Shifting Gendered Labour:
The Role of Women's Groups and Formalized Education in Kenya

Laurence LeBlanc, Political Science, McGill University, Montreal

Thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master's Degree in Political Science with a Concentration in International Development Studies.

Thesis Submitted April 30, 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Gendered labour responsibilities refer to divides in labour expectations for what is traditionally considered "feminized work" and what is traditionally considered "masculinized work." Across geographies, gendered labour is naturalized through socialization processes. These processes crystallize feminized and masculinized expectations for domestic responsibilities. Scholarship suggests that changing socio-political circumstances can shift gender norms and gendered labour expectations. Central Kenya is a region experiencing a juncture of various socio-political changes, making it a fitting region for exploring questions about the malleability of gendered labour expectations. This thesis explores two socio-political shifts in Samburu and Laikipia Counties in North-Central Kenya, namely the increased propensity for women's groups to be involved in income earning and land-owning activities, and rising rates of formalized education for women in rural Kenya. How do these socio-political shifts impact gendered labour responsibilities within pastoralist homes? What are the perceived impacts of these socio-political shifts on definitions of "womanhood"? Three months of participatory fieldwork conducted in the summer of 2019 suggest that these factors simultaneously reinforce and challenge gendered labour expectations in uneven and contested ways. Specifically, women's groups and formalized education impact three kinds of feminized labour, namely domestic labour, family labour, and sexual labour. Although emancipatory in some cases, these shifts can also lead to adverse reinstitutions of gendered hierarchies. Since "womanhood" is a construct closely linked to gendered labour, these shifts appear to be key factors in how "womanhood" is reimagined, even if sometimes fraught with tension. This supports the notion that gender norms are not stagnant, and that gendered labour is not "natural" but socialized.

RESUME

Les responsabilités de travail établies selon le sexe du travailleur font référence aux différentes attentes des rôles traditionnellement considérés « féminin » ou « masculin ». Cette division du travail entre les genres est inculquée dans les différentes sociétés à travers des processus de socialisation. Ces processus s'appliquent au travail domestique et solidifient les attentes féminines versus masculines reliées à cet environnement. La recherche dans ce domaine suggère que l'évolution des circonstances socio-politiques peuvent modifier ces normes et attentes en matière de travail selon le genre. Le centre du Kenya est une région qui connaît divers changements socio-politiques, ce qui en fait une région appropriée pour explorer ces questions. Cette thèse explore deux changements socio-politiques dans les comtés de Samburu et de Laikipia, situés au centre du Kenya : (1) un nombre grandissant de groupes de femmes qui s'impliquent dans des activités rémunératrices incluant la possession de terres agricoles et (2) le taux d'éducation formelle croissant des femmes dans les régions rurales du Kenya. Comment ces changements socio-politiques influencent-ils les responsabilités professionnelles liées au genre dans les foyers pastoraux ? Quelle est la perception de l'impact de ces changements socio-politiques sur les définitions de la « féminité » ? Trois mois de recherche sur le terrain complétée durant l'été 2019 ont mené à la conclusion que ces facteurs simultanément renforcent et amènent à re-questionner les attentes des responsabilités de travail selon le genre. Plus précisément, les groupes de femmes impliqués dans des activités rémunératrices et l'éducation formelle en croissance ont un impact sur trois types de travail féminisé: le travail domestique, le travail familial et le travail sexuel. Bien qu'émancipateurs dans certains cas, ces changements peuvent également conduire à des reconstitutions défavorables des hiérarchies des genres. Etant donne que la « féminité » est un concept étroitement lié au travail selon le genre, ces

changements socio-politiques semblent êtres des facteurs clés dans la façon dont la féminité est (ré)imaginée, même si elle est parfois chargée de tension. Ceci supporte la notion que les normes reliées au genre du travailleur ne sont pas stagnantes, et que le travail associé au genre n'est pas un phénomène « naturel » mais bien le résultat d'un processus de socialisation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the combined support of supervisors, mentors, and colleagues who guided me through my graduate education. I would like to express my gratitude to my primary supervisors Professor Khalid Medani and Professor John Galaty, whose shared excitement for this work contributed to its successful fruition. My appreciation extends to Professor Kelly Gordon and Professor Megan Bradley, who were instrumental in providing valuable feedback and academic insight in the early stages of the work. Special thanks go to Professor Chris Beyers, Professor Paul Shaffer, Professor Hasmet Uluorta, and Professor Baris Karaagac for fostering my critical thinking skills and deepening my appreciation for international development and my curiosity for understanding global inequalities. I wish to acknowledge all colleagues from McGill who supported the design of the International Canopy of Conservation's (ICAN) research scoping studies, especially Professor Jacques Pollini. Colleagues from the Indigenous Movement for Peace Advancement and Conflict Transformation (IMPACT) facilitated informal ethnographic observation and fieldwork opportunities. Special thanks go to supervisors at IMPACT, namely Ramson Karmushu and David Silakan, for their local knowledge contributions. This research would not have been possible without those who were responsive and helpful throughout the interview process. This includes not only the interviewees, but also translators who facilitated the transmission of knowledge, particularly Rhoda Seriana. Sasha Masabanda and Florence Memsi provided input and encouragement during fieldwork, as did other colleagues in Kenya, for which I am grateful. Thank you to Mederic LeBlanc, Brigitte Dargis, Camille LeBlanc, and Michele LeBlanc for your unfaltering support. This research was made possible by a Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Graduate Scholarship.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIGINAL RESEARCH / CONTRIBUTIONS OF AUTHOR

This thesis aims to contribute to knowledge by conceptualizing the messy ways gendered labour expectations shift with changes in socio-political circumstances. The unique methodological approach used in this thesis allows the author to evaluate interview transcripts from both top-down and bottom-up approaches, which provides new insights about how gender norms can be conceptualized and re-conceptualized in pastoralist contexts in Sub-Saharan Africa. The elements of this thesis that are considered original research include conducting interviews in Maasai and Samburu communities in Kenya's Laikipia and Samburu Counties in the summer of 2019, reflecting on fieldwork notes written during this three-month period, and engaging with interview transcripts and fieldwork notes through various feminist theoretical frameworks. The primary author, Laurence LeBlanc, wrote the thesis independently.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have shown that expectations of feminized labour and the very notion of "womanhood" is socially constructed and evolves and changes over time (Delgado, 1997, p. 138). This is due, in part, to changing socio-political circumstances. In other words, socio-political circumstances play a role in gender norm construction and/or deconstruction, which influence expectations for gendered labour responsibilities (Ebila, 2015, p. 144). Therefore, studying changing socio-political circumstances is important in understanding gendered labour divides, which can provide insight into gender inequalities.

How are gendered labour expectations shifting in North-Central Kenya for rural pastoralists? More specifically, how do women's groups' activities and rising rates of education contribute to re-imagined expectations for gendered labour? This thesis answers these questions by engaging with interviews conducted in Kenya during a three-month period in 2019 with Maa-speaking Maasai and Samburu pastoralists in Laikipia and Samburu Counties [*see appendix A: maps*]. Rural Kenya is a fitting study area to answer questions about the effects of socio-political shifts on gendered labour responsibilities, as this region is experiencing a juncture of various socio-political changes. Two of these changes include the increased propensity for women's groups to be involved in income earning and land-owning activities (Coppock, 2013, p. 103; Odoul, 2018, p. 189), and rising rates of formalized education for women (Mule, 2008, p. 72). This thesis suggests that these two important factors contribute to changing gendered labour expectations in pastoralist homes by challenging traditional constructions of "womanhood" in uneven and contested ways.

Definitions serve to clarify confusion. Gendered labour responsibilities refer to divides in labour expectations for what is traditionally considered "feminized work" and what is traditionally considered "masculinized work." Gendered labour divisions are reliant on the

feminized "woman as reproducer" and masculinized "man as provider" gender roles, imbedded in economic and educational logic, as well as in society's entrenched attitudes across various geographical spheres (Bettmann, 2013, p. 65; Shabaya, 2010, p. 395). "Pastoralism" is a livelihood strategy based on livestock rearing and grazing, and traditionally, nomadism. "Pastoralists" are the traditionally nomadic people who live from pastoralism. This thesis considers the Samburu pastoralists from Samburu County and the Maasai pastoralists from Laikipia County as part of larger Maa-speaking or Maasai society, as do Larick (1985, p. 208) and Holtzman (2003, p. 227).[1] The Samburu and Maasai share many of the same cultural traditions, including rite of passage ceremonies, traditional ways of socialization and extended family systems (Swadener, 2000, p. 47). For this reason, this research focuses on these Maa-speaking pastoralists who identify as either Samburu or Maasai who reside in either Samburu or Laikipia Counties [*see appendix B, fieldwork sites*].

Fieldwork data suggests that women's groups (Chapter 2) and formalized education (Chapter 3) for Maa-speaking pastoralists shape three kinds of gendered labour expectations within the home, namely domestic labour, family labour, and sexual labour. Otherwise stated, the evolving role of women's groups in re-formulating expectations traditionally associated with "womanhood," as well as increased participation of pastoralists in formalized education, are shifting expectations for appropriate gender behaviour, which results in shifting labour responsibilities.

More concretely, women's groups engaged in income earning activities expose the patriarchal logic behind conceptions of women as "idle homemakers." Exceptionally, some women's groups in rural Kenya are engaged in grassroots land-owning projects. Since land and

[1] Similarly, Swadener (2000) explains that the separation of the Maasai and Samburu into two communities/ethnic groups only occurred at "the turn of the century, when the central Rift Valley was taken over by expatriate farmers"

other resources are traditionally owned and controlled by men, these projects, when successful, radically challenge notions of male superiority in organizational, financial, and leadership skills. When women's groups uplift vulnerable members of communities through revolving loan projects, their collective status shifts to reflect their capacity as community providers. This is notable considering gendered assumptions about male providers and women caretakers.

As an example, part of Chapter 2 describes how a loosely organized women's cooperative, Twala, became a successful sustainable tourism project. Located in Laikipia County, the group successfully urged a male community council to let them purchase land after years of failed attempts. In just four years, 140 women had transformed 40 acres of scrappy land into a successful permaculture model. Today, registered members officially own the land and make income from beekeeping, aloe sales, jewellery sales, and even sustainable tourism. Whereas women from this area did not normally attend community meetings before this initiative, various interviewees reported that women now attend and speak freely at these meetings and are part of larger decision-making processes. Their work altered the ways women were perceived in this community and had ripple effects in others.

As for formalized education, educated women who bring new solutions to community problems demonstrate the critical thinking capacity of gendered subjects. Increased levels of formalized education in rural areas not only change what young women learn, but also what young men learn. As fieldwork translators described time and time again, women who succeed in school are increasingly regarded as leaders, and their ideas demonstrate that women can make valuable contributions to communities beyond their reproductive and domestic work capacities. Perhaps it is no coincidence, then, that the Twala women's group eventually created an educational fund to send young girls to school to prevent the incidence of youth marriage.

Education provides the opportunity for women to demonstrate their creative and problem-solving skills at the community level. Although traditionally, Maa-speaking pastoralists are not agriculturalists due to dry weather conditions, women in Chumvi, Laikipia are installing irrigation systems in their communities to grow crops. In the process, these women are envisioning new livelihood options beyond pastoralist grazing practices, and changing time use patterns normally associated with "feminized work." As further discussed in Chapter 3, interviewees were adamant that educated youth bring new perspectives to solve community problems, and with increases in women's educational enrolment, now both male and female children are included in that category of problem-solvers. Additionally, formally educated women may increase their chances of becoming financially independent, shifting the idea of the "male breadwinner" as the only provider in a household.

Researchers must be wary, however, of romanticizing women's groups and increased education as simple solutions to gendered labour inequalities. Even with increased participation in women's groups, home-related labour continues to be feminized, unpaid, and often understood as less valuable than masculinized work. Women's groups sometimes reinforce already-existing conceptions of "womanhood" by framing their efforts in the name of the family, thereby re-emphasizing their motherly caretaking roles in order to receive permission from still male-dominated community councils for their activities. Additionally, the educational system is far from perfect, and teaches gendered behaviour in ways that may undermine gender-equalizing developments. Various other considerations must be taken into account. For example, women's existing domestic responsibilities give female children less time to complete homework than their male peers. Similarly, expectations of women's youth marriage and childbirth often put limits on the levels of education attainable by women. Finally, when women become

comparatively more economically independent than their husbands, interviewees suggest that rates of domestic violence may rise in some cases.

Still further, while women's groups and rising rates of education may contribute to women's increased participation or capacity in community decision-making, land-owning, or income earning, this does not necessarily translate to more equitable time use in the home sphere. Across Kenya, women work nearly thirty-three percent more hours than adult men in all tasks put together, which is consistent with time use surveys conducted in other parts of East Africa (Muriithi, 2017, p. 1). Understanding how gendered labour responsibilities are shifting or remaining stagnant in terms of time use offer clues into understanding women's subordination in the home and community, especially when unraveling these assumptions.

The in-congruency of findings supports the idea that processes of socio-political change can be fraught with tension, reinforce or challenge power hierarchies, and/or act as emancipatory forces, sometimes all at once. Women's groups and rising rates of education point to the capacity for socio-political shifts to make gender norms malleable. Although "womanhood" continues to be closely aligned with "motherhood," interviewees were adamant that increased women's participation in economic activities and community decision-making leads to loosely defined "women's empowerment." This is despite the aforementioned limitations.

In terms of methodology, this thesis takes a novel approach that combines both structural and agency-based approaches through different levels of analysis in order to unpack the role of individual choice and institutions in gender norm construction. Most explanations that have sought to answer questions related to socio-political shifts have privileged micro, structural approaches, or macro, agency driven analysis. However, gendered labour responsibilities and perceptions of them are a nexus of agency and structure, and speaking of either without the other is insufficient in explaining socialization processes that underpin women's oppression. This

thesis combines a micro (discursive/agency) approach with a macro (political economy /structural) lens. On the macro-objective scale, formalized education is an institution shaping and being shaped by gendered labour responsibilities within the home. On the micro objective scale, individual perceptions about larger societal shifts reflect local and larger scale realities. According to an epistemological framework called "methodological relationism" (Ritzer & Gindoff, 1994, cited in Maslak, pg. xviii), discussing interactions between these paradigms is a more useful way of conceptualization.

Interviews provide the primary data for this thesis, easily broken down into two categories [*see appendix C, list of interviews*]. Firstly, this work engages with formal fieldwork transcripts completed under an academic research group called the Institutional Canopy of Conservation (ICAN). As part of the McGill University ICAN team, I took part in a scoping study in the summer of 2019, which included 20+ formal interviews in Kenya's Samburu and Laikipia Counties with Maa-speaking pastoralists. Secondly, this work engages with three-months of ethnographic fieldwork data I collected from May to July of 2019. The Indigenous Movement for Peace Advancement and Conflict Transformation (IMPACT), a human rights organization based in Nanyuki, Kenya, facilitated the completion of this ethnographic fieldwork. These data include informal interview transcripts and participant observation field notes.

Interviews provide an avenue to discuss perceptions about constructions of femininity and masculinity and the gendered labour responsibilities associated with constructions of "womanhood" and "manhood." Local Maa-speaking actors provide insight into the malleability of gender norms. The objective of employing such methodology is to present a more holistic picture of social change with respect to perceptions of changes in gendered labour expectations. This allows us to examine the causal elements associated with those changes in a more

analytically rigorous fashion. This said, local, micro realities are grounded in structural, macro institutions which shape gender relations across various scales. Since interviews may bias certain local realities, this thesis engages with external scholarly material in an attempt to validate the relevance of interviews for larger contexts beyond fieldwork sites.

As alluded to in previous pages, this work is broken into three chapters that have overlapping theoretical frameworks, research methodologies, and fieldwork sites, but seek to answer different questions. Chapter 1, *Constructing "Womanhood,"* seeks to answer the question: 'How is "womanhood" socially constructed?' It identifies an archetype for how "womanhood" is constructed in rural Kenya, namely through marriage and feminized labour expectations including domestic, family, and sexual labour responsibilities. Chapter 2, *Women's Groups and Gendered Labour*, seeks to unpack a different, but related question: 'What is the role of women's groups in shifting feminized labour expectations associated with "womanhood"?' This chapter seeks to understand in what ways grassroots women's organizing may be shifting gender constructions and what this means for labour divisions within homes. Perceptions about women's groups engaged in land-owning and income earning activities allow us to better understand how gender constructions and the barriers associated with them are changing. Chapter 3, *Education and Gendered Labour*, asks the same question but with regards to education: 'What is the role of formalized education in shifting feminized labour expectations associated with "womanhood"?' This chapter seeks to better understand how structural factors like Kenya's educational apparatus may be shaping gendered labour expectations within pastoralist homes. The work unpacks micro-level perceptions of a macro-level structure, namely Kenya's educational apparatus. This allows us to better understand the structural barriers to women's empowerment more broadly speaking.

The rationale of this research is to better understand gender relations and gendered labour responsibilities for Maa-speaking pastoralists in Kenya's Samburu and Laikipia Counties [*see appendix D for a simplified list of gendered labour responsibilities*]. Although interviews are locally specific, pastoralists across East Africa share many of the same overlapping cultural, social, and political realities. Thus, insights drawn from this research may be relevant for understanding gender relations for other pastoralist groups. Ultimately, it is the researcher's hope that this thesis sheds light on the possibilities and limitations of women's groups and formalized education as forces in achieving gender equality, potentially opening discussion for re-envisioning gender empowerment initiatives in the future.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this thesis is most easily divided into two sections. On the micro side, this section reviews the importance of discursive explanations of gender relations which forefront agency as a site of resistance and/or reinforcement of socialized gender norms. This theoretical stance becomes particularly relevant in Chapter 2, when discussing how local women's groups involved in grassroots initiatives shape larger institutional considerations. On the macro side, this section discusses the relevance of feminist international political economy as a lens through which to understand how gender norms run through the fabric of larger geopolitical institutions. This becomes particularly relevant for Chapter 3, which deliberates how the educational apparatus and other institutions can shape actors and their actions. Together, the micro and macro lenses aim to balance multi-scalar considerations when analyzing interview transcripts. The two approaches offer unique insights and considerations in answering the research questions proposed in the Introduction. The discursive lens suggests that gendered labour responsibilities are changing due to the agency of actors in contesting or reinforcing gender norms. The political economy lens informs analysis about larger structural forces which need to be considered when discussing grassroots action. A balance between these considerations provides a sound basis for demystifying the private/public divide through which gender norms permeate.[2]

To state clearly, this thesis does not assume that one's gender is "natural." In her discussion of de Beauvoir's (1949) "The Second Sex," Butler (1986) pays specific attention to de Beauvoir's phrase, "becoming a woman," extending this phrase to "becoming a gender." Butler (1986) suggests that "becoming a gender" involves "interpreting a cultural reality laden"

[2] Although an entire chapter of this thesis could detail the importance of demystifying the public/private divide, scope does not allow for a thorough discussion. See Engels (1940), Eisler (1997), and Millett (2006) for further reading about this topic.

of sex, with expectations for what it means to be a man or a woman (p. 40). In line with this thinking, I deny the idea that women have "inherent" women qualities. In agreement with Debauvoir (1949), this thesis suggests that the man/woman binary is a socialized process, meaning gender is constructed by masculine and feminine conceptions of what a biologically-ascribed sex signifies. This is largely in line with a relevant view presented by Mies (1988, 2014) in a paper entitled, "The Social Origins of the Sexual Division of Labour," in which she argues that "male-ness and female-ness are not biological givens, but rather the result of a long historical process" (Sultana, 2010, p. 5). Walby (1991) and Bordo (1993) similarly reject the notion of biological determinism. Biology is relevant in defining gendered expectations, yes, but is not a determinant for how gender relations must occur.

In many East African societies, and across the larger international arena, men and women's labour responsibilities operate according to social customs, traditions, and social roles which create masculine and feminine labour expectations within and outside of the household.[3] Like other pastoralist groups in Kenya (Bikketi, 2016, p. 1432), Maa-speaking pastoralists adhere to gendered labour expectations at the household and community levels (Hodgson, 1999, p. 42-43). At the micro level of the home, this means that women are expected to fulfill certain "womanly" roles, and men "manly" roles. These roles differ depending on the local context in question according to different processes of socialization.[4]

"Patriarchy" refers to the way gender relations operate on multiple scales, more often than not privileging masculine perspectives and their interests (Sultana, 2010, p. 1). Beyond

[3] This thesis refutes the notion that it is possible or desirable to move from "tradition" to "modern" in a linear non-contradictory way, and also refutes that tradition is implicitly "backwards," as presented in post-war modernization theories of development.

[4] As Boserup (1970) and others have pointed out, expectations for what is women's or men's work depends partially on geography and cultural context (Beneria, 1979, p. 211).

micro considerations of patriarchal domination in the private household, the term can be used in more structural, macro ways. Since patriarchy can be elaborated by means of social domination, economic domination, or political domination, "patriarchy describes the institutionalized system of male dominance" more broadly speaking (Sultana, 2010, p. 3). Sultana argues that gendered divisions of labour in the home sphere facilitate the operation of patriarchal socialization processes by which men can control women's work (Sultana, 2010, p. 8). Patriarchy also imposes expectations of gender that are harmful to men, which Amuyunzu Nyamongo (2006) discusses in the Kenyan context, including hyper-masculine expectations including non-emotional behaviour. Despite the limitations of the term "patriarchy,"[5] this work defends its use to refer to structurally imposed, but contestable, power dynamics reflecting male interests, which are relevant for micro and macro considerations.

MICRO: DISCURSIVE & AGENCY APPROACH

This thesis recognizes the importance of individual actors and their experiences, which suggests that micro-level practices are relevant for social constructions. A discursive lens is useful when considering how gendered labour responsibilities are shifting, as discourse shapes social imaginings. The discursive theoretical framework for this research is reliant on a feminist approach which forefronts agency as a site of resistance and/or reinforcement of socialized gender norms.

Agency refers to individuals having a capacity to act and make decisions based on their choices. Recognizing interviewees' agency demonstrates how power is constitutive, and not

[5] Stamp (1996) argues in favour of the term "sex-gender" systems, as sexual systems cannot be explained only by masculine forces oppressing feminine ones (p. 31). Although multiple sex-gender systems operate and cannot be homogenized as one patriarchy, the term patriarchy still allows for discussion about localized sites of gender relations which can take shape in different ways. Regardless of the term used to investigate gendered social processes, it is without question that structurally imposed institutions reinforce male dominance at multiple scales.

solely based on perpetrators and victims designated as "oppressor" and "oppressed."[6] This implies that the construction of "womanhood" is not placed on women by force but is a constant negotiation between those privileged and not privileged by patriarchal structures. Following this line of reasoning, "gender relations" can be defined as sites of gendered subordination and simultaneous resistance to that subordination (Oakley, 1972; Stamp, 1986, p. 28). Gender relations involve negotiations shaped by discourse that privileges patriarchy, but can equally be contested through acts of subversion (Scott, 1977, 1985). When referring to women facing systematic barriers because of their gender, this work borrows the term "subordination" from Pateman (1988) and Sultana (2008) instead of "exploitation," as the latter suggests powerlessness and victimhood, which removes their agency.

For women in Kenya, agency looks differently to different observers. Instead of conceiving of agency as powerful groups of women demanding change take place *now*, discursive approaches allow researchers to understand that agency can be demonstrated in various ways. An example clarifies this. Let us assume a women's group negotiates land rights with a male council of elders by leveraging their caretaking roles as mothers through the argument that "it's best for the children." This women's group may be discursively reinforcing patriarchal norms because their argument ties women to the domestic sphere. However, equating "womanhood" as "motherhood" may be the only leveraging tool accessible to this women's group to satisfy the male council of elders while still achieving their goal of obtaining land. A discursive approach increases researchers' awareness about these strategic, subversive choices

[6] As Bordo (1993) states, "we must abandon the idea of power as something possessed by one group and levelled against another; we must instead think of the network of practices, institutions, and technologies that sustain positions of dominance and subordination in a particular domain" (p. 167).

that can appeal to some aspects of patriarchal thought in order to reject others. These practices can also be read as agency.

Feminist theory importantly underlines the pervasive power of cultural discourse to shape how one conceives of "womanhood." However, conceiving of women's decisions as pre-determined by discourse poses problems. Although there are mechanisms that maintain patriarchal institutions at the geopolitical and state levels, they are not immobile (Eisler, 1997, p. 179). As stated by Eisler (1997), behaviours and social institutions can be altered by conscious choice and "commitments to alter belief systems" (p. 179). While there are structural bases for gender relations, focusing just on assumed power dynamics can obscure the importance and agency of actors imbedded in these structures.

This being said, top-down macro approaches complement bottom-up micro approaches. In Kenya and across the globe, women systematically have more barriers than men in accessing education, earning financial independence, and altering systemic inequalities. Political power is more difficult for women to attain due to lower levels of education and less financial independence. Patriarchy exists and is reinforced on multiple levels of analysis, which a macro lens helps to clarify.

MACRO: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STRUCTURAL APPROACH

A political economy lens is valuable for understanding gendered labour responsibilities in Kenya because structures of systematic gendered hierarchies can shape agents and their actions. These hierarchies privilege certain masculine forms of knowledge creation, and somewhat limit the possibilities of conceiving new, widespread social dynamics which place gender equality at the center of political goals.

Gendered labour responsibilities within the home do not develop in a vacuum "or merely as a consequence of differences in physical strength and biological functions between the sexes" (Boserup, 1970, p. 38) but are "supported by economic and political structures" (Beneria, 1979, p. 205). Along with micro considerations, this thesis also applies a feminist political economy lens that assumes that the mainstream political and economic forces, which structure household relationships, reflect the privileging of masculine narratives on larger geopolitical levels.

"International political economy" is a field of study concerned with the overlap between politics, economics, and international relations. "Feminist international political economy" is a useful lens through which to understand how hegemonic gender roles come into being, and how gendered hierarchies within homes are supported by larger institutions.

Feminist international relations scholarship challenges states for claiming neutrality in the domestic sphere (True, 2010; Parashar, Tickner & True, 2018; Sultana, 2019; Brickell, 2012; Mountz & Hyndman, 2006) and ties domestic labour responsibilities to all-encompassing forms of gendered domination (Maslak, 2008; Stromquist 1999, 2008; Justis, 2003; Mule, 2008). "Hegemonic gender roles*"* refer to overarching cultural, political and economic (ideological) practices, which shape expectations for gendered behaviour.[7] In their book *Revisiting Gendered States*, authors Parashar et al. (2018) demonstrate how the state is conceived of as a rational actor even when it is structured by deeply gendered institutions and hegemonic gender assumptions. In this way, states are socialized imaginings very much influenced by "cultural" norms, yet with the authority that statehood asserts.

Jacky True (2010) discusses how discussions of gender domination in international relations often omit the domestic sphere as a unit of analysis. This is even though accepting

[7] Gramsci and Althusser suggest that hegemonic ideology produces subjects (Mouffe, 1979, p. 187), which can be expanded to overarching practices that create gendered subjects and gendered subject expectations.

states as value-less, rational entities enables the state to enter the home sphere in neutralized ways. One example of state involvement in the home sphere is the reinforcement of the nuclear family as the "natural" family, which cements power structures within homes (McEwen, 2017). Another example is Kenya's regulation of sexuality through legal institutions, which forbid certain kinds of relationships (Levine, 2007).[8] In accordance with True and Parashar, this thesis assumes that states are not neutral, but that they are engaged in actively reinforcing power structures that reflect their interests. One way of doing so, as we will see in Chapter 3, is through an educational apparatus that invisibilizes gendered labour responsibilities.

The home cannot be removed from structural power dynamics negotiated at other levels of analysis, and vice versa. Unlike the dualistic nature explaining the home and the state as separate, I advance that this divide is imagined, and fluid. Walby (1990) names "two distinct forms of patriarchy" namely the private and the public (p. 24), where the "private is based upon household production as the main site of women's oppression, and the public patriarchy is based principally in public sites such as employment and the state" (Sultana, 2010, p. 9). Although this makes clear that gendered power dynamics that govern household relations can be extrapolated outwards to the state and geopolitical levels, it reifies a false division. Like Brickell (2012), who suggests the geopolitical/home binary is largely problematic, Mountz and Hyndman (2006) argue that the global and local are not separate but constitute one another (p. 446). Brickell (2012) convincingly advances that divisions between the public sphere of international relations and the private sphere of the household serve to reinforce gendered, racialized, sexualized, and class-based divisions of power (p. 585).[9]

[8] When the state reinforces patterns of patriarchy, it is sometimes referred to as the "hetero-patriarchal state" because it reinforces a hetero-patriarchal social order (Ballinger, 2009, p. 23).

[9] In addition to gender divides, there are also age and class-based divisions of labour (Davis, 2007, p. 57).

This thesis assumes that the private/public divide is simplifying because it obscures how social relations move between levels of analysis. By revealing institutionalized, patriarchal norms in marriage (Kollman, 2016, 2016), economics (Brickell, 2012), citizenship rights (Peterson, 2010; Mountz & Hyndman, 2006), and war (Kaufman & Williams, 2004), various scholars underscore a "largely fictive" division between the private and public spheres. The micro and the macro are inherently linked. If done carefully, local gendered labour expectations can be extrapolated to multi-scalar generalizations beyond the local space in question. By placing gender relations at the center of political economy, we can better understand complex economic, social, and ideological aspects of micro interactions (Stamp, 1986, p. 31).

LIMITATIONS / ASSUMTIONS

The combined discursive and political economy lenses do have limitations. Although they consider various social phenomena relevant to understanding how gendered labour responsibilities shift, they cannot claim to provide all of the information necessary to understanding every aspect of these complex socio-political questions. This thesis may not sufficiently give either lens the ability to exhibit its full scholarly potential. Although such a critique is valid, I believe the aforementioned advantages of combining these approaches outweigh the disadvantages, especially since qualitative analyses about gender relations in Kenya are not normally done through this multi-pronged approach.

Although a lack of concrete solutions can be frustrating for readers, the terrain of changing gender norms is messy, vast, and far from concrete. It would be short-sighted, and frankly unrealistic, to prescribe policy solutions from this research with the promise of ending gender inequalities in East Africa. For this reason, this thesis strays away from policy-focused research in order to dig into the problems, perhaps more than the solutions.

The final paragraphs in this theoretical section outline some of the simplifying assumptions made throughout this work for reasons concerned with clarity and scope. Although the tradition of objectivity is problematic, grouping experiences together to form a partial reality is sometimes necessary to make broader generalizations.

This work simplifies categorizations of "women" and "men," assuming that the gender of respondents corresponds to their female and male gender presentations. This is somewhat problematic, as these categories are limiting. After all, it is much too simplistic to claim that "women's oppression" is based on fictional benchmarks of "men's" superiority, as women oppress other women, and men oppress other men (Lorde, 1980, p. 856). Additionally, the category of "women" and the category of "men" are fluid, imperfect categories (Butler, 1986, p. 40), which encompass various genders, races, classes, and backgrounds.[10]

Although as a researcher I showed interest in learning about gender malleability in rural Kenya, interviewees adhered to a strict gender binary defined by biological differences in sex. Therefore, defining gender as more fluid than observed would cause ethical concern for interviewees, as none self-identified with a gender outside of their biologically ascribed sex. As a foreign researcher I respected this "woman" and "man" conceptualization to prevent imposing an ideological view that could lead to drawing false conclusions. Gender relations are location dependent, meaning my understanding of femininity and masculinity are extraneous when discussing gender relations in rural Maasai homes, but may nonetheless influence analysis.

Although "women" is an imperfect category since gender is fluid and women are not homogeneous, it is still *real* when we discuss oppression. As Gunnarsson (2011) states, the

[10] Focusing too much on generalized categories can structurally deny the fact that some women and men can be the oppressors of other women and men (Lorde, 1980, p. 856), and that "social location (including poverty, class, and 'race') shapes women's lives" (Davis, 2007, p. 57). Defining the particular subset of "women" we are referring to can perhaps make visible power hierarchies existing outside of the gendered realm of social relations, including class-based power hierarchies. This work defines interviewees based on their individual experiences for this reason.

"post-structuralist tendency to downplay the realness of 'women' as collective category" can dismiss a woman's "structural gender position" (p. 34). The male/female sex dichotomy often corresponding to man/woman gender identity continues to influence public policy whether or not there is empirical truth behind biological differences in sex (Harding, 1986, p. 647). I defend the use of the categories of "women" and "men" because gender is a structuring principle often corresponding to sex. Gender categories structure international politics, and it is necessary to give these categorizations weight for insight into the socialization of gender norms. Although this may be a rigid way of knowing, such categorizations are made with the understanding that they are simplifying.

This work is particularly interested in understanding the construction of "womanhood" while recognizing that a parallel study deconstructing "manhood" would be beneficial. Better understanding "manhood" could help draw insight about the interplay between femininities and masculinities. Other socio-political terms of relevance include "marriage" and "culture," which are equally as complex as "womanhood." Interrogating these terms in the Maa-speaking pastoralist context would offer depth to analysis.

This analysis avoids discussing sexuality of respondents,[11] even though queer scholars have demonstrated its relevance in understanding international relations and gender norm formation (Richter-Montpetit & Weber, 2017). No interviewee admitted to homosexual tendencies within their community. Of course, this does not mean that there were no non-cis-gender or homosexual people in the communities visited. Rather, this aversion to discussing gender or sexual fluidity demonstrates a level of social adherence to gender binaries and heterosexual norms.

[11] Questions about homosexuality resulted in distrust of me as a researcher.

Next, findings discussed here may not be wholly because of women's groups or educational shifts. Gender norms and larger social structures are interconnected (Swadener, 2000, p. 24, 63). In addition to these changes, there is rapid socioeconomic change taking place in rural Kenya (Swadener, 2000, p. 63). The pastoralist way of life is shifting as land becomes increasingly privatized (Archambault, 2015; Fox, 2018), wage work becomes imbedded in livelihood strategies (Swadener, 2000, p. 24, 63), and processes of capitalism are reinforced by the Kenyan state in rural areas (Lesorogol, 2003; Wangenge-Ouma, 2008). Pastoralists are becoming more sedentary and less nomadic due to economic (Swadener, 2000; Mule, 2008; Mutegi et al., 2017), climate (Karanja, 2016; Ongoro, 2012), and land-based pressures (Archambault, 2014; Fox, 2018; Karmebäck, 2015; Nyberg, 2015). However, hopefully this thesis can demonstrate the important role that women's groups and education play in these complex processes.

To close this section, interrogating the category of "womanhood" allows for an examination of gendered labour responsibilities anchored in patriarchal gender norms. The micro, discursive lens is relevant for research about the first socio-political factor shifting gendered labour responsibilities, namely women's groups. Specifically, it facilitates an epistemologically sensitive starting point for understanding interview transcripts by considering micro-constructions of gender, subversive practices of agency, and articulations of patriarchal norms. The political economy lens is relevant for the research about the second socio-political factor shifting gendered labour responsibilities, namely Kenya's educational apparatus. Specifically, it facilitates a structural analysis of an institution like formalized education. Taken together, the combined theoretical lenses aim to provide a broader set of perspectives when analyzing interviews.

METHODOLOGY / RESEARCH DESIGN

The data being drawn for this thesis are twofold, namely 1.) formal fieldwork transcripts completed under McGill's Institutional Canopy of Conservation, and 2.) three months of ethnographic fieldwork in Kenya's Samburu and Laikipia Counties. Both formal interview transcripts in collaboration with ICAN and informal conversations reflected on during ethnographic fieldwork offer insight into changing gender relations in pastoralist communities.

FORMAL FIELDWORK

The Institutional Canopy of Conservation (ICAN) is a joint research project led by the African Conservation Centre (ACC) and McGill University. This project studies a range of conservancy experiments on local livelihoods and natural resource practices in East Africa. ICAN's goal is to identify successful community conservation projects with the end of promoting biodiversity and supporting local livelihoods through income diversification and rights to natural resources.

Working with ICAN in the summer of 2019 under the supervision of Professor John Galaty and Professor Jacques Pollini, I conducted interviews with locals from Kirimon, Loogor-ate, and Naibor Keju communities in Kenya's Samburu County [*see appendix A: maps*]. The goal of the interviews was to produce a scoping study for Samburu West with regards to changing land tenure systems and governance strategies.[12] Interviews took place based on availability sampling and were recorded with the permission of interview participants. A local translator translated answers from Swahili to English when necessary. Local assistants were helpful when it came to selecting interview participants to be as least disruptive as possible [*see appendix B, fieldwork sites*]. Each interview generally lasted between thirty minutes to one hour at the interviewee's home.

[12] This scoping study was approved under Research Ethics Board (REB) #505-0516.

Typically, when visiting a community, our research team met local leaders to explain the purpose of our work and asked a set of general questions about local livelihood strategies and challenges faced by the community.[13] Additional interviewees were recruited using a snowball sampling strategy to delve deeper into key issues. We covered four broad topics during the formal scoping study, including (1) history, in order to understand how the landscape was constituted over time and to predict future changes; (2) livelihood strategies, where we detailed local economic activities; (3) governance, where we studied the institutions involved in decision-making; and (4) land demarcation, where we delved deeper into the most pressing issues on this topic and collected visions about future land uses in the study area.[14]

As a primary researcher on the team, I independently conducted twelve formal fieldwork interviews, jointly conducted seven more, and transcribed those of the whole team with one other primary researcher from McGill University, Sasha Masabanda [*see appendix C, list of interviews*]. An inductive coding method was used to categorize interview segments into relevant, workable categories. Some of these categories included: "gender relations," "wildlife-human conflict," "governance," "education," "healthcare," "land tenure rights," "history," and "climate change." Within the gender relations category, sub-categorizations included: "husband-wife relationships," "labour responsibilities," "childcare," "pregnancy," "women's groups," "youth marriage," "masculinity," "domestic abuse," and "cultural norms." Throughout the interview and coding processes, it became clear that gender relations were structuring principles for the Samburu and Maasai. Specifically, interviewees suggested that gender relations

[13] This interview approach owes a lot to the school of comparative agriculture (Cochet, 2015), but is also influenced by the works of Scott (1977; 1985) on the moral economy of peasants, Chayanov (1986) on peasant economics, Netting (1993) on smallholder farming, Lhoste et al. (1993) on pastoralism, and Ribot (2007) on representation in governance institutions.

[14] Please contact the Institutional Canopy of Conservation (ICAN) and ask for study #12 if interested in reading this scoping study and or interview transcripts.

influenced larger community-wide decision-making about land and other resources, dictated how labour was divided, and governed what happened within the home sphere. The formal fieldwork transcripts are consulted with throughout this thesis, especially transcripts corresponding to interviews I conducted. For reasons concerned with McGill University's Research Ethics Board approval, these interview transcripts are not included in the appendix but can be requested by contacting the Institutional Canopy of Conservation (ICAN).

INFORMAL FIELDWORK

Working as a research intern with the Indigenous Movement for Peace Advancement and Conflict Transformation (IMPACT) provided opportunities to engage with pastoralists in multiple counties in North-Central Kenya. This human rights organization works at the intersection of conservation, policy action, and pastoralist livelihoods to ensure equitable, conflict-free land use in Northern Kenya. I lived in Nanyuki, Kenya completing this internship from May to July of 2019. As time progressed, I became increasingly interested in gendered labour responsibilities in East Africa, and how this was related to land ownership and livelihood strategies. This topic was relevant when discussing community land demarcation, climate induced insecurities, and local governance strategies.

IMPACT opportunities included participating in field research pursuits with ICAN, interviewing community members about land demarcation in Samburu County, visiting women's groups and learning about grassroots strategies for gender equality, and attending community land council meetings. The original intention was to use the experience as a professional learning opportunity, but conversations were relevant for research interests. Some of the most meaningful, informative conversations came from informal encounters. Some were with coworkers at IMPACT, some were with women from women's groups, and some were with

community members at land council meetings. This work engages with informal interviews and notes taken after conversations with interviewees. McGill University's Research Ethics Board recommended drawing from these notes without disclosing the notes themselves for the privacy of interviewees.[15]

In this thesis, interview transcripts are coded through a letter-number combination for easy, non-identifiable citing [*see appendix C, list of interviews*]. Interviews conducted by myself begin with the letter "L," followed by the number of the interview (meaning "L2" refers to the second interview I conducted during fieldwork). When the citation begins with "S" or "D" my McGill colleagues were the primary interviewers, but I was present. When the citation begins with "I," the interview was conducted with more than two investigators as a joint effort. One case is coded as "SL#," signifying that it was a joint interview between another colleague and I. Some of the informal conversations with individuals during the ethnographic component of research are similarly coded as "L#." Unlike the formal interviews, the informal conversations sometimes involved multiple conversations with the same person. The coding system keeps the same # when discussing conversations with the same person, even if the conversation spanned time, space, and topics. Chapter 2 draws from interviews with women's groups including "Twala" in Il Polei, Laikipia, "Osugoroi" in Chumvi, Laikipia, and "Naserian" in Samburu, as well as informal income earning groups participating in beadwork initiatives [*see appendix E for a detailed account of the women's groups considered*]. These women's groups are described more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATIONS

An interview-based approach to political economy is useful in understanding social constructions of gendered labour responsibilities in order to denaturalize and make legible

[15] This thesis research is approved under the McGill University Research Ethics Board #19-11-016.

patriarchal assumptions. As Foucault (1990) makes clear, the intersection of power, knowledge, and truth play out in micro-settings, where we can look for exclusions by looking at how knowledge is produced. Searching for contradictions challenges "normalized" categorizations of gendered expectations, which, from a historical standpoint, allows researchers to scrutinize meta-narratives that naturalize gender norms.

Interviews with individuals can highlight some of the tensions in constructions of gender, revealing the messy logic behind gendered expectations found in the home sphere. This work aims to recognize the divergent experiences of those echoed in interviews without suggesting their situated knowledge(s) offer empirical truths (Haraway, 1988). Opinions are not homogeneous, so the most complete picture most likely comes from taking interview transcripts collectively and understanding that these interviewees cannot speak for their entire communities. As a researcher, I do not want to essentialize or tokenize points of view and wish to avoid claiming that one truth is more valuable than another. An epistemology that reproduces rather than is critical of points of view is perhaps not that feminist after all. For this reason, this thesis draws from other scholarly findings to contextualize local interviewee opinions.

As a researcher from the Global North, my partial standpoint is based on subjectivities that may be different from the partial standpoints of those interviewed. As Scott (1991) rightfully states, standpoint theory that claims empiricism doesn't historicize conscious assumptions. Since my standpoint is removed from the context,[16] I focus more on the value attributed to what interviewees suggest is "empowerment" rather than being critical of it. I do this while still evaluating micro-level practices, as the discursive feminist lens allows for.

[16] In the words of Swadener et al., "doing cross-cultural work in neocolonial settings" can present "ethical and methodological dilemmas, particularly when there is a conscious attempt to decolonize the research" (2000, p. 4).

This thesis works with interviewees at the local household and community levels. Certainly, "womanhood" and "manhood" are constructed at multiple scales, including the local, the regional, and the global. As Apple (2017) states, "the cultural apparatus of a society is much broader" than the school space or the home space (p. 2). Multi-scalar processes of socialization are useful to understanding the processes by which gender relations become naturalized and/or challenged on larger scales of analysis.

The rationale for prioritizing the local level of analysis, however, is twofold. Firstly, while the institutionalized patriarchal underpinnings of economic and political domination are relevant to understanding the systematic dominance of men over women, these can obscure the relevant micro locales of contestation. Secondly, political science literature often focuses exclusively on the global, when local and regional constructions of "womanhood" should be taken seriously in understanding gender expressions more broadly speaking. This is because small-scale constructions of "womanhood" have political and economic relevance often unseen by generalized narratives discussing gender relations. Plus, masculinities and femininities at the local level take on regional specificities, which can reflect or contest larger structures of hegemonic masculinity.[17] This work centers around local spaces for negotiation of gender relations to de-naturalize local gender norms and confront patriarchy on larger scales.

[17] For an elaborated discussion of hegemonic masculinities, see Connell & Messerschmidt (2005).

CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

This section gives an overview of the study area, delving into the intricacies of social organization for the Maa-speaking Maasai and Samburu pastoralists.

The country now known as Kenya is comprised of diverse ethnic groups, geographical features, religions, languages, and political orientations. Samburu and Laikipia Counties, in North-Central Kenya, occupy arid and semi-arid lands (Holtzman, 1999, p. 42; Oduol, 2018, p. 190). Pastoralism continues to be the primary economic activity in Samburu County, with approximately 80% of households keeping livestock as of 2013 (Karanja, 2016).

Pastoralist social organization has long been referred to as patriarchal, perhaps simplistically so (Hodgson, 2001, p. 3), as patriarchal norms may have been reinforced during colonization (Hodgson, 1999, p. 42-43; Stamp, 1986, p. 38) and reinforced and/or challenged during post-colonial times (Swadener, 2000), which suggests that pastoralism is not inherently patriarchal but a livelihood strategy in which gender relations are contested (Hodgson, 2000, p. 15). Accounts that suggest Maasai culture or pastoralism are inherently patriarchal due to men's political and economic domination, miss a historically relevant colonial period in which "the parameters of male Maasai power expanded to embrace new modes of control and authority" (Hodgeson, 2001, p. 16). Although this work does not delve into this fascinating history, nor does it take a side on the debate about whether or not pastoralism is inherently patriarchal, I want to avoid falsely suggesting that an entire culture is oppressive to women, as cultural arguments mask complex historical and social realities.

The role of cultural norms is relevant in explaining the socialization of gendered labour responsibilities for pastoralists (Sultana, 2010, p. 8). In one interview, a male elder was explaining how the Samburu culture is "supposed to be" according to tradition. He raised his hand, palm facing the interviewers, and explained that every knuckle can be thought of as a

hierarchical level of righteousness (DL1). At the first level is God, then man, then *moran*,[18] then children, and then wife (DL1). I asked an elder woman of about 80 years if she agreed with this, in a separate interview, and she nodded in agreement (L9).

The reinforcement of this secondary position of women to men is linked to pastoralist social organization (L1, L2, L12), marriage arrangements (L6, L12), land ownership (L5, L14, L16), and labour expectations.[19] However, with socio-political shifts including those demanded from women's groups' activities and formalized education, these junctures of women's subordination are shifting (L1, L4, L8, L11, L13). Younger people were adamant about this (L4).[20]

It is undeniable that the Samburu and Maasai ways of life are gradually changing from one of nomadic pastoralism to a more settled form of pastoralism, wherein which groups are increasingly bound to certain geographical spaces (Lesorogol, 2010, p. 1091; Fox, 2018, p. 473). This is due to the integration of pastoralist societies into the colonial and post-colonial Kenyan states, which imposed global economic forces on pastoralist people through land privatization (Holtzman, 2003, p. 227). Maa-speaking pastoralists in Samburu and Laikipia, therefore, have been forced to adapt their livelihoods to include non-traditional forms of income earning into their pastoralist subsistence strategies. As Archambault (2015) explains, women pastoralists in Kenya may have different opinions about land privatization than men (p. 202). This is especially considering their historical exclusion from land ownership, and the contradictory role that

[18] "Moran" is the name given to male Maasai who have completed warrior training.

[19] Amuyunzu-Nyamongo states that "male power has traditionally been reinforced through rites of passage, bride wealth payments and patrilocal residence" for pastoralist communities (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, 2006, p. 9), which all appear to be undergoing challenges (L13, L19).

[20] As Wangui (2014) makes clear, "as pastoral livelihoods shift, the boundaries of what it means to be a Maasai are pushed" which means that "the disciplinary power of culture and the meanings of gender become destabilized, allowing for a renegotiation and forging of gender norms and subjectivities" (p. 1068).

privatized land might play in, on the one hand, increasing opportunities for accessing education, while, on the other, having "uncertain consequences" on workloads and social life (Archambault, 2015, p. 202).[21]

Studying gender relations in the Maa-speaking pastoralist context clarifies changing socio-political realities. Although this thesis focuses principally on women's groups and education, socio-political changes beyond these play roles in shifting conceptions of "womanhood" and gendered labour for pastoralists in Kenya and in other parts of East Africa.

[21] For more information about pastoralist land use and gender relations in Kenya, see Lesorogol (2003), Nyberg (2015), Archambault (2015), and Westervelt (2017).

CHAPTER 1:

CONSTRUCTING "WOMANHOOD"

QUESTION: How is "womanhood" socially constructed?

This chapter investigates how Maa-speaking pastoralists in Kenya's Samburu and Laikipia Counties construct "womanhood." Since interpretations of "womanhood" can and are debated, this chapter seeks to find a common archetype for how "womanhood" is understood to set a starting point of analysis. This archetype does not fit all conceptions or constructions. However, working from a common set of ideas provides a concrete base of comparison when considering how constructions of "womanhood" may be shifting. This is valuable to reflect on when discussing how women's groups (Chapter 2) and rising rates of women's education (Chapter 3) can both challenge and reinforce these constructions, sometimes simultaneously.

The term "womanhood" is in quotes to recognize that this socially constructed term is undergoing shifts in meaning, and like other socially constructed terms, is unstable and disputed. Terms are not temporally constant. Constructions shift, and examining how they do so provides

insight into how sociological processes can dictate social relations. Additionally, constructions of contested terms are not singular. Understanding how "womanhood" is locally constructed underscores the importance of local considerations when trying to generalize findings. Although many conceptions of masculinity and femininity cross cultural boundaries, local constructions garnered from interview data in Samburu and Laikipia better allow us to define the study area. This hopefully prevents inaccurate simplifications about the nature of gender relations.

Relying primarily on interviews conducted in the summer of 2019 [*see appendix B, fieldwork sites & appendix C, list of interviews*], findings suggest that "womanhood" is constructed through overlapping socialization processes that imbed "women" in a feminized household arena. Findings are broken into two parts. Firstly, "womanhood" is conceived of in close relation to marriage. I extend Carole Pateman's (1988; 2018) work about marriage to the pastoralist context in Samburu and Laikipia to unpack this finding. Secondly, "womanhood" is constructed in relation to feminized labour responsibilities, namely domestic, family, and sexual labour responsibilities.

Before investigating how marriage and gendered labour construct "womanhood," it is worth mentioning that according to interviews, patriarchal gender norms continue to pervade the daily realities of rural Samburu and Maasai. The young and old alike, both men and women, understood their culture as one that is "male-dominated" (L1, L2, L3, L4, L5, L6, L7, L8, L9, L10, L11, L12, L13). Men are the household heads, unless a single mother heads the family, which is rare. Housework, caring for children, fetching water, constructing homes, and cooking are all unpaid feminized labour activities (Budlender, 2008). Traditionally for East African pastoralists, male decision-making responsibilities include controlling income in the home, "disciplining" children and wives, and "overseeing that work is completed" (L2). The patriarchal underpinnings of many cultural norms persist, and can be observed in traditional resource

ownership (L14, L16), labour expectations (L1, L2, L12), and decision-making at the community level (L15). This is not to consider all kinship structures, including age-based organization and other traditional ideologies, inherently patriarchal (Stamp, 1986, p. 30). However, "tradition" continues to be linked to male dominance.

MARRIAGE & "WIFEHOOD"

Marriage is a key characteristic in defining women, and constructs "womanhood" in multiple ways (AL2). Without marriage, husbandless women in pastoralist societies traditionally have no land they can lay claim to, nor can they legitimately fulfill their mothering responsibilities which are intimately linked to women's identities (Ebila, 2015, p. 146). Marriage crystallizes feminized labour responsibilities in the home, including domestic labour, family labour, and sexual labour by constructing women in relation to their politically and economically "superior" husbands.

As Carole Pateman (1988, 2018) makes clear, gendered divisions of labour are mandated by what she calls "the sexual contract," which systematically subordinates women through hierarchical gendered expectations in institutions including marriage. Her premise is that civil society is bound to political right through a sexual-social contract (p. 1), yet contract theorists often fail to mention the sexual contract underlining the social contract (p. 2). She states that the sexual contract "establishes men's political right over women" (p. 3) through deeply unequal marriage agreements, which invisible the private sphere from the public (p. 3, 11). Marriage and employment, often supported by states, are central to invisibilizing patriarchal assumptions found within social relationships (p. 4). By placing marital domination in the "private," supposedly non-civil home sphere, it is depoliticized (p. 7, 11), which reinforces women's domination to men in "public" civil society (p. 12).

This is relevant to the pastoralist context because the gender norms established in the private realm spill over to public life. Women's subordinated status in the home reinforces patriarchal gender relations in the community. The recent incorporation of women in community meetings is evidence of deep historical traditions that exclude women from public and political life (AL2). The relationship may be reciprocally reinforced, as public decisions made in the community spill over to the private realm. An example of this is that many pastoralist marriage arrangements constrain women's voices in deciding to whom and when they marry (L12). Marriage decisions, sometimes made in the public sphere by male family members and community elders (L13), exclude women from decisions about how the private sphere looks.

Marriage, for Maa-speaking pastoralists, is traditionally polygamous and involves a dowry system. Traditionally speaking, when a man wants to marry, he goes to the homestead of the woman he wants to marry and discusses with her father: "The man comes to their home saying, I like this lady and I want to marry her" (L12). The father then decides, with the elders, if the marriage is deemed fit. The husband pays a dowry to the wife-to-be's parents, usually equivalent to thirteen livestock but perhaps more if she is educated (I4). After the marriage, she lives with her new husband on his land, which involves moving away from her family. Sometimes, this marriage arrangement is forced, but educated women may have more of a say in whom they marry than uneducated women (L13).

Marriage is central to understanding pastoralist women's traditional lack of land ownership in Samburu and Laikipia. For the Maa-speaking Maasai and Samburu, access to natural resources is "regulated under traditional land laws and enforced through a council of senior elders" (Seno & Shaw, 2001, p. 79). Although both men and women work the land, men traditionally own the land. Pateman (1988) would argue that gendered resource ownership for Maa-speaking pastoralists reinforces the patriarchal underpinnings of the marriage contract.

Many interview respondents suggested that female ownership of land is outside the realm of pastoralist cultural norms because when women marry, the wife leaves her Community Land and joins that of her husband (L6).[22] Husbands provide each wife a place to live on his land. Even when married, women in rural areas traditionally do not have formal rights to land.

The Kenyan state plays a role in reinforcing, or at least not actively challenging, gendered domination in the private sphere. The Group Ranch Act of 1964 requires only the names of men and female widows on community land registers, codifying women's invisibility in land ownership. However, the Community Land Act of 2016 overrules the Group Ranch Act of 1968. With the Community Land Act of 2016, now both male and female names are required on title deeds. In practice, however, this information is not reaching communities, who continue to have male-dominated land registers (I1). In Kenya, "some estimates indicate that as little as 1% of land is titled in the names of women and 5-6% is titled jointly by women and men" (Gafar, 2014, p. 2). This brings with it the implicit assumption that women are normally excluded from decisions regarding land use, whether pastoralist or not. By disregarding the lack of female land ownership in pastoralist communities, the state is complicit in a marriage system that provides structural barriers to women's resource control.

Pateman's (1988) discussion of the marriage contract (p. 154-188) is especially relevant for the pastoralist context when discussing the durability of this contractual marriage relationship. Although there is no legal documentation stating such, the institution of divorce in Maa-speaking pastoralist homes largely prevents women from freely leaving the marriage contract. One 20-year old mother explained that a wife's family must give back the dowry her parents gave her husband if the wife wants a divorce, which can be impossible if a drought has

[22] Parents noted that the possibility of daughters' marriages provides a disincentive for paying for girls' education, because girl children will eventually go live with their husband, thus the investment into her education does not benefit the parents who pay for it.

killed the dowry (L12). In other words, asking for a divorce inconveniences the wife's parents, who may or may not have the requisite number of cattle to pay back to the husband in exchange for their daughter (L12). If the parents cannot give back the dowry, the husband may settle for a divorce without dowry, instead choosing to keep the children of his now divorced wife (L12). In this way, the marriage contract governs not only "womanhood," but also family life (Pateman, 1988, p. 165). As one woman said, "When a woman divorces, "they call her a wooshy-wooshy," or "a person who has no direction," so "to remain with your dignity, you have to be married, very wisely, so you can achieve your goals, do what you want to do" (AL2). Divorce is an unappealing option because without access to land, women become landless in their husband's communities (L12). This crystallizes the expectation for marriage, as single women living in their home communities are not likely to be awarded land title from their fathers (I1, L13).

In one group interview, when a colleague asked, "What happens with women who don't get married?" he was met with laughter (I1). It was an outlandish proposition to suggest that some women might not get married. This is not to suggest that women have no agency in their marriages, as one interviewee was grateful at the opportunity of marriage as a way of asserting her "womanhood" (L12). However, this perhaps more than any other line of reasoning highlights the implicit construction of "womanhood" as linked to "wifehood" and marriage.

FEMINIZED LABOUR RESPONSIBILITIES

Now that we understand the relevance of marriage in constructing "womanhood," let us return our attention to the substantive work that structures this thesis, namely gendered labour responsibilities. These construct "womanhood" through three subsets of labour, including domestic labour, family labour, and sexual labour. The construction of "womanhood" is closely tied to these three spheres of feminized labour expectations, as they link to unpaid labour, motherhood, and sexual duties.

The first category of gendered labour can be broadly referred to as domestic labour. Domestic labour refers to traditional homemaking chores associated with the domestic sphere. Typically, for Kenyan pastoralists, women are responsible for all domestic responsibilities at their *boma*,[23] whereas men are primarily responsible for taking care of livestock and making decisions [*see appendix D for a simplified list of gendered labour responsibilities*]. Domestic labour responsibilities construct "womanhood" for two reasons. Firstly, they tie women to the home sphere, and reinforce the imagined "homebound" mother figure. Secondly, domestic labour responsibilities intensify women's subjugation to their husbands with regards to time use.

According to fieldwork,[24] women work a wider variety of jobs and for more hours than their male counterparts:

> Interviewer: [~9:00] What are the responsibilities of the women?
> Respondent: Oof. Fetching water, making this clean, making food for the children. Just doing everything, every responsibility around the homestead! *Laughter.* Mostly they are the ones working tirelessly for the homestead… (L1)

The majority of domestic "women's work" within the home sphere continues to be unpaid (Connelly, 2017, p. 2) and therefore, "unproductive" (Murithi, 2017, p. 2). Considering domestic work "unproductive," however, obscures the extent to which productive labour relies on women's (re)productive labour.[25]

Gendered divisions of labour create gendered time differentials of labour activities. Since traditionally gendered labour is not remunerated, it often goes unseen as a source of household

[23] "Boma" refers to a traditional Maasai home made of branches and mud.

[24] In order to understand how time was spent by women and men, I asked questions which could be understood as an informal version of a time use survey. Time use surveys tell us how much time one spends on "sleeping, eating, employment-related work, socializing, and unpaid care work, such as housework and caring for children, the disabled, elderly, ill and so on, in an average day or week" (Budlender, 2008, p. 2). These informal surveys consistently suggested, quite overtly, that women worked more hours than men in rural Samburu and Laikipia when paid and unpaid activities were taken into account.

[25] For a discussion of women's (re)productive labour, see Boserup (1970), de Beauvoir (1974), Beneria (1979), Hooks (2000), and Duffy (2007).

value. "Time poverty" is a concept that refers to poverty not in terms of economic wealth, but in terms of rest and leisure (Wodon, 2006). This signifies that although women may be working a longer number of hours than their husbands—approximately thirty-three percent more (Githinji (2000, p. 2)—their contributions are conceived of as less valuable. Interviews confirmed this, suggesting that men's work required more brainpower and women were idle. This implies that thinking of solutions for preventing community conflict, a traditionally male responsibility, is often higher respected than the physically arduous feminized work of collecting firewood over a period of four hours (L4). This is relevant to understanding "womanhood" because undervalued labour negatively influences economic decision-making power.

Family labour, our second kind of codified gendered labour, refers to the caretaking role generally associated with motherhood. Although cooking and cleaning responsibilities, part of domestic labour, are related to family caretaking, family responsibilities extend beyond domestic work. Family labour is concerned with what some scholars have labelled "emotional labour" (Duncombe, 1995, p. 150). For example, in a qualitative study in Samburu region, Bettmann et al. (2013) found that girl children are expected to help their mothers with child rearing responsibilities, such as taking care of younger siblings (p. 64). One woman described that work in the homestead was inherently gendered. She noted that the girls fetch water, fetch firewood, do the general cleaning of the house, are expected to cook, and do other domestic tasks (L1). The boys, on the other hand, look after the cattle[26] and "provide security when there is a conflict" (L1). Across the board, family labour is codified feminine.

Let us return to gendered time divisions. A time use snapshot clarifies differences for how time is spent between family members. In general, both men and women interviewees

[26] As Holtzman (1999) states, "An examination of Samburu herding organization shows that on a daily basis women and children provide the bulk of household labor" (p. 49), where "in contrast, the role of adult males in herding is relatively small" (p. 50).

agreed that the day started at 5 AM for both men and women, but that the husband's day ended at 6 PM and the wife's day ended at 10PM, since the woman made dinner (for her, her husband, and their children) while the husband rested (L1, L2). After dinner, women were expected to clean the homestead, fetch water for the next day, search for missing livestock, and take care of children (L1, L2). Other time use studies (Sperling, 1987; Fratkin & Smith, 1994; Straight, 1997) provide similar findings with regards to time use in Samburu County, Kenya.

Time differences begin at a young age and persist into old age (L1, L8). Beyond caring for younger siblings, women are expected to start their own families at a younger age than men (Branyon, 2005; Tuwor & Sossou, 2008, cited in Bettmann et al., 2013, p. 65). Family labour starts earlier and is more intense for women than men. As women age, this responsibility does not diminish. By way of example, grandmothers have an important role in childcare.[27] One respondent claimed, "When the ladies are old, they become babysitters" (LS1). Moreover, they continue to be tasked with fetching firewood, fetching water, and maintaining the home (LS1).

The understanding that women are family caretakers is as engrained in social imaginings as the understanding that men are not. In one interview (L5), a woman was watching the children of two other women fetching firewood. My question about husbands watching over children surprised her:

> Interviewer: [19:00] Do the husbands ever watch the kids when women go get firewood?
> Respondent: [19:20] Only women! Only women. Men can't do that.

This excerpt demonstrates how gender norms in the household are adhered to through socialized family responsibilities that associate "womanhood" to "caretaker." "Manhood" is excluded from this realm of family-oriented work.

[27] This is in line with findings from other Maasai communities in Kenya (Swadener, 2000, p. 49, 54).

Our third codified kind of gendered labour, sexual labour, encompasses the various sexual expectations placed on women. These include women's "biological" childbearing responsibilities, often decided and enforced by masculine forces, and women's expected role as the sexual pleasure provider of their husbands. As Pateman (1988) states, "contemporary feminists point out that the marriage contract, unlike other valid contracts, requires that one party gives up the right to self-protection and bodily integrity" (p. 163). Although many but not all women desire children, they may not always control when they have children, how many children they have, and under what circumstances. Moreover, women may not always be able to control when they engage in sexual relations, how often, and under what circumstances. For illustration purposes, a study in Kenya found that about 30% of Kenyan women could not refuse sex in marriage (Chai, 2017, p. 79). Since numbers were slightly better for women with higher household wealth and higher levels of education (Chai, 2017, p. 80), this suggests that socio-political factors have a role to play in women controlling their bodies.

Institutions beyond marriage reinforce sexual labour expectations of women. The Kenyan state has legal mechanisms regulating sexuality and sexual behaviour in homes (Levine, 2007; Musila, 2009). Notably, the Kenyan state does not criminalize marital rape (Kung'u, 2011), which means husbands have legal grounds for sexual domination. State legislation has the potential to play a significant role in challenging this logic. Interviewees reported that female circumcision is becoming less practiced because it is outlawed in the Kenyan constitution and not celebrated in schools (L6), which reduces the frequency at which husbands demand it, women desire it (L1), and the frequency at which women celebrate it as a "rite to womanhood" (S2). This offers insight into potential policy implications, namely that state-led regulation impacts social imaginings of the acceptable.

Beyond marriage and state institutions, customary norms also reinforce women's sexual subjugation to their husbands. As Kabiru (2017) explains, "socio-cultural norms regarding sexuality play an important role in controlling sexual behaviour" (p. 1023). One woman explained that husbands "want you to get as many (kids) as possible" because it is a source of wealth in terms of labour and eventual employment which helps the parents (L5).

Expectations for women's sexual labour can have implications for spheres beyond the home. For education, for example, women's youth pregnancy, early marriage (AL2), and sexual assault lead to higher dropout rates for girls (Stromquist, 1990, p. 139; Warrington, 2011, p. 305). Therefore, a husband's control over their wives' body is only one kind of masculine control over women's bodies. This draws attention to larger patriarchal structures that exist beyond the individual.

In stating all of the above, one must not lose sight of how women—and men—can and do defy these trends. Women can engage in subversive practices that challenge sexual subjugation. In one interview, a woman explained that there was access to birth control in her community, but accessing it had to be done in secret without the husband knowing in order to avoid conflict (L5). This implies that women have access to information to assert their bodily autonomy, in whatever capacity they might have. Young Samburu men were adamant about the benefits of women's empowerment beyond their secondary effects on men and/or community wellbeing. One man of about 40 suggested he was supportive of his wife making decisions in the household (L4), which, in his opinion, marked a shift from the opinion of his father (L4).[28] This is an indication that "womanhood" is not a stagnant term, and "manhood" may also be shifting.

[28] This was the same man, however, who voiced his opinion about men's "brainpower" work being arguably more valuable than women's physically arduous work (L4).

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate how the construction of "womanhood" is closely tied to marriage, which relates to feminized labour responsibilities in the home sphere. Additionally, domestic work, family duties, caretaking, motherhood, and sexual duties are all intimately linked to "womanhood." Of course, the archetype drawn in this chapter is a baseline, but not the final marker for how gender norms are or can be understood. Interviews about "womanhood," motherhood, and the feminization of family responsibility tie into discussions of how gender norms have been imagined and are being reimagined.

In the following chapters, we examine how gender relations and constructions of "womanhood" are shifting with socio-political changes. Women's groups engaged in income earning (L5, AL2, L17) and land-owning (AL2, L17) activities, and a rise in women's education (I5, L5, L8, L13, L16, L17, L21) have implications for how "womanhood" is understood by locals in Samburu and Laikipia. Although marriage continues to exist as described above for Maa-speaking pastoralists, women's groups' activities may lead to more husband-wife disputes about income control and decision-making in the home. This appears to have both empowering and disempowering effects for women. Additionally, according to interviews, it is undeniable that time use is still gendered in labour activities. However, even if girls have more caretaking responsibilities once they arrive home from school, formalized education is disrupting day-to-day schedules. With increased levels of education comes increased decision-making at the community level, which has implications for what "womanhood" signifies. Taken together, these factors have the potential to reveal the patriarchal logic of gendered labour responsibilities that were and continue to be naturalized. Of course, challenging such logics may be easier said than done, as gender norms are engrained in everyday truths. Domestic, family, and sexual responsibilities are all linked to "womanhood," but in shifting capacities that merit further attention.

CHAPTER 2:

WOMEN'S GROUPS & GENDERED LABOUR

QUESTION: What is the role of women's groups in shifting feminized labour expectations associated with the construction of "womanhood"?

Women's groups are increasingly challenging traditions of male-dominated income earning and land-owning in Central Kenya (Odoul, 2018, p. 199). Although interviews in both Laikipia and Samburu suggest that the construction of "womanhood" often continues to fall in line with traditional understandings of feminized labour responsibilities in the household sphere (Chapter 1), findings also suggest that women's groups are challenging the patriarchal logic underpinning some of these feminized labour assumptions. What is the role of women's groups in constructing "womanhood"? The terrain for examining the simplified dichotomy between contestation and naturalization of patriarchal assumptions is uneven, and messy. Yet, findings suggest women's groups both challenge and reinforce gendered labour expectations associated with "womanhood."

More specifically, women's groups in Samburu and Laikipia, Kenya appear to be *challenging* traditional constructions of "womanhood" through a push towards income earning activities, and a push towards women's land ownership. These both translate to increased decision-making in the home with regards to traditionally "men's" spheres of influence, and to some degree, an increased voice in community decisions thanks to increased public participation. This disrupts expectations associated with conceptions of woman as home-bound mothers, and therefore denaturalize gendered labour responsibilities in some respects.

Increased household decision-making and increased voice in community decisions are telling factors in shifting gendered labour responsibilities for two primary reasons. Firstly, these two factors suggest a relative malleability in gender norms, as they challenge the construction of "sole decision-maker" as "man." Women participating in traditionally male spheres of responsibility disrupt strict gender binaries, which has the potential to disrupt gendered labour expectations. One exceptional example of this is how men in Northern Kenya are taking on childcare responsibilities because women's groups have encouraged women's income earning (Coppock, 2013, p. 103). Although this is a unique case study example, it demonstrates how gender norm malleability can lead to labour sharing in the home.

Secondly, these factors—women's increased decision-making and community participation—challenge the naturalization of men's intellect as superior to women's intellect. Questioning gendered intellect is an important step in the process of questioning gendered labour divides. Traditionally speaking, conceptions of men's "superior" decision-making abilities facilitate a separation of labour which privileges masculinity in household and community leadership roles. Women's cooperatives engaged farming, soap making, and other activities not traditionally practiced by pastoralists demonstrate the innovative ability of women's groups and

women's participation in community advancement (L22). In rural Kenya, droughts are becoming longer and communities becoming more sedentary (Swadener, 2000; Mule, 2008; Mutegi et al., 2017). Women-led income earning ventures provide new livelihood strategies and resources to communities, which encourages eventual acceptance of women's groups as a force in civil society (Field Notes, May 13, 2019).

It would be misleading, of course, to suggest that women's groups are doing nothing to reinforce their gendered—and arguably subordinated—labour positions within homes. Questions about the role of women's groups in constructing "womanhood" are so daunting precisely because women's groups do not act as one unified voice against patriarchal structures. In terms of domestic, family, and sexual labour responsibilities, women's groups in Samburu and Laikipia, Kenya actually appear to be *reinforcing* traditional constructions of "womanhood" in some ways. Namely, these include adding extra responsibilities to women's domestic workloads, reinforcing the "motherhood" role of women by framing efforts as necessary for "taking care of the family," and not outwardly standing up against the frequency of domestic abuse. In many ways, this reifies the "womanly" expectations associated with both feminized labour responsibilities and marriage arrangements. Although women's groups may expand visions of women's roles in society, then, they may not be overwhelmingly successful in overtaking constructions of "womanhood" which lead to their subordination. Regardless of these limitations, this chapter considers women's increased decision-making and community participation as elements that shape labour expectations.

The rest of this chapter is as follows. A brief historical background of women's groups in Kenya provides context for readers before detailing the specific women's groups considered in this chapter. Research findings discuss how women's groups both challenge and reinforce

constructions of "womanhood." Limitations are put into perspective considering the tremendous potential of land-owning and income earning groups to shift gendered labour responsibilities.

Women's groups are not a recent phenomenon in Kenya (Thomas, 1988, p. 402; Stamp, 1986, p. 28; Feldman, 1983, p. 67). Oduol highlights how a "gender-based ideology of oppression" was institutionalized through various avenues over time, "including the legal system, educational and religious institutions, and customary belief and practice," which necessitated women's self-help groups as coping mechanisms (p. 192). For Kenyan pastoralists, women's organizing was often a response to male domination in decision-making (Oduol, 2018, p. 192). Due to these reasons and others, Patricia Stamp describes women's groups in Kenya as "the source of the most radical consciousness to be found in the countryside" (Odoul, 2018, p. 147). As sites of political agency, women's groups have been able to challenge male-dominated resource ownership, for example. They are "considered an example of women's resistance to their dual exploitation based on gender and class" since most women's groups are from rural, low-income areas (Stamp, 1986, p. 28).

The majority of women's groups in Kenya can be characterized as largely informal and voluntary groups participating in welfare-oriented projects to achieve common goals (Odoul, 2018, p. 197). They tend to organize along three lines, including welfare groups which provide "moral and material support to members," self-help groups which work together to achieve community projects, and income-generating groups which reduce women's collective dependence on their male counterparts (Odoul, 2008, p. 199). This chapter focuses on formal women's groups, grassroots organizing groups, and individuals without suggesting certainty about the differences between them, considering the limited sampling of interviews.

The women's groups considered in this case study include "Twala" in Il Polei, Laikipia,

"Osugoroi" in Chumvi, Laikipia, "Naserian" in Samburu, and informal income earning groups participating in beadwork initiatives [*see appendix E for a detailed description of the women's groups considered*]. This essay focuses particularly on these income-generating women's groups because they challenge a number of gender norms with regards to financial decision-making. These groups were formed in various ways, all of them stemming from a need to organize together for women's and community empowerment.

Twala, which means, "bell," is the most well-established land-owning women's group in Samburu, Kenya. In an informal interview, their founder provided insight into their long struggle to secure land rights, which involved convincing male elders of the community that all would benefit from women owning land (AL2). After 40 women finally secured rights to a land plot, the outcomes far surpassed expectations of elders (AL2). Twala's organizational structure now consists of 152 members who meet multiple times per year to make decisions about how to re-invest income earned from various projects. Twala sells vegetables, aloe, and honey, and organizes jewellery-making initiatives. These pursuits offer innovative solutions to land and income scarcity in and around Twala. It is the only known women's group in the area that also has a tourism venture, offering guests cultural stays in traditional *manyatta*[29] homes.

The Osugoroi women's group in Laikipia County took a similar approach to securing land rights after hearing about Twala's success (L22). In 2013, "a group of 14 women came together and decided they needed economic alternatives to cattle sales" (Field Notes, May 13, 2019). Osugoroi, which means "aloe," began with 14 members and now has about 40 members who tend to the land on a rotating basis (L22). Their land plot is located on a hill in the dry town of Chumvi, which means "salt" in the Maa language. During a field visit to this area, three

[29] A "manyatta" is a traditional Maasai or Samburu settlement characterized by a fence surrounding various "bomas" or living structures.

women from the group explained how their farming initiative is the first of its kind, as traditionally, Maa-speaking pastoralists do not grow crops. One woman revealed an irrigation system the women's group installed to overcome the area's lack of rainfall. The Osugoroi land plot has an active bee-keeping initiative, which serves to provide honey to sell in markets (L22). Finally, the Osugoroi women's group engages in jewellery projects, and is currently building cultural *manyattas* to replicate Twala's tourism venture.

Naserian, in Samburu County, is a women's group with 32 members currently trying to secure land rights, as the community is subdividing their land into private plots (I2). Two of the members are male (LS1). As one woman explained, having men on the board facilitates group acceptance in the community (LS1). Another added that this is a strategic choice to facilitate access to land in the community's subdivision process (LS1). This group is primarily invested in farming and jewellery making.

In addition to these three formalized women's groups, findings in this chapter draw from interviews conducted with informal income earning groups. Two of them, located near Archer's Post in Northern Kenya, make jewellery products for *Beadworks*, a Northern Rangeland Trust [30] initiative which seeks to empower women through handicrafts. This chapter reflects on interviews conducted with the production manager of *Beadworks* (L17) as well as women involved in making jewellery for them (L23). Findings also engage with interviewees who organize to raise money through revolving loan systems to support other women in their communities when there is need (L5). Although in one community there was no specific women's group, Collin's Farm was a meeting space where women could congregate to make

[30] The Northern Rangelands Trust is a community conservation project which supports 39 community conservancies in Northern Kenya for livelihood strategies focused on sustainable economies.

jewellery and sell beads (L3). These groups are less structured and do not own land but carve a space for women's concerns regardless.

CHALLENGING TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "WOMANHOOD"

Income control and land ownership result in increased decision-making, which has implications for domestic, family, and sexual labour. Women's groups engaged in these activities challenge gendered labour divides in the home sphere by questioning gendered binaries. Income control is a gendered realm. As stated above, in Maa-speaking Samburu and Maasai culture, the household head is indisputably the husband (L5). Male decision-making responsibilities include controlling income from cattle sales, disciplining children and wives, and "overseeing that work is completed" (L2). When it comes to household economics, the husband traditionally allocates a certain amount of money for the wife:

> Interviewer: [4:30] How do men and women spend money differently?
> Respondent: The only time they (women) get some cash is mostly when the male gender, the father for the children, sell the cattle and all that, the livestock. Now, it is him to give some share to the lady to buy food and all that, the household utensils and all that.
> Interviewer: Is the woman ever given money to spend on herself?
> Respondent: Yeah. They can buy clothing and food for their children. (L3)

When the wife uses money in ways not approved by the husband, there can be household tension, which leads to "discipline" (L2). In the words of one middle-aged man, "If she can't use that money in the right way, there must be a conflict" (L2).

Women's groups provide a challenge to this logic through communal income earning. Unlike other sources of income stemming from traditional pastoralist activities like livestock sales, in which men dominate decision-making about money, women fully control income they make from these joint ventures (L3). One interviewee suggested that making money was the "easiest way to bring them [women] up" because "it has an immediate effect" (LS1). This is

because it reconfigures household relations by giving women autonomy in how income is used. Income earning is achieved through various activities, including by selling beadwork, or participating in undertakings such as honey making or farming:

> Respondent: [2:40] The mothers are there, selling those beads, jewellery, to get money.
> Interviewer: Is that income that they control? In the other interview we learned men control, so do women control that income?
> Respondent: Yes, it them who control that. For livestock money and all that, it is the male gender who controls that. But when selling beads, it is the ladies who do the control. (L3)

This challenges traditionally men-dominated decision-making about family income, demonstrating that women are capable of earning income, and therefore not "naturally" bound to the home sphere. This shifts domestic labour responsibilities associated with "womanhood," as women are now taking on jobs associated with "manhood." In some ways, this could be said to challenge family labour responsibilities associated with "womanhood" too, as women earning income shift their position vis-à-vis the family unit with increased household decision-making capacity that comes with income control.

Land ownership has "even more revolutionary" impacts than income control (Odoul, 2018, p. 199). Rather than just "coping with their traditional status," women engaged in land ownership are moving to challenge it (Odoul, 2018, p. 190). As Cooper (2012) states, "owning assets may give women additional bargaining power" not just in the home, but also in the community and other public arenas (p. 642). Land ownership goes beyond income earning because it represents physical resource ownership. This is especially relevant for pastoralists, as land control is arguably more valuable than monetary income (Galaty, 2016, p. 2).

As described previously, Twala, in Il Polei, Laikipia, is one of the most striking examples of a women's group engaging in land-owning as a means of achieving their objectives.

The founder of Twala explained that "After meetings of asking, one of the elders said, 'Fine—we'll give it [land] to them and then they'll fight and gossip and their project will fall apart'" (AL2). Quite to the contrary, with access to land, women began organizing income earning projects, such as growing aloe vera, organizing beadwork groups to sell jewellery, making honey, and building cultural *manyattas* for tourists to visit (AL2). Tending to land at Twala gives women a place to be engaged in projects outside of the domestic space.

The Osugoroi women's group in Chumvi, Laikipia exemplifies how rural, non-formally educated women have the intellect to engage in buying and saving projects. They started with a buy-in system, every woman contributing the same amount of 200 shillings ($2 USD) on a steady basis to purchase land (L22). According to one interviewee, in just six months, 40 women were able to re-pay the entirety of the property value of 1,000,000 shillings ($10,000 USD) through monthly instalments. In rural Kenya, this represents a significant sum of money, and such calculated saving merits applause, especially considering limited income sources, and above all considering women's structural barriers to attaining access to those limited income sources. In this case, women earned income through petty commodity sales (L6), such as by selling sugar (L5), as well as by selling vegetables to neighbours (L9). Once land was communally owned, the Osugoroi women could explore new livelihood options beyond pastoralism (L22).

Owning land shifts gender dynamics in the household because when women's groups are able to secure land rights, they challenge male ownership of resources (Harari, 2019, p. 191), a main tenet of pastoralist social organization. The chairwoman of the Naserian women's group in Samburu said that her women's group is able to farm, which provides food for families and

income for school fees (LS1). When men see the success of these projects, they may "respect" women more in the household (L4).

Income control and land ownership shift traditionally gendered decision-making. This alters gendered labour responsibilities because it demonstrates that women can engage in controlling income, a traditionally male responsibility:

> Interviewer: If the woman comes home with income, does she have more of a say in what happens with the money of the household?
> Respondent: [10:25] Yeah, it is them who make decisions on that money. It is for them. So no interference (L3).

In Chapter 1, we discussed how women's work is devalued as idle even when physically arduous (L4). Women's increased engagement in decision-making reveals that women's intellect is comparable to that of men.

Time use also shifts with income control. When women control income, they have greater voice in how they engage in labour duties at home. For example, women with income are able to pay others to help with jobs that fall in the category of feminized labour, such as house building (L3):

> Respondent: If she has an income, probably something like some cash, she can get somebody to help her [11:11] like paying that person to build. But at the same time, when she has nothing, she can as well continue with her work constructing alone. (L3)

This excerpt provides information about how women empowered through income earning in women's groups can potentially engage in re-organizing their schedules. Controlling one's schedule is empowering in its own right.

Although many jobs continue to be feminized regardless of income level, such as firewood collection (L4, L5, L6, S4) water collection (L4, L5), childcare (L4, S4), and house building (L1), some outlier women's groups in Northern Kenya have been particularly

successful in shifting feminized household activities to men (Coppock, 2013, p. 103). In particular, in one region men are increasingly taking care of children as women become primary income earners (Coppock, 2013, p. 103). It goes without saying that this is significant. Moreover, since women's groups have vast networks for information dissemination (Mutua-Kombo, 2001, p. 193), these developments in Northern Kenya may eventually transpire in Laikipia and Samburu (L14).

Moving beyond income earning, community decision-making may also be on the rise for women in women's groups, as increased decision-making capacity due to income earning and land-owning leads increased participation in community meetings. As one interviewee noted, income earning activities can have significant "social changes" in the community by increasing women's voice in community politics (AL2). When women's groups own land, they have more reason to be included in community decision-making about land (Field Notes, May 16, 2019), and therefore attend community meetings (AL2), become leaders in the community (L5, L8), and collectively use their voices to demand changes in community governance.

Twala's chairwoman painted a radical picture of gender-empowerment in a short period of time. According to her, in the past, men made all community decisions concerning income and land sales, which means men also owned the land the women worked on, as well as benefitted from the unpaid products of their labour (Harari, 2019, p. 199). The chairwoman explained that in 2007, she was the only woman attending community meetings, and being spoken over (AL2). Since she was not allowed to speak to the male participants directly, she had to whisper her message to an intermediary man, who then relayed her message to the other men (AL2). A tremendous shift occurred between then and 2009, when half of the women from Twala were attending and speaking at community meetings, without intermediaries. Land

ownership, which occurred between these years, increased women's confidence in their own decision-making abilities. Additionally, Twala's success improved the perceived role of women in decision-making spaces.

Interviewees from other groups also suggested that women attend and speak more freely in meetings today "than in the past" (I1, L5, L9):

> Interviewer: [55:58] If women in the community came together to say "this is wrong," what would happen?
> Respondent: They can as well be heard. Their views can be heard when they come together. That is already unity. They can be strong together. They can even decide to say, "let's do this important thing" in the community and they all prepare to do it strongly together. (L5)

There continue to be gender norms imbedded in community decision-making bodies, but increased participation may translate to increased voice. Today, women "do" participate more compared to "the past" in which women "couldn't even step" into "meetings" or "be heard" (L5). This is true for women in women's groups but also opens political possibilities for those who are not formally involved in women's groups.

The relevance of community participation for gendered labour expectations within the home are multiple. Instead of being bound to the domestic sphere for all hours of the day, women are increasingly attending meetings. Their labour in the private sphere now expands to the public sphere, which marks a de-normalization of the public as masculine and the private as feminine. Once in community meetings, women have the potential to demand change from community decision-makers about their collective time constraints due to gendered labour expectations. There is limited evidence indicating that this is happening, but at least the possibility exists.

REINFORCING TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "WOMANHOOD"

Although it is important to be celebrative of the strides achieved by women's groups for gender equality, "dominant patriarchal structures" (Oduol, 2018, p. 189) continue to exist, and interact with how women's groups function. There are limitations to women's groups challenging traditional constructions of "womanhood." Generally speaking, men continue to be in charge of household decisions, and women are expected to be mothers who fulfill unpaid domestic labour responsibilities. Despite notable advances in challenging the income earning and land-owning spheres of influence associated with "manhood," income earning women's groups in rural Samburu and Laikipia are not overturning definitions of "womanhood" related to domestic, family, and sexual responsibilities. The following outlines the limitations of women's groups with regards to these three categorizations of feminized labour.

In terms of domestic labour, women's paid income earning does not necessarily decrease women's traditionally assigned domestic labour responsibilities, or the time this labour requires (L24). In terms of time, then, income earning responsibilities could be said to add work to women's days without necessarily leading to equitable sharing of domestic responsibilities in the home sphere (L22, LS1). In fact, already-existing gendered time inequalities between men and women may be exacerbated by increased expectations for women to participate in income earning through a process called "time-stretching." Three Samburu women from the Osugoroi women's group said their husbands were supportive of the income they made because it benefitted the family (L22). However, when asked if this meant they had fewer domestic responsibilities, or if it meant their husbands spent more time participating in other chores while they were at women's group meetings, one replied, "No, this just means we sleep less!" (L22). One member of the Naserian women's group reiterated this:

> Interviewer: So before, you talked about how women have to take care of the goats, take care of the sheep, fetch firewood, take care of the children… and now

> they have this extra project. So, does that mean that the responsibilities at home are now shared? Or is it just an extra responsibility?
> Translator: She says their responsibilities do not change. They work throughout the week… they do all the activities for farming, fetching firewood… (LS1)

In short, women's income empowerment does not necessarily lead to men taking on women's domestic duties in the home sphere (L24). In the Kenyan context, "women are expected to spend their earnings on household expenditures, which were hitherto responsibilities of men, thereby contributing to the feminization of responsibilities" (Bikketi et al., 2016, p.1432). The domestic home space continues to be associated with women's unpaid domestic labour.

Gender norms are "sticky," and constructions of feminine and masculine activities are durable despite women's income earning. The following two interview excerpts highlight the durability of two feminized responsibilities, namely house building and family caretaking:

> Interviewer: With the gender roles, can they share work? So, if a house has to be built, do they both do that? [10:18]
> Respondent: They can't construct. They can't. Like the male gender cannot. It is only women who does that. (L1)
> …
> Interviewer: [19:00] Do the husbands ever watch the children when women go get firewood?
> Respondent: [19:20] *Laughter.* Only women! Only women. Men can't do that. (L5)

These excerpts highlight the permanence certain work being associated with certain genders because "that's the way it's always been" (L4, L3). Even when women earn income, expectations for gendered divisions of labour are adhered to, resulting in a "double burden" (or a triple burden if we discuss sexual responsibilities)[31] for women tasked with income earning and continued domestic, family, and sexual responsibilities.

[31] This has been called the "double shift" by scholars such as Degraff & Centanni (2017, p. 305) in the context of the United States, or the "double-bind" by scholars such as Srivastava & Sagrario Floro (2017, p. 194) in the context of South Africa. Scholars such as Srivastava explore the gendered dimensions of being "time-squeezed" (2017, p. 194).

This is closely related to social imaginings that situate men as the primary decision-makers in homes. Multiple women suggested that even if they were earning income, they had to continue calling their husband "the household head" to avoid household conflict (L23). In one case near Archer's Post, women participating in the Northern Rangeland Trust's *Beadworks* initiative became the primary income earners (L23). Still, one explained she had to "pretend" her voice was second in the line-of-command at home, despite her husband not earning income, because this would "hurt his ego" and "make things unstable" (L23). This implies that even the reversal of primary breadwinner does not undo conceptions of mother as family caretaker and father as provider (L23).

When women's groups frame income-earning efforts as beneficial for the family, this reinforces the equating of "womanhood" with motherhood, even if these strategic choices are intended to lead to women's empowerment. Women's groups may not be challenging conceptions of women's identities as tied to their role in family labour. Throughout interviews, neither men nor women questioned the role of women as mothers. As one woman explained, the men are "okay" with women making income because women help raise school fees, which is beneficial for households (L5). As another explained, men eventually came around to supporting a women's group owning land, but only because the vegetables they grew were nutritionally beneficial when brought home (LS1).

This line of argumentation – supporting women's empowerment for the end goal of family and community betterment – was common. In many ways, men's support for women's income earning or land-owning was for the betterment of families and societies, and not necessarily as an end goal to women's empowerment in and of itself. Of course, it may be a

necessary way of framing goals to meet objectives. Strategic, subversive choices can appeal to some aspects of gender relations without appealing to all.

There can be unforeseen backlash resulting from women's economic and decision-making empowerment. One might suppose that women's participation in a local women's group might result in lower likelihoods for domestic violence in the household, due to husband's increased respect for income earning capacities. However, the inverse seemed to be true in the communities visited. Women may be beaten more today in some cases, than in the past, because they are less "obedient":

> Interviewer: [34:34] So why is there more wife beating?
> Respondent: [35:00] The women are so annoying. They are knowledgeable, so they know a lot, so they become rude, so they are bitter now. Nowadays compared to the past that they were not educated, not knowledgeable, so they used to be humble compared to the current world. (L8)

The above excerpt highlights how women's income empowerment is shifting household relations, demonstrated by more "bitterness," and less "humbleness" on the part of women in this community. However, violence may increase as a result of women's increased income earning capacity, at least when it is comparatively higher than her male partner's.

This can be attributed to a "crisis of masculinity," a term borrowed from Amuyunzu-Nyamongo (2006), who points to how male disempowerment, economically or otherwise, may lead to women's vulnerability (p. 10). Interviewees in Samburu discussed that educational and economic empowerment of women led to increased beatings in the home because men were challenged and felt they had to assert their dominance (L9). Although we can celebrate the fact that women are the primary income earners near Archer's Post, Kenya because of a successful jewellery initiative (L23) these underlying power dynamics in the home reinforce the construction of "woman" as the weaker gender.

This is not to suggest that participation in income earning or land-owning women's groups automatically leads to more domestic violence. As Hillard (2016) found, a land a property rights program in Western Kenya reduced sexual violence against women (p. 1696). Some studies have found that property ownership reduces violence against women because of increases in empowerment measures "including self-confidence, autonomy in decision-making, and larger social networks" (Hillard, 2016, p. 1684). As discussed by one male, women in educated households who participate in women's groups have more "power" to refuse orders by their husbands today than in the past (L8). Also, formalized education may be an important factor in reducing threats to women's bodily autonomy. An elderly woman echoed that beatings are more frequent now than before, but only in uneducated households (L9). One man suggested that educated husbands beat their wives less frequently because the men are going to school and becoming more tolerant of women's growing "power" (L8).

However, beatings[32] were spoken of so frequently in rural communities, by both men and women, that interviewees gave the impression it was rarer for a man not to occasionally beat his wife than the reverse (L3, L6, L8). Beatings occurred for many reasons, including for "disobedience" in the home (L8), using money "contrary to the man's wishes" (L2), and losing livestock (L3). In many interviews, women accepted their domestic responsibilities because otherwise, they would be beaten (L3). For similar reasons, members of Kenyan women's groups may be reticent to outwardly challenge men's sexual dominance in homes (Feldman, 1983, p. 69).

Women's sexual labour and bodily autonomy extends beyond domestic violence. Husbands continue to have a role in the sexual reproductive decisions of their wives (AL2). As

[32] This phenomenon is not unique to rural Kenya. As Hindin (2013) found, "About half of the women in Benin, Cameroon, Kenya and Mozambique found wife beating acceptable in at least some circumstances" (p. 1490).

Pateman would argue, this is because the marriage contract delegitimizes women's claims to their bodily autonomy in marriage (1988, p. 165). There are, however, women's groups engaged in efforts to reduce the number of children expected, such as members in Twala (AL2). This suggests that these claims may best be tested on a case-by-case basis.

We can summarize the limitations of women's groups in challenging gender relations through domestic, family, and sexual labour responsibilities. Although income earning provides increased decision-making power for women in the household (LS1, l3, l5), men continue to be constructed as the household heads in the first position of power (L5, L8, L9, L23). In terms of domestic labour, women continue to be tasked with feminized responsibilities such as collecting firewood and fetching water (L1, L4, L5, L6, S4) without re-equilibrating domestic duties even when women are engaged in income earning through women's groups (L22, L23). Although earlier reflections suggest that women's groups can provide a challenge to patriarchal decision-making logic, it appears that they can equally reinforce gendered economics. In terms of family labour, "womanhood" continues to be closely related and even synonymous to motherhood (Ferguson, 1997), even when women's groups engage in traditionally masculine income earning activities. In terms of sexual labour, women's biological reproductive duties continue to be taken as natural and expected aspects of "womanhood." Finally, in terms of bodily autonomy, income earning and land-owning groups face challenges in contesting women's sexual subordination within the home (L8, L9), at least until these groups are well established and respected by male community members (LS1).

These limitations must be put into context. Women's increased decision-making demonstrates a key turning point in re-conceptualizing women's collective place in communities as active participants instead of passive subordinates. It is without a doubt that women's groups

are a force to be reckoned with in rural Kenya and have played a significant role in empowering women (Odoul, 2018, p. 147). By challenging expected gendered behaviour through income earning and land-owning, women's groups demystify a stark gender binary created and reinforced by those who adhere to it. By taking on masculine gender roles as household and community decision-makers, women's groups question gender roles. This carves the way to challenging time use differentials associated with gendered labour, as well as the systemic factors that dictate gendered labour divides in the first place.

This thesis does not want to suggest that ridding Kenyan society of gendered labour responsibilities is the end goal or even desirable, as there are often practical and cultural reasons why men perform some kinds of labour and women others. The problem is that patriarchal assumptions value men's responsibilities more, both socially and economically speaking, and invisibilize the importance of feminized domestic, family, and sexual labour. Despite shortcomings, women's groups do appear to be playing an important role in denaturalizing gendered labour expectations through increased decision-making.[33]

There are important takeaways from this research. Firstly, the sociological construction of "womanhood" is not stagnant. This is evidenced by the rise of women's groups who are challenging traditional conceptions of "womanhood" in some ways and not in others, which demonstrates the "stickiness" of gendered labour norms and the uneven terrain on which they shift. Secondly, idea sharing between groups of women is important for cross-community learning. This is evidenced by the Osugoroi women's group trying to replicate the Twala project's success (L22). Thirdly, while some groups may begin activities such as informal

[33] It bears mentioning that women's increased community decision-making ability is not only due to women's groups. Women's education (LS2, L5) may also play an important role. Additionally, women's increased participation in community meetings is being enforced by the Kenyan state's affirmative action legislation requiring at least 1/3 of all sitting members to be female (Kaimenyi et al., 2013, p. 91).

welfare-oriented projects, these initiatives can lead to land-owning pursuits. In the case of Twala, empowerment from community decision-making has allowed for the creation of funds to take girls out of youth marriage arrangements (AL2). This suggests that women's groups do have the capacity to broaden their challenges to conceptions of "womanhood" with time, potentially expanding their political voice in spaces beyond the community.

CHAPTER 3:

A RISE IN EDUCATION & GENDERED LABOUR

QUESTION: How does formalized education shift feminized labour expectations associated with "womanhood"?

This chapter seeks to explore how the Kenyan educational system is gendered and what its impacts are for household relations in Samburu and Laikipia Counties. By attempting to understand how hegemonic conceptions of gender roles run through the fabric of Kenya's educational apparatus, this chapter serves to contextualize the gendered assumptions of the Kenyan state. This is relevant to understanding education's role in gendered labour responsibilities in the home sphere for three reasons. Firstly, it allows us to better grasp how the gendered assumptions of Kenya's educational apparatus align or differ from pastoralist constructions of "womanhood." Gendered assumptions reinforced through education may reinforce or challenge gendered labour divides in the home. Secondly, it sheds light on the ways education shifts household organizational structures through time restructuring. This, again, has

impacts on gendered labour divides. Thirdly, formalized education, which crosses the public and private spheres, is a fitting way of investigating how gender relations are constructed and reconstructed at multiple scales of analysis. For the purposes of this chapter, the educational apparatus refers to any formalized schooling that is supported ideologically by the state, or, more specifically, the public education system and the policy regulating it.[34] To what extent is the Kenyan state shifting traditional constructions of "womanhood"—especially those related to feminized labour responsibilities—through its educational apparatus?

Findings suggest that the Kenyan state is deeply imbedded in the domestic sphere through an educational apparatus, which in some cases challenges traditional constructions of "womanhood" associated with gendered labour, and in others reinforces these constructions. This apparatus challenges these constructions by expanding educational access for women and empowering them with tools to earn income.[35] This can influence gender norms and household decision-making. However, I am wary of these advances, as the Kenyan educational apparatus reinforces political and economic structures that "underpin" women's vulnerability in the educational sphere and beyond, reinforcing patriarchal[36] gender relations in pastoralist homes. These include gendered divisions of labour reliant on gendered time inequalities and school fees, which both reinforce economic forces prioritizing masculinized, paid work. Therefore, Kenya's educational apparatus both confronts and encourages the archetype of "womanhood" defined in Chapter 1 in uneven ways. Increased formalized education appears to be shaping pastoralist household relations to reflect the socioeconomic interests of the Kenyan state, with contradictory

[34] This is with the understanding that educational policies are formulated and implemented by multiple actors with multiple agendas (Stromquist, 2008, p. 8).

[35] Beyond increased female enrolment in schools, the Kenyan state is taking girl-child protection more seriously by outlawing discriminatory practices, for example (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, 2006, p. 8).

[36] This chapter works with the definition of "patriarchy" given in the theoretical framework section.

impacts for women's positions in the home that cannot be said to be wholly empowering or disempowering. The economic order that prioritizes paid work, when naturalized, can subordinate women and accentuate class divides. Although education in the context of Kenya is a potentially emancipating force that can help women break out of existing patriarchal gender structures, being overly celebrative of it obscures gendered assumptions that are relevant to understanding gendered labour divides in homes.

There is a methodological gap in our understanding of how gendered labour and education are linked. Studies show that in Kenya, girls have lower grades (Hughes, 1989, p. 183), less academic participation (Shabaya, 2010, p. 414), and higher dropout rates (Bettmann, 2013, p. 78) than boys. Is this because of gendered labour divisions at school? Or is it that pre-existing gendered divisions of labour within the home lead to these results? Since it is difficult to establish causality, this chapter does not aim to answer these questions, yet there is value in conceiving of this relationship as bi-directional.

The outline of this chapter is as follows. Research findings discuss how the educational system is both challenging and reinforcing traditional constructions of "womanhood." We pay particular attention to the implications of school-related assumptions for labour responsibilities and time use within homes, followed by a reflection on these findings and their implications. This is followed by a discussion about how the Kenyan state accentuates gendered economics by asking for school fees and monetizing their educational apparatus. Finally, an overview of Kenya's education system defines important differences between policy and practice before concluding thoughts.

CHALLENGING TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "WOMANHOOD"

Kenya's educational apparatus encourages female enrolment in schools as part of a larger rhetoric of gender equality. Empowering women through education arguably makes them less dependent on their husband's wages and gives them more decision-making power in that regard.

On the whole, interviewees understood education as a necessary change for the Samburu and Maasai pastoralists. A father of four girls and one boy proudly told us about how all of his children were on route to university, the eldest of whom had already graduated (I3). He had high hopes that increased formal education would improve local infrastructural projects, including irrigation systems, as his community became more sedentary, privatized, and less nomadic (I3). Multiple parents noted that their children's education is beneficial for them because educated youth are more likely to find jobs, which can help parents (L1). One elder woman pointed to a vehicle outside her home and noted that if her son had not gone to school, she would not have access to a vehicle for faraway meetings (L9). Therefore, the general consensus was that formalized education was a positive change. Furthermore, both men and women interviewees in Samburu were overwhelmingly supportive of a rise in formalized education as a way of empowering women. This support was multi-generational, as both elders (L9, I3) and youth alike (L13) were adamant about the benefits of education for women's empowerment.

Interviewees proposed that higher female enrolment in school is shifting gender relations within the home, leading to higher levels of autonomy for women. Today, Samburu girls are allowed to go to school in Samburu West, which was not the case even in recent years (L1, L4, L8, L11, L13). One man suggested that since he was educated, he learned to respect his wife and her intelligence, which, in his opinion, differed from how his parents demonstrated oppressive

husband/submissive wife household gender relations (L4).[37] His words insinuate that male enrolment in schools is also relevant to consider when discussing women's autonomy.

Generational divides mark stark differences in opinion with regards to the role of women in education. In an interview with three men, one who was 85+ years old, one who was 40 years old, and one who was 22 years old, the 40-year old explained that opinions about women's education differed depending on the age of the person being asked (L4). According to the 85-year old, men who do not assert themselves in educational and home spaces "go against Samburu tradition" (L8). In separate interviews, both men and women reiterated this point of view (D1, L9). In contrast, the 40-year old man suggested that women's education was a necessary step forward in empowering women (L4). He believed education was an important factor in changing perceptions about dynamics between husbands and wives (L4). It is possible that his opinion differed from that of his father because he himself was educated.

Beyond generational divides, there is differentiation between educated and uneducated members of communities (Lesorogol, 2008, p. 551). Translators consistently made distinctions between "the educated" and "the uneducated" ways of seeing things (L13). Similarly, community members suggested that "learned" and "unlearned" youth had differences in opinion about marriage (I4), household responsibilities (L4), and relationships (ARD1). For example, one male teenager highlighted that the uneducated youth in his Samburu community tend to follow more traditional approaches to marriage, while educated youth tend to date and socialize with potential partners for a longer period of time before marrying (ARD1). Presumably, education plays a role in shifting gender relations even prior to marriage in terms of how young Samburu approach relationships.

[37] This being said, this interviewee equally suggested that husbands continue to look for "obedience" as a major quality when choosing their wives (L4), which points to limitations of educational teachings, in their current form, as a means of challenging patriarchal norms.

This educated versus uneducated divide introduces us to questions about moral high ground and reason. The following excerpt highlights some of the value-laden perceptions about educated versus uneducated community members:

> Respondent: They are getting that knowledge [about sharing responsibilities] from school. They [boy children] should assist their sisters. That is because they are learned, compared to unlearned ones who are arrogant and not getting that knowledge. They are learned compared to unlearned ones… They are learning to assist their sisters and their mothers at home, their parents. So now they are really assisting. Well, compared to past years and those who are not learned. (L1)

The constant differentiation in the excerpt above underlines how "learned" and "unlearned" have become social categories used to organize community opinions. Educated youth may place a higher moral value on educated adults, which leads to incoherence within the community (L1). In other words, "traditional" lessons from home might not count as education, yet "imported" lessons from formalized schooling distinguishes the "learned" from the "unlearned." One person even used "enlightenment" as a synonym for "educated" (L13). This has consequences for main tenets of pastoralist organization, including respecting elders:

> Respondent: Some parents are not learned, so when the children get that knowledge from school, they think that they are superior than even their parents because their parents are not learned. So they think they are superior and they are rude. (L8)

When children are educated and their parents are not, there is a level of "arrogance" on the part of the children (L8). Changing beliefs about what counts as "knowledge" is just the tipping point. Education may be re-conceptualizing the entire social organization of the family unit. Educated Maa-speakers are more likely to embrace the idea of a nuclear family than uneducated Maa-speakers, who are more likely to embrace traditional practices of polygamy (L13). Therefore, the educational apparatus is finding success in challenging not only traditional conceptions of "womanhood," but also of pastoralism, which has cultural implications.

One of the older women in a community told me that years ago, pastoralist men would never have considered themselves "feminists" (AL2), but it appears that today they are adopting this language. Whether or not all self-proclaimed feminists actually espouse the characteristics of feminists is another question entirely. Of the four men I spoke with who considered themselves "feminist," one of them actively condemned domestic violence (L15) while another suggested it was a necessary way of asserting manhood (L4). One suggested that men have "sexual needs" that "docile women" do not have, and thus the practice of polygamy should continue (L16). Another disagreed, responding that this was overly simplistic (L15). Such differences highlight the limits of generalizing categorizations such as "educated men" or "uneducated men," and the fluidity of "feminism(s)." Regardless of the diversity of opinion found within categories, however, it is without question that education has become a marker aligned with more "progressive" ideas (L16). This language may be due, in part, to the Kenya state's push towards women's education.

Kenya's educational apparatus plays a role in women's economic empowerment, as when women are educated, they are more likely to earn income (Hill, 1995). When women have control over their own incomes, decision-making in the home naturally shifts to reflect changing dynamics between wife and husband. In fact, as stated in Chapter 2, multiple interviewees suggested that women's increased capacity to earn income led to increased decision-making within the household. Additionally, increased participation in the labour market and women's income earning has the potential to encourage women to postpone marriage, as it reduces dependence on men's wages (Díez Minguela, 2010, p. 2). Finally, economic empowerment of women through education may lead to empowerment in other ways. For example, a few women suggested that income earning may increase a woman's negotiation power within the home

when they are married (L9). In fact, both men and women mentioned that women's income earning capabilities allowed women to be more assertive in the home space (L8, LS2).

In comparison with non-educated women, educated women may more easily empower themselves financially, controlling their own productive work (L17, L18). This marks a major shift in pastoralist household economics. It means that the traditional role of men as "provider" is being put into question with increased women's education, signifying a larger shift in gender norms. Increased female enrolment in schools shifts decision-making about money, which has the potential to shift time use schedules to varying degrees [*see page 57*], and disrupts feminized labour by expanding its definition.

REINFORCING TRADITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "WOMANHOOD"

Being critical of these advances is as important as recognizing them. Along with advances in challenging gendered labour norms, the educational apparatus reinforces traditional constructions of "womanhood" by invisibilizing women's unpaid home labour. Specifically, Kenya's educational apparatus reinforces gendered divisions of labour by disregarding differences in gendered labour responsibilities for boy children and girl children and time spent engaged in those responsibilities. This results in participation inequalities, grade differentials, differences in dropout rates, and different prospects for further education (Bettman, 2013; Jutis, 2003; Mule, 2008). Additionally, it may reinforce gendered economics. By not challenging traditional constructions of "womanhood" or gendered labour assumptions more directly, Kenya's educational apparatus plays a passive role in enforcing power dynamics involved in such constructions. Similarly, by neutralizing education as a guarantee for women's rights, the Kenyan state fails to comprehensively consider the repercussions of its educational system.

Time use becomes gendered from an early age. Kenya-specific studies have shown that female children take more time completing domestic duties than boy children, which is negatively related to school performance (Bettmann, 2013, p. 65). One interviewee said, "of course the boy child has more free time" (L13). Another added:

> Respondent (translated): Obviously the boys have more free time! Yeah. True. The ladies, they tirelessly work… The boy child, they have that free time. A lot of it, a lot of free time… their responsibilities are not as many as for the ladies, the girl child. (L1)

Onderi Justis (2003), from the University of Nairobi, studied the influence of domestic labour and home expectations on the performance of girl primary schoolchildren in Gucha District, Kenya. This study concluded that the time girls spent engaged in domestic labour impeded school performance and participation, negatively impacting their prospects for future education (Justis, 2003, p. vii).[38] Since girls are expected to partake in certain responsibilities at home, they are prevented from studying, resulting in lower scores and participation, and increased "punishment" by teachers. When girl children come back from school, they are expected to help with tasks such as cooking dinner, which gives them less time to study (AL2). Studying time is relevant for attaining good grades, and grades are important because entrance to university is based on grades (KCSE cited in Mule, 2008, p. 74). When girls arrive to school with their homework not fully finished, they face penalties, whereas the boy children "who do not cook or clean," may more easily finish their homework (AL2). One interviewee suggested that punishment may discourage girls from continuing their schooling (AL2).

In addition to domestic labour, formalized schooling does not take into account feminized expectations associated with family labour. In a qualitative study in Samburu region,

[38] This is reflected in other parts of East Africa as well. As Stromquist (1990) states, "It has been observed that parents assign girls more domestic responsibilities than they give to boys. In the case of poor households, girls represent important labour that the family cannot afford to forego by allowing them to go to school. Thus, even if schools are available and girls enroll, [there are] patterns of girls' poor attendance [and] dropping out (p. 148).

Bettmann et al. (2013) found that girl children are expected to help their mothers with child rearing responsibilities, such as taking care of younger siblings (p. 64). As Swadener (2000) describes, "the most common childcare arrangements for children under three" in Kenya "involve child minders, or *ayahs*, who are typically young girls themselves and who lack education" (p. 30). This suggests that beyond their own homes, young girls can be contracted out to help with other family labour, preventing them from accessing educational opportunities.

Family-related labour expectations influence the level of education attainable to women. Women are expected to start their own families at a younger age than men, which may deter investment in female education (Branyon, 2005; Tuwor & Sossou, 2008 cited in Bettmann et al., 2013, p. 65). As interviewees suggested, women's youth marriage was negatively associated with continued studies (AL2). This is reflected by Deble's (1980) study, which found that early marriage was partially at fault for higher dropout rates for girls in primary and secondary schools (Stromquist, 1990, p. 139). Shabaya (2010) had similar findings, suggesting that parents sometimes force girls into early marriage for bride price reasons (p. 420).

Sexual labour expectations are also relevant to consider when discussing formalized education, evidenced most clearly by the prevalence of sexual violence in school contexts. On three occasions during three months of fieldwork, I heard about girl children being subject to sexual harassment in schools by their teachers. Warrington (2011) interviewed 24 girls from four schools in Kajiado district, Kenya, and two-thirds of them discussed "harassment, violence or threats of violence from parents, teachers or male members of the community" without even being asked about it directly (Warrington, 2011, p. 305).[39] Ruto's (2009) study, which collected data from approximately 1500 students in Kenya, found that 58 of every 100 students had been

[39] Some of the girls cited that the threats of sexual violence may not emanate from school settings directly, but rather from the walk to and from school (Warrington, 2011, p. 306).

sexually harassed, with even higher percentages of boys than girls (29% versus 24%) forced into unwanted sex (p. 177). This suggests that boys are also vulnerable to constructions of masculinity based on sexual dominance (Barker, 2012, p. 138). Without a sex education curriculum, the Kenyan educational apparatus may not challenge these statistics from reoccurring.

Beyond sexual harassment, women's bodies are subject to sexualizing discourses that suggest "womanhood" and female reproduction are equivalent. In rural societies, reproductive expectations can lead to "restriction of mobility among girls" around the time of puberty "when their reproductive capacity begins" (Beneria, 1979, p. 206). One female interviewee explained that Maasai women are shunned, beaten, or divorced[40] if they cannot bear children (L19). An educated female translator clarified that this was regardless of the level of education (L21), although educated women perhaps had more choice in whom they married (L5) and when they had children (L21). Pregnancy may also provide disincentive for female education (L5). One woman in her mid-twenties explained that she could not finish high school because she was forced into a youth marriage in which she had two children (L19).[41] It therefore appears that a relationship exists between formalized education and bodily autonomy, though perhaps this linkage is not yet thoroughly studied.

Research in search of a relationship between education and domestic violence are mixed. Simister (2009) found that a higher level of women's education was correlated with less violence in the home (p. 247). Lawoko (2007) on the other hand, with a study sample of 3,696

[40] Divorce leaves women—with or without reproductive capabilities—without many options for livelihood strategies (L19). Women do not have land rights in many rural communities in Kenya since land is inherited by boy children (L14) and the majority of community land registers continue to exclude female names [*see page 40*].

[41] Leaving the violent marriage was worth the social stigma of divorce, so after divorcing her husband with the help of her family and community, she had to earn an income to send her children to school (L19). As a single mother, earning an income in her rural village in Samburu was difficult, so she moved to a city eight hours away to earn an income as a domestic worker. This implied leaving her children in her mother's care.

Kenyan women, found that "while high education among women reduced the risk of intimate partner violence exposure, both being employed and having a higher education/occupational status than her partner increased a woman's vulnerability to intimate partner violence" (p. 773). Put another way, educated women in Kenya may experience higher vulnerability to sexual violence depending on their comparative level of education to their husbands (Lawoko, 2007). These contradictory findings suggest that further research about the relationship between education and domestic violence would be beneficial.

Finally, 2omen's education is not always supported as an empowerment tool in and of itself, but rather for its benefits to the community (L8, L9). This is similar to findings from Chapter 2, when we learned that community members support women's groups for community benefit, and not for individual women's benefits. When women are educated, they may have easier access to economic resources, thus community members may support women's education as a means to achieve community needs. One parent noted the benefit of children bringing back ideas learned in school for the economic and service-related betterment of his community (I3). However, support for women's education does not necessarily translate to wholeheartedly supporting women demanding more rights in the home sphere (L8, L9). Although a group of older men did not outwardly condemn the fact that women were going to school (L4, L8, DL1), they lamented that increased education was making women less "obedient" or "respectful" in the household (L4, L8, DL1).

GENDERED ECONOMICS IN GENDERED INSTITUTIONS

It should be noted that schools are gendered institutions that transmit dominant gendered hierarchies (Robinson-Pant, 2004, p. 474). Beyond this, they are also economic institutions that reinforce these ideologies (Apple, 2017, p. 2). In addition to invisibilizing gendered divisions of

labour, which impose domestic, family, and sexual responsibilities on women, Kenya's educational apparatus reinforces gendered economics in the form of school fees.[42]

Various parents named school fees as a cost that strains family income (L5).[43] Mutegi et al. (2017) suggest that in the context of Kenya, the burden of educating children is born "disproportionately more by households than by governments" (p. 16696). Although technically primary education in Kenya is freely provided, 96% of the state budget goes towards paying teachers' salaries (Ackers, 2001, p. 363), which leaves other educational costs for communities. In fact, Kenyan parents pay an average of 65% of the cost of primary education (Ackers, 2001, p. 363 citing MoEHRD).

School fees imposed by the Kenyan state reinstitute the male household head as the masculinized breadwinner (Swadener, 2000, p. 17). This is especially in contexts where the majority of traditionally "women's work" within the home sphere continues to be unpaid and therefore, "unproductive." This is especially challenging for widowed mothers, who do not have male partners around to help with income earning activities for school fees (L1). In addition to cleaning, washing clothes, cooking, collecting firewood, collecting water, waking the children, making the clothing, washing dishes, clearing the homestead, and building houses, widowed mothers must earn income through activities like washing clothing for other homesteads (L1). When asked specific challenges for widows, a single parent of six said that paying school fees was the number one challenge (L1). Empowering girl children through education can have adverse impacts for parents, and especially single mothers.

[42] School fees associated with having children may be shifting the desire for high numbers of children (I2, L1, L2, S5, LS1).

[43] The financial burden of education is not only a hardship for parents (Swadener, 2000, p. 57), but contributes to the monetization of once primarily trade-based economies.

By demanding economic resources from families, Kenya's educational apparatus reinforces an economic order between husband and wife in which men's paid work is inherently more valuable than women's unpaid work.[44] Even in families with husband and wife, this further devalues women's place in the home in the case where women do not earn income. In her examination of household labour allocation in rural Kenya, Neitzert finds that "discriminatory labour conditions systematically reduce the market value of women's contributions" (1994, p. 401). Otherwise stated, even when women do earn income, the available employment options for women are more limited than those of men, and often-feminized jobs such as domestic work are poorly remunerated.

It bears mentioning the Kenyan state does not control the gendered way our current economy functions. Educating female children may not make as much economic sense for families as educating male children due to the "irrelevance of [women's] formal education to economic needs" (Stromquist, 1990, p. 139). In her study titled, "It makes more sense to educate a boy," Warrington (2011) identifies limiting factors that affect girls' access to formal education in Kajito, Kenya. Girl children move away from their parents when married, dis-incentivizing investment in their education (Shabaya & Konadu-Agyemang, 2004 cited in Bettmann, 2013, p. 65). Mutegi et al. (2017) found that fees for girls schooling can be higher than for boy children, as girls' school uniforms are on average 12% more costly than those of boys (p. 16698). This may also encourage families to educate boy children before educating girl children. Additionally, educating female children means losing more domestic labour in the household during school hours. (L5). With higher expectations for family duties, education is arguably not as important for the constructed responsibilities associated with a girl's family-centered future as

[44] Over half the girls interviewed in Warrington's study cited school fees as a barrier to school attendance (2011, p. 305).

for a boy's provider-role future. In short, female education represents a greater economic cost for families than male education (Jensen & Thornton, 2003 cited in Warrington, 2011, p. 305). This is independent of larger structural factors beyond Kenya's educational apparatus.

However, the Kenyan state is an ideological vehicle by which capitalist forces are prioritized (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008, p. 215). Oanda's (2008) book suggests that the increased privatization of universities in Kenya is evidence of how the Kenyan state's education system relies on neoliberal market logic (p. 4), in which private education accessible to few is of better quality than public education accessible to many. This has implications for gender, but perhaps more so for the intersection of gender and class dynamics within communities. As many interviewees noted, class divides dictate who can access education. At the community level, children are sent home if they do not have adequate school fees, which results in delaying education and accentuating class-based inequalities. At the Kenyan university level,[45] women are fewer than their male counterparts and "tend to belong disproportionately to middle and upper social classes" (Stromquist, 1990, p. 148). This exemplifies how the logic of gendered and class norms run through the educational apparatus on multiple levels, as higher-class women in Kenya are much more likely to pursue further education than lower class women (Mule, 2008, p. 71). The educational apparatus can (un)intentionally reinforce global economics and normalize socialization processes learned at home, perhaps especially so when these forces benefit the state's socio-political aims (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008, p. 215; Oanda, 2008, p. 4).

The empowerment of some women through formal education can result in the undervaluing of other women's work (L19). Otherwise stated, women's entrance into the

[45] Additionally, the number of women in traditionally male fields, such as law, medicine, engineering, and natural sciences, are transparently lower than men, especially when compared to home economics and teaching (Nungu, 1997, p. 20).

capitalist economy through formal employment relies on the devaluation of what is traditionally feminized work. By way of example, one female hotel manager with three children hired a woman from Samburu to do the domestic labour in her home. This Samburu woman was also responsible for childcare, cooking, laundry, and cleaning for an average of 16+ hours a day, at less than $3 per day (L19). This demonstrates how the educational apparatus indirectly reinforces global capitalist flows through class-based divisions of labour reliant on feminized labour.[46]

Focusing on the limitations of education serves to question the taken-for-granted assumptions that women's educational expansion is always necessarily positive. Although increased female enrolment in schools has the potential to deconstruct male dominated spaces, understanding the limitations of expansionary education provides insight into the ways formalized education is conducted and made possible.

There is a distinction between state's educational *policies* on gender and the *practice* of how those policies play out. Policy is related to tangible characteristics of school regulation by the state, including legal mechanisms, curriculum standards, and employment practices within schools. Some policies related to educational advancement encourage gender equality in the home sphere, such as laws forbidding gender violence in school spaces and encouraging access to public schooling for boys and girls (Stromquist, 2008, p. 9). Practice, on the other hand, refers to the cultural values that influence these policies, are received by these policies, or are unseen by them. Despite policy efforts at gendered inclusion, sometimes educational policy and practice are not in line (Warrington, 2012, p. 302).

[46] Although access to schooling can lead to increased potential for income earning, it may not lead to enough women's empowerment "to overcome the political, social and economic obstacles that have kept [women] in poverty" (Robinson-Pant, 2004, p. 473).

The Kenyan state is taking steps to reduce disparities in gendered access to education (Eshiwani, 1993; Lewis 1993 cited in Mule, 2008, p. 72). This chapter does not discount these strides as numerically and discursively relevant for challenging gendered hierarchies in multi-scalar ways. Kenya stands out from other sub-Saharan countries with regard to a higher proportion of females in school, "both absolutely and compared to the proportion of males at the primary and secondary school levels" (Eshiwani 1993; Lewis 1993 cited in Mule, 2008, p. 72). Between 1990 and 1998, there was a 23.5% increase in female enrolment at the secondary level compared to 5.6% for male enrolment (MoEST, 2000, p. 15), which demonstrates a significant push for female education. Although this statistic obscures that female enrolment was significantly lower than male enrolment to begin with, it does suggest state-supported shifts are taking place to address inequalities in school enrolment.[47]

Again, both elders (L9, I3) and youth (L13) in Samburu and Laikipia were adamant about the benefits of education for women's empowerment. Women's increased time spent in schools shifts the home sphere by rescheduling time spent engaged in home-related activities. Since schools provide opportunities for peer socialization, lessons learned there shape the minds of pupils of all genders, which transcends to the home space. Additionally, interviewees suggested that rising rates of education for women led to changing dynamics between husband and wife (I5, L8, L13, L16, L17, L21), and increased women's economic earning capacity (L5, AL2, L17).

However, the entrenchment of gendered assumptions through a gendered educational apparatus may led to reinforcing gendered labour in homes. This is especially true when the state neglects to account for gendered assumptions at home, which influence socialization processes

[47] A trend toward gender parity appears to be taking place, although faster at primary than secondary school levels (Abagi, 1997a; Abagi & Olweya, 1999 cited in Mule, 2008, p. 72).

that underline appropriate gender behaviour at school (Connell, 1996; Abraham, 1995). For these reasons, this chapter disagrees with Kiyanjui's (1993) celebration of the "near gender parity in enrolment statistics as a clear indicator of the state's success in addressing the problem of educational gender inequity" (Mule, 2008, p. 72). Shifting gender relations does not necessarily translate to gender equity.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that when a state's educational apparatus does not question traditional constructions of "womanhood" based on gendered relations of labour in the home sphere, their policy actions towards more inclusive education obscures the patriarchal underpinnings of home and community life that are so integrated into schools. There is a wide-held assumption that the expansion of schooling is an extension of human rights, women's rights, and "the main instrument by governments and society in general to achieve equality among diverse social groups" (Stromquist, 2008, p. 3). Yet, an educational apparatus which disregards gendered labour responsibilities can misconstrue the fact that children do not spend the same amount of time on schoolwork (Bettmann, 2013, p. 65 ; Jutis, 2003, p. vii ; Githinji, 2000, p. 2). When the state asks for school fees, this must come with the understanding that this reinforces male dominance in pastoralist societies, which connote men as the income earners. Simply stated, the state's educational apparatus can accentuate male dominance within households when women cannot contribute to household income (Warrington, 2011, p. 305; Bettmann, 2013, p. 65). Even when women do contribute to household income, this omits other gender dynamics underpinning women's subordination in the home sphere, not limited to young marriage and sexual violence (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, 2006, p. 9; Stromquist, 1990, p. 139; Shabaya, 2010, p. 420; Ruto, 2009, p. 177).

As Stromquist (2008) eloquently states, "schools are institutions that protect a very uneven gender status quo" (p. 10). Although the Kenyan state's educational apparatus is working to challenge dominant gender paradigms at home by increasing female participation in schools and encouraging economic empowerment for women, it is doing so within a patriarchal framework. By suggesting economic empowerment and increased employment for women leads to more equitable gender relations at home (Oanda, 2008, p. 51), the Kenyan state's educational apparatus is disregarding, and therefore upholding, masculine ideals in school spaces. This is perhaps because, like other states (True, 2010; Parashar, Tickner & True, 2018), the Kenyan state has stakes in reproducing masculinized superiority (Musila, 2009) through socialized expectations of labour for economic and political reasons (Bikketi, 2006; Branyon, 2005).

Instead of making a patriarchal institution more easily accessible to women, then, perhaps the answer lies in reformulating what gender-sensitive institutions look like. Inclusive educational policies, such as pushing for women's enrolment in schools, has the potential to increase women's participation without necessarily removing structural barriers to their success. Women's access to education does not translate to an unraveling of patriarchal norms within schools or homes without a more complete restructuring of the educational system.

METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Findings indicate that women's groups and a rise in formal education are contributing to the social de-construction of traditional "womanhood" in some ways, while they are contributing to the reinforcement of patriarchal gender norms in other ways. This section synthesizes findings through a combined micro (discursive/agency-based) and macro (political economy/structural) lens. The objective of this discussion section is to reflect on how various scales of analysis, including micro and macro, contribute to sound research design.

A qualitative, interview-based methodology helps unravel how even those in subordinated gender positions face challenges, make strategic choices, and can assert themselves. By discussing women's groups in rural Kenya, findings from Chapter 2 are a fitting point of departure for considering agency. Agency refers to individuals having a capacity to act and make decisions based on their choices. Scholars approach agency from various perspectives, ranging from celebrations of radical consciousness (Stamp, 1986, p. 28; Odoul, 2018, p. 147) to objections about the possibilities of women's groups in changing their gendered positions in society (Pateman, 1988). Methodologically speaking, Chapter 2 demonstrates the importance of considering the agency of women's groups while still being critical of limitations and potential drawbacks. Discourse refers to how social groups think and perceive of concepts, such as "womanhood." The discursive approach employed in this thesis, through interviews, forefronts the agency of interviewees in order to better understand the ways language is conceptualized, how gendered actions are conceived of, and why social structures are changing.

Women's groups in rural Kenya play an important role in shaping discourse about the role of women in society (Davis, 2007, p. 59). Women's groups have made important strides in challenging gender norms through income earning and land-owning initiatives by using their

agency to take control of their circumstances. Women's groups are reimagining certain labour responsibilities associated with "womanhood" by making women visible in the public sphere, including themselves in household income decisions, and acting as a united force in community land decisions. Although members of women's group still associate "womanhood" with family-oriented motherhood, the benefits of women's groups seem to outweigh the drawbacks. This is at least when it comes to women's "empowerment" as defined by interviewees themselves:

> Respondent: They are trying, they are trying as women to come up, at least, to get to that position also. At least so there is that equality.
> Interviewer: [55:00] What are some strategies to get to that position?
> Respondent: [55:27] Now they are everywhere. They can even make to be good leaders, they are good leaders, they can as well get money for their homesteads and get food and all that for their children. And that was a responsibility for dads. But now as women they are trying to do all that. To get to that position where men are. (L5)

This excerpt demonstrates that women are not only envisioning equality, but have strategies to attain certain levels of respect and leadership. Both female and male interviewees were intent that women's groups are shifting household dynamics in ways that are challenging patriarchal societal expectations.

However, it has been argued that what at first glance appears like agency—such as economic empowerment achieved in women's groups—actually reinforces gender constructions that subordinate women. Undeniably, women's groups in Kenya seeking empowerment add economic responsibilities to an already long list of domestic responsibilities. Although interviewees considered this to be a liberating economic practice, it could be read as a practice reinforcing gendered inequalities in labour time. Constructions of "womanhood" which feminize the home sphere place certain caretaking expectations on women. By trying to exercise agency, then, women may "(re)produce dominant social and geo-political hierarchies and exclusions" (Pedwell & White, p. 120). In other words, researchers sometimes over-emphasize the agency of

those who are imbedded in socio-political conditions where power relations unfold. As Bordo (1993) states, we must not lose sight these conditions to "confront the mechanisms by which the subject at times becomes enmeshed in collusion with forces that sustain her own oppression" (p. 167). By seeking empowerment in ways that reinforce gendered hierarchies, women may inadvertently, and paradoxically, support gendered hierarchies.

Despite these valid points, strands of postmodern feminist theory sometimes mistakenly embed women in oppressive cultural discourses and institutional arrangements without allowing room for critical reflection about how actors can contest the locales they find themselves in. Bargaining with naturalized gender relations can take many forms, including contesting some parts of gender norms while adhering to others. As described by Wangui (2014), the gendered performances of Maasai women cannot be separated from their spatial contexts (p. 1068). Just as labour negotiations between husband and wife are not as straightforward as oppressor versus oppressed (p. 1099), women's groups' negotiations with community councils to secure land rights can be a chess games of strategic choices. Negotiating new rights and responsibilities is a contested terrain of gender relations, with continuities and discontinuities. Focusing just on structural bases of oppression can obscure the agency of actors imbedded within them. Today, women in rural Maa-speaking communities look their husbands in the eye, which was not accepted in the past (L8). Therefore, agency doesn't always mean raising a placard in protest. Sometimes, agency is the re-articulation of gender norms in new ways.

By suggesting that women in rural Kenya aren't doing enough to challenge patriarchal discourse, or that women in rural Kenya are oppressed, researchers may be missing the micro-situational intricacies of actors' subversive acts. An actor-oriented discursive lens encourages researchers to keep this in mind.

Gendered hierarchies span across and between scales of investigation. Feminist scholars have demonstrated how international relations discourse claims women as objects through appeals to biology, socialized conceptions of "womanhood," and expectations of motherhood (Steans, 2013; Whitworth, 2010). In line with this, Musila (2009) convincingly argues that the Kenyan state is a gendered extension of masculinized power and leadership shaping the home space.[48] This means that gendered expectations within pastoralist homes have patriarchal underpinnings reinforced at other levels beyond the domestic.

The actions of actors are influenced not only by their own desires, then, but also by structural expectations that dictate their thoughts and behaviours. For example, one elder woman supported women's education, but also supported the idea that men were supposed to be in the first position of power in homes (L9). This demonstrates that we can be socialized in certain instances to think oppression is pleasurable or necessary at certain points in time even if we believe "empowerment" is the end goal.

Chapter 3 is a fitting starting point to discuss structural factors that reinforce gendered labour hierarchies, and in some cases restrict possibilities for agency. The state is deeply imbedded in the domestic sphere through an educational apparatus which in some cases challenges gender norms, and in others reinforces them. Although increased education for girls may allow for some structural flexibility, it does not undo expectations of women as domestic caretakers. By expecting equal participation from boy and girl students, Kenya's educational apparatus, effectively invisibilizes the unequal time that young girls are expected to help with home chores, and thus inequalities in school participation. In "*The State, The Family and Education*, Miriam David (1980) suggests that the state regulates family relationships through

[48] Scholars such as Delgado (1997) and Ebila (2015) have studied how the Kenyan state rhetorically uses "womanhood" as a practice of cultural control, reinforcing the notion of nation as motherhood, "overlay(ing) the bodies of Kenyan women with a fiction of motherhood" (Delgado, 1997, p. 133).

educational policies. The Kenyan state fits this description. When the educational apparatus neutralizes the domestic sphere, it is blind to socialization processes that contribute to unequal gendered educational achievement. As Walby make clear, "the state has a systematic bias towards patriarchal interests in its policies and actions" (Walby, 1990, p. 21 cited in Sultana, 2010, p. 10). This is true even when well-intentioned actors within the state aim to address gender inequalities by increasing education as a policy solution.

A political economy lens demonstrates that hegemonic gender roles must be taken into account as central organizing principles when discussing education and women's empowerment. This is true in Kenya, but equally relevant for understanding gender relations in other countries. As stated in the introduction, gender relations within the home are supported by economic, political, and ideological institutions which organize certain forms of social organization to reflect dominant, often androcentric, interests (True, 2010; Parashar, Tickner & True, 2018). The specific gender relations and gendered divisions of labour discussed in reference to Samburu and Laikipia Counties in Kenya reflect economic and political structures which can be extrapolated outwards to better understand the patriarchal underpinnings of the international system. There are similar labour, economic, and social inequalities between men and women across geographies (True, 2010; Parashar, Tickner & True, 2018). Patriarchy organizes society.

Just as structures influence actors, however, actors influence structures. Homes, schools, and communities are structurally defined by the state, but the state is equally defined by actors in schools and homes. Socialization processes from school enter the home realm, but the home realm can equally shape ideas about the school space. In Kenya, there are actors actively working to challenge what is taught in schools. One fitting example is the work of Wanjiku Kariba and Akinyi Nzioki, authors of *Our Secret Lives*, who aim to "reverse the socialization

process in educational texts that portrays women as subordinate" (Oduol, 2018, p. 203). As another example, a group of Kenyan feminists organized a non-formal education program which attempts to educate students about gendered violence since this information is not available in public education curriculum (Cobbett-Ondiek, 2016). These anecdotes reveal that grassroots challenge can confront state discourse and potentially alter state institutions.

By analyzing gendered labour from both a micro (discursive/agency-based) lens and a macro (feminist political economy/structural) lens, this study has attempted to better capture the multi-scalar characteristics constructing "womanhood." Constructions of "womanhood" are disorganized, subtly contested, and changing because they intersect with multiple socio-political phenomena within and beyond the home. As Ahmed (2004) describes, relations of power are "so intractable and enduring" because of affective attachments to social norms (p. 11-12). This can help explain why gendered labour responsibilities take time to shift.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to better understand how socio-political changes in Kenya are shifting gendered labour responsibilities in pastoralist homes. Findings indicate that traditional constructions of "womanhood" are characterized by feminized labour expectations including domestic, family, and sexual labour responsibilities. As constructions of "womanhood" shift, gendered labour responsibilities are also affected. Two socio-political factors were identified as key elements in reimagining constructions of "womanhood" from home-bound mother to economically active community member. Specifically, grassroots women's groups and a rise in formalized education appear to be key factors in this process.

The work was separated into three analytical chapters. Chapter 1 deducted an archetype[49] of "womanhood" from interview transcripts conducted with men and women from various communities in Samburu and Laikipia Counties in Kenya. Since gender norms play a role in dictating household labour responsibilities (Mutua-Kombo, 2001, p. 194), an interrogation of the category of "womanhood" is useful in understanding how gender norms are reinforced or challenged with socio-political shifts. Chapter 2 discussed the first socio-political shift identified, women's groups in rural Kenya engaged in grassroots organizing. Income earning and land-owning activities increase women's participation in the public sphere, which expands their labour responsibilities associated with income earning. These activities are particularly relevant in studying how women's groups are shifting constructions of "womanhood," as they challenge a hierarchical gender order denoted by traditionally masculine activities. Chapter 3 investigated how Kenya's educational apparatus is increasing pastoralist participation in formalized education, reconstructing social relations in various ways. Formalized education has

[49] This first chapter came with the understanding that such an archetype for "womanhood" should not be understood to account for all variations of such a complex, multi-faceted term. However, building a set of common attributes provides a useful ideal type to work with when discussing pastoralist gender relations.

offered women cognitive as well as employment options, and in doing so, played a role in altering gendered labour perceptions and expectations for women.

Chapters 2 and 3 were broken down into two parts. Firstly, they examined the ways socio-political factors—namely women's groups and education—have *challenged* traditional constructions of "womanhood" and thus empowered women with regards to gendered labour expectations within the home. Secondly, they examined they ways these socio-political factors *reinforced* patterns of patriarchal domination. Analysis suggests that neither factor is wholly positive or negative for women's empowerment, but rather comprise an intricate mix of empowering and disempowering aspects for the actors finding themselves within changing contexts. This supports the notion that social change is a terrain of contestation, celebration, and uneven acceptance, which makes for interesting analysis.

Women's groups engaged in land-owning and income earning activities are challenging the masculine undertones of these activities, which may be a key step forward in women's empowerment initiatives, at least when measured by public participation and business owning ventures. Women's groups in rural Kenya are expanding pastoralist livelihood strategies to include beekeeping, farming, and jewellery initiatives (L17, AL2, L22, L23). These activities expand traditional constructions of "womanhood" to include income earning within the sphere of domestic and family responsibilities. This is significant because women's increased capacity to engage in income earning activities challenges the normalization of decision-making as reserved for men.

Kenya's educational apparatus is also playing a role in expanding constructions of "womanhood" away from gendered binaries, thus challenging labour divides in homes. Kenya's educational apparatus is making strides to increase numbers of girl children enrolled in primary

and secondary schools (Stromquist, 2008, p. 9). As Kenya's educational apparatus demands school fees from families, pastoralists are increasingly reliant on women's income to pay for their children's education. These changes have resulted in women's increased decision-making about finances, which is a radical shift from a male-dominated tradition of income earning and spending. Additionally, the educational sphere has arguably increased men's "respect" for women's intellect.

Interviewees were adamant that women's groups and formalized education have increased women's voices not only in the household, but also at the level of the community. As women's groups earn title to land, a traditionally male-dominated sphere of control, they are increasingly visible in community meetings. Women's participation in community decision-making about land challenges not just male decision-making but also unravels a male-exclusive meeting space. In terms of Kenya's educational apparatus, formally educated children bring valuable information to communities (I3, L1, L9). Additionally, women who are formally educated are gaining respect in community spaces for their educated perspectives. It is possible that increased respect in the community may translate to increased respect in the household, but this relationship is not clear because educated, income earning women can challenge ideas of masculinity, which leads to backlash such as domestic violence (L8).

Researchers must be wary to be over-celebrative of the advances mentioned in the previous few paragraphs. Even in exceptional cases when women are, in all practical economic senses of the word, the "providers" of families, they are still not considered the "household heads." This underlines how women's increased economic freedom does not necessarily reverse the sociological conception of "provider" as masculine. Additionally, although women's groups are successful in demanding increased decision-making power in terms of economic decision-

making when they collaborate in beekeeping, garden growing, and jewellery-making projects, they are not necessarily successful in re-equilibrating gendered labour responsibilities. This anchors unequal time use between male and female household members, meaning women's economic work is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in men's participation in domestic work. This demonstrates limitations to shifting conceptions of "womanhood."

Similarly, although increased formal education facilitates empowerment in some ways, it is possible that formal education introduces new challenges for women. Formalized education expects the same output for male and female pupils, which is structurally challenging considering the imbalance in gendered labour responsibilities children are expected to complete in the home (Jutis, 2003, p. vii). Interviewees noted that girl children consistently have to provide more domestic labour than boy children (L13, AL2), and that pastoralist marriage arrangements are conducive to supporting boys'—and not girls'—educations (Stromquist, 1990, p. 139). Scholars have also noted that curriculum taught in school reinforces gender roles, traditional constructions of "womanhood" and "manhood," and gendered labour responsibilities within the home sphere.

It would be impractical to oppose formal education as a tool in achieving gender equality. Similarly, it is with caution that this thesis criticizes women's groups, as their agency is key in challenging major tenets of women's oppression. However, it bears repeating that gender parity and equity are not synonymous and should not be treated as such. The way gendered labour responsibilities are re-imagined are not necessarily conducive to deconstructing patriarchal institutions which value masculine contributions more than feminine ones. Women's domestic, family, and sexual labour continue to be undervalued. Although women may control the income they earn through some kinds of work, this does not change sociologically

constructed hierarchies in which women are "second in the line of command." Men continue to dominate community decisions.

Constructions of gender norms are sticky. Both women's groups and formalized education have an important role to play in re-imagining constructions of "womanhood," and subsequently, in reimagining gendered labour expectations. While there are mechanisms that maintain patriarchal institutions, "living systems can and do fundamentally change" (Eisler, 1997, p. 179). It is evident that women's groups are an important force in women's solidarity projects across communities, and it is clear that community members understand education as a key factor for women's advancement.

This research is valuable to understanding gendered labour for three reasons. Firstly, this study contributes to scholarship aiming to de-mystify the imagined private/public division, an all too common simplification in political science scholarship that feminist political economists have been trying to expose for years (True, 2010; Parashar, Tickner & True, 2018; Sultana, 2019; Brickell, 2012; Mountz & Hyndman, 2006). As Stromquist (1990) suggests, a vision of society in which "the school and the family operate independent of each other" misses the fact that "the state, holding an unrivalled monopoly over formal education, is a key institution regulating activities within both the school and the family" (p. 143), which effectively blurs this imagined private/public divide. Investigating how women's groups are engaged within and across spheres has the same effect. Secondly, this study provides a sound methodological approach to answering questions about shifting gender norms. A balance between agency and structure prevents researchers from over-relying on considerations which place unrealistic expectations on individuals to shape the circumstances they find themselves in, while equally preventing researchers from painting actors as pons in geo-political fields without possibilities

for intervention. Giving equal weight to micro and macro realities offers a more complete foundation for understanding gendered labour responsibilities at the household level, as they are both intricately imbedded in the lived experience of interviewees. Thirdly, this study offers insight into understanding possibilities for the social deconstruction of geographically specific but globally relevant terms like "womanhood." When gender constructions shift, gendered labour inequalities within the home can also shift. As research findings demonstrate, gender norms are reinforced and challenged at multiple scales, and in contrasting ways that cannot be easily categorized. This thesis hopes to have shone some light on the complexity of such changes, and offered insight into the dangers of generalizing socio-political factors as all-empowering or all-disempowering.

WORKS CITED

Achola, P. P., & Pillai, V. K. (2016). *Challenges of primary education in developing countries: Insights from Kenya*. Routledge.

Ackers, J., Migoli, J., & Nzomo, J. (2001). Identifying and addressing the causes of declining participation rates in Kenyan primary schools. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *21*(4), 361-374.

Althusser, L. (2006). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation). *The anthropology of the state: A reader*, *9*(1), 86-98.

Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, M., & Francis, P. (2006). Collapsing livelihoods and the crisis of masculinity in rural Kenya. *The other half of gender: Men's issues in development*, 219-244.

Apple, M. W. (2017). *Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology and the State*. London & New York: Routledge.

Archambault, C. S., & Zoomers, A. (Eds.). (2015). "From Common Property to Private Holdings" & "Gendered Perspectives on Rangeland Privatization among the Maasai of Southern Kenya." In *Global Trends in Land Tenure Reform: Gender Impacts* (147-150, 201-215). Routledge.

Ballinger, A. (2009). Gender, power and the state: same as it ever was?. *J. Sim., S. Tombs and D. Whyte (eds) State, Power, Crime: Readings in Critical Criminology*, 1-21.

Barker, G., Verma, R., Crownover, J., Segundo, M., Fonseca, V., Contreras, J. M., ... & Pawlak, P. (2012). Boys and education in the global south: Emerging vulnerabilities and new opportunities for promoting changes in gender norms. *Boyhood Studies*, *6*(2), 137-150.

Beauvoir, D. S. 1974. The Second Sex. Vintage Books: New York.

Bedelian, C., & Ogutu, J. O. (2017). Trade-offs for climate-resilient pastoral livelihoods in wildlife conservancies in the Mara ecosystem, Kenya. *Pastoralism*, *7*(1), 10.

Belfield, C. (2007). Financing early childhood care and education: An international review. *Background Paper for the* 2007 Global Monitoring Report on Education for All.

Beneria, L. (1979). Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, *3*(3), 203-225.

Bettmann, J., Kilgore, S., Jeremiah, R., & Parry, K. (2013). The Struggle for Female Education in Kenya: A Qualitative Study in the Samburu Region. *Social Development Issues*, *35*(1), 64-86.

Bikketi, E., Ifejika Speranza, C., Bieri, S., Haller, T., & Wiesmann, U. (2016). Gendered division of labour and feminisation of responsibilities in Kenya; implications for development interventions. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *23*(10), 1432-1449.

Bittman, M., & Wajcman, J. (2000). The rush hour: The character of leisure time and gender equity. *Social forces*, *79*(1), 165-189.

Bordo, S. (1997). The body and the reproduction of femininity. In K. Conboy & N. Medina (Ed.), *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory* (pp. 90-113). Colombia University Press.

Boserup, E. (1970). *Women's Role in Economic Development.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Bradley, C. (1995). Women's empowerment and fertility decline in western Kenya. *Situating fertility: Anthropology and demographic inquiry*, *1*, 157.

Branyon, J. B. (2005). Education for All: Gender Equity in Kenya. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, *71*(2).

Brickell, K. (2012). Geopolitics of Home. *Geography Compass*, *6*(10), 575-588.

Buchmann, C. (1999). The state and schooling in Kenya: Historical developments and current challenges. *Africa Today*, 95-117.

Budlender, D. (2008). *The statistical evidence on care and non-care work across six countries* (No. 4). Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Budlender, D. (2010). What do time use studies tell us about unpaid care work? Evidence from seven countries. In *Time use studies and unpaid care work* (pp. 23-67). Routledge.

Chai, X., Sano, Y., Kansanga, M., Baada, J., & Antabe, R. (2017). Married women's negotiation for safer sexual intercourse in Kenya: Does experience of female genital mutilation matter?. *Sexual & reproductive healthcare*, *14*, 79-84.

Chayanov, A. V. (1986). *AV Chayanov on the theory of peasant economy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Chege, F. N., & Arnot, M. (2012). The gender–education–poverty nexus: Kenyan youth's perspective on being young, gendered and poor. *Comparative education*, *48*(2), 195-209.

Cobbett-Ondiek, M. (2016). Peering into 'spaces for change': empowerment, subversion and resistance in a gendered violence prevention education programme in Kenya. *Sex education*, *16*(6), 663-677.

Cochet, H. (2015). *Comparative agriculture*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, *19*(6), 829-859.

Connelly, R., & Kongar, E. (2017). Feminist approaches to time use. In *Gender and time use in a global context* (pp. 1-26). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Cooper, E. (2012). Women and Inheritance in Sub-Saharan Africa: What Can Change?. *Development Policy Review*, *30*(5), 641-657.

Daly, K. (2002). Time, gender, and the negotiation of family schedules. *Symbolic Interaction*, *25*(3), 323-342.

David, M. (2015). *The State, the Family and Education (Routledge Revivals)*. London: Routledge.

Davis, K. (2007). Reclaiming women's bodies: Colonialist trope or critical epistemology? 1. *The sociological review*, *55*, 50-64.

DeGraff, D. S., & Centanni, R. M. (2017). Double Shift, Double Balance: Housework in the Presence of Children in the United States. In *Gender and Time Use in a Global Context* (pp. 305331). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Delgado, C. F. (1997). Mother Tongues and Childless Women: The Construction of "Kenyan" "Womanhood." In N. Obioma (Ed.)*, The Politics of (M)othering: Womanhood, Identity, and Resistance in African Literature.* New York/London: Routledge.

Duncombe, J., & Marsden, D. (1995). 'Workaholics' and 'whingeing women': Theorising intimacy and emotion work—the last frontier of gender inequality?. *The Sociological Review*, *43*(1), 150-169.

Duffy, M. (2007). Doing the dirty work: Gender, race, and reproductive labor in historical perspective. *Gender & Society*, *21*(3), 313-336.

Ebila, F. (2015). 'A proper woman, in the African tradition': The construction of gender and nationalism in Wangari Maathai's autobiography Unbowed. *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*, *52*(1), 144154.

Eisler, R. (1997). Human rights and violence: Integrating the private and public spheres. The web of violence: From interpersonal to global, 161-85.

Engels, F. 1940. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. London : Lawrence and Wishart.

Eshiwani, G. S. 1993. *Education in Kenya since independence.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Evans, M. (2002). Real bodies: An introduction. In *Real Bodies* (pp. 1-13). Palgrave, London.

Feldman, R. (1983). Women's groups and women's subordination: An analysis of policies towards rural women in Kenya. *Review of African Political Economy*, *10*(27-28), 67-85.

Ferguson, A. (1997). "On conceiving motherhood and sexuality: A feminist materialist approach." In J. Treblicot (Ed.), *Mothering Essays in Feminist Theory* (pp. 153-171). Totowa, NJ: Rowman.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.

Fox, G. R. (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *12*(3), 473-493.

Fratkin, E., & Smith, K. (1994). Labor, livestock, and land: The organization of pastoral production. *African pastoralist systems: An integrated approach*, 91-112.

Gaafar, R. (2014). Women's Land and Property Rights in Kenya. Landesa. *Centre for women's land rights*.

Galaty, J. (2016). Reasserting the commons: Pastoral contestations of private and state lands in East Africa. *International Journal of the Commons*, *10*(2).

Gunnarsson, L. (2011). A defence of the category 'women'. *Feminist theory*, *12*(1), 23-37.

Harari, M. (2019). Women's inheritance rights and bargaining power: Evidence from Kenya. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *68*(1), 189-238.

Hartmann, H. I. (1981). The family as the locus of gender, class, and political struggle: The example of housework. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *6*(3), 366-394.

Hill, M. A., & King, E. (1995). Women's education and economic well-being. *Feminist Economics*, *1*(2), 21-46.

Hindin, M. J. (2014). Adolescent childbearing and women's attitudes towards wife beating in 25 sub-Saharan African countries. *Maternal and child health journal*, *18*(6), 1488-1495.

Holtzman, J. (2003). Age, Masculinity, and Migration: Gender and Age among the Samburu Pastoralists in Northern Kenya. *Gender at Work in Economic Life*, 225-241.

Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Pluto Press.

Hooper, C. (2001). *Manly states: Masculinities, international relations, and gender politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hughes, R., & Mwiria, K. (1989). Kenyan women, higher education and the labour market. *Comparative Education*, *25*(2), 179-195.

Justus, A. B. O. (2003). *Influence of domestic labour and role expectations on the performance of primary school girls in Gucha District, Kenya.* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

Kabiru, C. W., & Orpinas, P. (2009). Factors associated with sexual activity among high-school students in Nairobi, Kenya. *Journal of adolescence*, *32*(4), 1023-1039.

Kakonge, E., Kirea, S., Gitachu, R., & Nyamu, F. (2001). Report on Girls' Education in Wajir and Mandera Districts of Kenya. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists.

Karanja Ng'ang'a, S., Bulte, E. H., Giller, K. E., McIntire, J. M., & Rufino, M. C. (2016). Migration and self-protection against climate change: a case study of Samburu County, Kenya. *World Development*, *84*, 55-68.

Karanja, P. W. (1991). Women's Land Ownership Rights in Kenya. Third World Legal Studies, 1991, 109-136.

Karmebäck, V. N., Wairore, J. N. U., Jirström, M., & Nyberg, G. (2015). Assessing gender roles in a changing landscape: diversified agro-pastoralism in drylands of West Pokot, Kenya. *Pastoralism*, *5*(1), 21.

Kaufman, J. P., & Williams, K. P. (2004). Who belongs? Women, marriage and citizenship. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *6*(3), 416-435.

Keleher, H., & Franklin, L. (2008). Changing gendered norms about women and girls at the level of household and community: a review of the evidence. *Global Public Health*, *3*(S1), 42-57.

Kollman, K. (2016). The same-sex unions revolution in Western democracies: International norms and domestic policy change. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.

Kung'u, C. W. (2011). *Criminalization of marital rape in Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from University of Toronto TSpace.

Larick, R. (2017). Spears, style, and time among Maa-speaking pastoralists. In *African Military History* (pp. 53-67). Routledge.

Lawoko, S., Dalal, K., Jiayou, L., & Jansson, B. (2007). Social inequalities in intimate partner violence: a study of women in Kenya. *Violence and victims*, *22*(6), 773.

Lerner, G. 1989. *The Creation of Patriarchy.* Oxford University Press: New York.

Lesorogol, C. K. (2003). Transforming institutions among pastoralists: inequality and land privatization. *American Anthropologist*, *105*(3), 531-541.

Lesorogol, C. K. (2010). The impact of privatization on land inheritance among Samburu pastoralists in Kenya. *Development and Change*, *41*(6), 1091-1116.

Levine, P. (2007). Sexuality, Gender, and Empire. In Levine, P. *Gender and Empire* (134–155). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, M. 1993. *Girls education in Kenya: Performance and prospects.* Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute.

Lhoste, P. & Landais, É. (1993). Systèmes d'élevage et transfert de fertilité dans la zone des savanes africaines. 2: les systèmes de gestion de la fumure animale et leur insertion dans les relations entre l'élevage et l'agriculture. *Cahiers Agricultures*, *2*(1), 9-25.

Lorde, A. (1980). Age, race, class, and sex: Women redefining difference. *Women in Culture: An Intersectional Anthology for Gender and Women's Studies*, 16-23.

Maranga, S. (2014). Tough Choices, Limited Spaces and Conflicted Loyalties: Women's Leadership in Governance in Africa Today: the Kenyan Experience. In M. Reisen. (Ed.), *Women's Leadership in Peace Building: Conflict, Community and Care* (pp. 131-143). World Africa Press.

Maslak, M. A. (2008). Sexual Difference, Race, and Sexuality. In Maslak, M. A. (Ed.) *The structure and agency of women's education*. Albany: SUNY Press.

McEwen, H. (2017). Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *34*(6), 738-751.

Mies, M., Bennholdt-Thomsen, V. & von Werlhof, C. (1988). *Women: The Last Colony.* London & Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Press Ltd.

Mies, M. (2014). *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Millett, K. (2016). *Sexual politics*. Columbia University Press.

Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Education (MoEST). (2000). *Education Statistical Booklet,* 1990-1998. Nairobi: MoEST.

Mouffe, C. (1979). Hegemony and ideology in Gramsci. *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge.

Mountz, A., & Hyndman, J. (2006). Feminist approaches to the global intimate. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 34(1): 446-463.

Mule, L. (2008). Feast or famine for female education in Kenya. In Maslak M. A. (Ed.), *The Structure and Agency of Women's Education* (pp. 67). Albany: State University of New York (SUNY) Press.

Muriithi, M. K., Mutegi, R. G., & Mwabu, G. (2017). Counting unpaid work in Kenya: Gender and age profiles of hours worked and imputed wage incomes. *The Journal of the Economics of Ageing*.

Musila, G. A. (2009). Phallocracies and gynocratic transgressions Gender, State power and Kenyan public life. *Africa Insight*, *39*(1), 39-57.

Mutegi, R. G., Muriithi, M. K., & Wanjala, G. (2017). Education policies in Kenya: does free secondary education promote equity in Public Secondary Schools?.

Mutua-Kombo, E. (2001). Women's groups and information provision in rural Kenya. *Library Review*. MCB University Press.

Neitzert, M. (1994). A Woman's Place: Household Labour Allocation in Rural Kenya. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, *15*(3), 401-427.

Netting, R. M. (1993). *Smallholders, householders: farm families and the ecology of intensive, sustainable agriculture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ngware, M. W., Onsomu, E. N., Muthaka, D. I., & Manda, D. K. (2006). Improving access to secondary education in Kenya: what can be done?. *Equal Opportunities International*, *25*(7), 523-543.

Nolan, B., Roser, M., & Thewissen, S. (2016). *GDP per capita versus median household income: What gives rise to divergence over time?* (No. 672). LIS Working Paper Series.

Nungu, M. (1997). *Affirmative action and the quest for equity in university education: the case of Kenya (1974-1994).* (No. 4). Nairobi: Lyceum Educational Consultants.

Nyberg, G., Knutsson, P., Ostwald, M., Öborn, I., Wredle, E., Otieno, D. J., ... & Grönvall, A. (2015). Enclosures in West Pokot, Kenya: Transforming land, livestock and livelihoods in drylands. *Pastoralism*, *5*(1), 25.

Oakley, A. 1972. *Sex Gender and Society.* London: Temple Smith.

Oanda, I. O., Oanda, I. O., Chege, F. N., & Wesonga, D. M. (2008). *Privatisation and Private Higher Education in Kenya. Implications for Access, Equity and Knowledge Production: Implications for Access, Equity, and Knowledge Production*. African Books Collective.

Ocampo, José Antonio. (2003). Development and the global order. In *Rethinking development economics* (pp. 83-104). London: Anthem (2003).

Oduol, W. & Kabira, W.M. "The Mother of Warriors and her Daughters: The Women's Movement in Kenya." In A. Basu (Ed.), *The Challenge of Local Feminisms* (187-208). Routledge, 2018.

Ongoro, E. B., & Ogara, W. (2012). Impact of climate change and gender roles in community adaptation: A case study of pastoralists in Samburu East District, Kenya. *International Journal of Biodiversity and Conservation*, *4*(2), 78-89.

Ossome, L. (2018). *Gender, Ethnicity, and Violence in Kenya's Transitions to Democracy: States of Violence*. Lexington Books.

Pateman, C. (1988). *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pedwell, C., & Whitehead, A. (2012). Affecting feminism: Questions of feeling in feminist theory. *Feminist Theory*, *13*(2), 115-129.

Peet, R., & Hartwick, E. (2015). *Theories of development: Contentions, arguments, alternatives*. New York: Guilford Publications.

Peterson, V. S. (2010). Global householding amid global crises. *Politics & gender*, *6*(2), 271281.

Ribot, J. C. (2007). Representation, citizenship and the public domain in democratic decentralization. *Development*, *50*(1), 43-49.

Richter-Montpetit, M., & Weber, C. (2017). Queer international relations. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of politics* (pp. 1-40). USA: Oxford University Press.

Ritzer, G., & Gindoff, P. (1994). Agency-Structure, Micro-Macro, Individualism-Holism Relationism: A Meta-Theoretical Explanation of Theoretical Convergence Between the United States and Europe. In *Agency and Structure: Reorienting Social Theory* (pp. 107-118). London: Gordon & Greach.

Robinson-Pant, A. (2004). Education for women: whose values count?. *Gender and Education*, *16*(4), 473-489.

Scott, J. C. (1977). *The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1985). Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. W. (1991). The evidence of experience. *Critical inquiry*, *17*(4), 773-797.

Seno, S. K., & Shaw, W. W. (2002). Land tenure policies, Maasai traditions, and wildlife conservation in Kenya. *Society & Natural Resources*, *15*(1), 79-88.

Shabaya*, J., & Konadu-Agyemang, K. (2004). Unequal access, unequal participation: some spatial and socio-economic dimensions of the gender gap in education in Africa with special reference to Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *34*(4), 395-424.

Silberschmidt, M. (1999). *"Women forget that men are the masters": gender antagonism and socio-economic change in Kisii District, Kenya*. Stockholm: Nordic Africa Institute.

Sperling, L. 1987. *The Labour Organization of Samburu Pastoralism* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Department of Anthropology, McGill University.

Srivastava, A., & Floro, M. S. (2017). The Dual Problem of Unemployment and Time Poverty in South Africa: Understanding Their Linkages. In *Gender and Time Use in a Global Context* (pp. 193-230). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Stamp, P. (1986). Kikuyu women's self-help groups: Towards an Understanding of the Relationship Between Sex-Gender System and Mode of Production in Africa. In C. Robertson and I. Berger, (Eds.), *Women and Class in Africa* (27-46). New York: Holmes and Meier.

Steans, J. (2013). *Gender and international relations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Straight, B. S. (1998). Altered landscapes, shifting strategies: The politics of location in the constitution of gender, belief, and identity among Samburu pastoralists in Northern Kenya (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from University of Michigan, Department of Anthropology.

Stromquist, N. P. (1990). Gender inequality in education: Accounting for women's subordination. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *11*(2), 137-153.

Stromquist, N. P. (2008). The intersection of public policies and gender: Understanding state action in education. In Maslak M. A. (Ed.), *The Structure and Agency of Women's Education* (pp. 3-30). Albany: State University of New York (SUNY) Press.

Sultana, A. (2010). Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis. *Arts Faculty Journal*, 1-18.

Swadener, B. B. (2000). *Does the village still raise the child?: A collaborative study of changing child-rearing and early education in Kenya*. SUNY Press.

Thomas, B. P. (1988). Household strategies for adaptation and change: Participation in Kenyan rural women's associations. *Africa*, *58*(4), 401-422.

True, J. (2010). The political economy of violence against women: A feminist international relations perspective. *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, *32*(1), 39-59.

Tuwor, T., & Sossou, M. A. (2008). Gender discrimination and education in West Africa: strategies for maintaining girls in school. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *12*(4), 363-379.

Verschuur, C. (2013). Theoretical debates on social reproduction and care: The articulation between the domestic and the global economy. *Oso Casas L., Ribas Mateos N., International Handbooks on Gender Series*, 145-161.

Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd.: Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA.

Wangui, E. E. (2014). Livelihood Shifts and Gender Performances: Space and the Negotiation for labour among East Africa's Pastoralists. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(5), 1068-1081.

Waring, M., & Steinem, G. (1988). *If women counted: A new feminist economics*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Westervelt, M. O. (2018). A Co-Wife for the Cow: Gender Dimensions of Land Change and Livelihood Shift among Loita Maasai of Southern Kenya. *Human Ecology*, *46*(6), 815-829.

Whitworth, S. (2010). Feminism. In Reus-Smit, C. & Snidal, D. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of international relations* (391-407). New York: Oxford University Press.

Wight, D., Plummer, M. L., Mshana, G., Wamoyi, J., Shigongo, Z. S., & Ross, D. A. (2006). Contradictory sexual norms and expectations for young people in rural Northern Tanzania. *Social science & medicine*, *62*(4), 987-997.

Wodon, Q., & Blackden, C. M. (Eds.). (2006). *Gender, time use, and poverty in sub-Saharan Africa*. The World Bank Working Papers. The World Bank.

Zamudio, M., Russell, C., Rios, F., & Bridgeman, J. L. (2011). *Critical race theory matters: Education and ideology*. Routledge.

APPENDIX A: MAPS

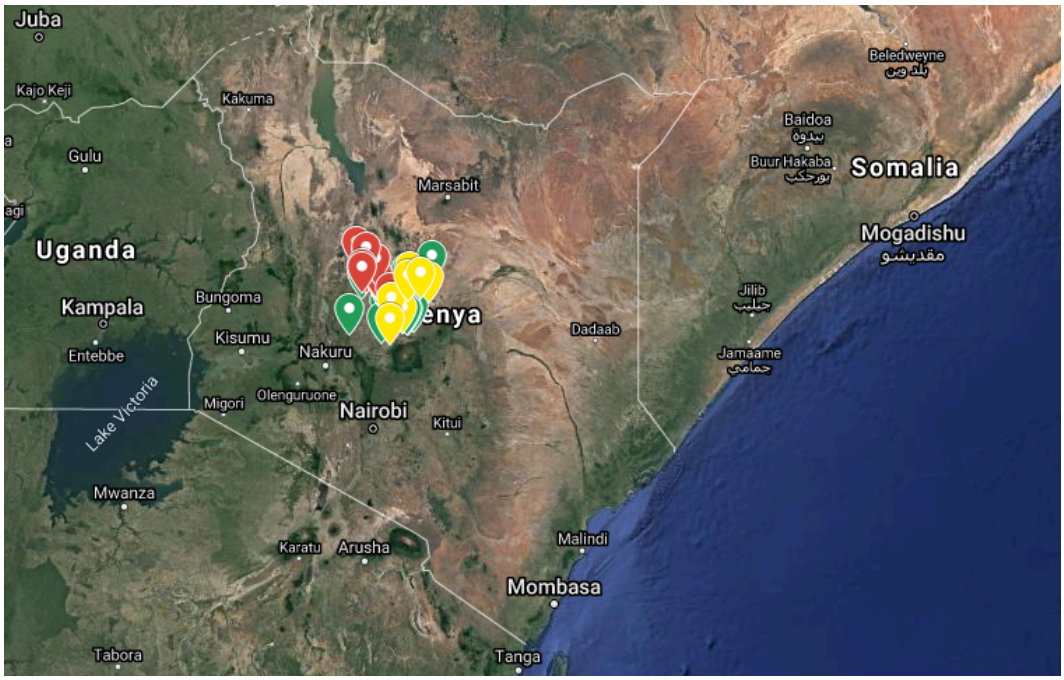

Figure 1: Map of Kenya with fieldwork locations.

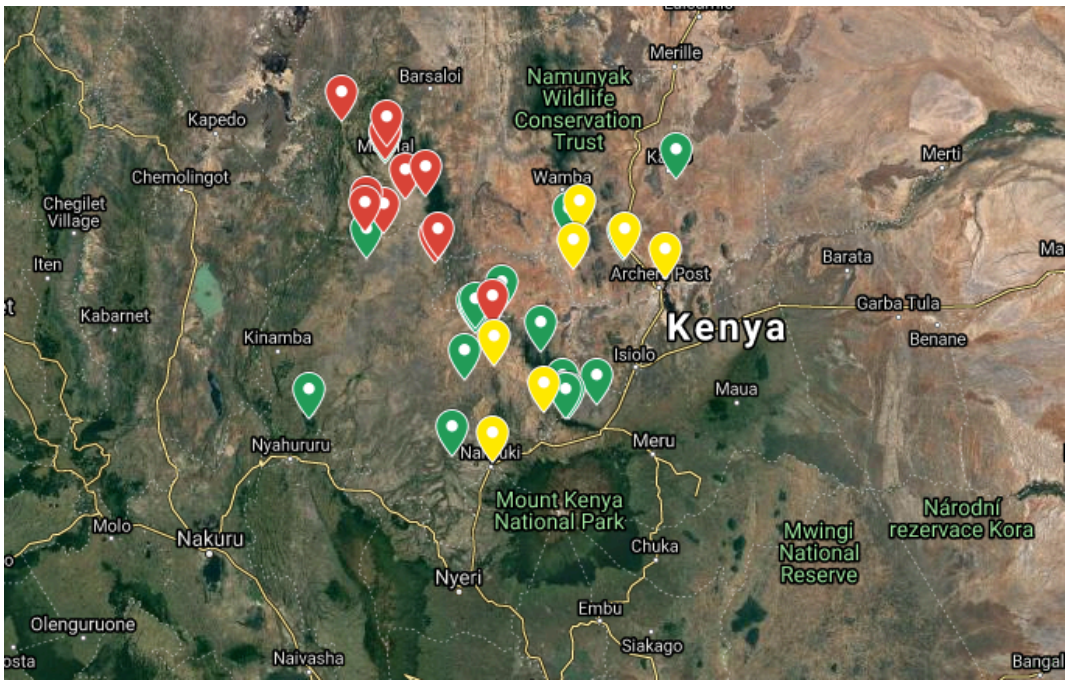

Figure 2: Closer view of areas visited during the fieldwork period in the summer of 2019.

For an interactive version of these maps please visit the following link courtesy of Google Maps: *https://drive.google.com/open?id=1SduPOeAW3RuLa21QDN4CgK8VMv3Mhhr3&usp=sharingto*

APPENDIX B: FIELDWORK SITES

Fieldwork Sites (Name of Town or Community)

Malasso	– *Formal interviews*
Maralal	– *Formal & Informal interviews*
Kisima	– *Formal & Informal interviews*
Suguta Marmar	– *Formal interviews*
Kirimon (x2 locations)	– *Formal interviews*
Kirimon Centre	– *Formal interviews*
Naibor Keju	– *Formal interviews*
Sagumai	– *Formal interviews*
Lmari	– *Formal interviews*
Loogor-ate Centre	– *Formal interviews*
Nkiloriti	– *Informal interviews*
Musul (x 3 locations)	– *Informal interviews*
Kimanjo	– *Informal interviews*
Nanyuki	– *Formal & Informal interviews*

Women's Groups (Name of Group)

Osugoroi Self-Help-Group	– *Informal interviews*
Twala Women's Group	– *Informal interviews*
P.C.E.A. Nanyuki Weavers	– *Informal interviews*
Sera Women's Group	– *Informal interviews*
Naisunyai Women's Group	– *Informal interviews*
Ngutuk Women's Group	– *Informal interviews*
Kalama Women's Group	– *Informal interviews*

Conservation Areas

Ol Jogi Wildlife Conservancy	
Mugie Wildlife Conservancy	
Borana Wildlife Conservancy	
The Ol Lentille Conservancy	
Mukogodo Forest	
Rumuruti Forest	
Maralal National Sanctuary	– *Informal interviews*
Sweetwaters Game Reserve	
Lewa Wildlife Conservancy	– *Informal interviews*
Ngare Ndare Forest	
Sera Conservancy Trust	– *Informal interviews*
West Gate Conservancy	– *Informal interviews*
Kalama Conservancy	– *Informal interviews*

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interviews conducted by Laurence LeBlanc (some translated by Rhodah Seriana) in 2019

L1: Widowed mother of six, in her *boma*[50] preparing circumcision clothing - June 12

L2: Male herder, around 50 years of age, stepping into L1 interview - June 12, Kirimon

L3: Young mother in her *boma*, exasperated, holding two children - June 12, Sagumai

L4: Three men, one elder of 85, one man of 40, one man of 20 - June 12, Kirimon

L5: Young woman taking care of other children as mothers fetch water- June 13, Sagumai

L6: Two women who've returned from 4 hours of fetching firewood- June 13, Sagumai

L7: Two small male children, ages 4 and 5 - June 13, Sagumai

L8: Male elder outside of health clinic - June 14, Loogor-ate Centre

L9: Joy, 85-year-old female elder outside her *boma* - June 15, Lmari

L10: Group of young boys - June 15, Lmari

L11: 2 *moran*[51] brothers aged 19 outside *boma* overlooking forest - June 15, Lmari

L12: 20-year-old mother in temporary house - June 15, Lmari

L13: Informal interviews with 25 year old female educated translator, Rhodah - Samburu

L14: Informal interviews with young 28-year old lawyer in Nanyuki

L15: Informal interviews with 25-year-old male, recently finished undergraduate degree

L16: Informal interviews with local fieldwork organizer

L17: Informal interviews with the production manager of *Beadworks*

L18: Informal interviews with successful female cafe owner in Nanyuki

L19: Informal interviews with 26-year old Samburu woman working in Nanyuki

L20: Informal interview with uneducated middle-aged male living in Nanyuki

L21: Informal interview with educated woman, daughter of Former Village Adminstrator

L22: Informal interview with the Osugoroi women's group in Chumvi

L23: Informal interview with women from Archer's Post beading initiative

L24: Informal interview with educated middle-aged man living in Nanyuki

*Informal interviews extend beyond those listed, but those listed are the most substantive.

[50] "Boma" refers to a traditional Maasai home made of branches and mud.

[51] "Moran" is the name given to male Maasai who have completed warrior training.

Interviews conducted by Sasha Masabanda (some translated by Fridah Nemperis) in 2019

S1: Group of women, ranging in age - June 12, Kirimon Centre

S2: Two young *moran*, working on fencing their homestead - June 13, Sagumai

S3: Middle-aged woman in her *manyatta*[52] - June 13, Sagumai

S4: Two wives and their husband - June 13, Sagumai

S5: Group of women at a homestead, ranging in age, including a woman and her mother-in-law - June 13, Kirimon

S6: Elderly man outside of health clinic - June 14, Loogor-ate

Interviews conducted by the IMPACT team

I1: Female elder and village administrator - June 12, 2019, Kirimon Centre

I2: Assistant Chief of Loogor-ate, male and middle-aged - June 14, Loogor-ate Centre

I3: Former Village Adminstrator and respected male elder - June 17, Naibor Keju

I4: Informal interviews between researchers and three local translators – Samburu Province

Joint Interviews

LS1: Chairperson of Naserian and her friend, both elderly women- June 14, Loogor-ate

LS2: Chairperson of Twala Women's Group - May 23, Il Polei

DL1: Three Samburu men sitting under a tree - June 13, Sagumai

SRD1: Two *moran* brothers in their 20s, off to go hunting- June 15, Lmari

Key:
"L" stands for Laurence LeBlanc
"S" stands for Sasha Masabanda
"D" stands for Dajou Rell
"R" stands for Ryan Anderton
"I" stands for IMPACT research team including all of the above and Ramson Karmushu.

[52] A "manyatta" is a traditional Maasai or Samburu settlement characterized by a fence surrounding various "bomas" or living structures.

APPENDIX D: GENDERED LABOUR RESPONSIBILITIES (SIMPLIFIED)

	Women's responsibilities	Men's responsibilities	Shared
UNPAID LABOUR	- Cooking for the family - Washing clothing for family - Making clothing for the family - Cleaning the homestead and the *boma* - Collecting water - Constructing houses - Buying food and medication with money allocated by the husband - All activities related to childcare including bathing, waking up for school, preparing meals, feeding, tending to when sick, etc. - Looking after livestock near the *boma* while the husband is away - Going to search for livestock when it goes missing - Milking cows and goats	- Herding livestock - Cleaning livestock - Preparing livestock for eating - Administering medication to the livestock - Looking for paid work - Providing security around the *boma*, using methods to scare wild animals off - Disciplining children - Disciplining wife - Attending community meetings	- Building fences - Gathering school fees - Selling livestock (decided by husband, but actual manual action of selling is done by both) - Gardening

PAID LABOUR	- Cleaning (i.e. clothes) for other families - Building houses for other families - Beadwork - Petty commodity sales such as by selling sugar, as well as by selling vegetables to neighbours	- Permanent work, like working at local businesses or as schoolteachers - The majority of paid labour is carried out by men - Temporary work, i.e. contracted by state infrastructure projects	- In rare instances, men also do beadwork, and in rare instances, women work paid jobs related to petty trade
DECISION-MAKING	- Decides who is allowed to drink the milk from the animals she milked - Decides what food and clothing to buy with the funds allocated to her by husband - Decides how to use money she makes from handicraft activities and gardening projects when they are explicitly her projects - Decides what is to be eaten for dinner - Can sometimes seek birth control from clinics	- Decides where to graze livestock (women must ask permission from men) - Decides when and to whom girl child will marry with the advice of male elders - Decides which livestock will be sold on the market - Decides how to distribute money from livestock sales between himself, his wife, and his children - Decides how many wives he wants - Decides which of his wives' *bomas* he sleeps in	- How many children to have (although this is, in many situations decided by the man) - Increasingly, when to have sex is becoming a combined decision - Sometimes decisions about to whom and when the daughter marries is a joint decision - Which children will go to school and which will stay behind

		- Decides when wife beating is necessary - Decides, with the help of other men in community, how best to resolve conflicts within community or from outside threats

APPENDIX E: WOMEN'S GROUPS CONSIDERED

Women's group (name / type)	Source(s) of income	Organizational structure / examples	Interview #
"Twala" in Il Polei, Laikipia (formal, land-owning)	- Vegetables - Jewellery - Aloe - Honey - Tourism	- 152 members, Twala meets multiple times per year - Reinvests income it earns to expand activities	AL2
"Osugoroi " in Chumvi, Laikipia (formal, land-owning)	- Farming - Honey - Jewellery	- Started with 14 women, now up to 40 women	L22
"Naserian" in Samburu (formal, land renting)	- Farming	- 32 women, 2 men - Trying to secure land rights	LS1
Bead working women's group(s) near Archer's post (formal, not land-owning)	- Jewellery	- Multiple women's groups in the area working for "Beadworks"	N/A
Jewellery cooperative at Collin's Farm (non-formal, not land-owning)	- Jewellery	- Women come together and make jewellery, which they can sell for income	L3
Nameless income raising group (non-formal, not land-owning)	- Individual contributions - Don't raise money together	- Raise money for other women for school fees of their kids (from commodities like sugar, oil)	L5