States and made me wonder whether the U.S. influences style in Kenya (or perhaps the other way around). After meeting other women, I soon realized that Kenyan women have a unique style from women in the U.S. Most Kenyan women always wear an ankle-length skirt, gown, or more typically, a kanga (long piece of colorful, patterned cloth) around the waist. Some Kenyan women occasionally wear pants, but it seems that pants are culturally viewed as a feature of masculinity and liberalism. Men almost always wear a shirt with either pants or shorts, although I noticed a few men who wore “traditional robes” with a loose belt.
A tall, plump Arab woman, Adila welcomed me into her home kindly and cautiously. I was the first foreigner she had ever hosted and she seemed unsure of how to interact with me. I felt that she trusted I would respect the family and environment, but that she doubted my ability to adjust to such a different life from those she witnessed in her Western soap operas. She also worried that I would need a special diet and that her 3 and 5-year old daughters, who spoke little English, might be intimidated by me. Fortunately, all of her worries eased after a few days.

Adila grew up in a poor Christian family with several siblings. She completed class eight of primary school and wanted to continue to secondary school, but school fees prevented her from advancing. She began working in a hair salon to earn money to support herself and her family. Adila comments, “I’m not satisfied [with my education]. I wanted to go far…you know, African women going to university, it’s scarce…I don’t even know one who has gone.” Thirteen out of the seventeen interviewed women and ten out of the thirteen men report dissatisfaction with their education, mainly because of their lack of opportunity to continue advancing, usually due to finances.

In her late teens, Adila began questioning her Christian faith and eventually converted to Islam. At the age of 20, a Muslim businessman began courting her, whom she married within a year. Polygamy is not uncommon among Muslims, and Adila has adjusted well to becoming this man’s second wife. Although she feels little competition with the first wife, who is a housewife and lives two streets away from Adila’s home, she seems to quietly relish the fact that her husband married her out of love and married his first wife due to their parents’ arrangement.

When she married, Adila left her job at the hair salon in order to raise a family. She bore a daughter at the age of 22, and bore another daughter two years later. Now 27, Adila proudly
owns a small shop that she opened last year, located about fifty feet from her front door. She sells rice, beans, flour, vegetables, bananas, and other staple foods. “My life at the house gets boring, you know, I need something to occupy my time.” Even though her husband is a successful insurance broker, she opened her small shop on her own by acquiring a micro-finance loan from a local NGO. I could tell that she obtains joy knowing that she started this endeavor on her own. This NGO loans varying amounts to local women as long as each woman has a tangible business plan. Adila said that she personally knows nine other women in the community who have received a loan from this organization. This is a common practice in Mombasa today, and in Kenya as a whole, due to the great number of NGOs that have sprouted in the past two decades, which evidences growing opportunities for women (Dibie, 2008; Lando, 2008).

When I asked Adila about whether she would like to have a “formal” job, with a guaranteed, continuous income, she replied that her place is in the home, and she readily accepts that duty because of her religion. “I think it’s good that men should have big opportunities…According to my religion, Islam, the man has to have big opportunities in life, to take care of the wife and the kids.” No other interviewed woman agreed with this belief, while four interviewed men agreed that men should have more opportunities than women. Adila also believes that women have less voice in society, although she appeared less accepting of, even slightly disturbed by, this societal behavior. “Men are the ones who have good jobs, you know, when they speak, they are heard. Not like women. When a woman speaks, she’s not given respect.” This lack of voice for women that Adila observes has been a longstanding struggle for Kenyan women, such as during colonialism when women tried to migrate from the villages to the colonial towns but were commanded to remain in the villages by male tribal chiefs, as
described in Chapter 2. According to Adila, women in Mombasa today still struggle to have voice, which may be indicative of the situations of other women in Kenya as well.

Secondary school, unlike primary school, is not free in Kenya, and even uniforms can become a burden for families. Thus, Adila was forced to drop out of school after she completed the eight primary levels. However, she was able to obtain a job at a hair salon. Furthermore, the micro-finance loan she recently received from a local NGO enabled her to become a self-employed shopkeeper. More opportunities for employment are made available to women largely due to the rise of NGOs in the 1990s and 2000s. NGOs often hire women and provide micro-finance loans specifically to women (Dibie, 2008). Since both women and men find it difficult to obtain jobs without a secondary school certificate, self-employment is a realistic alternative for these people.

Adila’s story describes an opportunity that many Kenyan women now have that was unavailable just a few decades ago. NGOs economically empower women by providing them with access to capital so that they may create their own business ventures. However, her story also highlights the gender inequality that still lingers in Kenya. Adila’s husband obtained a diploma and works as a successful insurance broker, while Adila had to drop out of school after the eighth level and works in a small shop while also tending to the house and children. Adila cites her religion as one reason for these differences and seems content with her situation. Traditional societal norms that encourage women to become housewives may also play a role in these differences, as well as Adila’s parents’ limited finances.
**His Story**

I travelled to Mombasa with five other interns from Duke University. One intern’s host brother, Matt, kept us entertained on the weekends. Matt is an energetic, always-smiling, 25-year-old Christian of African descent. He loved to hang out with the interns because we were intrigued by things in Mombasa that seemed ordinary to him, such as camels on the beach and “Tusker” beer that features an elephant with two huge tusks on the bottle, and he enjoyed showing us around the city and hearing us talk about the United States. Matt is more free-spirited than any other Kenyan I met, yet he can quickly compose himself when a superior approaches him. He would dance for hours with us at the clubs, yet showed great respect to adults. This fun-loving, dignified combination made him a popular guy among adults, his peers, and my group of interns. His story reveals how girls in Mombasa have more opportunity to advance their schooling than in the past, how girls’ lagging performance affects opportunity, and how peoples’ attitudes are more supportive of female empowerment.

Like many other men I interviewed, Matt is aware that women as a whole perform worse in school than men, but he believes, along with three other male interviewees and five female, that men and women have equal opportunity since women are allowed to enter secondary school and university with a lower exam score. “I think they have equal opportunity…not a lot of girls are passing very well in high school, but like, the leaders in high school are girls, and the passing mark for joining university is lower for the girls than the boys. They have an advantage.” While it is true that the policy change allowing girls to join secondary school and university with a lower exam score has increased girls’ opportunity to advance in school, it also causes the gender inequality in performance to persist. If females can advance their schooling with lower exam scores than males, then they have little incentive to improve their performance to an equal level
with male students. Thus, as females continue to receive lower exam scores, they will be perceived as intellectually inferior to males, which causes inequality in the way they are viewed by peers and potential employers. Furthermore, other reasons for females’ lower performance in school – early marriage, early pregnancy, less study time due to household chores – can damage their self-esteem and prevent them from gaining access to higher education and opportunities for economic independence (Barng’etuny, 1999).

Matt currently studies for a college diploma and eventually wants to acquire a master’s degree.

My dream or my goal is that I want to start my own firm, that way I can reach to more people and more people. As according to my job, that’s what I do. I want to go to a different level and reach out to more people. It’s a consultation firm on reproductive health. The work I’ve done at my current place of work has influenced me to do this because I’m doing community work. But, it’s a small organization, the one I work for, and I feel I’m not doing enough, and I feel I have the potential to do more than what I’m doing right now.

Other current students that I interviewed, both male and female, also have big ambitions. Many of the females wish to become lawyers, politicians, community development practitioners, and teachers. Many of the males wish to become engineers, pilots, and business owners. The fact that both males and females dream big and believe that they can obtain their goals indicates that social changes have taken root in Mombasa compared to colonial times when tribal chiefs and British officials dictated what women could and could not do (see Chapter 2). However, Matt acknowledges that the competition for jobs is fierce. “[My parents] also want me to get more education, than the level I’m at now, because with the competition that is here, you won’t get
anywhere. My parents want nothing than to pass school (sic); they won’t take anything other than that.”

Like Matt’s parents, if parents can afford to send their children to school, they seem to strongly encourage their children to succeed, according to the majority of students that I interviewed. Based on my interviewees’ responses, their parents tend to equally, or almost equally, value educating their sons as well as their daughters, which may or may not be due to the strong international push for gender equality and women’s empowerment that will be discussed in Chapter 3. However, when parents cannot afford to support all of their children’s education, they either support their eldest children first (the more common tendency) or their sons first, according to my interviewees. Teachers who I spoke with in Mombasa also commented that students, especially girls, drop out of school when their parents can no longer pay the fees, both at the primary and secondary levels, which means that students from poorer families are less likely to complete their education, and daughters often lose financial support first. If rural parents cannot support all of their children’s education, they commonly send a child or two to live with urban relatives, where the child(ren) work for the family (usually performing household duties or agricultural work) in exchange for an education.

Matt’s story explains that girls have more opportunity to advance in school than in the past, but their poor performance compared to boys results in unequal opportunities for job placement (further discussed in Chapter 4). However, we see that females in Mombasa today dream just as big as males do, which is a sign that society as a whole supports female empowerment. Furthermore, parents in Mombasa tend to support all of their children’s education if they can afford to do so. These factors could lead to equal opportunities for men and women in the future, or at least continued improvement towards this goal.
Meet Hasnaa. I met this quiet, 25-year-old woman at the market in town. The day we met she wore a blue and orange kanga around her waist that bore the slogan, “Mungu ndie muamuzi wa kila jambo,” meaning, “God is the judge for everything.” She wore her hair down, which immediately sparked my curiosity because nearly every other woman I met wore her hair in braids, even Muslim women who wear a hijab over their hair in public. People in Mombasa possess a high regard for appearance, so they keep their hair braided and clothes clean. Hasnaa did not seem to possess a nonchalant attitude regarding her appearance, but rather possessed a quiet pride in her intellect and in her desire to remain unconfined from societal norms.

As she and I sat on wobbly stools outside a local shop selling fruits and vegetables, her shyness melted away as she opened up about her life. Her story represents the academic progress but post-school economic hardship of women and tells how women today pursue economic independence more often than they did in the past. Hasnaa has earned a college diploma and wants to eventually obtain a master’s degree. As the only female that I interviewed who has finished a college diploma (several others are nearing completion of theirs), Hasnaa impressed me from the start, although her career situation looks dismal. She works sporadically on research projects but wishes she had a full-time, stable job.

I work with contracts. I do the same thing you’re doing – I do the research. [Contractors] come for up to two months, and then they go, just like students they come from Canada, America, wherever. So if they come for two months, after two months they go, and I have to wait for another…maybe three months again. One comes for one month, they go. When they’re not here, like now, I’m jobless. But if they come, I do them.
Hasnaa receives approximately 16,000 Kenyan shillings per month when she has work. That equals about 200 U.S. dollars per month. This figure is low compared to the 32,160 shillings that my average working interviewee makes per month. Hasnaa dreams of working in an NGO that caters to disadvantaged women.

And my dream is to work in an NGO organization, dealing with women who are HIV infected and the young girls under 18 who are sexually exploited and the girls who are trafficked…Our [community] elders wish to buy this piece of land and build an NGO organization that caters to children. That’s what I’m doing.

Hasnaa’s college diploma may make it easier for her to one day achieve her dream, but finding a job is not an easy process. Many employers only hire family or friends. Thus, social connections are very important, perhaps even more important than one’s education level.

Regarding her personal life, Hasnaa desires to stay single until she has a steady job. “I want to get married at 29 because I don’t want to get married when I’m still jobless, so I don’t become a burden.” Interestingly, eight other single women that I interviewed made very similar statements. Perhaps this is a major reason why Kenyan women today marry at later ages than in the past. Shifting societal views encourage women to be economically independent before marrying, whereas women were expected to marry young and financially depend on their husbands in the past (Barng’etuny, 1999). However, women such as Adila sometimes cannot finish school and secure a job to support themselves, which causes them to marry and financially depend on their husbands from a young age. Despite the many “Adilas” in Mombasa, these shifting societal views likely contribute to the progress women have made in the academic and professional world, or they could be a result from this progress. Either way, my younger interviewees have plans to finish their schooling and become economically independent before
marring, while most of my older interviewees, who were not subject to this changing societal support for financially independent women, did not finish school and married young. This seems to be evidence for the social change taking place in Mombasa.

Hasnaa’s story shows that she, along with other women in Mombasa, desires to be economically independent before marrying, which makes sense in light of Kenyan women’s increasing participation in the labor market (discussed throughout the remaining chapters). Hasnaa also represents how women in Kenya are progressing further in their studies but how they struggle to find decent, well-paying jobs.

*His Story*

At 44, James has invested his life in multiple community development organizations in Mombasa. His passions revolve around bettering his community and promoting human rights.

I would say my father was important for my development, because he himself was an educationist. My mom also was a teacher when I was young; actually, she’s the one who taught me in the primary level. Also we had quite a number of relatives who were well-educated and one who was a novelist. We used one of his books when we were in school and it was really inspiring. It made me want to work in development.

James has the kind of presence that demands respect, but in a soft, subtle manner. He is proud of his heritage, proud of his family, and proud of his community. He has a twinkle in his eye that makes it seem like he knows something that others do not. I met James due to his heavy involvement with NGOs in Mombasa, because I volunteered at an NGO myself during my two months there. Not surprisingly, he has connections all over the city and personally knows NGO employees and businessmen stationed miles away from his own workplace. Hundreds of people
from the community seem to know him on a personal basis. I do not believe that I have ever met another man with as much passion and dedication for the betterment of his community as James.

James’ story portrays a successful man who works hard to better his community and reveals why men are more often hired to leadership positions than women. James obtained a master’s degree in community development and business administration and now runs the Mombasa branch of a relatively small, international NGO based in California. “Currently I work with the Foundation for Sustainable Development, but I also work with other local community institutions. I also do consultation with Kenya rights groups.” He earns between 85,000 to 100,000 Kenyan shillings per month, or $1,000 to $1,250. The average salary among the working men that I interviewed is 44,375 Kenyan shillings per month and 19,944 for the average working woman. The reasons why his salary is so high may be due to his age and experience, his master’s degree, and his gender.

I’m totally contented…One thing I believe in is the value of life, is what you have, in terms of knowledge of issues surrounding education. And I’m a person who has a passion in seeing people, I mean identify their potential and be able to use it for the betterment of the neighborhood. So, when I see that, I’m quite fulfilled. And on the other hand, I can say that I live happily with my family – my beautiful wife and two kids. I really wish to bring up my children so they are well-educated to a level at which I will feel quite content.

I walked with James through the streets of Mombasa throughout the interview, which was a refreshing change. People on the street interrupted us several times at the sight of him. They wanted to shake his hand and ask about his current efforts. These encounters further made me realize how widely known and respected James is in the community.
When I asked him about employment opportunities, he responded that men are generally chosen when an equally qualified woman applies for the same job as a man, which is why men are in more leadership positions than women. His reasoning for this phenomenon was based upon the idea that society frowns upon a woman being “ahead of” a man, even though society does not necessarily discourage women from career advancement.

Looking at the kind of culture and religious issues surrounding…it’s really proven that women are not supposed to be ahead of men. About the opportunities though, it wasn’t until men joined the groups that fight for women’s rights that institutions began giving women an equal opportunity.

James has had a much better education and holds a much better job than any woman I interviewed, which may be due to his family background or due to the inequalities that still exist. His explanation regarding why fewer women are hired to leadership positions aligns with “traditional” gender role attitudes described in Chapter 2. Kenyan women are becoming increasingly economically empowered, but traditional views of men as leaders and heads of households prevent women from advancing into positions superior to men.

Conclusion

Mombasa is a vibrant, beautiful place full of culture and promise. While some of the people I interviewed prefer men and women to maintain their “traditional” roles, with women running the home and men earning income for the family, the majority strive to create better educational and career opportunities for both men and women. Many NGOs specifically emphasize women’s empowerment and devote most of their resources to the advancement of women. Thus, progress and opportunity continue to bloom into the lives of Mombasa women.
today, although opportunities for female economic independence seem to lag compared to their opportunities for educational advancement.

These four brief narratives reflect changes that have been occurring in Kenya as a whole, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters through research: higher enrollment in schools and universities for men and women, improved performance, especially for men, and better job prospects for both genders but particularly for men. Self-employment seems to be a common option for women today, which results in less income and stability than employment in the formal sector. As James mentioned, in order for women’s opportunities to continue growing, men need to also fight for women’s rights so that society as a whole will be more accepting of gender equality.
Chapter 2

Gender Roles and Opportunities Traced through Kenya’s History from Colonialism to 1990

The history of women’s opportunities in Kenya reveals a mighty struggle compared to that of men, a struggle that continues today. Only within the last two decades have women achieved substantial access to education and employment. In this chapter I will examine the effects of colonialism on men’s and women’s opportunities for education and economic empowerment, starting in the late 19th Century, followed by the effects from Kenya’s independence and post-independence periods, up until 1990 when socio-cultural dynamics began shifting due to a resurgence of Western influence. The histories of Somalis’ and Ethiopians’ opportunities will be integrated into the discussion of Kenya in order to understand how differing political, economic, and social environments impact men’s and women’s opportunities. Although neighbors, these three countries have developed very differently, and comparing Somalia and Ethiopia to Kenya will enable us to better understand how and why the changing dynamics in Kenya have shaped women’s advancement in relation to men’s.

*European Colonialism 1888 – 1963*

The Imperial British East Africa Company arrived on Kenya’s shores in 1888, quickly taking political and economic control of the area (Ochieng’ & Ogot, 1989). I begin with this time period due to the lack of pre-colonial resources available, the fragmentation of pre-colonial Kenya into various tribes (which causes difficulty in examining each system), and the fact that close to 90% of the coastal population was enslaved by traders from Zanzibar and Arab states.
Enslaved people have little opportunity for education or careers.

To summarize labor division and education practice in Kenya prior to Britain’s arrival: The land was scattered with tribal villages, composed of huts, and each led by a chief. Men worked in the fields or as artisans. Women’s daily activities ranged from collecting water and firewood to taking care of children to harvesting the fields with the men. Labor was divided by gender, but discrimination did not seem evident since men and women accepted their roles and cooperated in their efforts (Ochieng’ & Ogot, 1989). Each village governed its own education system, although the term education had not yet been established. Essentially, the adults in each village ensured that children were taught basic knowledge and skills they needed (Ochieng’ & Ogot, 1989). Many Muslim communities established religious Qur’anic schools for their children, particularly in Mombasa, which was the primary city in the region, as Nairobi was not founded until 1899 (Keshavjee, 2010). The Somali landscape looked similar to Kenya prior to colonization, with scattered tribes governing children’s development. Scholar Ali Abdi describes pre-colonial education in Somalia as: “informal systems of communal interactions” (Abdi, 1998). Ethiopia, by contrast, traces its history to 2nd century BC and had long been ruled by kings. Ethiopia had a formal education system prior to the 1900s, but this system was limited to the ruling class. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church provided some formalized instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic to local males to prepare them for religious positions, although few children participated (Teferra & Altbach, 2003).

The British began settling in the Somali region soon after the Berlin Conference in 1884, slightly before they settled in Kenya. Somalia borders Kenya to the northeast and possesses the longest coastline in Africa, which made it an important center for commerce (Warmington,
Ethiopia, which borders Kenya to the north, was one of two African countries to remain independent (the other being Liberia) during the period of colonialism. Menelik II had begun uniting the regions of present-day Ethiopia and consolidated his rule by declaring himself emperor in the late 19th Century (Keefer, 1973). He signed the Treaty of Wichale in 1889 with Italy to ensure that Ethiopia would remain sovereign as long as Italy could control a small region in northern Ethiopia. (Negash, 1997).

Kenya’s and Somalia’s lack of unification among villages made it relatively easy for the British to settle and eventually establish education systems, although Somalis’ resistance delayed the development of a formal education system, which will soon be discussed. Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia kept a firm grasp on his power. He allowed some European schools to be established in the country, but his officials maintained primary control.

During early British rule, Christian missionaries controlled education in Kenya. British officials, who controlled and governed the country as opposed to missionaries who came to promote Christianity, concerned themselves with Europeans’ education, but economically, it made sense to allow the missionaries to educate Africans. Missionaries’ sole goal in Kenya was to convert people to Christianity, but Kenyans’ needed to be able to read the Bible on their own in order for this to happen. Thus, missionaries educated Kenyans, but only enough to be capable of reading and comprehending the Bible in Kiswahili, the dominant language of Kenya (Wamagatta, 2008, pp 4-5). School enrollment was very low, for both girls and boys, mainly because parents did not value this type of formal education. They were used to the informal systems established by tribal leaders prior to colonialism, when children were only taught the basic skills and knowledge they needed. Furthermore, “parents were afraid that mission
education would alienate their children and undermine their own authority and hold on them” (Wamagatta, 2008, p 5).

Menelik II of Ethiopia permitted European missionary schools to provide education, but he also established secular, Western-style public schools beginning in 1908 (Teferra & Altbach, 2003). Some missionaries went to Somalia, but Somalia experienced continuous battles with Europe, which deterred missionaries and postponed the establishment of an education system. Essentially, Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, a Muslim leader in Somalia, retaliated to British settlement by gathering Muslim forces. His forces caused the British to retreat to the coast four times, but in 1920 the British used airpower to defeat Hassan’s and then conquered Italian Somaliland, which gave them control of the whole Somali region (Britain and Italy had each created their own Somaliland state in the 1880s) (Samatar, 1982). Because of the continuous skirmishes in Somalia, Britain and Italy were slow to establish formal education programs.

Britain peacefully colonized Kenya, and thus many changes began occurring in Kenya that significantly influenced gender roles. Industrial towns developed, and men migrated to the towns in large numbers seeking work, leaving their women behind to tend to agricultural duties. Three main reasons explain this phenomenon: 1) industries preferred male employees for their superior physical strength (many jobs required manual labor) 2) men were the heads of households due to their responsibility to go to war and protect their families, and thus they felt responsible for financially providing for the family 3) limited town housing only provided enough space for workers, so families did not migrate with the men. As men took industrial jobs, women took on housework and farm work. Village and town men and women, entire Kenyan societies, began viewing men as more competent to handle new changes due to men’s ability to adapt to colonial towns, and thus boys were sent to the missionary schools first, marking the start
of gender discrimination in the new Kenyan education system (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 1). This discrimination also spread to employment opportunities. Many women and young girls sought wage employment in the emerging colonial towns along with the men because of a growing desire among women to be part of these new and exciting towns. However, this angered tribal leaders, who felt that the limited economic and social opportunities provided by colonial towns should only be attained by the men because of their place as head of household (Okuro, 2010). The tribal leaders likely suspected that earning an income would enable women to purchase at will, without depending on their husbands, and to hold power over those depending on that income, which could potentially include their husband. This could threaten the institutionalized patriarchal system that had long been in place in Kenya, in which men were heads of households and decision-makers for the villages. Thus, tribal leaders and other men verbally referred to this long-established system in their efforts to deter women seeking wage employment, which solidified traditional gender relations. Kenyan scholar Samwel Okuro notes that, “As late as 1945, African men always wanted to keep intact institutional values and practices which would continue to keep women within their subordinate position, silent and disempowered” (p 524).

Prior to 1911, British officials had not been involved in Kenyans’ education and very few students attended missionary schools. Due to the lack of a formalized education administration, the number of enrolled students in Kenya was not recorded. However, prior to and during World War I, school enrollment began steadily increasing because young men could evade being recruited to fight in WWI if enrolled in school and girls wanted to escape “the continual hard work which is their lot in ordinary Kikuyu life” (Wamagatta, 2008, p 6). In Kiambu district, 1,862 pupils had enrolled in school by 1916-17, out of an estimated 26,000 educable children. This number may seem low, but missionaries confirmed that it was higher than the number
enrolled before WWI (Wamagatta, 2008, pp 5-6). The missionaries pleaded with British officials to help meet this increasing demand for education, which led to the establishment of a Department of Education in Kenya in 1911 (Keshavjee, 2010, p 107). In contrast, the Ministry of Education in Somalia was not formed until the 1950s, after the UN established a temporary trusteeship with Britain and Italy that stipulated the formation of a formal education system in Somalia (Zolberg, 1992). Similarly, the Ministry of Education in Ethiopia was not formed until 1949 because of clashes with Italy and insufficient resources due to a struggling economy, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter (University Capacity Building Program, 2008).

British colonial rulers clearly prioritized boys’ education, building the first secondary school for Kenyan boys in 1926, while waiting until 1938 to open a secondary school for Kenyan girls (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 4). This only intensified the gender discrimination that had begun developing in colonial towns regarding employment because fewer educated girls meant fewer opportunities for employment for the women who could migrate to towns.

British education policy for Kenyans focused on technical training for secondary school students between the ages of 12-18, although Kenyans resented this technical training because of its “inferiority” compared to Europeans’ advanced academic education (Keshavjee, 2010, pp 106-107). This policy was designed to ensure that Kenyan men took positions in manual labor in the private and public sectors as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, painters, bricklayers, tailors, and farmers, while European men took more respected positions as businessmen, politicians, and other leaders. The British trained Kenyan women in health hygiene, sewing, and handicraft to prepare them for domestic work and motherhood, while they trained European women in advanced academic subjects. Britain’s notions of appropriate gendered labor (and appropriate
education quality based on race) infiltrated schools and communities, convincing men and
women to adopt distinct roles.

Although slow to be implemented, the education systems that were established in
Somalia also served the purposes of colonization, meaning that, like in Kenya, Somalis were
trained to serve “the administrative and low-level technical needs of the imperial powers” (Abdi,
1998, p 331). This technical training was a common trend among all colonized African nations at
the time.

By contrast, the emperors in Ethiopia promoted secular, academic instruction because
Africans formed both the elite and working classes in Ethiopia and could control their education,
unlike in Kenya and Somalia. Africans considered this type of education superior to technical
training, which limited learning. Empress Zewditu’s cousin and close advisor, Ras Tafari
Makonnen, controlled the empire from behind the scenes during her reign from 1917 to 1930,
making significant changes in order to modernize, including: abolishing slavery, entering
Ethiopia into the League of Nations, and expanding secular education for both boys and girls
(Adejumobi, 2006). However, only 8,000 students were enrolled in 20 public schools across the
empire by 1935 (Teferra & Altbach, 2003). Italy invaded and took control of Ethiopia in 1936,
quickly moving to reorganize the education system. Two types of schools were created: those for
However, Ethiopian and UN forces removed Italian forces in 1941, and Ethiopia’s government
worked to build the education sector. Due to a shortage of teachers, textbooks, and facilities,
progress was slow. In 1961, Ethiopia hosted a United Nations Conference of African States on
the Development of Education and was ranked at the very bottom of African nations due to high
drop-out rates and low attendance, especially among females. This spurred a new education
policy in Ethiopia, which expanded academic instruction but focused on technical training. Amharic became the official language of instruction (Teferra & Altbach, 2003). As we can see, Kenya, Somalia, and Ethiopia tread very different paths that all led to the implementation of technical training for citizens but also left each nation in very different states of stability and development. Somalia’s resistance to the British delayed the creation of colonial towns and an education system compared to the non-resistant Kenya, while Ethiopians controlled their own education and development but experienced instability due to skirmishes with the Italians and a weak education system.

Muslim boys and girls, who were generally either Asian (of Indian descent) or Arab, had different schooling experiences from other Kenyans, Somalis, and Ethiopians. Since British schools were associated with Christianity, Muslim parents chose to continue sending both their sons and daughters to religious Qur’anic schools, which had long been established in these three countries since Arab traders settled in East Africa. In these schools studies focused on the fundamentals of Islam and did not incorporate any study of the humanities or natural sciences. Once girls reached puberty, they were kept home to help with domestic responsibilities, while boys completed their studies (Keshavjee, 2010, p 104). This long-standing practice occurred due to the Muslim belief that women are to serve their husbands, which they did so by becoming subservient housewives and mothers (Keshavjee, 2010). These distinct gender roles of Muslim men and women align with the gender roles promoted by the European-established schools for Africans,

although unlike Muslim girls, African girls attended secondary schools.
With the rise in English and secular education promoted in British schools, Kenyan Muslim communities began opening “mixed” schools for their children in the 1920s, which included both religious and secular studies. They incorporated secular studies so that their children would have a competitive edge in the labor market with non-Muslim students receiving a secular education. The British government in Kenya then tried to establish mixed schools for Muslims, but the Muslim community refused because the British wanted to emphasize artisan training. Muslims’ schools focused on career development and professional mobility (and also taught English), and thus the men emerged into the business and trading industries (Keshavjee, 2010, p 109). Young Muslim girls were not encouraged to pursue secular education (p 110). This schooling system continued to operate in this manner until a few years before Kenya’s independence.

Throughout the decades leading up to World War II, British rulers continued to promote secular education to provide technical training for African men to become artisans and farmers and for women to become housewives, but this policy soon changed when the Kenyan people rallied together. The outbreak of World War II caused Kenyan men from diverse tribal backgrounds to join together as soldiers. As a result, Kiswahili, which remained the most widespread and most understood language in Kenya given the number of non-educated and early school drop-outs, was the common language of command. Once the men returned home after the war, Kiswahili unified the people through a shared sense of native language (Campbell & Walsh, 2009, p 581). This sense of unification, along with sweeping social changes in the 1950s that brought a wave of independence movements across Africa, caused Britain to lose much of its control in Kenya (as well as in Somalia). The success of Kenya’s independence movement
brought significant changes in education policy and in the opportunities available to men and women.

To sum up, British colonialists established a formal education system in Kenya that focused on technical training. Kenyan men were trained to become artisans while women were trained to become housewives and mothers. Muslim men and women were similarly trained, although religious studies were incorporated into their learning and girls were taken out of school once they reached puberty. While gendered roles already existed prior to colonialism, discrimination had not been part of Kenyan life as it was during colonial times. Girls could not take the same subjects in school as boys, and women were discouraged from migrating to colonial towns to find work. Furthermore, most Kenyans felt discriminated against by the technical training provided to them when Europeans were trained for the positions with power and higher salaries.

**Independence and Post-Independence 1963 – 1990**

Independence movements began sweeping across Africa in the 1950s, mainly due to the rise in national sentiments in many countries as a result of WWII and due to a realization that they would never have equal status with Europeans as long as the Europeans remained in control (Ochieng’ & Ogot, 1989). Through rallies and other unifying movements across the country, Kenyans achieved their independence on December 12, 1963 and passed a Constitution the same day. As Africans were released from colonial educational restrictions they realized that education was key to their dreams of a greater social status and a higher standard of living because it led to economic empowerment. Thus, following independence many Kenyan parents strove to send both their sons and daughters to school (Keshavjee, 2010). This shift led many poor women to
seek employment outside of the home in order to pay for their sons’ and daughters’ schooling. Finding work proved difficult, but the common jobs taken by women in the late 1950s and 1960s included: catering, sewing, contract work, and starting a micro-business (small business typically run by one or two people, usually selling things) (Keshavjee, 2010). Although micro-businesses provided women with a newfound sense of independence that had been stifled through colonialism, women often had to beg their male relatives to initially finance their micro-business, which could be degrading. Middle-class mothers usually stayed home to care for the children because there existed less need for them to work and because it was not yet common for women to work outside of the home (Keshavjee, 2010, p 112).

Muslim communities in Kenya, Somalia, and Ethiopia all experienced similar transitions into higher education. When the religious leader of the Islamic community in Eastern Africa, referred to as the Imam, made his periodic public announcements during the late 1950s and 1960s, he particularly encouraged Muslim women to seek higher education. The Imam wanted the Muslim community to maintain its foothold in East Africa during and after the independence movements, and he stressed education as the crucial means of doing so. With educated women, all Muslims could become leaders and prominent members of society. As aspiring Africans began seeking more education and jobs in the trading industries, jobs primarily held by Asian and Arab Muslims in past years, the Imam emphasized emergence into social and political leadership positions. He encouraged Muslims to seek higher education in the Western world, where “modern” values were taught and practiced that emphasized economic independence for both genders and equal rights and opportunities. He believed that this “modern way of life” would give Muslims a competitive edge as they sought leadership positions in East Africa (Keshavjee, 2010, p 114).
Exactly one year gaining its independence, Kenya declared itself a republic and Jomo Kenyatta became its first president. The new president soon called for *Harambee*, a Swahili term meaning “let us all pull together,” in order to initiate development projects. The people responded positively, and local communities rapidly built over 600 *Harambee* secondary schools by 1974, while the government focused on supplying primary schools (Buchmann, 1999, p 98). Although the Constitution did not address any gender issues, the government publicly called for parents to send their children to school regardless of sex (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 5). There was a great need in the public sector to fill positions left by colonial administrators, and the Kenyan government wanted qualified individuals with sufficient education to run the country, regardless of gender. Education no longer was used as a tool to create obedient and useful colonial subjects who could perform only menial jobs, but rather it became viewed, by the government as well as the people, as the key to running the country efficiently and to improving quality of life for all people.

In the early years after independence, education greatly expanded in Kenya, and the government seemed strong and successful. In 1963, only about 840,000 African children were enrolled in primary school, less than 35% of eligible students (Somerset, 2007, p 1), but within the first decade after independence, the country maintained a primary enrollment rate of nearly 80% (boys and girls combined). Furthermore, President Kenyatta abolished all primary school fees in 1974, a move that reassured Kenyans of the government’s commitment to education (Eshiwani, 1993).

The Somali government took similar steps. In the mid-1940s, as Somalis began to think of independence, Somali liberation leaders called for a nationalized “modern” education system to foster leaders for the country. This led to expanded academic programs and more
opportunities for girls (Abdi, 1998). British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland united on July 1, 1960 to form the independent Somali Republic, and the new Constitution was ratified on July 20 (CountryWatch, 2002). Eighteen thousand students were enrolled in schools in the 1960/61 school year, with a university also operating that had been established by the Italians. Opportunities for upper level administrative positions had also opened in Somalia with the departure of the British and Italians. However, men typically took these jobs, while administrators in Kenya encouraged both men and women to fill positions.

At this point, Ethiopia provides a very different story. Ethiopia remained separated from the independence movements that swept across Africa bringing social support for girls’ education. Furthermore, its economy remained weak and political leaders did not emphasize education as in Kenya and Somalia. Between 1968 and 1974, Ethiopia only spent 1.4% to 3% of its GNP on education, while other African countries spent 2.5% to 6% on education during this period. Ethiopian schools continued to focus on technical training, and schools were crowded and understaffed. By 1974, less than 10% of Ethiopia’s population was literate (Teferra & Altbach, 2003).

Like Ethiopia, the push for education in Kenya began experiencing many problems in the 1970s. The government could not financially maintain the number of schools that had sprouted, and thus school quality suffered. *Harambee* schools were of especially low quality and expensive to attend because they did not have access to the same funding as government secondary schools. Furthermore, huge disparities in *Harambee* schools resulted as wealthy communities, particularly in Central, Western, and Nyanza Provinces, built many, higher quality schools and poor communities in the Coast, North Eastern, and Rift Valley Provinces could not keep up (Buchmann, 1999, p 99). The economic disadvantages of the Coast, North Eastern, and Rift
Valley Provinces prevented many girls from attending school in these regions because when parents could only afford to educate a few of their children, they gave boys priority. This occurred among Muslim households, too, even though the Imam had called for a rise in girls’ education. Muslims on the Coast simply could not afford to send all of their children to school, and traditional religious beliefs regarding “man as provider” caused Muslim parents to believe that their son’s education was more important (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 6). Even though this trend occurred mostly in the Coast, North Eastern, and Rift Valley Provinces, girls throughout Kenya attended school in fewer numbers than boys. In 1974, only 83 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys (Somerset, 2007, p 20).

Unable to meet the demand for education that had escalated with independence and relying even more on civil groups (i.e. communities, social organizations, and ethnic groups) to lead development initiatives, the Kenyan government experienced “a gradual erosion of state legitimacy” from the mid-to-late 1970s, and serious problems of inequity and inefficiency emerged in all sectors (Buchmann, 1999, p 96). The wage employment sector experienced limited growth during this time, on through the 1980s, and soon, “increased unemployment among secondary school graduates was a clear sign that the educational system had grown beyond the means of the economy to support it” (p 100). The government attempted to control educational expansion through regulations, but it could not enforce its policies. Thus, secondary school enrollment nearly doubled between 1974 and 1978, from 179,867 to 349,711 students (Buchmann, 1999, p 101). Unable to control educational expansion, the government decided to instead embrace Harambee initiatives. Its renewed commitment to education enhanced its legitimacy in the eyes of the Kenyan people, because this move suggested that the government would also put effort into creating jobs for the educated. The government did strive to create
more jobs in the public sector, but this move further strained the government’s financial resources (Buchmann, 1999).

Although Kenya’s economy worsened, education expanded, but educational opportunities in Somalia took a severe turn for the worse. On October 15, 1969, President Shermarke was assassinated by one of his bodyguards, and the Somali Army, headed by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, took over control of the country and established a one-party Communist government by 1976 (Wiles, 1982). Barre wanted to improve education in Somalia as an attempt to improve peoples’ standard of living, so he launched a mass literacy campaign in 1974/1975 targeted at rural areas that raised the literacy level of Somalia from 5% to 55% (Abdi, 1998, p 333). However, Barre’s priorities changed once Somalia engaged in a border war with Ethiopia in 1977-78 and other militaristic ventures that weakened the economy, and education suffered as a result. In 1984, 36% of government spending went to defense and security, while only 10.5% went to social programs, including education (Abdi, 1998, p 335). Thus, by 1990, the literacy rate in Somalia had fallen to 24%: 36% for males and 14% for females (p 334). Despite the new Constitution of 1979 and the elections for a People’s Assembly, Barre’s party continued to rule and become increasingly totalitarian. Resistance movements in the late 1980s ignited the country, which led to the Somali Civil War in 1991 (CountryWatch, 2002). This instability crumbled the education system and especially limited women’s opportunities to enter the labor market because women had to take care of the fields and families when their husbands died from the war or from disease (Advameg, Inc, 2011).

Ethiopia’s education system, which had already been suffering throughout the 1960s, also took a turn for the worse by 1990 due to internal conflicts. In 1974, a military junta led by Mengistu Haile Mariam ousted the emperor and established a one-party communist state in
Ethiopia as Barre had done in Somalia. In 1975, Mengistu started a national literacy campaign, for the same reason as Barre, sending over 60,000 students and teachers all over the country for two-year terms of service. The government reported an improvement in the quality of education, although actual results remain uncertain (Teferra & Altbach, 2003). However, Mengistu’s new regime faced multiple uprisings as well as economic and political problems resulting from frequent droughts, border conflicts with Somalia, and Mengistu’s genocide of hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians. Furthermore, the revolutions in Europe in 1989 and the general collapse of communism caused the Soviet Union to cease its aid to Ethiopia (Dagne, 2006). Because of this aid, Mengistu had been able to maintain control of a communist state, but the Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front, which had formed in 1989, marched on the capital, Addis Ababa, in 1991. As a result, Mengistu fled and the communist government fell (Adejumobi, 2006). Because of this instability, the education system crumbled as it did in Somalia. By 1990, 36.5% of Ethiopian children between the ages of 5-12 were enrolled in primary school in Ethiopia (World Bank, The. 2011), and only 24% of the total population (age 15 and above) was literate (Berhane, 2010).

Fortunately, Kenya did not experience uprisings and violence as in Somalia and Ethiopia. Its government continued to strive towards a better education system and an expanded labor market despite Kenya’s weak economy. Daniel Arap Moi became president in 1978, undertaking educational policy in the same manner as the previous regime, verbally supporting educational expansion while trying to slow its rapid rate of growth to a manageable level. In 1983, Moi switched to the American-style 8-4-4 system (8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, and 4 years of university), which required boys and girls to now take the same classes, marking an important step towards gender equality. President Moi mimicked the American-style system
because of its success in producing leaders and in providing equal opportunities to boys and girls. His move reaffirmed the government’s claims that boys and girls should receive the same education and should both fill jobs in the labor market. In 1988, Moi released an order to increase the university intake from 3,000 to over 7,000 students, which also provided more opportunity for women to receive higher education in a male-dominated environment (Buchmann, 1999, p 102). By 1990, approximately 40,000 Kenyan students had enrolled in university, of which approximately 29% were female. To compensate for the enrollment increase, the government devoted a larger percentage of its budget to education: 40% by 1990, of which over half went to higher (post-secondary) education (p 102). This sharply contrasts with the priorities of Ethiopia’s and Somalia’s governments, which favored funding for the military at the expense of funding for education.

During the 1980s, Kenya faced economic stagnation, increasing unemployment, and rising prices, largely because of the economy’s inability to keep up with the increased number of schools to be maintained. In reaction to the public’s growing alarm at the number of jobless secondary and university graduates, the Moi government inflated the number of public sector jobs available, doubling the number of civil service employees from 133,000 in 1978 to 272,000 by 1991 (Buchmann, 1999, p 103). Women were given the “lowly” civil service positions as typists, clerks, and receptionists because men, who outnumbered women in the labor market and often controlled hiring processes, deemed these jobs as “more fitting” for females.

Jobs in the agricultural and informal sectors needed to be filled too, so Kenya’s government promoted the idea of “education for self-reliance” in order to make these jobs seem secure and appealing. People were drawn to the idea of only needing to rely on themselves rather than on others or on an unpredictable labor market, and so vocational classes were added to the
school curriculum to prepare male and female students for these jobs. This placed stress on schools because of the higher costs of hiring new teachers and adding more variety to the curriculum, and placed stress on students who now needed to excel in a wider range of subjects (p 104). Furthermore, Kenya heavily depended on external funding, particularly from the West, to support its development, but external donors did not support an educational curriculum that emphasized vocational training and employment preparation. Western development theorists and donors were more concerned with poverty reduction, which they claimed could be achieved through quality education programs based on academic instruction in the humanities and sciences. These differing opinions created tension between donors and the Kenyan government and threatened the external flow of educational funding (King, 2007, pg 360). Thus, the Kenyan government’s attempt to improve education and to prepare students for employment opportunities actually increased stress among school officials and students and threatened external funding for the schools in the 1980s.

The economic decline of the 1980s led to an increasing debt for the Kenyan government, and because of this debt conditions were tied to foreign aid that required the government to minimize spending. Thus, the government handed control of many of its secondary schools over to local communities and called for “cost sharing” by parents and communities to maintain the schools. These schools functioned in a similar way as Harambee schools, with communities being responsible for school maintenance. This led to an erosion of school quality all over Kenya (Buchmann, 1999, p 104).

The degrading quality of schools did not result in fewer girls attending school. In fact, 93 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys in 1987, 2.42 million to 2.60 million, respectively (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 12), a significant increase compared to the 83:100 ratio of
1974. However, only 75.0% of females completed primary school, compared to 85.6% of males in 1991 (World Bank, 2011). Reasons for female dropouts include: early pregnancy, early marriage, and poor performance due to lack of study time. Girls were expected to help with household chores and with younger siblings, while boys were encouraged to study so that they could excel and become wage earners for their families. Many parents sent daughters to school solely to find a good suitor (Barng’etuny, 1999, pp 24-25). Many educated women left rural settings to find work in towns, although their jobs were limited to teaching, nursing, secretarial, typing, clerical, and other non-managerial jobs, while educated men became top executives, managers, and politicians (Barng’etuny, 1999, p 50).

In sum, in light of the rapid educational expansion after Kenya’s independence, the period of 1963-1990 began as an era of high hopes among Kenyans for a better standard of living and for female opportunity. However, the government’s inability to control expansion and to maintain Kenya’s schools led to a severe erosion of school quality and state legitimacy. Unlike Somalia’s and Ethiopia’s governments, which suffered through military-led revolutions, Kenya’s government remained stable and continued supporting education, which increased its legitimacy, but Kenya’s economy suffered throughout the 1980s as many secondary school graduates searched for employment in vain. An increasing proportion of girls enrolled in school, although they performed worse than boys and frequently dropped out for various reasons. Furthermore, women were rarely granted top jobs, even if they had the same qualifications as men.

Two stories from my interviewees in Mombasa can help to illustrate the difficulty that a woman in the 1970s and 1980s faced in finishing school and obtaining economic independence compared to a man.
His Story

Safi, the wise, spirited 43-year-old Executive Manager of Likoni Community Development Programme (LICODEP), mentored me throughout my eight weeks working at his NGO. When I asked Safi if I could interview him for my research, he looked at me curiously, as if wondering what I would ask him, yet was very eager to share his life story and opinions. Born in 1967, Safi grew up when Kenya had a 7-4-2-3 education system (seven years of primary, four years of secondary, two years of “advanced level,” and three years of university). Many students did not continue to the advanced level due to reasons previously discussed in this chapter, including limited finances, poor performance, early marriage, etc. However, Safi was given the opportunity to complete both years of the advanced level and to later attend university. He recollects:

I went to the advanced level because it was my parents, especially my dad, although he didn’t go to school, but he was very eager to see that I go up to university, so he was pushing me to continue my education. After finishing [the advanced level], you know what, I didn’t see any role models or got any backup, someone to, like I said earlier, you know, I don’t know what happened to me, but after finished the A-level, I just took the opportunity of joining the Armed Forces and I was so excited, so I had to join the Army Forces. Although, when I was in the Army Forces, I continued my education, because there I got an opportunity of joining the mechanical engineering school. I got a diploma in mechanical engineering, with the Air Force, then after completing my service at the Air Force, I came back home, I started this youth self-help groups, and when I joined LICODEP, I also continued with my education, and I did community development, and I got another diploma, and I’m still continuing my education.

This man has had multiple college experiences, and it seems that luck likely has little to do with it. He has had parental support, government support, opportunity and adequate finances to pursue two diplomas. He also has dreams to earn a degree and to start his own business. “I will be self-employed. That’s my dream. It is possible, as long as I work at LICODEP, our activities, and we’ve got funds to do activities. I get my pay. From my pay, and the balance I
have from whatever, then I can accomplishment my dream.” He earns between 55,000 to 75,000 Kenyan shillings per month, when the average working man in Mombasa that I interviewed earns 44,375 Kenyan shillings per month, which is approximately equal to $555.

*Her Story*

I met 50-year-old Lucy when my friends and I began hunting for a reasonably priced safari trip. Lucy currently runs a safari office in Mombasa, but she has tread a long road to get there, a road that forced her to piggyback most of the way on her husband’s back:

I dropped out [after my second year of secondary school] because of the school fees, and then the higher education was too expensive, so my father could not afford. So, they took me to a college for home management, it was a home craft, so they were teaching about the housework – cooking, cutlery, and nursery teacher. So, I took all that and I performed with first class grade. So when I came to Nairobi in 1980, it was when I found [my future husband] Baparoja, I got a job in industry, but then he refused me to work there. By then I was only 20 years, so I decided to stay together with him. But in 1985 I learned the Italian language for 6 months, then from there I took me to the office because he was also doing the tourism, so I used to get some knowledge from the tours. And from there in 1986 I was fully in the office, working as a sales representative…So, he employed me and we used to work together, although it is very difficult to work with a husband in the same office, it was very difficult. But because I was too young, and I could not be heard, there are so many things that he used to do for me. But if at all, I didn’t obtain that home craft training college, I could have divorced him long time ago, but I stayed with him for all those years until 1995 when we opened a branch in Mombasa.

Lucy was able to work in the tourism industry because of her marriage to Baparoja. After they opened their safari branch in Mombasa, Lucy and Baparoja split apart as he moved on to better opportunities and she stayed in Mombasa to run the safari office. Lucy was denied the opportunity to complete high school and was denied opportunities for work until she married. According to society, many job opportunities only suit men, which leave women with lowly non-
managerial jobs or force women to depend on husbands or male relatives in order to obtain work. Unfortunately, Lucy represents such a case. She likely would not be where she is today without Baparoja. However, Lucy is very lucky because her salary is high compared to other women. She earns more than 100,000 Kenyan shillings during high-peak tourism months (July to March), and less than 10,000 shillings during bad tourism months (April to June). The average working woman in Mombasa that I interviewed earns 19,944 Kenyan shillings per month, or $249.

While Safi had the opportunity to complete two college diplomas, Lucy was denied the opportunity to finish secondary school. Safi easily secured a job with an NGO after he finished his term with the Armed Forces, but Lucy had to wait several years until she could obtain a job through her husband. These two cases represent reality for many men and women in Kenya in the 1970s and 1980s.

Conclusion

British colonialism brought many political, economic, and social changes to Kenya. Kenyans fell subject to British laws, industrial towns developed that spurred economic growth, and Kenyans adopted many British customs, including the English language and a formalized education system. This education system, which focused on technical training to prepare men for work as artisans and farmers and to prepare women for work as housewives, used education as a tool to foster obedient subjects who would benefit society by performing the jobs that Europeans did not want. Somalia also experienced similar political, economic, and social changes as Kenya, although these changes took place more slowly due to Muslim forces in Somalia who fought against British settlement. Ethiopia had a much different experience because it remained
independent during colonialism. Ethiopian emperors failed to bring about economic growth or to significantly improve the education system as British officials had done in Kenya and Somalia.

Once Kenya became independent, people desired better education and increased opportunities for women. Education became viewed as a means of producing leaders to run the country and of improving the quality of life. This led to higher school enrollment and better employment prospects for women compared to the past, although women were denied leadership positions in many cases because men controlled hiring processes and believed that other positions were more fitting for women. Thus, educated women typically took jobs in teaching, nursing, secretarial, typing, clerical, micro-businesses and other non-managerial jobs, while educated men became top executives, managers, and politicians. Less educated men became farmers and artisans, while less educated women became vendors and housewives.

When Kenya’s economy declined throughout the 1980s, school quality deteriorated across the country, but the ratio of girl to boy school enrollment continued to improve. Somalia also experienced a social push for better education and opportunities for girls during its independence movement, but then Somalia and Ethiopia were both shaken by government overthrows and military battles that caused their economies to suffer and education development to lag. Girls particularly suffered from lack of opportunity compared to those in Kenya. Employment prospects in Ethiopia remained especially bad, for both men and women, because the country remained primarily agricultural. Thus, Kenya’s education system and labor market became much more stable than those in Ethiopia and Somalia, and female opportunities looked more promising.
Chapter 3

Kenya’s Changing Social Discourse, Economic Strength, and Political Support for Women

Although poverty still grips many Kenyans’ lives and political problems occasionally arise in Kenya, such as the post-election uprisings in 2007, Kenya has experienced changing social discourse, economic growth, and political changes that have all contributed to women’s advancement. The West has played a special role in these changes due to increased mediums in Kenya that provide access to Western influences. This chapter will examine specific social, economic, and political changes in Kenya that have affected men’s and women’s opportunities, especially over the last two decades, and will explain how the West has impacted these changes in positive and negative ways. Somalia and Ethiopia have experienced similar social changes as Kenya, although not to the same degree, but economic and political developments in Somalia and Ethiopia prevent many women from gaining opportunities alongside men. An analysis of these developments in Ethiopia and Somalia will help us understand why certain changes have occurred in Kenya and how they uniquely impact Kenyan men and women.

So What’s All the Talk About? Examining Social Discourse

For the purposes of this paper, “social discourse” will refer to the language and modes of communication that reflect social behaviors and conditions of a particular community, including ideas, customs, and values. So how do these behaviors and values change over time? New technological developments, new inventions and methods for making life “easier,” new movies

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7 My interpretation of “social discourse” was influenced by the work of Michael Pierssens, 2004, and Kieran O’Halloran, 1999.
and books, new styles and music all influence social discourse. Technology provides an opportunity for foreign influences to reach Kenya, because businesses in Kenya are not typically on the forefront of new technological developments and inventions. Kenya imports many goods – computers, cameras, advanced cell phones – from other countries. Kenyans are also heavily influenced by foreign music, movies, and styles, especially from the United States. Thus, this section will focus on the effects of international discourse on social developments in Kenya, particularly the effects on people’s thinking about the proper role of women in society.

A major way that international discourse reaches Kenya is through television. Kenya has a relatively high number of television sets, with 730,000 total sets (population: 31,639,091), compared to 682,000 sets in Ethiopia (population: 66,557,553) and 135,000 in Somalia (population: 8,025,190) (all figures are based on 2003 data, Nation Master, 2003; CIA World Factbook, 2003a). However, the distribution is uneven between urban and rural regions since cities provide more access to electricity and higher incomes, so rural citizens may not be as heavily influenced by this medium of social discourse. Kenya produces its own movies and has fifteen local television stations, while Ethiopia and Somalia each have three local television stations (Advameg, Inc, 2011, “Ethiopia”; Advameg, Inc, 2011, “Somalia”). Many of Kenya’s television stations only screen Western shows and movies (mainly from the US, Mexico, and Europe), thus enabling foreign influences to reach more deeply into Kenya than into Somalia or Ethiopia. Furthermore, these Western shows and movies seem to be more popular in Mombasa than the local stations, at least from my observations. Every evening in Mombasa when I returned to my host family's residence, we watched the news and then a Western soap opera or movie. I asked my host mother if she typically watched Western shows or if she was just trying to make me feel comfortable, and she replied that she always watches her favorite Western
shows. After talking with the other five interns in my group who lived with various host families, I learned that their families also watched Western shows in the evenings.

These television shows seem to affect Kenyans’ opinions about women, because Western soap operas and movies often feature strong, bold women in lead roles. One night when my host family and I were watching “En Nombre Del Amor” (the characters’ voices were changed into English), my host mom commented, “At least Romina has respect and can go after her dreams. She has everything. She even lives in a nice house with her own room.” When Kenyans witness the lifestyles and attitudes of Western women, they question their own views about women, and perhaps associate women with strength and power. Of course, this exposure to Western women’s lives is limited to families that can afford a television. However, relatives and neighbors are very close-knit in Kenya, and if a family owns a television, then relatives and neighbors will often congregate at that residence. Saidi, my host mother’s unemployed 29-year-old cousin, stayed over at her house almost every day that I lived with them, usually watching TV, returning home each night around 8 PM. Thus, even people who do not own televisions are directly impacted. With 19.4% of Kenyan households owning a television (Trading Economics, 2010), and relatives congregating at those residences, Western television helps shape social discourse in Kenya by often portraying women as strong, independent leaders.

Western music also heavily influences Kenyans. While in Mombasa, I frequently rode in a matutu, a type of cramped “van taxi” that is the most popular (and cheapest) form of transportation in Mombasa and in other parts of Kenya. American rap songs blared on the matatu speakers nearly every time I rode one, except twice when I heard Swahili music and a few times when the matatu did not have working speakers. I did not conduct research on the effects of American rap on social discourse in Mombasa, but considering the fact that many American rap
songs promote promiscuity and/or degrade women (Samuels, 1991), I imagine that these songs open dialogue in Kenya regarding gender equality and social status. Music can be a very powerful tool to move people into action or discussion (Samuels, 1991), and so these songs may lead women (and men) to express their opinions about society with one another, either through casual conversations or through organized support groups. These mediums for expression can empower individuals to change problems in society, such as the degradation of women, which can strengthen the social status of women.

Non-governmental organizations have been a major medium for communicating international discourse to local communities for the past two decades, particularly regarding development practice, which has greatly impacted social discourse in developing countries. From 1970-1990, international aid was given to governments and mainly used to develop countries’ infrastructure, but international development policy underwent a significant shift around 1990. Aid began flowing straight to the local people and was used to improve education and health care and to promote income-generating activities (Dibie, 2008). As a result, millions of non-governmental organizations have emerged across the globe, including in Kenya. These NGOs not only work to improve the lives of those in their communities, but they act as liaisons between the Western world and the developing world. Since Western nations provide the vast majority of the funding that NGOs in Kenya receive and also send aid workers to evaluate projects, Western discourse has major influence in Kenya through these projects (Dibie, 2008). A major example is the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a project started in 2000 and spearheaded by American economist Jeffrey D. Sachs, to eliminate extreme poverty in the world within 15 years (United Nations, 2010). Although an international effort, the UN Millennium Development Project has been largely formed and promoted by Western individuals and groups.
The eight goals heavily concentrate on improving health and education, and women and children are the primary targets because study after study show that the improvement of women’s opportunities is instrumental in poverty reduction. Women raise the children and contribute to their education, and women can even become financial providers along with men (United Nations, 2010). Western grant organizations often allocate funds specifically for projects that promote these eight goals. Thus, local NGOs in Kenya have been creating projects that encourage women’s empowerment and reflect the other Millennium Development Goals.

A good example of an NGO that creates these types of projects is the NGO I worked with in Mombasa, Kenya, called the Likoni Community Development Programme (LICODEP). LICODEP has received major funding from three Western organizations for its microfinance project, which provides loans to women to establish small businesses, for its education project, which provides competitive scholarships to female students for secondary school, and for its various community training programs, which focus on peace and security issues, gender awareness, and education concerns. While I did not ask the executive director of LICODEP why they chose to create the projects that they have, I know that funding is a big issue for LICODEP, and that the organization’s best method of acquiring funding is to tailor its projects in ways that will be attractive to Western donors. On the other hand, LICODEP employees may simply be convinced that these eight Millennium goals are in truth the key to poverty elimination. In the eyes of Kenyans that I interviewed, read about through blogs, and interacted with in Mombasa, Westerners are rich and happy. Thus, if Westerners strongly believe that certain strategies are best, then those strategies must seem correct since Westerners apparently know the” secret” to wealth and happiness. One male that I interviewed in Mombasa commented, “I want to go to the United States… [Here in Kenya] we are not happy because we just live here with no jobs.”
Kenyans have been especially influenced by Western discourse given that a remarkable number of NGOs have sprouted in Kenya compared to other countries. Approximately 5,000 NGOs had registered in Kenya as of 2008, compared with 1,119 in Ethiopia as of 2010, and only 118 in Somalia as of 2005 (Lando, 2008; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, 2010; Daloum, El Khidir, 2005). Ethiopia and Somalia have not had a strong capacity for NGOs given the violence and political turmoil that have plagued both countries in recent years.

These development strategies promoted through NGOs also reach Kenyans through news and media. Kenya is home to five major news channels, multiple newspapers, and many radio stations (Kenya Information Guide, 2011). One night in Mombasa as I sat watching the news program at 7:00 PM with my host family, a reporter briefly discussed progress on poverty in Kenya and in Africa as a whole, and he mentioned the United Nations’ efforts to combat poverty in the region. Some of his comments were positive and some were negative, but the important point is that awareness is spreading among Kenyans about poverty issues, including education, health, and gender issues. Also, according to the World Bank, 10 out of every 100 people use the Internet in Kenya, while only 0.5 out of every 100 people in Ethiopia and 1.2 out of every 100 in Somalia use the Internet (2009). Due to numerous news sources on the Internet, people are becoming aware that international, national, and local efforts in today’s world concentrate on women’s empowerment (Kenya Information Guide, 2011). These reasons factor into why Kenyans’ views are gradually shifting to a more favorable stance for women’s education and career development, which is evident based on the increasing number of girls in schools and in the labor market today, trends that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Lastly, international discourse also reaches Kenya through diplomatic interactions and foreign visitors. An increasing number of foreign visitors travel to Africa because airfare has
gradually become more affordable, because tourist attractions have increased, including safari expeditions and beach resorts, and because of a new trend known as “Do-It-Yourself” (DIY) development. The DIY trend has gradually emerged over the last decade due to the increase in individuals who desire to first live among people in developing communities and to then create their own relatively low-cost development projects, such as providing sanitary pads to girls or building an orphanage, rather than simply donating money to NGOs. The majority of these projects target females, which has contributed to a changing social discourse favorable to women’s empowerment (Kristof, 2010). Furthermore, foreign visitors, whether they travel to Kenya for tourist or humanitarian reasons, share values and beliefs with Kenyans both directly and indirectly. Religion, politics, standard of living, family, and gender roles are just a few of the topics that are exchanged. Westerners’ values and beliefs seem to influence Kenyans because the majority of Kenyans view Westerners positively, due to Kenya’s friendly relations with Western nations (Bureau of African Affairs, 2010), and because of many Kenyans’ desire to be “rich and happy” like Westerners. In fact, I was surprised to be so welcomed in Kenya. I had expected people to be at least minimally wary of my intentions in their country. Instead, adults would smile at me and make conversation if their English was proficient, and little children would run up to me shouting “Mzungu! Mzungu!” (i.e. “White person! White person!”) and trying to hug me. I got the feeling that people were friendly towards me because they believe that all white people are rich, and so I could perhaps benefit them in some way, or perhaps they were simply curious about who I am and what my life is like. Many people in Mombasa asked me about my life in the United States and were curious about my opinion of Kenya.

Television, media, music, foreign visitors, and NGOs and international development projects all shape social discourse in Kenya. Western values and behaviors have been
particularly influential in Kenya due to the increasing media that have transported these values and behaviors into the country. Kenyan women seem to be particularly affected because the independent Western women they see on TV and the foreign aid goals to empower women they learn about from NGOs act against traditional notions of how women should behave. Although Kenya’s independence movement brought a push for women’s empowerment, women have not truly been able to grasp the idea of gender equality until the last two decades. By seeing and hearing about women who have equal opportunities and value compared to men, Kenyan women begin to reconsider their own value. This has led to change and empowerment for women across the country. This type of social discourse has taken root much more slowly in Ethiopia and Somalia due to the fewer mediums available. Somalia in particular needs to become politically stable before mediums for social change, such as television networks and NGOs, can safely increase their numbers in the country.

*Cha-Ching! Economic Growth after Years of Struggling*

The growth of Kenya’s economy over the past two decades has contributed to the increase in women’s opportunities for advancement because as industries grow and capital becomes more available, women can compete with men for jobs. This section will broadly recap Kenya’s economic development since colonialism in order to focus more concretely on the economy today and how men’s and women’s lives have been affected. Lastly, I will analyze the positive and negative aspects of Western intervention over the past two decades, which has played a major role in Kenya’s economic development.

Although Britain developed Kenya’s infrastructure and created industrial towns where men could work, colonialism overall did little for the economic advancement of Kenya’s people.
Due to the taxation system that Britain established, which required Africans to pay taxes with European currency, Kenyan men were all but forced to work in industrial towns or more commonly, on European plantations to earn a living. Thus, over 90% of the exports from Kenya, which primarily consisted of coffee, fibers, and maize, came from British plantations, meaning that Britain controlled the markets and acquired the profits (Wolff, 1970, p 276). This control and manipulation by the British government stifled Kenyan women particularly, because available jobs were primarily agricultural (and some industrial), and men were given those opportunities based on physical superiority, while women were expected to stay at home and care for the children.

At the time of independence in December 1963, Kenya had a major unemployment problem due to the fact that the large percentage of men who had worked on European plantations was now jobless. A significant increase in the population growth rate also contributed to the unemployment problem. Furthermore, Kenya had a weak economic base because its exports consisted of a few key commodities that Britain had need for – namely, coffee, sisal, and tea (Fahnbulleh, 2006, p 35). Britain still had need for these goods after Kenya’s independence, but a slight change in commodity prices could have detrimental effects on Kenya’s economy, so it was risky for Kenya’s economy to be based on three commodities.

In the early post-independence era, Kenya shifted its efforts towards industrial development, which it, along with the wider international community, assumed was the key to modernization and overcoming underdevelopment (Fahnbulleh, 2006, p 33). The state’s investment in infrastructure and industrialization led to a growth in the manufacturing rate by 11.5% and a growth in GDP by 7% within a few years after independence (p 38). However, Kenya encountered multiple constraints, including “a scarcity of financial and human capital,
limited domestic markets, low levels of income per capita, and inadequate infrastructure (Fahnbulleh, 2006, p 40).” Women had a difficult time finding jobs even though schools produced an increasing number of female graduates, mainly because jobs remained very limited altogether. Furthermore, the economy was hurt by European powers’ persistence to maintain control in Kenya, which they did so through indirect rule (by educating political leaders, by supporting their chosen candidates, who were typically male, and by putting money in the pockets of elected officials to ensure that European interests were maintained). The conditions that Europeans (and other Western nations) attached to aid also hurt local economies as well as the national economy. As a result, the growth rate of Kenya’s GDP declined from 1972-82, and unemployment remained high (Fahnbulleh, 2006, p 41).

The 1980s were tough years for Kenya, as discussed in the previous chapter, with a decline in government revenues and an increase in the budget deficit and in government borrowing (Fahnbulleh, 2006, p 44). However, in the 1990s, international development policies underwent major shifts that Kenya openly embraced. Policies focused less on direct aid to developing countries and on infrastructure projects and focused more on aid to the local people and on social development projects, such as health, education, and human potential (Utting, 2006). Following suit, the Kenyan government shrunk its role in economic and social development projects, allowing for thousands of non-governmental organizations to emerge across Kenya and take the reins. These NGOs receive most funding from international organizations and private donors, primarily from the West, and so the West has played a major role in Kenya’s economic development over the last two decades (Dibie, 2008). These efforts have contributed to the increasing economic growth rate in Kenya over the past decade and to the economic empowerment of women across the country. As discussed in the section above,
significantly fewer NGOs exist in Somalia and Ethiopia, and so the West has not invested as many resources in these two countries. While the state of a country’s economy does not solely depend on foreign investment, the lack of foreign investment in Somalia and Ethiopia likely contributes to the widening gap between their economies and Kenya’s economy. Kenya’s stronger economy, which supports more schools and job opportunities, is another reason why women have more opportunities for education and economic empowerment in Kenya than in Somalia and Ethiopia.

Western investment in Africa since the 1990s has particularly focused on women since studies show that investing in women yields higher returns than investing in men (Tembon & Fort, 2008; Ellis, 2007) and since one of the Millennium Development Goals is to empower women. Thus, education projects often sponsor women, microfinance projects often solely loan to women, and health care aid is largely devoted to women and children. As Kenya’s economy has grown and become more diversified, more job opportunities have become more available to women. The majority of women who I interviewed in Mombasa held a job, although their salaries were significantly less than men’s, which fits with documented trends in the country (Ellis, 2007; World Bank, 2003). Furthermore, most rural women still do not work outside of the home because they lack the job opportunities that urban women are exposed to (Wurster, 1996). However, women’s opportunities in recent years are improving in general, largely due to the growing economy and foreign investment in women.

The state of Kenya’s economy today looks very promising. Business Monitor International Ltd (BMI), an organization that monitors and assesses various international markets, conducted research in Kenya in September 2010 and found that “Business seemed to be booming and the widespread advertising across Nairobi suggests there is strong demand in consumer
sectors, especially banking and telecoms (p 1).” BMI reports a real GDP growth of 4.2% (percent change from a year earlier) in Kenya in 2010, rising towards 6.0% (p 1). However, there are some concerns, including relatively high local interest rates, the influx of money from Somali pirates, and rising real estate prices, but BMI believes that “the broad picture will be one of continued growth” (Business Monitor International Ltd, 2010, p 2). Karanta Kalley, representing IHS Global Insight (an organization that conducts global economic research), also reports a positive outlook for Kenya’s economy in 2010 and attributes its success to a recovery in the agricultural sector, external demand for goods and services exports, increased investment in Kenya, and a growing tourism industry. IHS Global Insight’s 2010 GDP forecast for Kenya is a strong 4.3%, and for 2012 is 5.9% (Kalley, 2010, p 44). In fact, Kenya’s economy has been growing strongly for the past decade, largely due to the strength of its telecommunications industry. The liberalization of this sector “induced competition and innovation, resulting in considerable investment and job creation” (States News Service, 2010). In contrast, Somalia has experienced a 2.6% GDP growth each year for the past 5 years, with no immediate prospects for improvement. Ethiopia’s growth rate has fluctuated a bit over the last 5 years but has remained consistently stronger than both Somalia’s and Kenya’s, with its most recent GDP growth at 7.0% (Index Mundi, 2011).

So what do these economic figures mean for women? A growing economy means more resources for the government and more employment opportunities for citizens, which have benefitted women in Kenya more than men. The Kenyan government has invested its growing resources in education in order to provide free public primary education to all children, which began in 2003. This move has especially benefitted girls because parents who could only afford to pay school fees for their sons can now send their daughters to school, too (Barng’etuny). Also,
increasing employment opportunities in Kenya have benefitted women because a more diversified economy has enabled women to take jobs in emerging sectors such as telecommunications (Ellis, 2007). By contrast, Somalia’s weak economy prevents most women from emerging into the labor market because agriculture remains the dominant type of work. The strong growth rate in Ethiopia has enabled a large percentage of women to participate in the labor market, although the diversity of jobs remains limited, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

Kenya’s strong economic growth has provided females with greater access to opportunities for education and economic independence compared to females in Somalia, whose opportunities remain limited due to Somalia’s weak economy. Ethiopia’s economy overall remains weaker than Kenya’s, but its consistent growth has enabled women to participate in the labor market at a rate that rivals the rate of Kenyan women. However, Kenyan women have access to a more diverse job market than Ethiopian women (Zewde & Associates, 2002). The West maintains a strong hand in Kenya’s economy today, which impacts the economy in both positive and negative ways. Western aid has supported development projects that aim to improve economic growth and to empower women, but this same aid sometimes causes unintended consequences that can damage local economies. For example, if a local woman makes and sells bed nets, and a development project comes and provides free bed nets to people, then the local woman’s business will fail (Moyo, 2009). Or, if the U.S. or another country flies over food aid, then local agriculture industries will suffer. All in all, while foreign aid and development projects have failed and sometimes caused problems, they have led to positive change and growth. Paul Collier, in his book “The Bottom Billion,” notes that “over the last thirty years [aid] has added around one percentage point to the annual growth rate” of the fifty-eight countries containing the
world’s bottom billion people in poverty (Collier, 100). Although 1% is not a significant increase, it is still progress. Now efforts need to be channeled into projects that can contribute to even more growth and opportunities for women.

Policy by Policy, Women Move Forward Step by Step

Besides through international policies, women’s opportunities in Kenya have also been affected through changes in national policies. In fact, Kenya’s first move during independence indirectly benefitted women. The people developed a pro-West, free-market, democratic republic system, which likely contributed to the reason why Kenya became a recipient of significant aid and a prime country for NGO development, which, as mentioned, contributed to women’s advancement. This section will concentrate on how changes in specific national policies have affected women’s rights and opportunities. First, I will discuss marriage, divorce, and property rights, then health care, abortion, and involvement in government.

Property rights have been a hot issue of debate in Kenya since 1963. Section 82 (1) and (2) of the 1963 Constitution forbid discrimination, including gender discrimination. However, Section 82 (4) exempted a number of laws from this provision, specifically laws of marriage, divorce, succession, and devolution of property, which all directly affected women (Ouko, 2009, p 65). This Constitution allowed women to “acquire, own, and dispose of property as they wish,” but Section 82 (4) sanctioned customary law, which is patriarchal in most of Kenya, thus denying women the right to land (Ouko, 2009, pp 65-66). In marriages, women had almost no say or control over land because husbands held the title deeds (p 67). Husbands decided how to use the land, when to sell the land, and to whom to sell the land. When a husband died, the widow’s in-laws typically evicted her from the land and took the livestock and household goods.
If a woman separated or divorced from her husband, then she was often expelled from the house with only her clothing (p 66). Slight changes have been made today regarding marriage, divorce, and property rights, the most significant change being that customary law is not recognized in issues of inheritance (Inter Press Service, Aug2010). Changes that have occurred between the 1963 and 2010 Constitutions resulted from Western influences and internal developments in Kenya, such as a growing dissatisfaction with inheritance rights. I was in Kenya when the 2010 Constitution was voted upon and easily passed, and so I witnessed the fact that opposition to the Constitution was minimal, meaning that Kenyans wanted the changes that the 2010 Constitution brought.

Like the 1963 Constitution, the newly passed Kenyan Constitution of August 2010 also forbids discrimination. Section 40 promises every person the right to own land, and Section 60 ensures equitable access to land. However, customary laws are still in effect in some areas where the law is not strongly enforced, favoring men and denying women their right to property. A relevant, disheartening example is Mary Kimani, whose husband recently died in a road accident. A few months after his death, Mary’s in-laws evicted her and her young children, taking her land and property (Inter Press Service, Nov2010). Despite continued setbacks, many women in Mombasa that I talked to remain hopeful that the new Constitution will guarantee their right to property, especially because the new Bill of Rights requires all marriages to be registered under an Act of Parliament, even marriages under customary law, which will particularly protect widows who dispute with in-laws over land (Inter Press Service, Aug2010). Furthermore, the current global trend towards women’s empowerment may also have an effect upon women to take a stand in their right to property.
By stark contrast, property rights as they relate to marriage and divorce are not big concerns in Somalia. In fact, Somalia currently has no central government due to the ongoing civil war that began in 1991. Somalia does, however, have hundreds of thousands of displaced citizens, so property rights in Somalia will concern this issue once a central government is formed and Constitution set in place (Displacement Solutions, 2008). Thus, women’s rights in Somalia will likely be left on the back burner until stability can be achieved.

In Ethiopia, all land is state-owned, which is a very different case from Kenya, where private individuals can own land. Because the state owns all land, Ethiopian officials can control land investment and thus growth, but this policy has had negative effects. Land redistribution is a continuous threat for Ethiopian citizens, who have little-to-no control over the ownership of the land they live on, which has prevented farmers from investing in long-term agricultural practices (Gautam, Ali, & Dercon, 2011). Thus, this has limited economic growth in Ethiopia.

Government policies regarding access to health care have resulted in social class and gender discrimination in Kenya. First of all, health care has become more inaccessible to low-income Kenyans since the 1980s when a cost-sharing policy was implemented. The national government attempted to provide free health care to its citizens once independence was achieved, and most Kenyans did not have to travel more than 6 to 7 kilometers to reach a clinic, but this service was financially difficult to sustain. Furthermore, the national government faced aid conditions from the World Bank and IMF to reduce its health care expenditure in order to receive foreign funding (Ouko, 2009, p 63). Thus, the Kenyan government shut down many clinics and instituted a cost-sharing policy that required people to pay part of the costs for health care. This eliminated a large number of people from access to health care, particularly the vast number of unemployed. Secondly, women were especially hurt by this policy, because they could not afford
prenatal checkups or reproductive health care-related costs. Many of the women who died before, during, or after birth due to unexpected complications could have been saved if they had had access to clinical care during pregnancy (Ouko, 2009, p 68). This is an example of how Western intervention, specifically aid conditions from the World Bank and IMF, have had negative effects by causing clinics to shut down and all but forcing Kenya’s government to implement a cost-sharing policy that had detrimental effects. Although many NGOs and international organizations are working to improve health care in Kenya, many people still suffer from the lack of health services. In 2002, the Second Report on Poverty in Kenya revealed that “30 percent of Kenyans – most of them from rural areas – do not seek medical care in the health facilities” (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002, p 45). Furthermore, Kenya’s government spends approximately $700 million a year servicing foreign debt, more than twice the amount it spends on health care each year, approximately $330 million. This speaks to the lack of value that the government has on health care for its citizens (Ouko, 2009, p 64).

The Somali government also attempted to provide free health care to its citizens once it achieved independence. The government made progress, but its plan was based on administrative interests rather than on the needs of the people, so its goal was never fully achieved. The breakout of civil war in 1991 reversed gains and left health care in the hands of local communities. This has produced mixed, although largely negative, results as many Somalis, especially women, have little-to-no access to health care (Qayad, 2007).

Ethiopia’s health care system is one of the least developed in Sub-Saharan Africa, largely due to the government’s lack of investment in health care. However, due to the alarming problems that Ethiopia’s health system is causing, such as a declining life expectancy (which is currently at 54 years and predicted to fall to 46 years), the government has recently made a
commitment to restore its health system (Center for National Health Development in Ethiopia, 2010). Although Kenya’s health system has deteriorated, it remains stronger than Ethiopia’s. The examples of Somalia and Ethiopia show that the Kenyan government’s concern with health care policy (which remains relatively weak compared to concerns for other sectors in Kenya but is stronger than the health care concerns of either the Ethiopian or Somali government) is the primary reason why Kenyan men and women have greater access to health care than do Ethiopian and Somali men and women.

The Kenyan government’s policy on abortion directly contributes to the empowerment of women. The 2010 Constitution permits abortion when the mother’s life is threatened, which has been a highly controversial and drastic change from the previous anti-abortion policy (Economist, 2010, p 34). This change could improve pregnant students’ educational opportunities by potentially enabling them to obtain an abortion and stay in school rather than dropping out to raise a child. It also enhances their opportunity for economic empowerment, because they would not have to financially support the aborted child and can consider full-time job opportunities without thinking about how to juggle a career with parent duties. Similarly, abortion is legal in Somalia only when the mother’s life is threatened, but in Ethiopia, fewer restrictions are placed upon abortion rights (minors and rape victims are permitted abortions) (Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, 2001; Ipas, 2009).

The new Kenyan Constitution also economically empowers women by guaranteeing that at least one-third of Parliamentary seats are held for women, which is a major step for women given that men have long dominated the political arena (InterPressService, 2010). This policy change confirms the government’s support for women’s advancement and signals to women that they should pursue more leadership positions, whether in politics or not. In leadership positions,
women can create greater opportunities for other women, which is one more step towards gender equality.

These recent shifts in Kenyan policies, particularly those of abortion and Parliamentary representation, fulfill their intended purpose to empower women. Health policies remain bleak for Kenyan women (and men), as well as for Somalis and Ethiopians, but property rights offer promise to Kenyans in the near future but will remain limited for Somalis and Ethiopians. These examples show how women in Kenya have been empowered from policy changes to a larger degree than have women in Ethiopia and Somalia, mainly because of the Kenyan government’s stronger commitment to women’s advancement.

Conclusion

Social discourse, economic growth, and policy changes in Kenya have fueled the push for women’s advancement. Television, music, news media, and NGOs transfer Western values, particularly the strong, independent roles of women and the push in the development sector for women’s empowerment. Foreign investment and greater success in agriculture have led to economic growth in Kenya, which has provided women with more access to education (due to the government’s investment in free primary education for all) and to employment opportunities. Policy changes have granted women the rights to property, abortion, and seats in Parliament, which all directly empower women. The West ties into these dimensions of life in Kenya, although not always in a positive manner. For example, Western music and movies sometimes promote promiscuity, which can either lead to positive conversations about women’s role in society or contribute to the spread of STDs and unwanted pregnancy; aid has hurt local economies and caused corruption and conflict, and foreign aid conditions have imposed a
harmful cost-sharing health policy in Kenya. Despite these damaging effects, the West has contributed to many positive changes in Kenya that have led to increased educational and economic opportunities for women, such as investment in schools and in the social discourse surrounding women’s empowerment.
Chapter 4

Education and Employment Trends in Kenya Today

Education and employment trends for men and women in Kenya today directly result from the political, economic, and social changes that have recently occurred in Kenya, described in Chapter 3. This chapter explores these trends and compares them to education and employment trends in Ethiopia and Somalia. These comparisons will enable us to understand how the very different changes that have taken place in these three countries have uniquely affected each country’s development. These understandings can then be used to evaluate women’s situations in Kenya. For example, the last two chapters explained that the Ethiopian government deprioritized health and education spending for a long time, in favor of military spending, which delayed the development of their education and health systems. Even today as Ethiopian officials try to improve these systems, they face challenges that Kenyan officials do not face, such as a declining life expectancy and an insufficient number of schools. Since Kenya invested more resources in education and health, women have been able to reap the benefits of these types of investments, whereas military investment in Ethiopia largely targeted men.

Since this chapter will be examining the present-day educational structures and labor markets of Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia, it will be useful to have relevant demographic information on each country in order to understand that differing dynamics affect these educational structures and labor markets in different ways. Once this demographic information has been presented and discussed, the rest of the chapter will explore the present-day education trends, employment and salary trends, and trends in the family and social status of women in Kenya. The arguments and trends discussed in previous chapters all center on these particular
topics. These topics must be explored in order to understand my main argument that women in Kenya today have greater educational opportunities and more diverse job opportunities than in the past, and greater opportunities compared to Ethiopian and Somali women, although their opportunities still lag compared to men, especially in regard to economic empowerment.

Demographic Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Somalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td>41,070,934</td>
<td>90,873,379</td>
<td>9,925,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Structure:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14 years</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64 years</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Population</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of total population)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infant Mortality Rate</strong></td>
<td>52.29/1,000</td>
<td>77.12/1,000</td>
<td>105.56/1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(deaths/live births)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life Expectancy at Birth</strong></td>
<td>59.48 years</td>
<td>56.19 years</td>
<td>50.4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Fertility Rate</strong> (children born/woman)</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government Type</strong></td>
<td>Republic</td>
<td>Federal Republic</td>
<td>No permanent national government; transitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GDP per Capita</strong></td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Purchasing Power Parity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor Force</strong></td>
<td>17.94</td>
<td>37.9 million</td>
<td>3.447 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on GDP per capita, Kenya has the capability to invest a higher amount of money into each citizen than Ethiopia or Somalia, which is an indication of its economic strength. Furthermore, Kenya has the lowest infant mortality rate, 52.29 deaths per 1,000 births, the

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8 All data is current, primarily from 2010 or 2011, and is retrieved from the CIA World Factbook.
highest life expectancy, 59.48 years, and the lowest fertility rate, 4.19 children born to each woman. Fertility rate is directly related to educational and economic opportunities for women, because a woman with fewer children will have more time for school and employment (Barng’etuny, 1999). Kenya’s strong economy, coupled with its strengths in infant mortality, life expectancy, and fertility, grant women in Kenya an advantage in regards to economic empowerment compared to women in Ethiopia and Somalia.

**Education**

Enrollment rates by gender are a strong indication of the value that society places upon educating sons versus daughters (Ellis, 2007). Below is a chart listing the percent of students at the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels who are female, by country (UNESCO, 2009).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Somalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kenyan girls have achieved nearly equal enrollment rates compared to boys at all three levels (although slightly lagging at the university level), with 49% of primary students being female, 47% of secondary, and 41% of post-secondary. Only 1 in 4 university students in Ethiopia are female, a significant drop from the 43% at the secondary level, which indicates that a higher proportion of girls drop out of secondary school and thus graduate with smaller skill sets than boys. Girls in Somalia have little opportunity to attend school at all, with only 1 in 3 students being female at both the primary and secondary levels.
The ratio of students enrolled in primary school to the number of primary school age people in Kenya in 2009 (the ratio can be over 100 because it considers all students enrolled, even those older than primary school age) is 113% (114% male, 111% female). In Ethiopia, the ratio is 102% (107% male, 98% female) and in Somalia in 2007 is 33% (42% male, 23% female) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2011). These figures indicate that primary school enrollment is very high in Kenya, slightly lower in Ethiopia, and very low in Somalia. In addition, these figures show that female enrollment at the primary level tends to be lower than male enrollment in all three countries. A major reason for such low overall enrollment in Somalia is that a large percent of Somalia’s GDP is spent on security rather than on education, and the educational system itself has crumbled since the collapse of the state (Abdi, 1998, p 335). Education is a higher priority among Kenyan officials, who spend 7.0% of GDP on education, compared to Ethiopian officials who spend 5.5% of GDP on education. Data are not available for Somalia (World Bank, 2011). Thus, the Kenyan government seems to place greater value on education than do the governing bodies of Ethiopia and Somalia, which unlocks more doors for Kenyan women seeking opportunities for education economic independence.

Employment

In this section, distinctions are made between the “formal sector” and “informal sector.” Based on researched I explored (Ellis, 2007; Shimeles, 2005), it is to my understanding that the “formal sector” in Kenya refers to work that yields a continuous salary paid from someone else, the “boss,” and the “informal sector” refers to self-employment work (work initiated and propelled by an individual who’s pay comes directly from clients) and work that is not continuous. This differs from the United States, where self-employment is considered part of the formal sector.
Women in Kenya participate in the informal business sector at an almost equal rate to men. Forty-eight percent of the 1.3 million micro-, small-, and medium-size businesses in Kenya are owned by women, as of 2004 (Ellis, 2007, p 12). Types of micro-businesses owned by women that I interviewed in Mombasa include: grocery shops, henna service, and a small safari office. I also heard about a local women’s group trying to start a bracelet business for tourists. One man that I interviewed also owned a small grocery shop, but the other employed men had formal careers.

The true inequality lies within the formal sector, which is dominated by men. Figure 1 below shows a list of industries within the formal sector and the proportion of men and women who work in these industries (Ellis, 2007, p 12). Men vastly outnumber women in every industry within the formal sector, only approaching equal proportions in the “community, social, and personal services” industry (59% for men, versus 41% for women) and the “education services” industry (57% versus 43%). This fact indicates that although women have gained considerable career opportunities over the last decades, they must tread a long path before obtaining equal opportunities. Furthermore, the types of jobs that women hold illustrate the ongoing inequality. Fifty-eight percent of all women in the formal sector work in service industries, primarily education, and they occupy lower-paid jobs. However, higher-skilled women are increasingly hired to senior-level positions in Kenya today, especially within high-growth sectors such as telecoms and mobile phones (Ellis, 2007, p 12). So, if women continue to increasingly advance their education, then they will likely continue to advance their career fields alongside men as well, although other factors also affect women’s career opportunities, such as the state of the economy and the policies of the government.
In Ethiopia, women’s participation trends in the labor market are similar to women’s participation trends in Kenya, even slightly surpassing them, but the types of activities that Ethiopian women engage in compared to Kenyan women are more related to traditional household activities. In the informal sector as of 1997, women owned 65% of micro-businesses in urban Ethiopia (participation is also high in rural areas), which is higher than the 48% owned by women in Kenya. These figures indicate that Ethiopian women have soaring opportunities to participate in the informal sector, but Figure 2 below shows that women are more restricted from the formal sector (i.e. public and private sectors). Furthermore, the vast majority of these female-owned micro-businesses in Ethiopia relate to the preparation of food and drink and handicraft, while female-owned micro-businesses in Kenya are more diverse (Zewde & Associates, 2002, p 35). Women’s relatively high participation in the informal sector might indicate that women

### Figure 1. Formal Sector Employment in Kenya by Industry and Sex, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males (000s)</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Females (000s)</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Total (000s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture &amp; forestry</td>
<td>241.0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>79.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>320.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining &amp; quarrying</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>199.8</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>242.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity &amp; water</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building &amp; construction</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, restaurants, &amp; hotels</td>
<td>123.0</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>168.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; communications</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>98.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real estate, &amp; business services</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community, social, &amp; personal services of which:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration</td>
<td>443.3</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>302.6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>745.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education services</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>152.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic services</td>
<td>188.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>143.3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>331.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>99.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of which:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,242.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>521.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,763.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>995.8</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>394.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,390.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>246.6</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>126.6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>373.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

want to take part in the labor market and are making efforts to do so, but they may feel limited to
certain activities based on their gender and on their obligation to take care of household duties.

Unemployment in Ethiopia (people not working in the formal or informal sectors and
currently looking for work) as a whole is higher than in Kenya, 17.0% compared to 9.8%
respectively (World Bank, 2011), but comparative gender opportunities are fairly good. In 1997,
62.7% of men in Ethiopia and 51.9% of women participated in the labor market (including both
formal and informal sectors), as shown in Figure 2 below (Shimeles, 2005, p 139). Figure 2
breaks the 1997 Ethiopian labor market down by sector, indicating what percentage of men fall
into each of the four sectors (Unemployed, Public, Private, and Self-employed), and likewise for
women. The public sector includes civil servants, public businesses, and local governments, and
the private sector includes private businesses, cooperatives, casual workers, and domestic
workers (Shimeles, 2005, p 137). Although overall comparative gender opportunities are fairly
good, the distribution between the informal and formal sectors is skewed. Fewer Ethiopian
women are employed in the public and private sectors than men (i.e. the formal sector) and more
women are self-employed (i.e. the informal sector).
Figure 2. Unemployment, Employment, and Earnings in Urban Ethiopia, 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=3047)</td>
<td>(n=3179)</td>
<td>(n=6226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (% of labour force)</td>
<td>17.4 (27.7)</td>
<td>16.8 (32.4)</td>
<td>17.1 (29.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector employment (% of labour force)</td>
<td>18.3 (29.3)</td>
<td>12.3 (23.7)</td>
<td>15.3 (26.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector employment (% of labour force)</td>
<td>15.7 (25.0)</td>
<td>8.6 (16.5)</td>
<td>12.0 (21.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment (% of labour force)</td>
<td>11.3 (18.0)</td>
<td>14.2 (27.4)</td>
<td>12.8 (22.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation rate (% of sample)</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median revenue per self-employed family worker (1990 prices)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly wages public sector (in 1990 prices)</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly wages private sector (in 1990 prices)</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourly wages in public sector (in 1990 prices)</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourly wages in private sector (in 1990 prices)</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: First and third rounds of the Ethiopian Urban Household Survey (1997). The first column of the allocation figures gives the percentage of the total sample. In brackets we give the percentage of the labour force.

It is difficult to acquire current information regarding employment in Somalia due to the lack of a national government to conduct data reports, but general trends and comparisons can be examined. Despite its stateless society, Somalia’s living standards have generally improved since 1991 and compare favorably to many existing African states (Powell, et al, 2008, p 669). Public sector jobs, primarily held by men, have largely diminished with the collapse of the central government in 1991. However, the pastoral economy has thrived. Pastoralists, who are predominantly male and who rely on their livestock to make a living, operate apart from the central government, and so they have hardly been affected by the collapse of the state. Live animal trade with Ethiopia and Kenya has especially thrived, as well as with overseas markets (Powell, et al, 2008, p 660). Furthermore, urban businesses in Somalia are doing fairly well because of foreign investment. Foreign nations have largely reduced aid to Somalia, but Italian, British, and American companies, including Coca-Cola and General Motors, have invested in
Somali business (p 661). Thus, the labor market in Somalia today is largely based on pastoralism and urban business. Casual workers are also often hired to help on farms.

Women have actually taken a very firm role in the Somali economy. Many women have been left widowed because of the war or abandoned by husbands who fled the country to avoid being killed, so they have had to become the heads of households. Even in families with both a husband and wife, women often take the role as head of household because women are commonly the main breadwinners in Somalia (Gardner & El Bushra, 2004, p 100). Men who once served in the public sector are often unwilling to take jobs as herders or farmers, and many men are simply unable to find work. More and more women are taking control of livestock, of the selling and trading of agricultural goods, and even of business, thus making them the primary income earners for the family (Gardner & El Bushra, 2004, p 103-104). One Somali man comments, “Now we obey our women. Women sell tomatoes, maize, etc, the men are supported by their wives. They are taking us through this difficult time” (p 104). In a country where relatively few jobs exist in the formal sector, women dominate the informal sector. Gender issues are not of great concern due to the war’s impact, which has forced women to fulfill diverse roles that men had previously fulfilled. A Somali proverb states that ‘One boy is equal to four girls.’ However, Gardner and El Bushra tell a story of a sick Somali elder wishing that her four sons could be changed into one girl because a girl could perform the duties left behind by men while also caring for her family. Gardner and El Bushra, as well as the Somaliland Women’s Research and Action Group, believe that due to the war, women and girls are valued more highly than they were in the past (Gardner & El Bushra, p 99; Somaliland Women’s Research and Action Group). Somali women have likely gained a sense of autonomy through their roles as financial providers and heads of households in the absence of their husbands to the war. While Kenyan and
Ethiopian women also have significant roles in the informal sector, their situations are much different from those of Somali women. Somali women have been forced to step into the role of head of household in the absence of the men to war, while men in Kenyan and Ethiopia still maintain that role. This has provided Somali women with a unique sense of autonomy, although their prospects for economic empowerment remain much more limited to those of Kenyan and Ethiopian women, who also have access to jobs in the formal sector.

**Income**

The average micro-, small-, and medium-size business in Kenya generates a gross income that is more than double the average minimum wage in the agricultural sector - of $76/month, and these businesses constitute 20% of Kenya’s GDP. This seemingly bodes well for women, who own 48% of these businesses. However, women who own micro-, small-, and medium-size businesses report only 57% of the income that men report, which has a lot to do with the number of employees. On average, only 1.54 employees work for women’s businesses, while 2.1 work for men’s (Ellis, 2007, p 13). The reason for this has to do with the “time burden effect.” Women have dual roles in the household and in the labor market, which limits the time and energy that they can invest into their work outside of the home. The average Kenyan woman works 12.9 hours per day while the average Kenyan man works 8.2 hours per day, and more of those hours are typically spent on unpaid household duties than on formal or informal paid work (pg 13). Household duties that women perform include collecting firewood and water (particularly in rural areas), pounding grain, cooking, washing, cleaning, and caring for children. In 2006, the World Bank stated that “women’s burdens in the economic, domestic, and collective spheres have only intensified, bringing about a destabilizing effect on households and leading
increasingly to tension and violence” (World Bank, 2006). Thus, the “time burden effect” demonstrates a major reason why gender inequality still exists in Kenya today.

Women’s earnings in the formal sector are approximately 58% lower than men’s, which is very close to the 57% lower earnings they report in the informal sector (World Bank, 2003). Reasons for their lower earnings in the formal sector include: a preference among employers for male employees and a belief that men deserve to be paid more than women (which are based on longstanding notions in Kenya that men are the “providers” for the family), women’s dominant role in household duties and raising children that limits the amount of time they can work outside of the home, and sociocultural ideas that women should not work in certain jobs (such as fishing, manual labor, etc) (Ellis, 2007, p76-77).

Although salary data are not available for Somalia, Figure 2 above also reports the monthly incomes among men and women in Ethiopia, in US dollars. The salaries of self-employed workers were collected at the household level, so $113 represents the median monthly revenue of both male and female self-employed workers (Shimeles, 2005, p 137-138). This amount is very little according to Ethiopian income standards, when the average public sector employee earns $254 per month and the average private sector employee earns $209 per month (see Figure 2). Sixty-five percent of those self-employed workers earning $113 per month are women. Women earn significantly less than men in the public and private sectors, too. Reasons for this align with those given for Kenya, including the time burden effect that limits the amount of time a woman can invest in a career due to her household duties (Johnson-Odim, 2007). However, a different reason also impacts women’s earnings in Ethiopia, which has to do with women’s lower skill composition compared to men, a direct result of the greater gender inequalities in education, particularly in post-secondary education (Shimeles, 2005).
Family and Social Status of Women

The increasing opportunities for women discussed in this chapter have caused two trends to develop that directly affect women’s lives in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia today: decreasing family sizes and an increasing social status among women. Families have traditionally been large because of high infant mortality rates, the need for a surviving son to carry on the family name, the desire for multiple male children as a symbol of social status, and for economic security in the parents’ old age, which was based on the assumption that only sons could provide financial security (Kiriti, 2005). Since more women are becoming wage-earners and since global influences have improved women’s value in society, fertility rates today have declined.9 However, fewer women in Ethiopia and Somalia have integrated into the formal and informal career sectors than in Kenya, and fewer foreign influences have impacted these two countries, so fertility rates in Ethiopia and Somalia still remain higher than in Kenya. The total fertility rate (the average number of children born to a woman who lives to the end of her childbearing years) in Kenya was 6.0 in 1990 and 4.9 in 2008. In Ethiopia, the rate was 7.1 in 1900 and 5.3 in 2008. In Somalia, the rate was 6.6 in 1990 and 6.4 in 2008 (World Bank, 2008). Rural families in all three countries tend to have more children than urban families, because farmers utilize their children in agricultural work and because people have less access to contraceptives and to knowledge regarding family planning (Kiriti, 2005).

Despite the growing social status of women in Kenya, traditional gender roles still limit women in both rural and urban households. Women are expected to cook and clean and take care of the children, so if a woman pursues economic independence, she must ensure that her

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9 Fertility rates have declined for other reasons as well, such as improved health technology and a more widespread use of contraceptives (Kiriti, 2005).
household duties are performed as well (Ellis, 2007). Some women hire a “house help” to perform these duties.

**Conclusion**

Education has grown more significantly in Kenya, particularly for women, than in Somalia and Ethiopia due to Kenya’s stronger GDP per capita, lower fertility rate (which enables women to spend more time in schools and in jobs than at home taking care of children), and higher enrollment rates. Furthermore, Kenyan officials have prioritized education to a greater degree than Ethiopian and Somali officials have, encouraging both boys and girls to enroll.

Employment rates are higher for Ethiopian women than for Kenyan women, but Ethiopian female micro-business owners provide more traditional services (such as cooking and sewing) than do women in Kenya, which may be due to the lack of market for other goods and services in Ethiopia. Women in both countries lack opportunity in the formal sector compared to men. This is likely because men have long dominated management and other leadership positions, which are more available in the formal sector, and because the informal sector offers more flexibility for women who must also take care of household duties. Due to the time burden effect that causes women to divide their time between their jobs in the labor market and their duties at home and due to lingering beliefs among corporate leaders that men are the financial providers of the family, women across Kenyan and Ethiopia receive less pay than men, even in the same jobs.

Women in Somalia have even less opportunity for employment because many are forced to run households on their own while their husbands fight in the ongoing civil war that began in 1991. However, this has required leadership from women, which has likely instilled a unique
sense of autonomy in women that may contribute to advanced opportunities for women in the future, once peace returns to Somalia and a central government is established.
Conclusion

Due to changing social discourse, economic growth, and policy changes favorable to women's advancement, women in Kenya have greater educational opportunities and more diverse job opportunities than their female counterparts in Ethiopia and Somalia. While Kenyan women’s opportunities still lag to those of men, they have made significant achievements towards equality, especially in the last two decades. The life experiences of my interviewees from Mombasa align with the trends that have been occurring in Kenya among men and women. My host mother, Adila, obtained a micro-loan from a local NGO that has empowered her to start her own grocery business; my friend’s host brother, Matt, has nearly completed his college diploma and has plans to open his own firm; Hasnaa, a woman I met in town, has a college diploma and occasionally performs contract work, although she struggles to find a steady job; and James, a respected community leader, has a master’s degree and is involved in multiple projects with NGOs across Mombasa. The differences between the women and the men show that women seek higher education and obtain employment opportunities in Mombasa, but men’s opportunities outweigh those of women, which represents the overall trend in Kenya as well, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Gender inequality in Kenya began with the establishment of colonial towns. British officials preferred to hire men for jobs in the colonial towns, partly because of their physical superiority, while women were encouraged to remain in the villages. As a result, people began viewing men as more competent to handle change, and thus parents began sending their sons to school first when they could not afford to educate all of their children, which enhanced gender discrimination. Furthermore, Kenyan girls could not take the same classes as boys in the British
schools, because boys were trained to be artisans and farmers while girls were trained to be housewives. This gendered technical training also occurred in Somalia and later in Ethiopia.

Kenya’s independence movement led to strong social support for women’s advancement, which caused the number of female students to skyrocket. As school quality eroded due to the overwhelming number of schools that emerged in Kenya and as Kenya’s economy declined in the 1980s, girls’ enrollment remained high (although it fell in the lower-income regions of Kenya). This marked a significant improvement in female educational opportunities. Somalia’s independence movement also brought a push for women’s advancement, but border conflicts with Ethiopia and a dwindling economy nearly halted educational development. Ethiopia experienced internal conflicts of its own when its military overthrew the government, which also delayed educational development. Thus, Kenya invested in education while Somalia and Ethiopia invested in their militaries, which enabled Kenya’s educational development to flourish comparatively.

The 1990s decade brought drastically positive change for Kenya women, but only minimal positive change for Ethiopian women and a unique change for Somali women that involved becoming heads of households. Western development policy shifted to a more grassroots approach by sending aid directly to local people rather than to governments. Thus, thousands of NGOs emerged across Kenya that began working towards economic and social development, particularly social development through women’s empowerment because studies showed that investing in women would yield tremendous results. This has led to more favorable attitudes among Kenyans for female leaders and to a more proactive effort from the government to provide opportunities for women. However, due to the violence in Ethiopia (which has ceased today), the dismal state of its economy, and the lack of concern among officials to develop its
education system (until recent years), significantly fewer NGOs exist in Ethiopia than in Kenya, although this is changing. Ethiopia shows promise for greater female opportunity in the future due to its recent commitment to education, willingness for more NGOs to emerge, and high participation among women in the labor market. Although Ethiopian women have significant opportunity for employment, they are more limited in job diversity than Kenyan women.

Somalia’s story differs because the country continues to suffer from a civil war that has plagued its land since 1991. Its economy remains weak (although it shows signs of growth), and no central government exists to regulate policy. With husbands gone to war, women have become empowered to step into the role of head of household, which has granted them a level of autonomy, but their educational and employment prospects remain limited.

From the specific trends and arguments outlined in this paper, we can see that differing social, economic, and political developments in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia have caused the situations of women in these countries to differ today. The main reasons why Kenyan women have greater educational opportunities and more diverse job opportunities today include: militaristic ventures in Somalia and Ethiopia that damaged their economies, the Ethiopian and Somali governments’ de-prioritization of education in favor of militaristic spending, struggling economies that could not catch up, and the lack of foreign investment to impact social discourse in Somalia and Ethiopia. Furthermore, Kenyan women’s situations differ from men’s. School enrollment levels are nearly equal, but girls’ performance lags, and women have a more difficult time obtaining a job in the formal sector compared to men. However, women’s situations in Kenya will likely continue to improve as long as Kenya’s economy stays strong, policies continue to support women’s advancement, and women’s social status continues to rise.
Appendix 1. Methodology

This section explains the methodology used in the interviews discussed in Chapter 1 and referred to in other chapters. Throughout the summer of 2010, I conducted thirty extensive interviews with men, women, students, non-students, employed and non-employed individuals who live in Mombasa. I chose several people to interview with whom I often interacted, including a few from the NGO I worked with and also my host mother and father and my friend’s host brother, due to convenience and their willingness to open up to me. Other than those people, I sporadically approached people to interview, including an airport worker, a local shopkeeper, a student from a school down the road, etc. I purposely sought a blend of people in order to diversify the information I collected. The Arab and African mix among my interviewees more or less represent the Arab-African ratio of the Mombasa population at large. In terms of the employed-unemployed mix of my interviewees, the true ratio of unemployed individuals in Mombasa is difficult to determine, so I will assume that the 9.8% rate in Kenya represents Mombasa as well (World Bank, 2011). In this case, my employed-unemployed mix is fairly accurate, with two out of nineteen non-student individuals unemployed (10.5%). I also interviewed a mix of formally employed, self-employed, and unemployed individuals who I feel provided excellent insight into the job market of Mombasa. Furthermore, I have a blend of individuals who completed various levels of school and who revealed useful information regarding the education system. Overall, I believe that the people I interviewed represent Mombasa well.

Out of the people I approached for an interview, only one could speak no English. This was not surprising given that approximately 80% of Kenyans speak at least some English (Michieka, 179) and that urban populations tend to have a higher percentage of English-speakers
than rural populations due to tourism and the greater number of communication channels (Barng’etuny, 1999). Luckily, my host mother’s cousin accompanied me at the time, and he translated the interview questions and the woman’s responses.

I chose the four individuals highlighted in Chapter 1 based on the amount of information they provided, how accurately I could describe their lives, and whether their life experiences represent those described by my other interviewees.

Names used in this paper have been fictionally created for reasons of confidentiality. However, if the interviewee is of African descent, then he or she has been assigned an African name, and likewise for Arab individuals.
## Appendix 2. Secondary Schools in Mombasa, Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GIRLS-ONLY</th>
<th>BOYS-ONLY</th>
<th>MIXED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coast Girls Secondary School</td>
<td>Allindina-visram High School</td>
<td>Aga Khan High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Perpetual Succour High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Likoni Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Anne’s High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sacred Heart High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John’s Girls Secondary School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Serani Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Teresa Girls Secondary School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tudor Day Secondary School</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.angelfire.com/nt/mombasa/msa31.html
http://www.mod.go.ke/Navysite/educationservices.htm
Appendix 3. Profile of my 30 Interviewees, Students and Non-students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDENTS</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>STANCE ON WOMEN’S OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>CURRENT LEVEL IN SCHOOL</th>
<th>JOB</th>
<th>INCOME (KSH/MONTH)</th>
<th>MARRIED AT WHAT AGE</th>
<th># OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Class 8 of primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>About to begin college</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Female</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>About to begin college</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Class 6 of primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Class 7 of primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-STUDENTS</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>STANCE ON WOMEN’S OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED</th>
<th>JOB</th>
<th>INCOME (KSH/MONTH)</th>
<th>MARRIED AT WHAT AGE</th>
<th># OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12) Male</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) Female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 of secondary school</td>
<td>Part-time NGO employee</td>
<td>Less than 10,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 of secondary school</td>
<td>Part-time NGO employee</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>Class 8 of primary</td>
<td>Small vendor</td>
<td>25,000-40,000</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16) Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Small vendor</td>
<td>More than 100,000*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17) Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Class 8 of primary</td>
<td>Small vendor</td>
<td>Less than 10,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>Irregular contract/resea</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Income Range</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>85,000-100,000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>10,000-25,000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>NGO Executive</td>
<td>85,000-100,000</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Less than 10,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>NGO employee</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Part of college</td>
<td>Full-time NGO employee</td>
<td>55,000-75,000</td>
<td>22 (now divorced)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>NGO Treasurer</td>
<td>40,000-55,000</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Part-time businessman</td>
<td>Less than 10,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Level 2 of secondary</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>55,000-75,000</td>
<td>20 (now divorced)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Class 8 of primary</td>
<td>Small vendor</td>
<td>25,000-30,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Secondary certificate</td>
<td>Airport worker</td>
<td>Less than 10,000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>Customer service at airport</td>
<td>Chose not to respond</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The #16 interviewee reports an income of more than 100,000 ksh/month, but this figure likely represents his revenue and does not account for the money he must continually spend to purchase products for his shop.

Key:
- **Women have fewer opportunities than men; women should have more opportunities.**
- **Women have fewer opportunities than men; life should stay this way.**
- **Men and women have equal opportunities.**

People were given the option that “women have more opportunities,” but no one chose this option.
References


