EDUCATION TOWARD IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF WOMEN: IMPACT OF A COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION IN RURAL KENYA

by

YASUKO SOEDA

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Dr. Kathie Carpenter, Chair of the Examining Committee

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Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. Kathie Carpenter, Chair
Dr. Leslie Steeves
Dr. Surendra Subramani

Accepted by:

Dean of the Graduate School

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Although many development programs addressing gender issues exist, few development agencies and organizations pay attention to program evaluation and long-term outcomes. The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether a community-based organization improves women's quality of life through a combination of sewing, health education, and general education classes in the rural community of Takaungu, Kenya. Specifically, I question whether the East African Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children's (EAC) programs are successful *from the participants' point of view*. In interviews with 29 program participants, I asked them how they perceive the programs of the EAC and whether they are using their acquired skills in their daily lives. Employing the EAC as a case study through participant observation and survey through interviews from my 12-week stay with the EAC, I wish to make these women's voices heard.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Yasuko Soeda

PLACE OF BIRTH: Japan

DATE OF BIRTH: 26 June 1983

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Japan Women's University, Tokyo

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, International Studies, 14 June 2008, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, English, 2006, Japan Women's University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

African Studies
Gender and Development

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Intern, East African Center, Takaungu, Kenya, 2007

Teaching assistant, Japanese Language Immersion Elementary School, Yujin Gakuen, Eugene, Oregon, 2006-2007

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Thurber Award, International Studies Program, 2007

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview of My Research

The purpose of this thesis is to explore whether and how community-based organizations impact women in the rural community of Takaungu, Kenya. Specifically, my thesis focuses on the East African Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children (EAC), a registered U.S. non-profit organization founded in December 2001. My first research question is: *in what ways can the EAC programs improve the quality of women's lives at the grassroots level?* My second is: *how can evaluation be used to strengthen these programs?* There are a range of reasons why my study focuses on women in Takaungu.

Gender inequality in the area of education exists in Kenya because of historical, socioeconomic, and cultural influences. During the colonial era, women were excluded from the educational and economic sectors. While Kenya has made significant progress in providing educational services to all Kenyans since its independence in 1963, the dropout rates among girls are higher than among boys. The

obstacles that affect women continuing school are economic difficulties, the high cost of education, domestic duties, early marriage, pregnancy, and infection of HIV/AIDS or other diseases. The EAC, therefore, strives to empower women through a combination of sewing, health, and general education classes. This thesis will analyze the EAC's programs through a combination of qualitative and quantitative evaluation.

Previous studies have mainly examined the evaluation of development programs through quantitative methods. Few case studies focus on qualitative analysis of rural development programs. Since the 1980s, there have already been many quantitative analyses of local organization performance of rural development from Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Uphoff et al. 67). Uphoff et al. point out a lack of evaluation of the rural development program (143-4). Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) has evaluated its effectiveness of the program in detail, in order to "ensure that scarce resources have their intended benefit" (143-4). BRAC is a non-governmental organization (NGO) that performs multispectral development for the rural poor through village organizations in Bangladesh (Uphoff et al. 12). In the 1980s and 90s BRAC extensively assessed the oral rehydration therapy (ORT) program (Uphoff et al. 143). For 10 years, "BRAC staff educated 12 million mothers in rural Bangladesh on how to save the lives of their children afflicted with diarrhea"

(143). For evaluation, in some months after training, BRAC tested whether "mothers could mix solutions that met medical standards" (Uphoff et al. 143). For this purpose, BRAC set up laboratories in rural areas (Uphoff et al. 143). Like the case of BRAC, my research mainly concentrates on detailed and qualitative evaluation of development programs through participant observation and survey by semi-structured open-ended interviews.

This thesis will analyze the programs of the EAC, in order to evaluate its programs and explore its impact on the rural community and women's lives and status. My hypothesis is that the EAC improves the quality of life of women through education. In this thesis, "the improvement of the quality of life of women" means that women can maintain their primary physical and mental health by themselves, increase their economic opportunities, and build self-reliance. Sewing skills may increase women's income through making clothes. Literacy ability may provide women with self-reliance. Health education may decrease infant mortality rates. In order to test my hypothesis, I will analyze the results that I collected from my interviews of the program participants and participant observation during a 12-week stay with the EAC last summer. In interviews with 29 program participants, I asked them how they perceived the programs of the EAC and whether they were using their

new skills in their daily lives, in order to analyze whether the programs improved their quality of life.

The goal of my research is to bring the attention of academia, government, and development agencies to the evaluation of the organization focusing on women's empowerment in rural Kenya. Many scholars have identified the problems that women have faced. However, little literature pays attention to evaluation of development programs focusing on empowerment of women. I will write this project not only for scholars, politicians, and development agencies working in Kenya but also for broader readers in gender studies, education, and international studies. It is my wish that this work will make the readers more aware of the long-term outcome and the effectiveness of the programs that focus on women.

This study may contribute to increasing knowledge on how gender identification and education shape women's lives in rural Kenya. Gender issues that women face are different cross-culturally because of historical influences and cultural and social norms. I wish to address Kenyan women's perspectives of their experiences. Additionally, this research contributes to creating a bridge between academia and development organizations. This thesis consists of five chapters, in order to test my hypothesis and reach the goal of the study.

This first chapter provides the overview of this thesis. First, in the previous sections the chapter discussed the purpose of my research, gaps between existing literature, the hypothesis and the goal of this thesis, and the significance of the study. Next, it will discuss the research site: the Takaungu sub-location. Then, it will go into methodology, including my research methods. Finally, it will deal with research limitations. Before I present the results of the field research, I will use the next chapter to examine the existing literature, in order to provide information about education and women in Kenya as well as evaluation philosophy.

The second chapter will review existing literature. This chapter will initially consider historical and cultural factors that shaped women's status in Kenyan society. The chapter will discuss traditional and modern familial values as well as gender and education in Kenya. Next, the chapter will explore women in development. I will examine whether economic growth or the quality of life is important for sustainable development. Then, the chapter will go into the specific development programs that have shaped the current women's situation in Kenya. Specifically, I will analyze how the global economy, debt, and structural-adjustment programs have affected women. Ultimately, the chapter will examine program evaluation concerning some methods

that guide my research. In order to test my hypothesis, I will analyze the EAC program.

The third chapter will first explore family life and education in Takaungu based on my field research through participant observation. Last, the chapter will consider the EAC programs at the Vutakaka Community Center in Takaungu. While this chapter mainly focuses on culture in Takaungu and the EAC education program for children, the next chapter concentrates on the specific EAC program regarding women.

The fourth chapter will study the sewing class. First, the chapter will provide general information about the sewing class. Afterwards, the chapter will go into the first and the second sewing group surveys, in order to evaluate the sewing, health, and adult education classes. In the end, I will give overall program evaluation.

This thesis will conclude that evaluation needs to consider multiple aspects of development organizations. In closing, I will provide some recommendations for researchers and the EAC to improve the quality of the programs to give women access to better programs. The next section will describe the research location: the Takaungu sub-location in Kenya.

Research Location

The Takaungu Sub-location (See Appendices A and B)

My research site is the Takaungu sub-location, which is a rural community located within an hour of both Malindi and Mombassa, which are both leading ports, and Mombasa is the second-largest city in Kenya. Takaungu has a population of about 5,000. The Takaungu sub-location is a political grouping of several villages, such as Vuma, Vijiweni, Kayanda, Kanyumbuni, Mavueni and Mkwajuni. The British colonial government looped these villages together for administrative purposes. (Come Kuona) While the Takaungu sub-location is a small community, it has diversity in its culture.

In Takaungu, diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural groups live side-by-side. The Mswahili and the Mijikenda live together in Takaungu. Arab people intermarried with indigenous Africans, which became the Mswahili. While the Mswahili are the minority, the Mswahili tend to be wealthier and have more social and political power. This is because the history of successful trading gave Arab people more political and economic power in local culture. The Giriama people are "one of nine culturally and historically related people called the Mijikenda" in coastal Kenya (Udvardy 1755). *Miji* means 'nine' and *kenda* means 'ethnic groups' or 'villages' (Sedlak 3).

Mijikenda includes nine ethnic groups: the Kauma, Chonyi, Dzihana, Giriama, Kambe, Ribe, Rabai, Duruma, and Digo (Sedlak 141). In Takaungu the majority of the residence is the Mgiriama and all nine ethnic groups are there. In addition to various ethnic groups, Takaungu also has religious diversity.

Kiswahili is "strongly associated with their ethnic heritage and with Islam" (McIntosh 1925). Intermarriage between the Mswahili and the Mgiriama is recently seen in Takaungu, especially among young generations. The dominant religions are Islam and Christianity. The rest of the population holds indigenous beliefs. There are not only various religions but also languages in Takaungu.

The Mijikenda have their own languages. The origin of Mijikenda languages is unclear. Some claim that each ethnic group of Mijikenda has its own language. Alternatively, Mijikenda share one language and each ethnic group has a different dialect (Sedlak 137). Kiswahili is the first language of the Swahili people. While Kigiriama is the first language of the Giriama people, many of them speak both Kigiriama and Kiswahili because Kiswahili is the national language and the Giriama people learn Kiswahili through interacting with the Swahili (McIntosh 1929). Sedlak notes, "Bilingualism in Swahili among the Mijikenda begins at age five or six through contact with native speakers, Mijikenda bilinguals or radio contact situation" (10).

Education attainment is directly correlated with language competency. A lack of language education sometimes marginalizes women because of language competency. Sedlak claims that "English proficiency is usually limited to primary school graduates" (10). Sedlak explains the linguistic situation among the Mijikenda and the Mswahili in relation to gender:

> Within the Mijikenda population, most males speak Swahili in addition to their Mijikenda vernacular. Women tend to be more monolingual, although most seem to be at least incipiently bilingual in Swahili. The Swahili are usually monolingual in their language. Primary school graduates within these groups may also speak English. (9)

Education opportunities are available for men more than for women. This fact affects women's language proficiency and future job opportunities. The lack of language education might marginalize women from society. Because of their economic situation, parents cannot afford to pay tuition to let their daughters go to school.

Most people in Takaungu live on less than one dollar per day. One dollar equals about 70 Kenyan Shillings (KES). One can buy a fried fish for 25 KES and a mango for six KES. Agricultural production is low. Farmers are often not able to grow enough food to feed their families. (EAC) Moreover, many people in the community, particularly women, are illiterate.

The literacy rate among women is about 15%. Most children, particularly girls, are not able to continue schooling after primary school. In the local state-run primary school, around 200 students study together in a single classroom. Early marriage is common for girls because their families are not able to afford to take care of them. (EAC) Similarly, many women do not have access to health care.

Health care services are located far away and are expensive for local people. Most people have no access to vital medical care. Many local people are diagnosed with Malaria, HIV/AIDS, and other diseases. Highly preventable diseases kill many children. Prenatal and childbirth services are not available for many women. These issues generally exacerbate gender inequalities and diminish the quality of life of women individually and collectively. (EAC) Thus, the EAC tries to provide affordable health care as well as health education to prevent preventable diseases.

Methodology

Qualitative participant-observation research frames my study because my research focuses on analysis of one particular case study in detail rather than examining numerical dimensions. Quantitative research utilizes "numbers and statistical methods" (King et al. 3). This research method tends to "be based on numerical measurements of specific aspects of phenomena; it abstracts from particular

instances to seek general descriptions or to test causal hypotheses; it seeks measurements and analyses that are easily replicable by other researchers" (King et al. 3). On the contrary, qualitative research "covers a wide range of approaches, but by definition, none of these approaches relies on numerical measurements" (King et al. 4). Qualitative methods "tended to focus on one or a small number of cases, to use intensive interviews or depth analysis of historical materials, to be discursive in method, and to be concerned with a rounded or comprehensive account of some event or unit" (King et al. 4). King et al. conclude that "most research does not fit clearly into one category or the other" and "the best often combines features of each" (5). My research methods do not exclude quantitative features, but greatly focus on qualitative.

Qualitative research includes case studies, participant observation, and interviewing. Robert Stake claims that "case studies are a common way to do qualitative inquiry" (443). Case study "draws attention to the question of what specially can be learned about the single case" (Stake 443). Spradley defines "participant observation" as "the general approach of fieldwork in ethnographic research" (qtd. in Dewalt et al. 259). Agar uses it as "a cover term for all of the observation and formal and informal interviewing in which anthropologists engage"

(qtd. in Dewalt et al. 259). A combination of participation and observation works together for research. Banjamin Paul notes that, "participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment. It is a strain to try to sympathize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity" (qtd. in Dewalt et al. 262). Kathaleen Dewalt and Billie Dewalt analyze two main advantages of participant observation: "first, it enhances the quality of the results obtained during fieldwork. Second, it enhances the quality of the interpretation of the results. Participant observation is thus both a data collection and an analytic tool" (264). I used participant observation and interviewing during my 12-week stay in Takaungu to enhance qualitative features of my research.

While interviewing has a risk of interpreting someone's words incorrectly, it is one of the tools to understand others in detail. Fontana and Frey claim that, "the spoken or written word always has a residue of ambiguity, no matter how carefully we word the questions and how carefully we report or code the answers" (Fontana and Frey 697). However, "interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow humans" (Fontana and Frey 697). According to Reinharz, semi-structured open-ended interviews make it possible to explore people's views of reality (qtd. in Kiluva-Ndunda 47). Robert Chambers claims that

semi-structured interviewing is able to "entail having a mental or written checklist, but being open-ended and following up on the unexpected" (117). Semi-structured open-ended interviews and participant observation frame my research.

My Research Methods

Using the EAC as a case study for testing my hypothesis through participant observation and interviews from my 12-week stay with the EAC, my project mainly focuses on qualitative research to scrutinize whether the EAC programs improve the quality of life of women. This does not mean that my research excludes quantitative features, and some interview questions have a quantitative nature. In addition to participant observation, I interviewed women's program participants because one of my research goals is to make women's experiences visible.

To evaluate the programs *from the participants' point of view*, I interviewed 29 women who participated in the sewing, health, and general education programs of the EAC. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 18 to 51, some of whom were married. I gathered information through semi-structured open-ended interviews. I chose this form of interviewing because I wanted the participants to express themselves freely. Also, if someone has a list of answers, they tend to choose from the list before they consider their own experiences. Semi-structured open-ended

interviews enabled me to understand how the participants perceived the EAC programs and why. During interviewing, I tape recorded our conversations after the participants gave informed consent. Additionally, I observed the programs to enhance the qualitative aspect of my research. Before the evaluation of the programs, it is important to define what the successful development programs are.

I define the term "success" of rural development programs as an outcome in which program participants use skills and knowledge that they acquired through the programs and perceive them as "useful" for their daily lives. In addition, success can be measured by whether skills and knowledge assist program participants for increasing economic opportunities and making income. I also include participants' self-fulfillment and emotional satisfactions, such as self-confidence and self-reliance, as a feature of program success, in order to measure whether the program can assist personal mental development. While success of programs themselves is important to define, overall organizational success is significant to define, in order to evaluate development programs.

The success of organizations relies on how organizations effectively use and manage budget and local resources. According to Uphoff et al., "success, although requiring funding, depends more on ideas, leadership, and appropriate strategies than on

money" (Preface viii). It is important to consider how a limited budget can be used for reasonable investment, in order to measure success of organizational management because successful financial management relies on "ideas, leadership, and appropriate strategies" of the organizations. In order to measure the success of the organization and the programs, I will evaluate the sewing class program through surveys by interviewing with 29 program participants. Throughout my fieldwork, I realized some research limitations.

Research Limitations

My research limitations were mainly the location and duration of the fieldwork, the language barrier, miscommunication with my translator, physical condition, social difference, and cultural biases. The only research location was the Takaungu sub-location. This limited my ability to compare Takaungu with other places. Similarly, I stayed at the EAC for only 12 weeks, which was not enough to understand the EAC as well as culture, including languages, in Takaungu.

The language barriers were one of the research limitations of my fieldwork because most local residents used their own languages: Kiswahili and Mijikenda languages. Through participant observation, I realized that my greatest research limitation was the language barrier because I could not understand what local people

were talking about while I was able to understand what they were doing. If I had more local language proficiency, I might understand more about local culture. In my daily life, I mainly talked with educated local people or program participants who could speak English. This might have negatively affected my participant observation because I was not able to speak with many local people. Likewise, the language barriers caused difficulties communicating with my translator throughout the interviews.

Misunderstanding and miscommunication occurred during the interviews because of the language barriers. English was a second language for both my translator and me. Language and communication patterns are deeply rooted in culture. Each language has its nuances and connotations, which might cause conscious and unconscious misunderstandings between the translator and me. A word sometimes does not have an equivalent meaning in other languages. Similarly, using the translator limited my ability to collect accurate information.

My research greatly depended on my translator's interpretations. This meant that her perceptions of what the participants said highly affected my study and interpretations. Freeman points out that "some researchers [. . .] tend to rely on interpreters and so become vulnerable to added layers of meanings, biases, and

interpretations, and this may lead to disastrous misunderstandings" (qtd. in Fontana and Frey 695). My translator, who I hired in Takaungu, talked with local people in the Takaungu sub-location using the languages Kiswahili and Mijikenda. I used English with some Kiswahili and Kigiriama to communicate with my translator. Sometimes I could not understand what she said and my translator was also unable to understand my English. Because for my translator this was her first time translating, I should have given some rules about interviewing, in order to avoid allowing my translator to give interviewees some examples of responses.

Although I told her not to add anything to the questionnaires and to wait for the participants' response to the questions because I wanted participants to think and answer the questions with their own words, my translator kept giving them some examples of responses when it took a while for the participants to come up with their own answers because she was expecting responses through the past participants' answers. In addition to miscommunication with my translator, physical conditions such as weather negatively affected my study.

Because of hot weather and long walking distance, the translator and I sought to finish the interviews and go back home because we were both tired. These physical conditions negatively affected the quality of interviews because they disrupted our

concentration on interviews. Not only physical conditions but also social differences relating to hierarchy limited my ability to collect accurate information.

Power relationships between the participants and me might have existed. I worked with the EAC as a volunteer. The participants might have felt uncomfortable criticizing the EAC programs because criticism might cause them to lose their opportunities to participate in the programs in the future. Especially, some participants continued coming to the Vutakaka Community Center. The others who stopped coming to the Vutakaka Community Center after their graduation from the sewing class might have expressed their thoughts about the EAC programs more freely than those who kept coming to the Vutakaka Community Center. Additionally, cultural influences might have limited participants' ability to express their thoughts.

The participants might not have expressed negative thoughts, which was polite in some cultures. In my Japanese culture, it is rude to give negative feedback to people who you have met for the first time or do not know well. I knew some of the participants because they came to the Vutakaka Community Center every day. On the other hand, I met some of the participants the first time when I visited their home to interview. Similarly, my cultural biases negatively affected my participant observation.

I am biased because of my Japanese cultural background. I tried not to see the world from my perspective, but my cultural views might have affected my participant observation and analysis of the results because I grew up in Japan and spent more than 20 years there. These factors may have negatively affected the results of interviewing and accuracy of the results. In order to minimize the cultural biases, it is important to understand cultural background of Kenyan society.

Before the presentation of the results, the next chapter will discuss historical overview of Kenyan women to examine traditional and modern culture regarding education. Also, the chapter will examine development programs in Kenya to explore some problems that women have faced. Then, the chapter will go into program evaluation that frames my study, in order to evaluate one of these development programs in rural Kenya.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historical Overview of Women in Kenyan Society

Traditional Family Life to Modern

In Kenya, parents and other family members have traditionally been the primary caregivers and educators of their children (Swadener et al. 286). Currently, a demand for child care centers or preschool has been increasing because "mothers are working long hours" and traditional caregivers, including grandmothers and older siblings, are unavailable to care for young children, particularly in urbanized and agricultural areas (Swadener et al. 286-7). The study by Swadener et al. examines the nature and impact of rapid socioeconomic change on child-rearing, early education and community mobilization in eight districts of Kenya (285). Mothers in urban settings and on the plantations "expressed concern about not being able to provide enough time and attention to their children" (Swadener et al. 294). They also "expressed concern that they no longer had the kinds of extended family assistance with child care" that they used to have in the past; "Grandmothers were more likely to

need to work in more urbanized areas and older siblings were now in school and could not help out as much in child care" (Swadener et al. 294). Parents and the local community mainly fund "early childhood care and education (ECCE) services, including feeding programs and the majority of nursery schools" (Swadener et al. 286). Kenyan society lacks childcare givers. In addition to changes in family life and childrearing, the extended family is becoming the nuclear family because job roles among family are changing.

Kenyan families have traditionally been extended. However, this familial structure has been changing because of the increasing number of nuclear families and divorce. Frequently, a single parent, usually a mother, raises her children and lives "under great stress and financial hardship" (Swadener et al. 294). In interviews conducted by Swadener et al., some participants in rural areas stated that "the informal systems previously used to prevent divorce [. . .] were rapidly disappearing" (294). For instance, members of women's self-help groups no longer try to convince a woman who is not getting along with her husband to stay with him (Swadener et al. 294). Younger mothers' life styles are also different from that of their grandparents. They are struggling with nursing children and working outside the home (Swadener et al. 294). Also, grandparents, particularly grandmothers, used to pass down "traditional

stories, metaphors, and advice for living" (Swadener et al. 294). Time, distance, and rapid social and economic change cut these traditions (Swadener et al. 294). Similarly, the role of children has been changing.

Older siblings are usually responsible for chores, child care, and cooking (Swadener et al. 295). According to Swadener et al., "in more traditional Samburu and Maasai communities, grandmothers still provided much of the child care for 'under threes,' and girls were often kept out of school to assist in child care" (295). Children of middle and upper middle class families in urban areas do not need to do family-based activities (Swadener et al. 295). Women are responsible for many activities, including childrearing and farming because there has been no clear boundary between responsibilities in and out of the home.

The Kenyan women traditionally "performed roles of wife, mother, child-bearer, caretaker, and food provider" (Karani 422). Florida Karani explains traditional education for women in Kenyan society. Traditional education means mainly "a practical education through which one lived by doing and observing [. . .]" (422). The girls were taught how to cook, tend children, fetch water, collect firewood, do garden work, cultivate, sow, weed and harvest (Karani 422). Karani claims that "the women's role was essential to the wellbeing of the family. [. . .] They were respected

and protected" (422). At the same time, Karani emphasizes the significance of schooling of women in the modern society by stating that "although the women continued to perform the traditional roles, traditional education alone was no longer adequate or relevant preparation for the professional roles in the modern society" (422). The Republic of Kenya also recognizes the importance of formal education for women.

> Education gives the woman the knowledge, skills, and the confidence to take care of herself in a competitive world. Moreover, her education contributes directly to the general improvement of health and living standards. With improved female education, the various aspects of home management are handled better, facilitating a rise in the general living standards of the family. The required health methods of infant and child care are achieved faster with education of the mother. (qtd. in Karani 423)

While the actual implementation to promote education for women, particularly in rural areas, of the Kenyan government is questionable, the government emphasizes the significance of education for women and its effect on the family. Importantly, the government mentions the impact of women's education on improving the quality of life for the family. In order to promote education for women, it is important to understand their roles in home and society.

In Kenya gender roles exist among families, and women's work does not have clear boundaries between domestic work and work outside the home. Women are usually responsible for childrearing, and domestic work, as well as farm labor.

Kenyan women "are responsible for at least 75 to 80 percent of the farm labor, as well as for the bearing, rearing, and nursing of the next generation" (Steeves 17). Cultural tradition sometimes disturbs girls' schooling. Girls in Kenya traditionally "have been homemakers and wives, and education has been viewed as unnecessary for girls in order to perform their family duties" (Branyon 9). The situation is harder for the oldest female siblings because they have to take care of younger members of the family. Those daily tasks take their time away from their schooling. Branyon recognizes that "girls often are kept at home to help parents with domestic chores without regard to missed educational opportunities" (10). In addition to this domestic work, women are supposed to earn money outside of the home. Branyon points out that "women and girls must contribute to the family income by working as gardeners, house workers or in other menial occupations" (Branyon 10). These women's responsibilities in the family take away their opportunities to go to school. Yet, those gender roles are deeply rooted in culture and are difficult to change. This is not the only cultural custom that affects women's continuation of schooling.

Early marriage and pregnancies might also make female students drop out of school. Branyon points out those cultural customs.

> Traditionally, most Kenyan tribes practice a dowry system in which daughters are a valued commodity. Fathers often marry off their daughters

> at a very young age in order to receive the promised dowry. Girls as young as nine or ten years of age are married to much older men for the dowries. Early marriage and early pregnancies prevent many girls from continuing their education. (Branyon 9)

It is a challenging situation to find way to keep a balance between traditional culture and formal schooling. Yet, once women get married or pregnant, they are likely to drop out of school. Then they would be left behind from society. Not only cultural customs, but also economic difficulties among Kenyan families cause the high dropout rates for adolescent girls; hence economic hardship among the family urges girls to marry earlier. The next section will examine why education for women is important and what factors have shaped women's lives and education.

Gender and Education in Kenya

The previous studies have examined positive or negative aspects of education and the determinant of educational decision making. Mensch and Lloyd argue that, according to "demographic literature," "education is seen as uniformly positive in that it leads women to delay marriage and childbearing and ultimately to bear fewer children and to invest more in each child" (168). Conversely, the education literature discovers that "even though girls are able to acquire knowledge and skills, schools are seen as conservative institutions that reinforce gender inequality" (Mensch and Lloyd 168). While education literature introduces negative aspects of girls'

schooling, the school or educational policy could be changed to give female students some benefits. Mensch and Lloyd conclude that "girls have much to gain from doing well in school, even if they are treated poorly" (168). Some scholars insist that "traditional notions of gender-appropriate activities promote the idea that girls do not need formal schooling" (Buchmann 1354). In another sense, development economists typically advocate the positive relationship between investment in education and economic returns for nations (Mukudi 234). Mensch and Lloyd emphasize the benefits of girls' schooling for getting higher-income jobs and increasing marriage opportunities in their future. Benefits of schooling are not only to get a higher income and a higher chance of marriage, but also to improve the quality of life. While education can improve women's lives, the economic situation among families is also closely related to access to education.

It is important to recognize that education is not necessarily a panacea for all social problems. Negative aspects of education exist. John Isbister discusses the negative impacts of education. Isbister points out the familial sacrifices due to educational costs and labor shortages because of schooling (173). Isbister also claims that economic growth and investment in education affect each other by stating that "health and education may be important determinants of economic development, but

they are equally consequences of development" (174). Another problem is gender inequality in education.

Gender inequality in the area of education exists in Kenya because of historical, social, and cultural contexts. In Kenya, "women have been forgotten, neglected, and discriminated against in the provision of educational opportunities" (Kiluva-Ndunda 8). During the colonial era, women were excluded from the educational and economic sectors. While Kenya has made significant progress in providing educational services to all Kenyans since its independence in 1963, the dropout rates among girls are higher than boys. Some of the obstacles that affect women continuing school are economic difficulties, the high cost of education, domestic duties, early marriage, pregnancy, or infection of HIV/AIDS or other diseases. Women tend to be suffering from poverty because of unequal education and economic opportunities. Martha Nussbaum claims that "gender inequality is strongly correlated with poverty."

> The four countries ranking lowest in the gender-adjusted development index (GDI) (Sierra Leone, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali) also rank lowest in the Human Poverty Index (HPI), a complex measure [. . .] including low life expectancy, deprivation in education, malnutrition, and lack of access to safe water and health services; among the four developing countries ranking highest in the HPI, three (Costa Rica, Singapore, and Trinidad and Tobago) also rank among the highest in the GDI [. . .]. (qtd. in Nussbaum 3)

Gender inequality exacerbates women's economic and social status. Because of the complexity of historical, cultural, and social factors, women have fewer opportunities than men to attend school or to continue schooling. Kenya is highly male-dominant society, which also affects women's educational attainment.

Because of hierarchy and patriarchy in Kenya, it is a male-oriented society. The main actor of the family is the male. The father is the decision-maker. Male dominance is not only in the family but also in the community and society as a whole. Branyon maintains that "in Sub-Saharan Africa, men are the predominant breadwinners of the households and, consequently, receive the lion's share of the family resources to obtain the skills or education necessary to obtain employment" (10). The oldest son usually dominates the second position in the family. Also, male children are preferred and privileged because of their contribution to familial income in the future. Male preference is applied to the educational decision by their parents: "families often must decide which children will continue their education and which will not, and inevitably, male children are given preference" (Branyon 9). Buchmann explains in detail the reason why parents choose to send boys to go to school instead of girls: "where daughters leave the household upon marriage and sons inherit land and stay with the family, parents may feel that large investments in schooling are not

in the best interest of daughters or for maximizing family wealth" (1354). As a consequence, continuing education is harder for girls than boys in the male-dominant society. In addition, parents' educational levels shape their female children's future.

Parents' educational levels determine children's educational participation. Educated parents tend to give their children's education higher priority. Branyon asserts that "the education level of parents directly affects the education of children" (10). Moreover, if parents realize or respect the importance of education, they would support children instead of letting them to do domestic work and take care of siblings. Their support has better outcomes for girls: "when women receive support and education, the education level of their children rises as well. Children will be healthier, have more support at home and perform better in school" (Colclough qtd. in Branyon 10). Thus, educational levels of parents take an important role in the girls' schooling. For this reason, parents' better understanding of the significance of primary education is essential to increase the number of girls who will be able to attend school. In addition to parents' role, colonial history also affects education for women.

Without explaining the history of British colonialism, it is difficult to understand the current situation that Kenyan women face. Colonial systems

marginalized women's status in many ways. For example, colonialism has impacted Kenyan society in different sectors, including education. Mutindi Mumbua Kiluva-Ndunda examines "the colonial legacy of education in Kenya" (84). Traditionally, gender roles were clear (Kiluva-Ndunda 84). Males "cleaned the land and prepared it for planting, looked after cattle, went hunting" (Kiluva-Ndunda 84). Women did domestic work, cultivated the piece of the ground that men cleared, and planted and harvested crops (Sifuna qtd. in Kiluva-Ndunda 84). Moreover, women participated fully in the economy beyond the household and played important roles in the political decision-making process (Kiluva-Ndunda 84). However, European ideology regarding gender and the system of colonial administration created a clear gap between men and women.

European male-oriented tradition had a great influence on Kenya's values on gender roles. Robert Stock argues that "European officials and missionaries brought with them their own notions of the proper social and economic roles for women" that "women should stay at home and concentrate on child rearing and domestic labor" for the Victorian ideal (283). European-biased gender ideology changed the role of women in Kenyan society. Many other factors imposed by the colonial administration changed women's social status.

The colonial policies marginalized women. The colonial administration needed labor from young men; women, children, and elderly men remained in the villages (Oliver 227). Oliver describes how the colonial power controlled African people and land, but he does not explain in detail how colonialism impacted women. Kiluva-Ndunda examines how the system of the European colonial administration created gender inequality in Kenyan society:

> The coming of the Europeans and the onset of colonialism dismantled precapitalist gender roles. Men were given a semiformal education to prepare them for work in settlers' farms and in the lowest echelons of the colonial administration. On the other hand, women were left in the rural areas in charge of all the household work. Men were prepared for entry into the world of paid work while women were left in the villages to provide unpaid work to subsidize men's poor wages. (Kiluva-Ndunda 85)

Europeans imposed their own gender concepts on Africans. The colonial administration excluded Kenyan women in wage labor and semiformal education that men acquired through the process of control by the colonial power. Robertson et al. claim that "colonial policies were detrimental; they discriminated systematically against women in limiting access to such new critical resources as Western education and wage labor" (qtd. in Kiluva-Ndunda 85). While some scholars pay little attention to the effects of the British colonization on education in Kenya, Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang maintain that the British Empire's colonialism and imperialism

has impacted the educational system by stating that, "the history of education in Kenya has been closely connected to colonialism [. . .]" (qtd. in Driscoll 6). Likewise, not much literature concerning Kenya's education analyzes the relationship between colonialism and gender equality. Among the few, Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang maintain that "the newly established colonial schools had more male enrollment than female for a variety of reasons" (414). Even after independence, gender inequality in education has continued. The current adult literacy rate in Kenya shows gender inequality in education: the female adult literacy rate was 70.2 % compared with the rate of 90 % for males (UNDP 373). Perhaps surprisingly, even Kenyan women usually prefer to educate their sons over their daughters (Kiluva-Ndunda 85) because women will leave their home when they get married. Perhaps rural areas were most affected by the colonial policies.

Women in rural Kenya have been left behind because of the system of colonial administration. As Oliver and Kiluva-Ndunda point out, women were left in the rural village while men worked as migrant labor. This might have affected the current gender gap between rural and urban areas. Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang's work illustrates that "nationally, whereas only 16% of females have secondary education, the figure is as high as 43% for the Nairobi region, and as low as 12.5% in

the Nyanza region" (407). Their study shows the geographic inequalities among rural and urban areas (See Appendix C). Therefore, British colonial rule changed the social hierarchy in Kenya, particularly in the rural areas. British colonialism has made Kenya a highly male-oriented society, left the gender hierarchy and inequality, and marginalized women in rural Kenya.

Those who are living in the city tend to have better access to jobs and education. According to Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang, "the African females in the urban areas and those in the core regions, almost invariably, have better access to education and literacy, even if their degree of access is inferior compared to their male counterparts" (419). This educational gap also exists in Kenya between rural and urban areas.

The circumstances of female children are different between urban and rural areas in Kenya. In urban poverty areas, "children may be sent to work or to beg, or worse yet, be forced into prostitution in order to support the family" (Branyon 9). Those who are born in underprivileged families have less chance to go to school, even in urban areas. In rural regions, the types of jobs children do to support their families are different: "in rural settings, children participate in agriculture, care for younger siblings, herd animals, collect firewood and perform other domestic chores" (Branyon

9). The school is sometimes far from their rural homes. Girls have no time to go to school to study because they have to support their families to survive. Women in rural Kenya continue to struggle with barriers to basic education. In addition to colonial impact on education in rural areas, colonialism affected language policy of the Kenyan government that also marginalized women, who have less access to formal schooling to learn English.

Language Situation and Policy in Kenya

More than 40 indigenous languages currently exist in Kenya (Mbaabu qtd. in Musau 156). About 66% of indigenous languages belong to the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family, such as Kikuyu, Kamba, and Luyia (Gorman qtd. in Musau 156). About 31% of the population consists of speakers of the Nilotic languages (Musau 156). Three percent of the population speaks Cushitic languages (Musau 156). Other languages come from the Indian subcontinent, among them Hindi and Urdu (Musau 156). The seven largest groups, six Bantu and one Nilotic, are spoken by 75% of Kenya's population (Musau 156). For most people, these languages are their 'mother tongues or vernaculars' (Musau 156). Also, people use these languages as a means of inter-ethnic communication (Musau 156). Mohamed Abdulaziz and Ken Osinde note, "over 40 mother tongues are important languages of ethnic identity,

culture, and communication in the communities concerned but are used mostly in oral interaction" (43). Lower classes of primary school in many rural areas use these languages as the media of instruction (Musau 156). European's arrival also affected language policy in education in Kenya.

In the pre-colonial and early colonial period, the missionaries preferred to use the indigenous languages as the media of instruction in primary education in Kenya (Kioko and Muthwii 202). At this stage only the British missionaries, government administrators, and settlers living and ruling in the colony used English (Kioko and Muthwii 202). Right before independence in 1963, the British colonial government sought to maintain their influence through English language domination in Kenya (Musau 157). The Education Department's Annual Report for 1951 addresses that English should be a media of teaching starting in the lower classes because as the media of instruction in primary school, the usage of three languages (English, Kiswahili, and mother tongues) was pedagogically inappropriate (Colony and Protectorate of Kenya qtd. in Musau 157). The implementation of this policy started in 1958 (Musau 157). The language policy of English-medium education continued after independence in 1963.

After independence, the Kenya Education Commission (the Ominde Commission) suggested that school should continue to use English from primary one (grade one in primary school), a policy that continues to this day (Republic of Kenya qtd. in Senanu and Williams 2). The Commission also recommended that Kiswahili should be a compulsory subject in all primary schools (Musau 157). In 1976 the 'Gachathi Report' by the second post-independence education commission (The National Committee on Education Objectives and Policies) restated that Kiswahili should be made a compulsory and examinable subject in primary school (Republic of Kenya qtd. in Senanu and Williams 2). Even so, it took nine more years to be implemented (Musau 161). In 1985 the government of Kenya published the 'Mackay Report' to restructure the education system, in which "Kiswahili became a compulsory and examinable subject in primary and secondary schools" (Musau 157). This implementation improved the status of Kiswahili (Musau 157). This also gave public attention to Kiswahili. At the same time, my question is why only Kiswahili should obtain a special position. Musau also notes that "Kenya does not seem to have a clearly stated democratic language policy that recognises and promotes all the languages used in the country" (161). Because it took nine years to implement the plan to make Kiswahili a compulsory language in school, it may take a while to direct

a spotlight on to all other indigenous languages in Kenya. This low status of indigenous languages threatens their existence.

Many languages are disappearing all over the world. According to United Nation Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), "every year, at least 10 languages disappear. Of the 6,000 currently spoken in the world, about half are threatened" ("Languages"). The case of Kenya is not exceptional because the government seems to hesitate to give any attention to the indigenous languages, which threatens language diversity and survival. Language is a part of culture and identity, so the dying out of languages may mean a death of culture and identity of a certain ethnic group.

The situation of English immersion reminded me of several cases of the assimilation policies toward indigenous people by some governments. The assimilation policies of Australia, Canada, Japan, the United States, and several other countries included a ban on using and learning native languages for the indigenous people. For example, indigenous children in Australia were not allowed to speak their own languages in missionary schools (The 1997 report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commissioner, Bringing them Home qtd. in Bretherton and Mellor 87). This assimilation policy had a devastating impact on indigenous culture.

UNESCO claims that "minorities are usually the victims and the first thing they get hit by is typically a ban on using their own language" ("Mother-tongue"). Many indigenous people lost their self-esteem because of cultural assimilation. Moumouni argues that schools in Africa ''destroy cultural values and personality,'' turning out graduates ''who are foreigners in their own society'' (qtd. in Trudell 559). Although English domination in Kenyan education is the legacy of colonialism, every school needs to be aware of the importance of indigenous culture. In addition to culture and identity, individual quality of life is important.

The purpose of education is not only for economic growth of the country but also for individual quality of life. Individual quality of life is more important than the economic success of a country because national economic growth does not guarantee benefits to all. Education might contribute to improving the quality of life of an individual. Likewise, through education women might realize how education is important not only for their sons but also for their daughters because education could improve the quality of life of women and their families as well as contribute to their children's better future.

Women in Development

While modernization theory greatly focuses on the economic growth of a country, the balance between national economic growth and people's quality of life is important. However, in the real world, most countries mainly focus on economic success and pay little attention to individual happiness. Also, "modernization" and the current success of the economy are partly based on women's invisible work in domestic spheres. I question whether this process of development was "successful."

If the income gap among individuals is large and low-income people have fewer opportunities to access social welfare, I question whether this situation of the country can be called "successful." If only a few higher-income people can access high-quality health care and the rest of the population has less or no access to health care, the disparate feelings among low-income populations would spread. Akash Kapur argues that economic and material success do not always equal prosperous "development" (40). Although the GDP shows the economic wealth of a nation, it is not able to measure individual quality of life. On the contrary, the HDI (human development index) measures a part of a person's quality of life such as adult literacy, per capita income, and life expectancy at birth (UNDP 263). Basic education, including literacy education, has a potential to build capacity to improve the quality of

life. HDI also focuses on individual income growth rather than national economic growth. Life expectancy at birth can measure how the welfare system, such as health care, works in a country. Although the GDP may be high in a country, if one cannot have equal access to education and health care, one would not stay healthy and work to make enough income. If development programs focus on only economic growth of a country, they may ignore individual happiness. Thus, because HDI focuses more on individual quality of life, it can measure development more appropriately from a long-term perspective.

The development projects mainly focus on income figures because many development workers assume that one can reach both economic growth and the aims of women's development at the same time (Simmons 16). Economic growth does not promise an improved standard of living for all (Simmons 16). Also, improving women's access to wage employment is not synonymous with fair treatment or freedom from harassment, rape, and injury (Simmons 18). Sometimes women have to work under bad work conditions such as sexual or wage exploitation (Simmons 18). Sadasivam also points out that "high growth rates do not necessarily ensure economic and social equality and quality of life" (654). I emphasize the importance of HDI as a measure of human development because those three indexes are related to each other. If

one does not have a basic education, it may be difficult to find a job to make enough income to survive. If one cannot maintain one's physical and mental health, one cannot continue working. These three indexes are interrelated for the quality of life. However, some development programs, particularly structural adjustment, have focused on economic growth rather than the quality of life.

Impact of Global Capital Economy, Debt, and Structural Adjustment

This section explores how structural-adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have impacted children and women in Kenya, particularly in the economic, health, and education sectors. Moreover, it analyzes the Bretton Woods institutions' underlying perceptions of African people, in order to explore why they have imposed these policies for more than 25 years. *The New Times* article, "Africa; Why Globalization is Bad for Africa," reported the disastrous impact of the globalization policies of the World Bank and IMF in African countries: "failed development and economic programs such as [SAPs] imposed on African countries at the expense of local solutions continue to devastate the African continent and peoples." Joseph Stiglitz, a former chief economist at the World Bank, claims that "so called structural-adjustment loans to some of the poorest countries in the world 'restructured' those countries' economies

so as to eliminate jobs but did not provide the means of creating new ones, leading to widespread unemployment and cuts in basic services" (36). Stiglitz points out how a bureaucratic economists' group marginalizes low-income people all over the world through their development projects, including SAPs (40). In the IMF, only one country can exercise veto power - the United States (Stiglitz 40). Voting rights at both the IMF and the World Bank depend on economic power rather than population (Stiglitz 40). Many of the countries' representatives from various regions are finance ministers or members of central banks (Stiglitz 40). These small elite groups discuss the international economic policies without the input of the people who are most affected by these policies (Stiglitz 40). While Stiglitz insightfully criticizes the policies of the IMF and the World Bank controlled by the European and American economists, he is less aware of male-dominated development projects or programs.

The power gap and institutionally unfair world economic system among regions, mainly established by European and American elite economists, hurts the quality of life for people all over the world, particularly women and children who have less access to economic, healthcare, and education opportunities. Riria Ouko argues that SAPs' recommendation of severe cuts on the governments' spending on social services has an unfavorable effect on women because they tend to have less

financial resources than men (qtd. in James and Etim 46). SAPs with privatization policies have increased women's work burdens because structural adjustment has limited "the affordability, availability and safe access to basic social services for many women and their dependents" ("Kenya; Women"). Globalization, which is "a western patriarchal project" that reinforces "western patriarchal exclusions," exacerbates women's poor condition ("Africa"). Economic policies, such as structural adjustment, exclude women from the global market without considering the fact that budget cuts on social services severely exacerbate the poor conditions of women and their children, particularly girls. When school fees are introduced, girls are left behind because many parents prefer to educate their sons over daughters because of the expectation of future economic return in many Asian and African countries. African women have to struggle with meeting needs no longer provided by governments, "such as medical care and food security while girls lose out on education when fees are imposed" ("Africa"). Women have suffered from the most negative impacts of the globalization process ("Africa"). It is, therefore, important to consider gender in development.

Structural adjustment has exacerbated gender inequalities as well as women's poor condition. Although SAPs provided new employment opportunities,

women are often exploited. The integration of women in the global economy under SAPs "has occurred on unequal terms, worsening the working and living conditions of millions of women and deepening gender oppression and subordination" (Sadasivam 643). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), have also pointed out "the growing human and economic inequalities caused by market driven growth and stressed the need to protect the vulnerable, women in particular, from marginalization" (Sadasivam 631). Trade liberalization, agricultural reform, and privatization that SAPs imposed have worsened social, economic, and gender inequalities (Sadasivam 643). SAPs have burdened additional "household management on women, exacerbating their position of responsibility without power" (Sadasivam 639). Although SAPs have expanded new employment opportunities for women in the formal sectors and in export processing, this increased possibility has been mainly because of "employers' preference for low-cost and docile female labor that can be used in repetitive jobs without minimum guarantees" (Sadasivam 641-3). Sadasivam notes that "women's high labor force participation rates in the export manufacturing sector in adjusting economies could be represented as a positive indicator of their right to employment,

without conveying the appalling conditions of work that violate their rights to health, organization, and equal pay for equal work" (655). Employment opportunities do not necessarily improve the quality of women's lives. Rather, sometimes, they exploit women's labor forces. The global capital economy promoted by the international financial institutions has not provided equal economic opportunities for women.

SAPs have ignored gender roles and lacked gender sensitivity. Sadasivam points out gender inequality expanded by the Bretton Woods institutions: "the experience of women as producers and reproducers, workers in industry and agriculture, wives, consumers, mothers, and crisis managers during adjustment programs show the unequal distribution of costs and benefits of SAPs" (663). Sadasivam also criticizes "the gender-blind nature of neoclassical economic theory and gender biases inherent in societies and cultures have served to obscure the increased burdens imposed on women" under SAPs (663). Macroeconomic policies differentiate the public from the private spheres (Sadasivam 656). SAPs have transferred "burdens from the paid economy to the unpaid economy, exacerbating existing gender inequalities in the household and the workplace, and worsening conditions of poverty and deprivation for women" (Sadasivam 664). Since integration of "women in development" has become a significant agenda for the international

development arena, more efforts need to be implemented. Policies imposed by international financial institutions such as SAPs have exacerbated women's poor conditions because of their gender-insensitive nature. The following section will examine the underlying assumption made by the World Bank and the IMF when they imposed these economic policies on Africa.

The Western "civilizing mission" of African people has continued, in order to justify its attitudes since the pre-colonial era. The racist colonial administration used "civilizing mission" as justification of the creation of their top-down system to control African people, including indirect rule. The indirect rule created "a dependent but autonomous system of rule" (Mamdani 60). This structure is similar to the neo-colonialism system in Africa. Noam Chomsky argues that 'neo-colonialism,' which the West domination without direct administration, has continued (57). The continuous globalization experiment ignores "the needs and will of the African peoples" and imposes "a system of neo-colonial control" ("Africa"). International aid has created African countries' debt and dependency on the industrialized countries. The civilizing mission has affected the underlying assumption of the European and American economic and development policies on "developing" countries, particularly

Africa. European and American elite economists dominate the World Bank and IMF. Their underlying assumption affects their policy-making and implementation.

The underlying assumption of many Europeans and Americans is deeply rooted in their "superiority" since they arrived on the African continent. While *Orientalism*, by Edward Said, was published about thirty years ago, his message and warning is still meaningful because "Orientalism" is continuing in the West. He describes Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, destructing, and having authority over the Orient" (3). The assumption of Orientalism is that "Occident" or Western is superior without reservation, and "Orient" is inferior. While Said divides the world "Orient" and "Occident," *Orientalism*, which includes the notion that "we" are superior and "they" are inferior, is everywhere in the world because of the continuation of the Western perception that "we" think "they" are different. Chomsky discusses dehumanization and racism by stating that "[they] were a different race. They weren't human. They weren't like us. We had to crush and destroy them" (65). Orientalism, dehumanization, and racism can apply to European and American assumptions toward African countries because many Western people still believe that "we" should "civilize," "democratize," and "modernize" the African people because they are "uncivilized," and "primitive," which makes "them" poor.

The document of the World Bank reflects the underlying assumption of the European and American elite economists: "billions of people still live in the darkness of poverty—unnecessarily. [. . .] Poor countries—and poor people—differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge. Knowledge is often costly to create, that is why much of it is created in industrial countries" (qtd. in Mehta). What kind of "knowledge" the World Bank mentions is questionable. The World Bank has undervalued long cultural history and traditional "knowledge" of many countries, including Africa. Also, the view of the World Bank differentiates "us" and "them" because poor countries have less "knowledge." This document shows that the underlying assumption of the World Bank is that "they" are inferior to "us" because "they" have less "knowledge" that makes "them" poor. This argument ignores the fact that the World Bank's development policies have exacerbated the poor living conditions of billions of people. Before the World Bank reflects the failed policy, it blames the African government for low economic growth.

Western views of African countries have a long history of blaming their poor government performance for "underdevelopment." The World Bank also has had the long-standing position of attributing low economic growth to the poor government performance of the African states since its 1981 'agenda for action' (Schatz 240).

James Ferguson also criticizes the nature of the Western perspective of justifying the European and American policies, and blaming African countries without explicitly recognizing the Western failure of development programs. Western governments and lenders sought to attribute "the failure of 'modernization'" to "'inefficient,' 'mismanaged,' 'corrupt' African states" (Ferguson 84). Bernstein argues that Western governments and lenders criticize the failed policies that those same Western leaders and institutions posed because the policies created "much of the corruption and mismanagement" (qtd. in Ferguson 84). Sayre Schatz criticizes the World Bank's fundamental misperception of African government and economy. Structural adjustment is failing because of "the mistaken view that the basic cause of Africa's economic stagnation is poor government performance" (Schatz 240). This attribution will continue unless elite economists and politicians realize their misperception of the African countries and government.

The statement of the former World Bank President clearly shows this Bank's misperception and attribution to poor performance of the African governments. The former World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz blamed corrupt African governments for less economic growth without mentioning anything about the World Bank's failed SAPs in the 115th annual assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary

that more than 100 countries attended. Wolfowitz stated, "Rampant corruption especially in poor African nations jeopardizes international efforts to combat poverty and disease"; development aid goes to corrupt government rather than toward jobs, health care, and other essential services for the poor; "corruption is a disease that thrives on darkness"; "transparency, participation and accountability" can prevent African governments from corruption; although some $300 billion development aid went to Africa in the last twenty years, there are little results to show for it; the sub-Saharan African region has been moving "dangerously" toward poverty; "between 1981 and 2002, the number of people living in poverty in the sub-Saharan countries nearly doubled from more than 160 million to more than 300 million roughly half the population of the subcontinent" (qtd. in Zarocostas). Wolfowitz and many elite economists in the World Bank might never realize what factors, including slave trade, colonial legacy, and ongoing neo-colonialism, have exacerbated poor conditions of millions of African people. William Easterly claims that African nations were "convulsed by centuries of the slave trade, colonialism, arbitrary boarders, tropical diseases and local despots" (40). Ironically, academia and the civil society often criticize the World Bank because of its lack of transparency, participation, and accountability, while Wolfowitz criticizes the African governments for the same

things. Although he blames the African governments for not improving economic growth between 1981 and 2002, he does not mention SAPs that the World Bank imposed at the same time period. Furthermore, although Wolfowitz asserted that international aid will not go toward social services for the people, he ignored the fact that SAPs forced many African governments to cut expenditures on social services. Although Wolfowitz stated that corruption of the African governments was the main cause of low economic growth, he ignored the top-down structure created by the British colonial government as well as SAPs imposed for more than 20 years on the African continent. In the same assembly, Richard Kozul-Wright, senior economist with the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, argued that corruption was connected with underdevelopment, and he blamed the World Bank for "its failed structural-adjustment and poverty-reduction policies of the past 25 years" (qtd. in Zarocostas). Instead of mentioning its policy, Wolfowitz differentiated the sub-Saharan African region as becoming "dangerously" poorer. At least, the Western-dominated international economic institutions should be aware of the effectiveness of their economic policies before they blame their recipient countries. At the same time, it is difficult to change elite economists' mindset that devalues African

people as well as continues to create a stereotypical image of Africa. The demoralizing of the African economy is also a Western tendency.

Western elite economists degrade and demoralize the African economy and culture that emphasizes mutual help and sharing. Ferguson discusses "conflicting moral orientations" between capitalism and socialism: "selfishness versus sharing, exploitation versus solidarity, individual acquisitiveness versus communal mutuality" (75). Ferguson introduces African socialism ideology; "Pro-social, collective wealth provides the basis for community and mutuality; antisocial, exploitative wealth is the dangerous and destructive temptation for which people's hearts may be cut out" (73). Western capitalists devalue and demoralize this African socialism ideology and force many African countries to accept their capitalist ideology by using their development policies, including SAPs.

SAPs have created an unfair economic system made by the Western-dominated financial institutions, as well as made the economic situation in the sub-Saharan African countries worse. The basic idea of SAPs is to improve the efficiency of the economy and export capacity to grow under the condition of reduced government spending on public services such as education, health, agriculture, and environment (Bello 27). In addition, SAPs' aim is to promote export commodities and

foreign investment, and currency devaluation (Bello 27). These policies, based on the Western interest, have created an unfair relationship between European and American countries and Africa. According to an article in *The New Times*, "Africa; Why Globalization is Bad for Africa," "the rich countries write rules" that "'privatize everything and sell it to western corporations at a criminally cheap rate' – then buy back [. . .] goods and services at prices [the] average citizen cannot afford." SAPs exploit African natural and human resources through integrating African countries into the global capital economy. By analyzing the economic, health care, and education sectors in Kenya, the following section will explore in detail how SAPs have marginalized children and women.

During 1980-2000, the World Bank, the IMF, and other multilateral and bilateral donors provided the Kenyan government 21 adjustment loans under the same regime of President Daniel Arap Moi (Devarajan et al. 471; Easterly 37). The article in *The Nation*, "Kenya; Review Health Plans," reported that the Kenyan government had difficulties providing "quality social services, including medicare and education, to all" because of the economic crisis of the late 1970s and SAPs of the 1980s and 1990s. Although the basic idea of SAPs is to "make its economy more efficient and capable of sustained growth" (Bello 27), the outcome turned out to be the opposite in

Kenya. Shantayanan Devarajan et al. recognize the failure of SAPs in Kenya. The economic results from almost 20 years of SAPs in Kenya are dissatisfying (World Bank qtd. in Devarajan et al. 510). Although "there have been periods (1985-90 and 1994-96) of reasonable recovery and respectable GDP growth," overall, the economic record has been undistinguished (World Bank qtd. in Devarajan et al. 510). SAPs have "failed to create the conditions for a sustained recovery of GDP growth to the levels attained in the 1960s and early 1970s" (World Bank qtd. in Devarajan et al. 510). In addition to the continuously slow economic growth, social indicators such as life expectancy, child mortality, and primary school enrollment have revealed negative trends in recent years (World Bank qtd. in Devarajan et al. 510). SAPs have negatively affected the economy and social service sectors in Kenya. Schatz also notes that "implementation of structural adjustment most often causes poorer economic performance" (239). The negative effects of SAPs have been continuing in economic and social service sectors in many sub-Saharan African nations.

Impact on Economy

SAPs have exacerbated the economic conditions in many sub-Saharan African countries, including Kenya. In fact, "real income *per capita* rose from 1950 to 1977 and fell thereafter" in sub-Saharan Africa (Schatz 243). Unpublished annual

World Bank data reveals a sudden break in 1977 by reporting that real annual GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa (unweighted average) was as follows: "3.7 per cent in the 1950s; 4.3 per cent in the 1960s; 4.2 per cent from 1970 to 1977; and then a sudden drop to 1.8 per cent from 1977 to 1984 (and even lower subsequently)" (Schatz 243). This data reveals that SAPs caused economic stagnation and stopped economic growth in sub-Saharan African countries. This low economic condition has burdened millions of African people, especially girls and women, in terms of lower access to economic opportunities, health care, and education.

SAPs have accelerated gender inequalities because of a lack of gender awareness. The introduction of cash crops for export through SAPs, in order to improve the efficiency of the agricultural sector exacerbates gender inequalities (Sadasivam 639). It has created a new gender division of labor in which men take over the cash crop and women are pushed to subsistence agriculture, usually on marginal and less fertile lands (Sadasivam 639). The SAP's promotion of cash crops influence women's lives in Africa. Cash cropping has doubly burdened African women, "who bear full responsibility for food crops and help their husbands in cash crop cultivation without any share of the income" (Sadasivam 641). Sadasivam also notes that "in an adjusting economy, the systematic promotion of cash crops

combined with a shrinking labor market and existing gender biases in land ownership and household division of labor and consumption works to worsen women's economic, family, and nutritional status" (641). Because of a lack of gender sensitivity, SAPs have exacerbated women's poor condition. Also, SAPs have worsened gender inequalities in terms of economic opportunities because of a lack of women's land rights.

Women's rights in the area of land rights are important for women in personal development, especially in the process of SAPs. Yet, binding human rights documents do not mention land rights (Sadasivam 657). Under SAPs, women need land rights more than ever. Sadasivam asserts that "access to land and land tenure is crucial to both development and human rights, more so when adjustment policies in agriculture work to deprive women of access to productive resources" (657). Additionally, "women are doubly jeopardized in property rights," as individuals and as married women because "statutory matrimonial conditions in many countries are incompatible with equal rights in inheritance" (Sadasivam 657). Although under structural adjustment, women needed to ensure their land rights, no legal guarantees for women's land rights are available, which makes women poorer. Additionally, the global economy prioritizes public spheres.

Emphasis on the promotion of the global market economy imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions has ignored women's invisible work in domestic spheres. Bharati Sadasivam points out "the 'invisible' impact" of structural adjustment in the sectors of health and reproduction (638). Under the promotion of integrating African countries into the global economy, productive or income-generating activities that relate to the market have increased (Sadasivam 638). On the contrary, reproductive activities, including "caring for the young and old, maintaining health and sanitation, and taking responsibility for food, fodder, fuel, and water," have burdened women because reproductive activities are unpaid and usually female jobs (Sadasivam 637). Economic reform at the macro level emphasizes the "productive economy" that makes profits and covers costs, and ignores the "reproductive economy" that "meets needs and sustains human beings" (Sadasivam 636). Sadasivam examines how this overemphasized "productive economy" negatively affects women because reproductive economy is "sustained by unpaid nonmarket work mostly undertaken by women" (636). Sadasivam asserts that "macroeconomics also assumes an unlimited supply of female labor" (636). Because of gender biases, the Western-dominated financial institutions have ignored these women's invisible work and contribution to development.

Gender-insensitive economic policies emphasizing effective markets are blind to the marginalization of women. Male-dominant economic policies are unconcerned about women's unpaid work in the domestic spheres (Sadasivam 636). For example, a hospital "may become more efficient by streaming its costs and sending patients home early" (Sadasivam 636). However, "the efficiency is achieved by transferring costs from the productive to the reproductive economy, where women's additional and unpaid work in caring for convalescing patients at home compensates for the shortfall in hospital care" (Sadasivam 636). Emphasis on an effective market economy burdens women because their gender roles make them typically responsible for taking care of their families in most African societies.

Introduction of cost sharing of health care has burdened girls and women because many of them cannot afford increased medical fees. Similarly, the cutbacks in expenditures on the health sector could threaten to take women's lives away. For instance, in Tanzania, "seventy-one mothers died in the first thirteen weeks of 1988, when economic reforms were in force – four times the maternal death rate of previous years" (Sadasivam 637). These indirect effects of SAPs have been challenging because "they are not easily measured and cannot be analyzed in purely economic terms and are therefore harder to resolve politically" (Sadasivam 637). Additionally,

SAPs have affected women's nutrition because in some countries, "women usually eat the last and least, and girl children are also poorly fed" (Sadasivam 639). These invisible facts reveal how SAPs have not been sensitive to gender and lacked long-term perspectives of the aspects of ensuring women's and children's human security, including health conditions. The economic policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank mainly focus on their interest for short-term economic growth as well as promotion of the global capital economy. Likewise, the cut of expenditures on social services under SAPs have made women's health conditions worse.

Impact on Social Services

This section explores how conditionality of SAPs that forced the Kenyan government to cut expenditures on social services has marginalized women in Kenyan society. Sadasivam notes that "the cutbacks in food subsidies and in public expenditures on education and health have hit women the hardest in adjusting countries that must strive to meet fiscal austerity requirements" (643). Quality social services are crucial to ensure the long-term healthy development and the improvement of the quality of life of individuals. Expenditures on social services, particularly health care and education, are significant to achieve sustainable development because education and health care can invest in future generations. However, from this

perspective, economic policies imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions have lacked a long-term perspective on development in Africa, and have cut expenditures on social services, including education.

Because of the conditionality of structural adjustment, the Kenyan government had to cut expenditures on education and introduce a cost-sharing plan that has taken educational opportunities from many girls. The cost-sharing program was introduced in 1985 as a means to obtain funding, in order to continue educational expansion (Wortham 132). The Wortham's following statement demonstrates the tendency of the European and American scholars, politicians, and economists that blame African countries for "problems." Wortham claims that "population growth" and "economic stagnation" are the main reasons for the government's introduction of the cost-sharing plan on the education sector (Wortham 132). Parents' educational costs have increased "in proportion to the number of school age children they have" (Wortham 132). SAPs urged the Kenyan government to cut expenditures on education, which burdened parents and communities.

While population growth and economic stagnation are a part of the reasons for the introduction of the cost-sharing program, debt and implementation of SAPs is the main cause of the cost-sharing plan. The origin of most current problems in the

education sector was the introduction of cost sharing in the social sectors under SAPs of the 1980s ("Kenya; A Crucial"). SAPs have forced the government to discontinue supporting school, which has burdened parents. Particularly, the government cut out pay for non-teaching staff, "which meant that schools had to raise money for the purpose," which also has burdened parents ("Kenya; A Crucial"). This fact also means that not only parents but also the community as a whole have the burden of paying non-teaching staff. The ability to hire teachers and non-teaching staff depends on district or community wealth. Moreover, the introduction of cost sharing has taken away many girls from education opportunities because their parents cannot afford to pay tuition and usually prefer to educate their sons over daughters. In addition to education, the government had to cut expenditures on health care.

The budget cut in the health care sector affected the most vulnerable population: children and women who need health and medical care the most. According to an article in *The Nation*, "Kenya; Health Plan Most Welcome," the cost-sharing policy introduced in the public service in the 1980s under SAPs propounded by the Western countries hit the health sector worst. Health services have paid for the medical staff, and have left the population to take care of their diseases ("Kenya; Health"). The conditionality of SAPs burdens millions of Africans because

they cannot afford to pay hospital fees and must take care of themselves and their families. Because prenatal care is crucial for safe delivery, women who are also usually responsible for all processes of childbearing and childrearing in Kenya need health care services the most. The introduction of a fee for health care means that many women cannot afford access to this crucial care for their health that also affects their families' health condition. Because of the cutbacks in the health care sector under SAPs, many African countries have had difficulties dealing with HIV/AIDS.

The Kenyan government has been struggling with the HIV/AIDS epidemic because it could not invest in the health care sector under SAPs when HIV/AIDS emerged. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) causes the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (Aids) (Iliffe 3). According to the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation's *HIV/AIDS Policy Fact Sheet*, in Kenya, the first case of HIV/AIDS was reported in 1984. UNAIDS's country report for 2006 announced that the number of people living with HIV/AIDS in Kenya was estimated 1,300,000; adults aged 15 to 49 HIV prevalence rate was estimated 6.1%; the number of adults aged 15 and up living with HIV was estimated 1,200,000; the number of women aged 15 and up living with HIV was estimated 740,000; the number of deaths due to AIDS was estimated 14,000; the number of children aged 0 to 14 living with HIV was estimated 150,000; the

number of orphans aged 0 to 17 due to AIDS was estimated 1,100,000. John Iliffe points out the relationship between gender and HIV prevalence. A study in Kisumu in western Kenya in 1996 found that "among women aged 15-24 [HIV] prevalence was highest among these with low socio-economic status" (Iliffe 63). UNAIDS and WHO noted that The HIV/AIDS prevalence rate among Kenyan women in 2004 was estimated to be almost twice that of men (qtd. in Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation). This data shows how gender impacts HIV/AIDS prevalence in Kenya.

Gender affects HIV/AIDS infections in terms of women's lower socio-economic status in many sub-Saharan nations. The Catholic Information Service for Africa reported that "the HIV/ AIDS pandemic has emerged and spread, exacerbated by violence against woman" ("Kenya; Women"). Some studies found that poverty was an effective indicator of HIV/AIDS prevalence (Iliffe 63). The poorer women, who had wider age differences from their husbands, were less likely to use condoms, and had higher rates of HSV-2 (Iliffe 63). Also, some studies show that "the lack of economic opportunities for women [. . .] weakened their ability to protect themselves against infection" (Iliffe 62). Lower access to economic and education opportunities makes women more vulnerable to infection of HIV/AIDS. South Africa's population survey of 2002 found that "malnutrition and parasite infestation [.

. .] increased susceptibility to disease and the likelihood of prenatal transmission" (Iliffe 63). These facts demonstrate how the government's cuts of expenditures on the health care sector have marginalized women more than men. Likewise, the cutbacks in health care have increased women's possibility of infection of HIV/AIDS because of women's lower socio-economic status.

Because of SAPs and foreign debt, many sub-Saharan African countries have struggled with improving their health care sector. For example, in some African countries that have large populations living with HIV/AIDS, "their governments, staying true to the globalization agenda, spend only about $17 per person on health a year, but up to $30 per person to service debt to the western financial institutions" ("Africa"). This article illustrates how African countries are struggling with health issues and debts from international donors. Since the HIV/AIDS epidemic began to appear in the mid-1980s, the Kenyan government has had difficulties combating it because of less room for expenditures on the health sector. Structural adjustment and foreign debt have made the Kenyan government's spending budget on combating HIV/AIDS more difficult. Heavily indebted sub-Saharan African regimes seeking international support had to accept SAPs "demanding still further economy on services, including user fees at medical institutions that did less to raise money than to

deter the poor from using them" (Iliffe 64). This shows that the European and American centered development policies have taken many African lives away as well as have exacerbated their poor conditions. The top-down economic programs and ongoing neo-colonialism under globalization have exacerbated women's health conditions rather than improving the quality of women's lives.

HIV/AIDS especially impacts children and women. Because the breadwinners of the household are usually men in Kenya, losing men directly affects women and children's lives. Most widows or single women have difficulties finding a job because of their lower education level and discrimination against women in the job sector. This situation makes women poorer. Also, if parents pass away because of HIV/AIDS, their children will be orphans. Children would need to feed themselves if they had no relatives or siblings who could support them. Children might also be infected with HIV/AIDS because of mother-to-child infection through inutero, childbirth, or breastfeeding. The devastation of HIV/AIDS has worsened child mortality ("Kenya; Health"). These facts show how budget cutting of health care greatly affects women and children. HIV/AIDS impacts not only the health sector but also education.

HIV/AIDS may cause a shortage of teachers in schools and prevent female students from going to school. It may be true that "HIV/AIDS is cutting short both education and life for many girls" (Branyon 10) while it is difficult to find accurate information about the number of people living with HIV/AIDS or the number who have died of HIV/AIDS infection because of social stigma and silence. HIV/AIDS infections are killing a number of parents and taking away a chance for schooling from many children in Kenya because of a lack of economic support and time to go to school. Shereen Usdin claims that "with the burden of care for sick relatives and siblings often falling on this group, the epidemic is robbing millions of their childhood. Many drop out of school to help with care and are often left destitute after their parents die" (131). The HIV/AIDS epidemic might have a deep influence on education, especially for girls who usually have to take care of family. If children and women have access to health education, the number of people living with HIV/AIDS may decrease. Also, prevention of HIV/AIDS through education is important because for most local people antiretroviral drugs are unaffordable.

The Western-centered trade organization has taken millions of people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from access to antiretroviral drugs. The battle over a patent right for antiretroviral drugs emerged from 1995 when United Nations (UN)

established the World Trade Organization (WTO) and agreed to Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). This agreement strengthened the patent, which includes medicine, for example antiretroviral drugs. Iliffe points out "the effects of poverty in making progress from Aids to death so much faster in Africa than in developed countries, owing to greater exposure to opportunistic infections and less access to medical remedies – especially, after 1996, to antiretroviral drugs" (64). The establishment of WTO with TRIPS meant that if the pharmaceutical companies develop a new drug, the patent for the medicine would be available for twenty years and the pharmaceutical companies could make a monopoly of their medication. Robert Weissman reports that "[p]atent protection, which is justified as providing an incentive to invent new products, grants a monopoly to manufacturers and enables them to charge whatever they like for a product without fear of direct competition." While the WTO agreed to weaken TRIPS because of international advocacy movements against this patent right for medicine, for many Africans living with HIV/AIDS, antiretroviral drugs are still not affordable.

International aid in the medicare sector has failed to improve the quality of health care. SAPs have forced the African governments to cut expenditures on health care and even made the situations worse. International donor funding has not

empowered Kenya ("Kenya; Health"). Many Kenyans have less access to quality medical care, and a vast majority of the population is diagnosed with common diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis ("Kenya; Health"). The value of aid is questionable because it has not contributed to dealing with health care issues ("Kenya; Health"). International aid has also affected family planning policy and fertility transition in Kenya.

Family Planning in the 1980s

This section examines what factors caused a fertility transition in the 1980s in Kenya. Data from the 1989 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) indicates that "significant decreases in fertility levels were experienced during the 1980s" (Wortham 111). By 1980, Kenya had one of the highest population growth rates in the world, estimated at 3.8-4.0 percent per annum (Ajayi 113-156). KDHS reports that "Kenya's fertility rates have dropped sharply, from a total fertility rate (TFR) of 7.7 recorded by the Kenya Contraceptive Prevalence Survey in 1984 to a TFR of 6.7 for the five-year period prior to the 1989 survey" (KDHS: Summary 5). The results derived from the 1993 Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) indicated an unexpected decline in fertility, with the TFR dropping to 5.4 in 1993, "the most dramatic drop in fertility ever recorded in Kenya and one of the most dramatic recorded anywhere"

(Ajayi 113-156). 2003 KDHS shows a TFR of 4.9 (Data Kenya 2005) and the TFR was the same in 2006 (CIA 2006). This section, therefore, focuses on some factors that caused fertility to decline in Kenya during the 1980s, including family planning programs, external pressure, and socioeconomic change.

Kenya was the first nation to adopt a National Family Planning Programme in the sub-Saharan African countries (UNFPA 2007). Due to the results of the 1962 population census, the government of Kenya became concerned about the high rate of population growth (KDHS 1989). Private individuals established the Family Planning Association of Kenya (FPAK) during the early 1960s (KDHS 1989). The government launched the official national family planning program in 1967 (KDHS 1989). While the government entrusted family planning to the Maternal and Child Health Division of the Ministry of Health, it depended mostly on the FPAK because of its "lack of an effective health infrastructure and adequate skilled manpower" (KDHS 1989). Yet during the 1960s and 1970s a high level of fertility continued (KDHS 1989). The government shifted the plan to "reduce the growth rate concentrated on the supply side of family planning" into "putting emphasis on programmes aimed at changing family size norms" (KDHS 1989). The government approved the establishment of the National Council for Population and Development (NCPD) in 1982: "the Council's

mandate is to formulate population policies and strategies and to co-ordinate the activities of government ministries, non-governmental organizations, and donors involved in population, integrated rural health, and family planning programmes" (KDHS 1989). Although the government of Kenya started its policy toward family planning in the early 1960s and supported strongly in the 1980s, the policy itself was not enough to have fertility transition without various actors and approaches: "the adoption of a policy alone had only limited effect on fertility behavior unless it was supported by wider policy measures and greater availability and use of family planning services" (Ajayi 113-56). The FPAK and the National Council for Population and Development (NCPD) have played a significant role in fertility transition in Kenya.

The FPAK began in 1961 as a volunteer group seeking to raise awareness about family planning within the government and the community (Bradley et al.). In 1961, the FPAK became the first family planning association in Africa to join the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) (Bradley et al.). The activities of the FPAK in the 1960s and 1970s are as follows: "by 1969, FPAK opened its first model clinic and began recruiting staff. Progress was slow: throughout the 1970s, the focus of activities was on educating and motivating women to use contraceptives"

(Bradley et al.). By the end of the 1970s, number of women using family planning methods increased (Bradley et al.). During the 1980s, the role and coverage of government and mission hospitals increased (Bradley et al.). The FPAK started to be concerned about the quality of their services in the 1980s. Godwin Mzenge, Executive Director of FPAK in Nairobi, stated, "we had always prided ourselves on providing high quality services, but we realized that there were gaps [. . .] we did not have defined basic standards of care; we didn't do enough quality counseling; clients were waiting a long time in the clinics; we realized that there were many medical barriers" (Bradley et al.). The FPAK tried to improve their services and focused on the quality of care in the 1980s. Ahawo, a project coordinator of the Women's Bureau, also points out the campaign of the FPAK and its contribution to promote family planning:

> The [FPAK] also offers information and creates awareness on family planning needs. By publishing simple easy to understand brochures and pamphlets on these methods, the rural communities are made to understand the importance and use of family planning. In Nairobi alone, they have above 14 clinics offering family planning methods where they serve both men and women. (Ahawo 4)

The FPAK focused on the effectiveness of its campaigns. It also distributed family planning in the rural areas. It tried to distribute family planning for all citizens, including women and men in rural and urban areas. While the Kenyan government

depended on the FPAK during the 1960s and 1970s, it established the NCPD to further promote the fertility control in the 1980s.

The government established the NCPD in 1982, in order to strengthen its population policy (Ajayi 126). The NCPD coordinated all population activities in Kenya and launched many campaigns to promote contraceptive use: "[the NCPD] which is charged with the responsibility of formulating population goals and policies also takes charge of coordinating all family services and activities undertaken both by Government Ministries and Non-Governmental Organizations" (Ahawo 4). The Council determined family planning and population activities in Kenya regarding the social and economic policies of the government of Kenya (Ahawo 4). The Council also advised the government on the "general planning and application of available financial resources" (Ahawo 4). Furthermore, it conducted research, evaluated and monitored the trend of the Kenyan population (Ahawo 5). The Council worked closely with the FPAK, the Kenya Catholic Secretariat, Christian Health Association of Kenya, National Council of Churches of Kenya, clinics and several general agencies (Ahawo 5). Then, the Kenyan government targeted rural areas.

In the mid-1980s, the government of Kenya started to focus on promoting family planning in rural areas, which the government defined as having low rate of

the contraceptive usage. The Council coordinated the program, in order to promote family planning in rural areas: "in 1986-1987 [The NCPD] called for the development of district-level population policies, the expansion of community-based family planning programs and the commercial marketing of contraceptives in rural and urban areas" (Wortham 132). Thus, the NCPD has taken an important role in the governmental and non-governmental policy toward family planning through whole areas of Kenya during the 1980s. In addition to various organizations, external influences have shaped the Kenyan family planning policy.

Not only internal concerns but also external pressures have forced Kenya to promote family planning. Family planning programs to reduce fertility were "consistent with the prevailing international politics of population, which in the 1960s regarded high population growth rates in the third world as an urgent global problem and recommended population policy as a significant vehicle for economic development" (Ajayi 151). Lynn Thomas, a scholar of African history and women's studies, points out that "since the 1960s population specialists have offered dire predictions for African countries that fail to institute large-scale family planning programs aimed at curbing African women's high rates of fertility" (9). Thomas also analyzes why Kenya attracted international donors and organizations:

> During the 1960s and 1970s demographers estimated that the average number of children born alive to a Kenyan woman over the course of her life was between 6.6 and 8.0. These high fertility rates, coupled with a relatively well-developed infrastructure, stable government, and a heavy dependence on foreign aid, made Kenya a favored target of population-control advocates. International demographers and funders were also probably attracted to Kenya by Nairobi's good weather, the wide-spread use of English, and the chance to go on 'safari' while working in the country. (Thomas 10)

Kenya became a target of population control. External forces, particularly the United States and the United Nations (UN), played an important role on Kenyan fertility.

The U.S. "ruling-class elites and racists" have impacted the policy-making of the U.S. government and international organizations. Edward Green, a scholar of African studies, argues that the "'population mafia,' consisting of ruling-class elites and racists" has promoted 'family planning' as "a humanitarian program that will elevate the status of women, ensure better maternal and child health and survival, and nip the root cause of poverty in the bud" (Green 47). 'Population mafia' has convinced the U.S. government and the UN that population control is "desirable and necessary" (Green 47). Green also points out the actual motives of the 'population mafia' behind family planning, which is "fear of the revolt of the Third-World masses, with the accompanying loss of U.S. economic hegemony and political control [and] fear of the growing number of non-white people in the world" (Green 47-8).

The Ford Foundation, the Population Council, and the Population Crisis Committee succeeded in convincing the U.S. government and the United Nations, particularly the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) to promote family planning (Green 48). It shows how the U.S.-based private foundation and their racist and sexist views impacted the U.S. government and the international organizations. Thomas also contends that "Kenyan government, with strong encouragement from the U.S.-based Ford Foundation and the Population Council, adopted a national population policy and opened state-sponsored family planning centers" (Thomas 11). Almost all Kenyan family planning programs have some connection with the U.S.-based organizations, such as the Population Council and the Ford Foundation. The International Conference on Better Health for Women and Children through Family Planning held in Nairobi in 1987 was co-sponsored by UNFPA, World Health Organization, the World Bank, United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Development Programme, the Population Council, the Rockefeller Foundation, and William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (Black 46). The conference was also founded by the USAID, the IPPF and the Ford Foundation (Black 46). Thus, the population

policies of the U.S. government and the international organizations have affected the policy-making and family planning programs of Kenya.

The UN, World Bank, and UNFPA have blamed high population growth on poor economic development (Madulu 35). The external pressure from international donors and organizations during the 1980s is as follows:

> The major bilateral and multilateral donors that had been urging Kenya to implement an effective family program were becoming impatient. The World Bank in particular, which had been providing assistance for Kenya's MCH [(maternal and child health)] programs, began to put considerable effort into convincing Kenya's leaders of the importance of reducing population growth. (Ajayi 137)

In addition, foreign donors pressured Kenya to establish the NCPD to strengthen family planning programs: "given the fact that the creation of the NCPD was driven by external forces (donors), the Council started off with severe constraints when it came to enticing nongovernmental organizations and government ministries to participate in the population program" (Ajayi 138). The government of Kenya also noticed the fact of the external pressure to the policy-making. In the *Daily Nation* on October 8, 1987, President Moi said that "it was to the continuing demand by certain donors that the recipients deploy the aid in accordance with the often paternalistic advice from the donors" ("Let" 6). The demand of foreign donors has impacted the

Kenyan government policies. As Moi regarded donors' demand as paternalistic, some African people also think that the family planning programs are a foreign intervention.

Some African leaders oppose the family planning programs: "population-control programs are, for the most part [of Africa], seen as a form of foreign intervention rather than a legitimate national concern. At worst, they may be viewed as a neo-colonial, imperialist plot by the rich West to keep African nations poor and week" (Green 45). The reasons for objection against population control from the leaders during the 1980s are as follows:

> A substantial proportion of leaders were still hesitant to give public support to government initiatives to control the population growth rate. There was concern about the impact of the population program on the size of various [ethnic] groups. Others felt there was no land shortage to warrant curbing the population growth rate, despite the fact that only one-third of the land has agricultural potential. (Ajayi 139)

Kenya was not an exception. Some Kenyan politicians opposed family planning. Thomas examines the Kenyan government contradictive policies toward family planning during the late 1960s and through the 1970s (179). Thomas asserts that the government demonstrates "its ambivalence toward population control policies by accepting millions of donor dollars to expand family planning services but doing little

to promote their use. Prominent politicians openly expressed suspicions that family planning was 'colonial hang-over' and a genocidal plot" (179). Thomas also points out that the average number of children born alive to a Kenyan woman rose during the Kenyatta administration (1963-78) (179). However, after the Kenyatta administration, the government started promoting family planning strongly due to the economic situation and heavy dependence on foreign assistance.

The economic stagnation and dependency on foreign donors urged the Kenyan government to promote the family planning programs. Thomas describes the government policy toward family planning during the 1980s:

> Kenyatta's successor, Daniel Arap Moi, adopted a more aggressive stance toward population increase. Compelled by slow economic growth and the persistent need to secure donor support, Moi proclaimed that smaller families made economic sense for couples and the nation and endorsed the expansion of family planning services: the number of health workers trained in family planning doubled to more than two thousand, while the facilities distributing contraceptives rose from fewer than a hundred to more than four hundred. (Thomas 181)

Her argument reveals how the economic situation and dependence on foreign donors forced Kenya to promote family planning. The government of Kenya also approved several international agreements: "[the Kenyan government] endorsed policies and action plans agreed upon during the International Conference on Population held in

Mexico in 1984 and the World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985. It signed a statement on population stabilization in June 1985" (Ajayi 140). Former vice President and Minister of Home Affairs Mwai Kibaki advocated family planning. Kibaki made the inaugural statement at an International Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, October 1987: "a great deal still needs to be done to convince governments, political parties, and leaders throughout the continent that family planning makes a critical contribution to the promotion of health and welfare" (Black 14). Kibaki also advocated family planning in the population conference held in 1984 and 1989. These facts reveal that Kenya depended on foreign donors and had to respond to their demand toward family planning to obtain their financial support under the economic stagnation. Demands from foreign donors also impact the coverage of the *Daily Nation*, which is the largest independent newspaper in Kenya.

This section analyzes the articles of the *Daily Nation* in September, October, and January of 1987. In the 1980s, the international donors and organizations focused on population policies in Africa. These population policies impact the Kenyan government and the *Daily Nation*. International organizations are male-oriented, which impacts their plans and policies toward receivers. Worthington elucidates how "journalistic conventions contributed to the way a Kenyan

newsmagazine privileged the World Bank's male-defined development discourse over the gender-sensitive approaches articulated by women at the Nairobi Women's Conference in 1985" (67). The sexist and racist views of the international donors and organizations impact the process of editing of the *Daily Nation*. The *Daily Nation* on January 24, 1987, reported that "Although Kenya's leadership has traditionally supported the idea of parents having the number of children they can raise, the international community consistently maintains that Kenyans are having 'too many' children" ("Why" 13). The rest of the article introduces an unpublished report by the UNFPA, which blamed the high fertility rates for women and "traditional" Kenyan familial value, such as polygyny:

> A wife continues to bear children to prove her continued fecundity to prevent the husband from marring another wife. Wives in polygamous families compete with each other to produce the largest number of children. Women have no say in determining the size of the family. In general, most women have little status in Kenyan society unless they have children, preferably many children. ("Why" 13)

The content is mostly about the UNFPA's analysis of Kenyan high fertility rates. Although women are not the cause of the high fertility rates, the international organizations blamed women for it. As the UNFPA blamed the high fertility rates for women, the *Daily Nation* frames women as the cause of the high fertility rates and

underestimates Kenyan "traditional" familial values. In addition, external forces have promoted "modern" contraceptive use instead of keeping "traditional" contraceptive use of African countries because they believe that "traditional" contraceptive use is problematic although it works well: "social scientists, politicians, and the press have located the roots of many of Africa's postcolonial problems in 'traditional' reproductive practices" (Thomas 10). Foreign donors, particularly several foundations of the United States, and the international organizations have emphasized women's better health and its importance for economic development, in order to promote family planning. The Kenyan government also has reflected its policy toward family planning. Because of the influence of the government that the international donors and organizations impacted, the *Daily Nation* mostly advocated the stance of the Kenyan government toward family planning. Thus, internal and external forces have had a great influence on the news coverage of the *Daily Nation*. In addition to external pressure, socioeconomic change pushed the Kenyan government to promote family planning.

This section will examine how socioeconomic change has impacted the fertility rate in Kenya. Economic stagnation started to appear in 1980: "the annual growth rate of GDP declined from 6.5 percent in 1964/71 to 3.9 percent in 1980,

fluctuated around 5 percent during 1985-90, and declined to 3 percent in 1994" (Ajayi 116). Economic stagnation during the 1980s made the government of Kenya take the population growth seriously.

Under the economic stagnation, family planning became an urgent need for Kenyans, in order to avoid increasing child rearing fees and spending a lot of money focusing on a few children. Furthermore, under the economic stagnation, the government of Kenya introduced the cost-sharing program in 1985 that was a plan to share the health and educational expenditures. Wortham scrutinizes how the cost-sharing plan changed parents' attitude towards family planning:

> Rapid population growth and economic stagnation have impeded the government's ability to continue absorbing a large majority of the costs associated with educational development. A cost-sharing program was instituted in 1985 as a means of funding continued educational expansion. Under the cost-sharing plan, parents' educational costs increase in proportion to the number of school age children they have. This policy has made a direct impact on changing attitudes towards desired fertility and demand for family planning services. (132)

Under the economic stagnation and the government cost-sharing policy, parents widely adopted birth control to have fewer children and to provide them the opportunity to learn at school. Yet, the *Daily Nation* on 19 September of 1987 supported the government cost-sharing program: "the need for parents to take a

greater share of the burden of financing education is understandable" (Kokonya 11). It also blames the increase of the cost of education on the population growth: "the cost of running educational institutions has continued to rise year after year. The problem has been aggravated by our sky-rocking population growth rate" (Kokonya 11). Thomas analyzes how the poor economic situation burdened Kenyans and had an influence on the usage of birth control:

> Kenya's worsening economy probably convinced many to use [birth control]. In the late 1970s, as world prices for Kenyan exports like tea and coffee fell, oil price rose, and the Kenyan government went further into debt, per capita income began to drop; between 1980 and 1984 alone, the official minimum wage declined by 36 percent in real terms. In the face of lower wages and the rising costs of raising children, a growing number of Kenyans began to use birth control. (181)

The economic stagnation played a significant role on fertility decline. Although the *Daily Nation* supported the government policy, the cost-sharing program under the economic stagnation burdened many Kenyans.

Family planning programs, external pressure, and socioeconomic change caused a fertility transition in the 1980s in Kenya. International society, including foreign donors and international organizations, has regarded Kenyan fertility decline and transition as a "successful" story of the family planning program. However, expenditures on family planning programs increased debts to international donors.

Then, when the HIV/AIDS epidemic began to appear in the mid-1980s, the Kenyan government has had difficulties combating it.

Debt to foreign aid and the cutbacks in health care made the Kenyan government difficult to approach the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Thomas states that "faced with shrinking health budgets and mounting foreign debts, countries like Kenya had few internal resources to devote to combating HIV/AIDS" (182). Looking at the real situation of most Kenyans, the successful story turns into disaster: "what population experts and politicians deemed a family planning success story was, for many Kenyans, part of a broader tale of increasing hardship" (Thomas 181). It is time to think about whether or not the Kenyan fertility transition was sustainable and consider responsibility of international or private donors and organizations that loaned money to Kenya, in order to promote family planning.

During the 1980s the Kenyan government focused on its policy toward family planning. Kenya further increased its number of health facilities during 1985-90 (Ajayi 139). At the same time, the government introduced the cost-sharing program in 1985, which burdened many Kenyans. Although the *Daily Nation* supported family planning policies of the government that the international donors and organizations pressured Kenya to promote, for most Kenyans, the "successful"

family planning increased their burden in the 1980s. Although the Kenyan government is still struggling with providing quality health care to all, the current health plan is improving.

Fortunately, the Kenyan government's health plan is moving toward better services. In May 2006, Health Minister Charity Ngilu announced that "the Government will first revamp the health sector by putting in 410 [billion] shillings [5.8 billion dollars] for 10 years and gradually phase out cost-sharing" ("Kenya; Health"). *The Nation* supports this new initiative of the Kenyan government by describing it as "timely and appropriate" ("Kenya; Health"). At the same time, *The Nation* raises three main concerns about this initiative. It questions whether boards will "be allowed to professionally manage health institutions without external interference" ("Kenya; Health"). The second concern is "the management of the medical workers, a number of whom are known to dabble in private practice, where they spend most of their time at the expense of their public work" ("Kenya; Health"). The third worry is the dependency on donors for funding ("Kenya; Health"). *The Nation*'s statements have some contradictions. Its worry is whether boards are able to manage health institutions without external intervention. On the contrary, *The Nation* is concerned about the dependency on the donor countries or agencies. Furthermore,

this article degrades the government's ability because it almost suggests that if the Kenyan government wants to manage health institutions, it needs external interference. One needs to keep in mind that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has already killed many people. It is important to consider the responsibility of the IMF and the World Bank that has forced the Kenyan Government to cut expenditures on the health care sector since the HIV/AIDS epidemic has emerged.

While some data shows positive results regarding HIV/AIDS, the Kenyan government still has many health issues to deal with. The Ministry of Health Kenya (2005) and National AIDS Control Council Kenya (2007) reported that "national HIV prevalence in Kenya has decreased from a high of around 14% in the mid-1990s to 5% in 2006" (qtd. in UNAIDS 2007). Likewise, 760,000 adult Kenyans underwent HIV testing in 2006 (UNAIDS 2006). 110,000 (35%) Kenyans who were in need of treatment had access to it , including about 6,000 children (UNAIDS 2006). In 2004, up to 40% of pregnant women attending antenatal care clinics benefited from prevention of mother-to-child transmission services (UNAIDS 2006). However, one should keep in mind that expenditures on health care of the Kenyan government still depend heavily on external funding. In Kenya, it is important to ensure "long-term sustainable financing of HIV interventions" because 98% of currently available

funding depends on international donors (UNAIDS 2007). International donors need to consider this dependency and their responsibility as well as to reexamine what aid policies and programs should be put towards empowerment of the African people from a long-term perspective.

Toward Gender Sensitive and Community-based Development

One needs to be aware of the impact of the European and American development policies on African countries. Global capital economy, debt, and SAPs imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions have had hazardous effects on millions of African people, particularly women and children. The cutbacks in expenditures on social services have exacerbated women's and children's poor conditions, and in the worst case, reduction of social expenditures took away their lives. Sadasivam emphasizes the importance of monitoring "health, nutrition, and income levels of poor men and women during the adjustment process to gauge the comparative effect of policies on human development" (Sadasivam 662). As well as a monitoring of the life conditions of people in the sub-Saharan African countries, gender-sensitive development policies are needed.

Patriarchal policies still dominate development programs. Development programs should encourage women's active participation. Sadasivam claims that

"feminist critics have pointed out that although the right obliges states to ensure equal opportunities, fair distribution of income, and an active role for women in the development process, it is still written from a male perspective" (656). The African governments need to ensure the integration and participation of women into the development process. Gender-aware policies by the governments and the international financial institutions (IFIs) are significant for future development programs (Sadasivam 663). Easterly emphasizes that "improving quality of aid should come before increasing quantity" (40). Improving quality of aid should include gender sensitivity of policy making and implementation. Furthermore, it is crucial for sustainable development to ensure that all have access to social services. In order to provide social services to all, perhaps community-based social services are effective for rural development.

The comparison between the Dominican Republic and Cuba demonstrates how community-based health care is needed. Cuba focused on a community-based system and primary-care clinics with "*equity* and *access*," while the Dominican Republic emphasized urban-based hospitals (Linda qtd. in Whiteford 186-7). Because of the connection with the Soviet Union, the oil crisis in the late 1970s did not have a great influence on the Cuban economy (Whiteford 188). SAPs impacted the economic

situation and people's daily lives in the Dominican Republic. The economic chaos had a devastating effect on the health of women and children because of the budget cut of health care (Whiteford 197). After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Cuba faced an economic crisis (Whiteford 190). Yet, the Cuban government continued to support its health infrastructure (Whiteford 191). The Cuban government has a long-term perspective on the health care system. On the other hand, the Dominican Republic does not: "whereas the Dominican urban-based hospital system is a cumbersome, high-capital endeavor, Cuba's community-based primary health-care system is able to be more flexible in the face of serious shortage" (Whiteford 198). While the quality of health care in Cuba is still questionable, Cuba's example could be a model for the government policy in social services. The governments should guarantee that all have equal access to social services. In addition, community-based organizations are more aware of community needs than IFIs.

Community-based social services are needed in Kenya. Schatz recommends that "the *only* way to generate a satisfactory rate of growth in Africa's least developed economies is through government intervention to nurture orphan investments," that "since social benefits frequently exceed money receipts and social costs frequently fall short of money costs, ventures that would be privately

unprofitable but socially beneficial abound in a free market" (246). Social services are crucial for long-term development. Although Sadasivam suggests that administrators "eliminate user fees in public hospitals in poor urban and rural areas which affect women disproportionately" (662), in many parts of rural Kenya, there are either private or public hospitals, or they are far from local areas. It is important to ensure that everyone has access to hospitals in terms of physical distance and fees. For example, the EAC has a small private hospital that provides affordable healthcare to all in the community. Perhaps it is true that these grass-roots organizations are more reliable than the government and IFIs because economists' and politicians' first priority is typically economic growth. Community-based social services at the grass-roots level are truly needed to ensure that everyone, especially children and women, has access to them, from a long-term perspective, for sustainable development in the whole region of Kenya. Women in Kenya face many challenges, and there have been many different organizations trying many different approaches to improve their situation. However, these efforts are all held back by a lack of systematic evaluation of their efforts, so it is hard to know what works well and what does not, and to generalize the approaches that are most effective.

Program Evaluation

Before any evaluation, it is important to consider: who initiates evaluation; who undertakes it; when and what one evaluates; who benefits from the results and how; how to use most efficiently the information gathered (Whitmore 2). The evaluators need to "maintain neutrality and objectivity throughout the evaluation process and give fair attention to both negative and positive findings" (Patton 250). William Gephart proposes six different ways to define evaluation: 1) "the process of determining the extent to which the goals and objectives of a program are being attained" 2) "the application of rigorous social science methods" through "experimental designs and quantitative measures" 3) "the process of comparing the relative costs and benefits of two or more programs" 4) "the process of judging a program's value" 5) "the generation of results for decision making and problem solving" 6) "providing information to specific people" (qtd. in Patton 33). Patton emphasizes the importance of the sixth definition as "the basis for a 'user-focused' approach to evaluation" (35). This "user-focused" approach emphasizes "the information needs and interest of specific people, such needs including, but not limited to, information relevant to making decisions, judgments, comparisons, or goal attainment assessments" (Patton 35). Patton defines this approach:

> The practice of evaluation involves the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics, and outcomes of programs, personnel, and products for use by specific people to reduce uncertainties, improve effectiveness, and make decisions with regard to what those programs, personnel or products are doing and affecting. This definition of evaluation emphasizes (1) the systematic collection of information about (2) a broad range of topics (3) for use by specific people (4) for a variety of purposes. (35)

This program beneficiary-focused approach frames my study because this study focuses on the program participants' points of view, and aims to share information with participants as well as improve the quality of the programs; hence benefit to the current and future program participants.

The general approach of Participatory Evaluation (PE) frames this project. As Robert Chambers argues in *Whose Reality Counts?* (1997), participation of local people recently has become a significant concept in development programs (Estrella et al. Preface xi). Jutta Blauert and John Gaventa question "whose voices and knowledge are used to define success" and "who benefits and who learns from the process of evaluating and tracking change" (qtd. in Estrella et al. Preface xi). Program participants need to be integrated into the evaluation process because their voices should be used to define success of development programs.

While the precise definition of the PE is still unclear, Elizabeth Whitmore asserts that the term PE has different meanings for different people by stating that "for

some it implies a practical approach to broadening decision making and problem solving through systematic inquiry; for others, reallocating power in the production of knowledge and promoting social change are the root issues" (5). Whitmore defines PE by noting that "when doing an evaluation, researchers, facilitators, or professional evaluators collaborate in some way with individuals, groups, or communities who have a decided stake in the program, development project, or other entity being evaluated" (5). I define PE as involvement of program participants in the process of evaluation, in order to learn and share information as well as to improve the quality and effectiveness of programs.

Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PM&E) is monitoring and evaluation that are done in a participatory way, in order to "strengthen learning, accountability and effectiveness" and to be "a critical part of any participatory development process" (qtd. in Estrella et al. Preface xi). Few reports regarding implementations of PM&E exist. Pasteur and Blauert point out that "from the practical point of view there are as yet few reported reviews of experiences with PM&E e.g. within a country, a region, a sector, that would allow the reader to get a broader picture of the extent of, and variations in its application" (7). The reasons the PM&E are not well-known are because while in the field some organizations have

implemented the PM&E, there are few or no bridges between practitioners and academia to publish reports or documents. Similarly, some practitioners do not call their monitoring and evaluation PM&E. Pasteur and Blauert argue that "considerable practical work is being undertaken across the region, using innovative methods, but is not being documented, or at least this particular search may not yet have encountered it" (11). Pasteur and Blauert examine why the subject of PM&E has few publications or case studies by stating that "PM&E is a donor instituted concept, and not one traditionally used by public sector or development institutions" (9). They also note that "few academic and development journals are publishing articles on PM&E [. . .] though the lack of literature from this source may be due to difficulties of communication between practitioners and editors" (Pasteur and Blauert 10). However, some conferences, seminars, and literature pay attention to PM&E.

A conference on Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) held in Colombia concentrated on "the need for increased sharing of experiences with participatory PME, training, and developing relevant qualitative indicators" (qtd. in Pasteur and Blauert 9). In addition, the First Seminar on Evaluation in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic held in 1994 emphasized "the importance of decentralization of central power and democratization of local power in

public and private sector organizations to promote participation in evaluation" (qtd. in Pasteur and Blauert 9). Other literature raised the general issues concerning PM&E such as "definitions of participatory evaluation and stages at which it can be conducted (Sardon; Llanos and Orozco), or of democratic evaluation in the case of Segone" (qtd. in Pasteur and Blauert 9).

> Other example address different aspects to be evaluated such as process, impact and outcome (Caceres; Engelkes); critique of traditional evaluation methods and overcoming their problems (Sulbrandt); the importance of participatory evaluation within a changing (increasingly decentralized) political environment (Enet); ideas and learning on impact monitoring and assessment by Oxfam and partner organizations (Neefjes); issues of measurement and finding a common framework without it becoming a blueprint (Andersson) and general reflections on how participatory evaluation can or should be a learning process (Vargas). (qtd. in Pasteur and Blauert 9-10)

Still, further studies are needed for PM&E, in order to share information among development workers. Methods of implementing PM&E varied.

Methodologies of PM&E include various methods: traditional Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques such as semi-structured interviews, workshops, ranking exercises or drama for information collection, analyzed by the implementing organization (NGO); oral testimony; adapting methods of ecological assessment; questionnaire; observation; case studies; group discussion or analysis; problem

solving exercises; joint reflection workshop; drawing; role playing; reporting and recording; survey; brainstorming; monitoring calendar (Pasteur and Blauert 8, 13). Which methods development agencies use depends on what they seek to evaluate.

PM&E literature identifies "three basic approaches to viewing participatory monitoring and evaluation [. . .] depending on the institutional perspective from which the author is coming": "utilization of PM&E for improving beneficiary involvement in research"; "focusing on improving the efficiency and appropriateness of traditional donor-initiated M&E through increased beneficiary participation"; "conceptualization of PM&E as a form of self-reflection, or an action-reflection-action process for operational NGOs and the communities themselves so as to contribute to the improvement of the development intervention or initiative" (Pasteur and Blauert 12). Figure four demonstrates "some of the factors that vary in the differing approaches to PM&E" (Pasteur and Blauert 13). I used participatory evaluation as a tool of assessment, in order to analyze the program from the participants' points of view with the wish that the EAC could improve its programs for future participants. The evaluation method of the Mercy Corps is similar to my methodology.

Mercy Corps' framework of evaluation greatly suits my study method. Mercy Corps has its evaluation guidebook, which is similar to my study framework.

According to this guide book, "Mercy Corps views evaluations primarily as a *learning tool* rather than an 'audit' of people or their projects. Their main purpose is to help us learn about our projects, share that information and improve performance in the future" (30). Mercy Corps evaluation guidebook introduces internal, external, and participatory evaluations:

> Opinions differ on the need for external control over evaluations in order to ensure objectivity. At one extreme, some larger institutions like the World Bank maintain evaluation departments that are separate from program implementation teams. USAID pursues a more moderate approach and often commissions evaluations that are led by an external consultant but that also involve key agency staff. Some organizations take a more inclusive approach and rely on project staff to design and conduct their own evaluations, generally with significant participation by other stakeholders and the target communities. Those in the first group are focused mainly on the need to objectively document project results. Those in the final group are focused more on learning and the desire to hold projects accountable to the participants. (30)

The Mercy Corps takes a middle stance on evaluations, in order to keep with its "core principles" such as "participation, accountability and peaceful change" because they believe that "the inclusion of an external evaluator is a good way to ensure a certain healthy distance and objectivity in the evaluation" (30). Evaluators who have "no direct stake in the outcome of the evaluation," can be an outside consultant, Mercy Corps Head Quarter person or a staff member from a different field location (30). In

the case of the EAC, it has less choice of evaluators because of its limited budget and human resources. The small staff has less time to train local people or other program stakeholders to conduct evaluations. The fact that I myself did not have any experience in the evaluation process and am less familiar with the EAC programs as a first-time volunteer with the EAC would negatively affect this study and evaluation. Monitoring and evaluation is important to know the program effectiveness. Similarly, research can add detailed explanation of what works or does not, and why.

This study also has a feature of "research and evaluation" suggested by Uphoff et al.: "a more sophisticated use of information than monitoring and evaluation is research and evaluation. This aims to create or acquire knowledge that will improve program performance, not just keep track of what is happening. Research can explain why something is happening, or why not" (141). Guided by this method, my study was implemented in order to explore how participants perceive the EAC programs and why. The small community-based organizations have difficulties implementing ongoing evaluation because of a lack of time, budget, and human resources.

Time and cost of the evaluation is a problem, especially for a small community-based organization that has a limited number of staff. Pasteur and Blauert

identify these time concerns by stating that "in any type of monitoring and evaluation activity time, technical capacity, and cost constraints are commonly identified as limiting factors" (17). Pasteur and Blauert discuss other cost and time-related issues that need to be examined in literature concerning participatory evaluation:

> No studies reviewed attempt to show whether participatory monitoring and evaluation is more cost or effective than traditional methods, and this could be an interesting area for investigation. [. . .] The increasingly problematic issue of time requirements for marginalized social groups to be able to participate in M&E of any kind, and hence who can afford to become involved in a PM&E process is also not being tackled by the literature, and presumably by the practice that it aims to document. (Pasteur and Blauert 17)

Cost and time effectiveness of participatory evaluation needs to be considered. If the organization cannot hire participants of the PM&E process, it should consider what the alternative evaluation process it can afford. Additionally, I emphasize the importance of ongoing evaluation to consider what works or needs to be changed.

Ongoing evaluation is ideal to keep quality and effectiveness of the programs. Uphoff et al. emphasize that "programs need to evaluate continually their means in relation to their ends and to assess whether their ends remain valid" (72). While cost matters, if the organization continues a program that has a lot of problems, that would be more problematic. According to Oakley et al., "there are costs in not

evaluating, in terms of failure to adjust projects and programmes with early signs of problems, and wasting resources on unnecessary or unproductive activities" (Rainforest Alliance; PREVAL qtd. in Pasteur and Blauert). Programs need to be evaluated in order to use limited economic and human resources effectively. Similarly, throughout the process of implementation of the program, errors should be tolerated to improve the quality of the programs.

Tolerance to errors of the program is an important part of running a successful organization. Korten claims that "a learning organization is a self-critical organization; one that does not accept and embrace errors, seeking to learn from them, is a self-deceiving organization, likely to perpetuate mistakes and even accelerate their occurrence" (qtd. in Uphoff et al. 31). Uphoff et al. remind us of the importance of trial and error of the programs to improve the programs and respect the learning process by stating that "Errors should be 'embraced' [. . .]. Obviously, one does not want to maximize mistakes, but these should be expected and accepted as part of the process" (30). Uphoff et al. point out the case of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), which has noted errors and has improved the program: "in the establishment of BRAC, it is not surprising that a number of mistakes were made. What is unusual is that that organization's leadership openly encourages risk taking,

explicitly accepting that errors are bound to happen" (Abed and Chowdhury qtd. in 42-3). While it is ideal to be tolerant of mistakes made by local people, sometimes these risk taking burdens the organization, especially in the case of the small rural community organizations that have only limited funding. Pluralistic management would be a useful solution to avoid repetition of mistakes because the local people can have more authority and are more responsible for management of the programs.

Pluralistic management is a good strategy for rural development organizations. Uphoff et al. claim that many successful rural development programs take a strategy of pluralistic management because "both rural people and staff are more likely to take initiative and responsibility if given a substantial degree of authority and autonomy" (100). Many rural development programs "spin off a number of independent subsidiary organizations to serve particular functions" (Uphoff et al. 97). Uphoff et al. analyze the positive impact of pluralistic management by stating "the effect of reducing overall management burdens by delegating tasks to sets of decision makers who are organizationally autonomous but who continue to be motivated by the same aspirations, values, and objectives" (98). Spinning off enterprises can "become self-supporting in different sectors and for various purposes" (Uphoff et al. 98). Aside from management, it is important to consider the structure of the organization.

The basic organizational structure of rural development programs consists of program leadership, village or group organizations, the program staff, and field staff with possibly some affiliated agencies (Uphoff et al. 95). The important features through the organizational process are predictability, adaptability, local leadership selection, simple and transparent operations and procedures, time, acquiring legal status and recognition (Uphoff et al. 72-6). Smaller organizations work well in rural community development because of lower transaction costs, easier communication and observation, and avoidance of "free riding" (Olson qtd. in Uphoff et al. 66). At the same time, the small organizations have limitations such as the scale of impact on the communities (Uphoff et al. 67). Whether the simpler or a hybrid and complex structures fit to the organizations depend on factors such as "population density (or sparsity), transportation and communication facilities, topography, cultural homogeneity (or heterogeneity), and existing political jurisdictions" (Uphoff et al. 69). Uphoff et al. emphasize that "although vertical linkage is an important factor contributing to success, horizontal links are even more significant" (71). Good financial management needs simplicity and transparency because "less-educated members of the community can help manage their own programs, and both are important to build up trust and confidence" (Uphoff et al. 101). Standardization works

well "only when consistency in performance is more important than innovation or enterprise" (Uphoff et al. 108). Not only organizational structure but also community participation is significant feature of successful programs.

Participation in benefits as well as in decision making, implementation, and evaluation is the most crucial feature of successful rural development (Uphoff et al. 76). Active participation of women, the lowest social class of the rural poor or minorities, and youth is a significant feature of the success of rural development (Uphoff et al. 80-3). Also, management, planning, and implementation are important to run development programs.

Rural development organizations need to pay attention to operational routines, incentives, delegation of responsibility, management of finances, and information systems (Uphoff et al. 88). Uphoff et al. support a strategy of co-management (92). A participatory style of management is significant for success of rural development because "personnel are so dispersed" and "local differences among program sites may be important" (Uphoff et al. 94). Participatory management applies to the staff of the central organization as well as to the local organizations (Uphoff et al. 93). Throughout my stay in Takaungu, I evaluated these features of the EAC programs through participant observation and interviews with program participants. In

addition, my participant observation found some culture related to family life and education in Takaungu.

CHAPTER III

TAKAUNGU AND THE EAST AFRICAN CENTER

The Takaungu Sub-location

During my 12-week stay in Takaungu, I participated in a range of daily activities, including cooking, washing, shopping, and eating at the local Muslim host family's home. I spoke with children and adults who lived near the host family's house and belonged to various social groups, including both Christians and Muslims. I usually stayed and played together with neighboring children who were three to eight years old. We swam in the ocean, went shopping, played hopscotch, watched television, washed clothes, drew pictures, and learned together. These children were my Kiswahili teachers. Additionally, I participated in four weddings in Takaungu and Mombasa. In this section, I will weave these various methodological and experimental observations into a coherent portrait of daily life today in Takaungu and at the EAC.

The following results were based on my participant observation, including observation of daily conversations, informal interviews with local people, and cultural

lectures from local people in the Takaungu sub-location as well as a phone interview with the EAC executive director. Moreover, I worked as a teaching assistant in preschool (kindergarten grade three) at the Vutakaka School. My observation about the school activities was based on this experience.

Family Life and Education

Kiswahili does not have a word for the extended family because family in the Kenyan context means the extended family. Among Mijikenda families, living with a husband's mother was typical thing for women to do. Conversely, Mswahili family had a matriarchal system. In fact, I met a Tanzanian man who married a Mswahili woman and lived with his wife's family. The family structure was usually extended and sometimes polygamous.

Polygamy was common in Takaungu, particularly among the Mijikenda. I met at least three polygamous families. My preconception of co-wives' relationships in the polygamous family was that they would hate and would be jealous of each other. Yet I met two women coming together to the Vutakaka Community Center who had the same husband. I do not know all aspects of their relationships, but from my observation, their relationships looked good because they came to the center and worked cooperatively together almost every day. As polygamy was a symbol of

men's wealth and power in the society, it might be possible that for women, co-wives could be a partner to work with and would be a friend.

However, divorce was frequent in Takaungu. In fact, I met at least four women who got divorced. When women become single mothers, their lives will be harder than the husbands who they divorce unless they have their family's or relatives' support. Two possible reasons are gender biases in the job sector and women's lower educational attainment in Kenyan society, particularly rural areas. One woman I met went back to her original family when she got divorced. Another woman in one of the sewing groups said that she depended for her living expenses only on her income from sewing. Another woman was a helper in another family's home. She said that while she was working, her children were going to the Vutakaka Primary School. This shows that school not only supported children to learn, but also assisted their parents to continue working, especially the mothers. It is important for women to have some skills to earn incomes themselves. Women's empowerment is a significant factor to their survival in the current Kenyan society. When development organizations implement the programs, they need to consider women's roles in rural Kenya.

Men and women were considered adults when they had children. A married couple without children was considered strange in Takaungu. As in many African societies, having a lot of children could show the parents' as well as a family's power in Takaungu. In addition, having children created security for the future. A mother with three children told me that if her children could get a good education, they would develop themselves and they would be able to help her in the future. In many Asian and African countries, children have a responsibility to take care of their parents as their parents aged. Although children gave both men and women social power, women were the primary caregivers for children.

As my research found, most women were responsible for cooking, cleaning the home, collecting fire wood, fetching water, childrearing, and working at *shamba* (field) in the Takaungu sub-location. Men were usually not allowed to cook except when they filled position of house helpers. Wealthier families, usually Mswahili, could hire a baby sitter. Baby sitters or house helpers were usually Mijikenda. I met a 13 year-old Mgiriama girl who was a live-in baby sitter because her parents could not feed her and send her to school. She was eager for me to teach her how to write her name.

Along with their household duties, women were expected to breastfeed. I have never seen women in Takaungu using bottled milk. Several women came to the Vutakaka Community Center with their infants. They worked with sewing machines and studied in the classes while carrying their babies. Sometimes, they breastfed while they were studying or sewing. Additionally, birth spacing by long breastfeeding periods was one of the traditional contraceptives in some African countries. The majority of women in the Takaungu sub-location breastfed their children for more than one year, with the EAC program participants being more likely to do so than non-program participants (Petruney). As children grew older, they became more independent, but there seemed to be no clear borders between play, chores, and work. I saw both girls and boys help their mothers cook. They imitated what their mothers did and learned from their way of cooking. Children, especially girls, were usually responsible for going to a shop to buy small household items, such as vegetables, spices, flowers, and cooking oil. Likewise, neighboring children played together, although the age difference varied from infants to children over ten. They played hopscotch and chased each other. Older children took care of younger ones and siblings usually played together. Despite the fact that children got along with each other, if some children misbehaved, peers or adults had to intervene.

Spanking was culturally acceptable in Takaungu. I saw some children being spanked several times by adults, mainly by their parents and grandparents. For example, I saw grandparents spanking their grandchildren when the young people refused to eat food. This fact shows that spanking was one of the tools for disciplining children.

The EAC provided volunteers with cultural lectures from a local Giriama man. Through the lecture, I learned that traditional education among the Mijikenda was a life-skill education. A Giriama man told me that education among the Mijikenda was changing, but a traditional form of education was still important. All Mijikenda families lived in the same community, including parents, sons, daughters-in-law, and children. Communalism was important. People were supposed to help all family members, including extended families such as children, siblings, and relatives. Food was shared among families. Children learned skills from their parents.

The young were preparing to be adults. Skill specialization was discouraged because the Mijikenda believed that people never knew which life skills would save them. Children were supposed to learn everything, including fishing and the cultivation of vegetables. Sons learned how to hunt, earn money, and work in the

fields (*shamba*) through practicing with their fathers. A mother taught her daughters how to cook, collect wood, and fetch water. A girl imitated and practiced what her mother did. A Giriama man told me that "cooking is a women's pride" and he had never cooked. The life skill education made children not only independent but also good partners. Traditionally, intermarriages between different ethnic groups were prohibited, but the younger generation occasionally broke the community rules and intermarried. Not only ethnic groups but also religious groups had various rules.

The Mswahili were Muslim and some Mijikenda were also Muslim. Among Muslim families, children had to attend an Islamic school, the *maderasa*. Muslim children learned religious values and how to pray, read, and write in Arabic. Many Muslim children went to *maderasa* in the afternoon after the Vutakaka School finished. Some tension existed between Christians and Muslims because of this Islamic education system that restricted children's time. A Christian teacher told me that he wanted children to continue studying at school in the afternoon, but he could not because some children had to attend the *maderasa*.

In addition to religious diversity, Takaungu also has language diversity. Most Mijikenda people were able to understand both their native languages and Kiswahili. A Mgiriama man informed me that he was able to understand all the

Mijikenda languages. He also told me that for the Mijikenda people it was easy to learn Kiswahili because Kigiriama was closely related and many words of Kigiriama were similar to those in Kiswahili. Children would be able to learn Kiswahili through interacting with their neighboring Mswahili people. However, some women learned only the Mijikenda languages and did not have an opportunity to take Kiswahili classes at school. This lack of language education can marginalize women in rural Kenya.

Because of a lack of public social contact and education, some Mijikenda women were monolingual in the Mijikenda languages. In Takaungu, I met an 18 year-old Giriama girl who had no schooling experience and could not speak Kiswahili. She explained that close to her house there were no Mswahili people. Kiswahili was a national language and Kenyans used Kiswahili as a tool of interethnic communication as well business and commerce. Thus, a lack of education marginalized many women living in Takaungu. Similarly, in other rural areas, many women might be marginalized from the society because they were illiterate, and access to education was lower for men and women than in urban areas. In order to fill this gap, the EAC provides women with literacy education.

The East African Center

The East African Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children (EAC) is a registered U.S. non-profit organization committed to assisting communities to achieve empowerment through increasing literacy for women and children, improving health status, and eradicating poverty. Suzanne Jeneby is an EAC founder and executive director. She started working with a hospital in Kenya in 1997. With the help of the Seattle Junior Chamber (Jaycees), she founded the Kenya Kids AIDS Project in September 2000, which later became the EAC. The Kenya Kids AIDS Project provided an emergency shelter and humanitarian goods to HIV/AIDS orphans in a slum of Nairobi. Jeneby established the EAC in December 2001. (EAC) The EAC sought to have a long-term program by meeting a government official in the coastal area. The government official suggested the EAC work in the Takaungu sub-location because it has a receptive community with a lot of needs. (Jeneby) The original funding came from a Mary Gates Leadership Award and the Seattle Jaycees (Smith). The current funding of the EAC relies on donations to operate the organization, which consists of a budget of about $60,000 a year. In the future, the EAC is looking to expand its programs into new communities throughout East Africa. Particularly, it seeks to take its health worker programs into the other communities

along the coastal Kenya. (Jeneby) The EAC built the Vutakaka Community Center to serve various programs.

The EAC Programs at the Vutakaka Community Center

The EAC currently carries out its work at the Vutakaka Community Center in Takaungu, Kenya. The Vutakaka Community Center has a daily nursery and primary school, adult education classes, after-school tutoring, health care and education, and programs designed to generate income for the residents of local villages, including a sewing program, a field school for farmers, and informal business advising. The EAC works with over 1,000 people, including adults, particularly women, and children each week. While many other organizations launch short-term campaigns, the EAC programs have a long-term perspective, which will provide permanent services for people in Takaungu. (EAC) In order to organize these programs, the EAC has paid staff in the United States and Kenya.

The EAC has Boards of Directors in the U.S. and Kenya, and currently employs three paid staff in the U.S. and about 30 in Kenya. The paid staff in the U.S. includes the executive director and a board president. Jeneby started drawing a salary only since September 2006 and pays herself $450 USD a month (Smith). She is also

currently a full-time graduate student who has two jobs and is a mother of a baby. (Jeneby) The EAC also hires paid staff in the Takaungu sub-location.

The organizational structure of the Vutakaka Community Center has not only vertical linkage but also horizontal links. The Vutakaka Administration is controlled by one program manager. The Health Department has two nurses and the School Department has six teachers and one school cook. One director organizes the after-school tuition program. The Farmers' Field School Department has one director and one shepherd. The Sewing Department has one director and one head seamstress. There are nine community health workers, one groundskeeper, and three watchmen. The program manager is receiving about $500 USD a month; nurses are receiving about $300 USD a month; and teachers are receiving about $200 USD a month. The Vutakaka Community Center has a nursery and primary school.

The Vutakaka Community Center recently opened the Vutakaka School that serves approximately 180 students from nursery to grade four of primary school. The nursery school fee is 350 KES and the primary is 550 KES per month. (Jeneby) Jeneby said, "Our school fee is very inexpensive. There is another private school in Kilifi that charges 9000 KES per term. The Vutakaka School is only charging about 1500 KES." Over the years the fee would increase because there was a very high

inflation of living expenses of Kenyan and all of the EAC staff also needed raises to adjust to the rising of cost of living (Jeneby). A mother who had two children going to the Vutakaka School told me that she was afraid of the rise in school fees. Her younger daughter has gone to school since kindergarten grade one.

The EAC selected only nursery school students of the grade one (kindergarten grade one (KG1)). It did not need to select any other higher grade students because once they started the first grade, they would move up. When the EAC selected the students of the KG1, first-come, first-serve basis. From November each year the EAC compiles a list of children whose parents want to put them into the Vutakaka School. Each child had to take a test to see whether he or she was ready for school. As one of the developmental measurements, the EAC tests whether they can go to bathroom by themselves. (Jeneby) Many of the children who go to the Vutakaka School have their own sponsors.

Many of the students at the Vutakaka School have a sponsor in the United States. In the past, teachers made a recommendation about who they knew from the community in particular need. Over the course of year, the EAC knew which family could pay and which family could not pay. The EAC asked the teachers and the community members what they thought about whether a family could afford to pay

the school fee. However, currently the EAC is looking for sponsors for all the students. The problem is that the school fees that the students pay are not large enough and do not cover the cost of running the school. Jeneby stated, "We need sponsors for all of our children to make up the difference between what a family can pay and what the actual cost is." (Jeneby) Additionally, Circles of Hope contributes to building classrooms at the Vutakaka School.

Circles of Hope is a group of individuals, including friends, co-workers, and church groups, that has come together to assist the EAC to build classrooms and educate children. In January 2008, the school opened four new classrooms on the new school land that the EAC purchased in 2007 with a grant from the Gates Foundation. Circles of Hope has raised funds to build four classrooms, and the EAC has eight more to establish. About $8,000 USD can build a fully-equipped classroom with desks, chairs, and other classroom resources. Eventually, the EAC plans to add a technology center, library, cafeteria, school clinic, and an administrative block. (EAC) Both nursery and primary school teach all subjects by an English-medium instruction.

The nursery and primary school use an English immersion style to teach all subjects because the teachers want to follow the national language policy in education (Jeneby). Children in the school were not allowed to speak their mother tongues, such

as Kiswahili or Kigiriama. The only time when they could speak Kiswahili was when studying the language or when storytelling. The reason the nursery school had the storytelling time may be because the Kenya Education Commission recommended a daily period of storytelling (Musau 157). I was able to find books and newspapers only in English, Kiswahili, or Arabic in the book store in Kilifi, which was close to Mombasa. One of the books I found was the Kiswahili picture book that the nursery school at the Vutakaka School used for learning Kiswahili as a subject.

My main duties as an intern with the EAC were to work with the daily nursery school, adult education classes as well as the sewing group and manufacturers. I taught children in kindergarten grade three (KG3) mainly English, math, and creative lessons in English. As I mentioned above, children were not allowed to speak their own languages. I saw children criticize their classmates for speaking in Kigiriama or Kiswahili. Even during recess, the school prohibited students from communicating in their own languages. One of the teachers told students that the school required students to speak in English all the time because he wanted students to be academically and intellectually successful.

My question is whether English immersion at the Vutakaka School is sensitive to local culture as well as to a child's mental and intellectual development.

My fieldwork with the EAC program in Takaungu did not focus on language use in the Vutakaka School, so my observation was not enough to analyze the language use in detail. At the same time, the English immersion style education system of the Vutakaka School struck me in many ways because I grew up in a mother-tongue education system from middle school through the university level where English was taught as a single subject. My concluding chapter will discuss language policy as a recommendation for the EAC. With this general picture of the EAC in mind, it is helpful to examine in more detail a specific program, in order to explore my research question about whether the EAC's programs could really improve the quality of life of women in the rural community of Takaungu. In the next chapter, we will focus on the sewing program in order to evaluate the sewing, health, and adult education classes.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY: THE EAC SEWING PROGRAM

The EAC Sewing Class: What Is "Success"?

The EAC sewing program started the sewing class in 2005 to provide sewing skills to women in the community. Over the course of the 10-month class from July to June, women learned how to use a pedal sewing machine and how to make items. In addition to the sewing class, women had to take the health and adult education classes, in order to graduate from this sewing training class. Jeneby explained why the EAC added the general education and health education classes as requirements to graduate from the sewing class:

> The EAC knew that the other program just taught sewing. But knowing how to sew does not mean that you know how to run a business. You need to know how to read and write. If you don't know how to write, you cannot write down the customers' names. You cannot write a cash book without having some general education knowledge. Also, people wanted to have health education. If the EAC required these education classes, women would attend. They had to come to every class rather than just coming once or twice. People wanted to have education, but they might come one week and skip two weeks. That's why we required the health and adult education classes. (Jeneby)

The EAC required the adult and health education to effectively convey knowledge that women needed to run a sewing business and stay healthy. The first sewing class participants learned general education as well as sewing skills.

The sewing class was open for only selected participants. The length of the sewing class was two hours from Monday to Friday between noon and two pm. The EAC charged 50 Kenyan Shillings (KES) a month. The topics included various kinds of sewing: baby dresses and carriers, shirts, blouses, skirts, dresses, and several kinds of bags. The sewing class participants had to take not only the sewing class but also the general education classes.

Unlike the sewing class, the adult education classes were open to anyone in the community. The class participants paid one KES per class. The adult education classes were offered for four days a week. The general education included Kiswahili, English, business, and mathematics. These classes aimed to provide the participants with basic writing and reading skills in Kiswahili or English as well as the basic knowledge about math and business. The business class was offered twice a month: one day for math and three days for Kiswahili or English. The length of the adult education classes was two hours between two to four pm.

In order to graduate from the sewing class, the participants also had to take the health class. The health class was also open to the community for free. It met once a week for two hours between two to four pm. The health education curriculum included 24 topics: human rights, body parts, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, Malaria, Pneumonia, Measles, Meningitis, Plague, uncommon outbreaks (Rift Valley Fever, Avian Influenza, Ebola), hygiene and sanitation, common sickness (dehydration, diarrhea and dysentery, vomiting, cough, typhoid fever), first aid, nutrition, pregnancy and childbirth, breastfeeding, family planning, family life, the use and misuse of alcohol and drugs, teenage pregnancy discussion, domestic violence, sexual assault, and self-defense (EAC Health Education Curriculum). This curriculum was made by a local man and two volunteers from the United States. A nurse of the Vutakaka Community Center taught the health class using this curriculum, including family planning.

The health curriculum included some methods of family planning, including birth control pills, birth control injections, condoms for men and women, the rhythm method, and the mucus method. The four objectives of family planning session were: 1) to discuss the benefits of family planning, 2) to discuss how many children participants would like to have and when, 3) for participants to understand the

definition of family planning, and 4) for participants to have a clear understanding of various methods to prevent pregnancy. The teachers were using a family planning methods poster, a condom and a wooden penis model for condom demonstration, and a female condom poster as the teaching materials. (EAC Health Education Curriculum) A Community Health Assessment conducted by the EAC in 2006 found that while only 37% of respondents wanted more children, just 27% were using contraceptives. Sixteen percent reported that they were using Depo-Provera. Eight percent used oral contraceptives. Eighteen percent of respondents did not use any type of family planning. (Petruney) The results question whether the family planning lecture of the EAC health education was effective because only 27% of respondents were using family planning methods. While I have explained the overview of the classes concerning sewing, health, and general subjects, the history of the sewing program is particularly important to understand why the EAC developed a formal sewing class.

The EAC started the sewing program in August 2003. It developed a network of outlets in Kenya and the United States where the 'Takaungu' label items were sold, with money going to support the Center and to the people making the items (EAC). A director of the sewing program, a head seamstress, and about 20 manufacturers made

products to sell to people inside and outside Kenya. The EAC executive director, Suzanne Jeneby, explained why the EAC developed these outlets:

> The EAC wanted to have something tangible that we could use to sell back in the U.S. to our donors. The EAC was struggling with the fact that the people could not connect with the work they were doing in Kenya. We wanted to create something people could touch and feel. People could support women and people in the village by buying the products they made. Women themselves wanted to do this because they could generate money by themselves.

The EAC has an on-line store to purchase these items in its home page (<http://new.eastafricancenter.org/>). The on-line store is selling bags, scarves, table cloths, and school uniforms. Many of the products are made by using local patterned fabrics called *lesos* and *kikoi* (EAC). Local women use *lesos* as skirts, shoulder and head wraps, and baby carriers. Separate from the outlet, the EAC sewing program started a sewing class in 2005 to provide sewing skills to women in the community.

The sewing program started the first sewing class in 2005. The second sewing class was launched in 2006. Then, the EAC sewing program became an independent cooperative in 2008. Since the EAC has become an independent cooperative, outlet businesses are continuing and manufacturers are making items. The budget of the independent cooperative of the sewing program comes from the selling of the sewing products through the EAC's outlets.

The goal of the sewing class was to teach women how to sew and to have them start their own businesses (Jeneby). The first and second sewing groups graduated after one year, in 2006 and 2007, respectively. The first sewing group contained 13 women and the second contained 14. When the EAC started the sewing class, many women in the community came to the Vutakaka Community Center to learn how to sew.

The first project of the sewing class was to make a particular type of bag. Through the committee of the Vutakaka Community Center, the EAC invited anyone who wanted to learn how to sew. Sixty-five women heard about the project and came to the Vutakaka Community Center and created the bag. The EAC decided to follow up with a formal class with teachers and machines. Because the group was too large, all names were put into a hat and 13 students were selected. (Jeneby)

The class participants each received a sewing machine as a graduation gift from the EAC. The EAC purchased the sewing machines at Amedo on Digo Road in Kilifi and Mombasa. Each machine cost 12000 Kenyan Shillings (KES) and was made in China (Jeneby). The machine had a one year warranty. The director of the sewing program kept the scores of the products that 13 women made. Each item that women made was scored depending on how well it was made (Jeneby). The director

also scored for attendance (Jeneby). Those who had higher attendance rates and scores of the products were selected as manufacturers of the sewing program. Manufacturers selected from the first sewing group had some advantages before they went to the sewing class.

Some manufacturers were selected from the first sewing program, and they had some experiences of formal schooling. However, 46% of the first sewing group had no formal schooling experience when they were children. The results show how primary education was important when they were children and how the formal school experiences possibly affected their future access to economic opportunities. Because the education levels of the class participants varied, the start line was already different among the participants. Fifty-four percent of the class participants already knew how to count numbers, write down letters, and measure the clothes. This basic knowledge might have affected their pace and efficiency of learning sewing skills. In order to evaluate the sewing, health, and adult education classes, I conducted two sewing group surveys through interviews with program participants.

The First Sewing Group Survey (See Appendix F)

One year after the first sewing class was completed, the EAC tasked me with design and administration of a survey to assess the current sewing machine usage

and income of the first sewing group, who graduated from the EAC sewing class program and were provided sewing machines in July of 2006. I combined the sewing group survey and my graduate study on the impact of education of the community-based organization in rural Kenya. The purposes of the sewing group survey were: 1) to know whether the participants of the sewing group were using the sewing machines that the EAC provided, 2) to analyze whether the sewing class program contributed to making income for women, 3) to examine whether the EAC programs really improved the quality of life of women in the community through the combination of the sewing, adult, and health education and 4) to analyze whether participants perceived the programs as useful. I wrote and designed the sewing group survey questionnaires with assistance from Kristi Arthur, Joan Ruth Boewman, and the sewing department director. In order to study the program, I conducted qualitative surveys.

I conducted the survey through semi-structured open-ended interviews with 13 class participants, including five manufacturers, in the months of July and August of 2007. A local Giriama woman who spoke English, Kigiriama, and Kiswahili, accompanied me as a translator. Another local Giriama woman accompanied the translator and me as a guide to the homes of participants. The locations surveyed were

in the Takaungu sub-location, in the villages of Takaungu, Vuma, Kayanda, and Kanyumbuni.

Three sections of the survey are: 1) current machine usage, 2) income generation from sewing, and 3) feedback on sewing, adult, and health education classes. Section three is subdivided into five parts: 1) general questions, 2) the sewing class, 3) adult education, 4) health education, and 5) recommendations for the sewing, health, and adult education classes. The total number of the participants was different because I forgot to ask some questions to some participants. Also, the number of the results of some questions was over 13 because these questions had multiple choices. The results of the first sewing group survey are as follows.

1. Current Machine Usage

a) Are you currently sewing? (Yes: 11/ No: 2)

Do you think you will continue to sew in the future? (Yes: 11/ No: 0)

This question examines whether the sewing program graduates were still using the machines one year after the EAC provided the machines, in order to know the effectiveness and the long term outcome of the sewing class. Eleven out of the 13 participants were using their sewing machines at this time. All 11 women thought they would continue to sew in the future. Only two of the participants were not

sewing at this time. One stated that she stopped sewing because of a lack of customers. She had not had a customer since May 2007 and had not sewed since that time. She would have continued sewing if she had received more customers. Another participant, not sewing at this time, explained that she could not sew because her sewing machine had been damaged since June of 2007. At this time, she was saving money to repair the machine. These latter two women were not asked if they planned to continue sewing in the future. Even though a high percentage of the participants was sewing, some weaknesses existed.

The percent of machine usage was high, which illustrates the program effectiveness because 85% of women were using their skills that they learned from the sewing class. Yet, the results suggest two possible weaknesses: two women were not sewing because of either a lack of customers or the damage of sewing machines. The results also show that perhaps some parts of the Takaungu sub-location did not need sewing women. Another possibility is that the women lacked marketing skills. People in particular areas might not need to or might not be able to afford to repair or make clothes. Another possible weakness is the sustainability of the program because one participant could not afford to fix the damage of the sewing machine, and it was unclear whether she could save enough money to fix the machine. She was not

married and depended on her family to live. If she depended on only the income from the sewing, she could not save money unless her family provided her with financial support. Overall, however, the results of the sewing machine usage seem to show the success of the sewing class because 85% of the participants still used the sewing machines at the time I interviewed them. Still, the EAC could solve the problems of the lack of customers and the damaged machine that these two participants faced.

If the participant who had fewer customers was able to have ideas from other skilled sewers, the problem might be solved. For example, one of the manufacturers of the sewing program informed me that she made many baby dresses and sold them house to house. This strategy might solve her problem. Thus, my recommendation for the EAC is that it could create an informal meeting for skilled sewers in the community to share their problems and ideas. For the other problem, the EAC possibly could check the quality of the machines before it purchases them because the other participants also had trouble with their machines.

b) What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs? (Yes: 9/ No: 4)

This question assesses the sustainability of the program as well as whether the sewing machines were working properly, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the sewing class. Nine participants' machines required repairs. The results

demonstrate that the program sustainability was questionable because 69% of the participants needed repairs. The EAC needed predictability to examine the quality of the sewing machines before it purchased them. One participant's machine had trouble ever since she got it. A professional fixed it several times, but it was still damaged. If she wanted to fix it completely, she needed to go to Mombasa or Kilifi to buy a particular ball bearing. At this time, she was using the machine without a ball bearing. Because a transportation fee to Mombasa cost 200 KES, she could not afford to go and buy the ball bearing.

The EAC needed to make sure that every woman knew that the machine had a one year warranty when it was provided. However, women might not know that the machine had a warranty. I never heard from the class participants about the shop name, Amedo in Mombasa or Kilifi, from which the EAC purchased the sewing machines. Even if they did know about this warranty system, they might not have had a chance to go to Mombasa or Kilifi, or to call Amedo, because of a lack of transportation or telecommunication fees. If the participants' family members fixed the machines, the participants might not have paid for the repairs. Conversely, if the professionals fixed the machines, participants probably needed money to pay the fees.

c) Who fixed the machine? (Participant: 2/ Family members: 2/ Professional: 5)

To know the long-term success of the sewing class, this question examines who repaired the machines, in order to explore whether the participants needed fees for repair. Two participants fixed their machines themselves. One needed oil (25 KES), thread (15 KES), and needles (5 KES) to perform the repair. Her machine was damaged three times. The total cost for her repairs was 210 KES. Two participants stated that their family members fixed their machines, while five participants told me that a professional repaired theirs. The total cost for repairs varied from 50 KES to 400 KES, because of the level of damage. When the participants needed professionals for repairs, the fee might burden the participants.

The results question the sustainability of the program because two participants needed repairs several times. The cost of repair might cause economic hardship for women. In the Takaungu-sub location, one could buy a fried fish with 25 KES, so a repair cost of 400 KES was expensive. Similarly, one participant could not completely fix the machine. This situation might negatively affect her sewing business. It is important to know whether their families could fix the machines because the participants might not be able to pay for professional service.

d) Are you able to pay for repairs? (Yes: 5/ No: 2)

In order to analyze the long-term outcome of the sewing class, it is important to know whether the participants could afford repairs. Five participants could pay for repairs, and two participants could not. One of these participants had previously repaired her machine, but did not have the funds to do so at this time. Another informed me that she paid (200 KES) for repairs in June 2007, but the machine was damaged again at this time. She was saving money to repair it.

These results also question the sustainability of the program because 15% of the participants could not afford to fix their sewing machines. An error in my research was that I should have asked how they planned to save money because it might be difficult to do so if they did not have an alternative way to earn money. The participants might have been the cause of the machine damages.

e) Where do you keep the machine? (Inside home: 10/ Shop: 2/ Other: 1)

Is it covered? (Yes: 9/ No: 3)

This question examines how the participants treated the sewing machines, in order to know the cause of the machines' conditions. From my observation, all participants took good care of their sewing machines. Ten participants kept the sewing machines inside their homes. Nine participants covered the sewing machines.

One participant kept the machine at a friend's shop that was a two-minute walk from her home because she could get more customers there. Another kept the machine in her own sewing shop. She had three sewing machines, including the one that the EAC provided her in 2006. Another kept her sewing machine in Kanyumbuni with her relatives because she could get more customers there. She lived in Vuma, which already has a lot of machines. She was not able to get enough customers and income near her home. Similarly, the participants used the sewing machines in different ways.

f) What are your main uses for the sewing machine? (Make or repair clothes for the family or themselves: 9/ Make or repair clothes for others to sell: 12)

This question explores how the participants used the machines and whether the machines contributed to improving the lives of women and their families. The machines were primarily used to make or repair clothes for each participant's own family or to sell the clothes to others. The results show that the participants had skills to fix or make the clothes for families without spending any money other than the cost of fabrics and supplies, which might increase their personal pocket income or budget to spend for their families. This might contribute to improving their health condition because they could buy more food to feed their families. The results that participants repaired or made the clothes for others show that they might benefit people near their

residence areas. The participants could provide sewing skills for community members as well as share their sewing machines with others.

g) Who uses your machine? (Participant: 13/ Husband: 1/ Relatives: 1)

This question examines whether the machines benefited other community members, including the participants' families, through sharing the machines. Eleven women were the sole users of their own machines. One woman said her relative also used the machine, while another stated that her husband also used the machine. The results show that the sewing machines benefited not only the program participants but also their families. Overall, however, the results illustrate that the sewing machines did not have much impact on other community members because only 15% of participants shared their sewing machines with others. Along with sharing their machines, participants could teach others how to use the machines.

h) Did you teach others to use the machine? (Yes: 2/ No: 11)

This question explores whether the sewing class impacted community members as well as whether the participants spread their sewing knowledge to others. Eleven participants did not teach others to use the machine and two did teache others. Out of these two participants, one taught her extended family how to sew. Another taught her husband. He sewed for himself when his clothes got damaged, which might

reduce his wife's work. Also, the results illustrate their mutual relationship rather than hierarchical power relationships based on patriarchy. Although this couple might be an exception, it reveals that the community that I studied had less clear gender roles than Kenyan society in general. Also, the sewing class contributed to building not only the participants' capacity, but also the skills of their families. Yet, overall, the results indicate that not many participants passed their knowledge to others. While the participants could teach sewing skills to others, the participants and other community members would not be able to continue a sewing business if the participants' neighboring areas had too many competitors among skilled sewers.

i) Are there too many women providing sewing in the community? (Yes: 6/ No: 7)

This question is significant because even though the participants had sewing skills, if there had been too much competition among the community, it might be difficult to earn enough income. The answer to this question depended on the region. Women working in more populated areas like the Takaungu town and Kilifi thought that there was need for more skilled sewers. One participant stated that if more women could have a sewing machine, they would develop businesses. In more rural areas of the village, the participants felt that there was already too much competition for business.

My recommendation for the EAC is to research the region to discover which areas have the households with sewing machines. Research is important for the future program effectiveness. At the same time, a contradiction exists through the process of participants' selection. If the EAC chooses applicants from a particular area that lacks skilled sewers, it might exclude people from populated areas. Then, it might no longer be a democratic random selection to make sure that all applicants have equal opportunities to participate in programs. Not only sewing machine usage among community and participants but also participants' income generation from sewing is important to explore, in order to assess the effectiveness of the programs. Also, one of the purposes of this sewing group survey is to analyze whether the sewing class contributed to making income for women. If there were already too many skilled sewers in the participants' residence areas, it might be hard to earn enough income from sewing.

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a) Are you making an income? (Yes: 13/ No: 0)

This question tests my hypothesis whether the sewing class improved the quality of life of women in terms of increasing their economic opportunities. Although two participants out of 13 were not sewing at this time, all had been or were

at this time making their income from sewing. It seems to show the program success in terms of providing economic opportunities to the participants. Yet, one should focus on the profit from sewing because participants might not include the cost of fabrics and supplies. Thread usually cost about 15 KES, needles cost about 5 KES, and oil for maintenance cost about 25 KES. The cost of materials from a participant was difficult to measure because each time the cost of fabrics and supplies was different, and so were the orders participants got from customers. The actual income from sewing might be much smaller than participants earned. Although all women had been or were at this time making their income from sewing, each participant had different income generation.

The income they made varied from 140 to 3500 KES per month. The woman who made 500 KES per day had her own shop in Kilifi. She opened her own sewing shop after she graduated from the EAC sewing class. Another informed me that her income depended on what kind of clothes she made. If she made a new dress, she could get 200 to 250 KES. For simple mending, she would get 20 KES, usually adding up to 200 KES per week for repairs. Another obtained one order per month because there were a lot of people who had sewing machines in her residence area. Another stated that money from sewing was her only income because she was single

mother with children. Five participants were sewing manufacturers. A manufacturer stated that if she made bags, she could obtain 1000 to 2000 KES per month. The women's income depended on what they made. In addition to their income from sewing at home, they got income from the sewing program of the Vutakaka Community Center.

Five sewing manufacturers were selected from the first sewing group based on their sewing skills. The director of the sewing department was responsible for selecting sewing manufacturers. She scored all participants' work during a 10-month session of the sewing class. Although all made their income from sewing, it might be difficult for some participants to buy enough fabrics and supplies to continue their sewing businesses.

b) Where do you get your fabrics and supplies? (Customers: 8/ Participant themselves: 5/ Vutakaka Community Center: 2)

This question examines where and how easily the participants were able to obtain fabrics and supplies for their sewing businesses. Eight participants received fabrics and supplies from their customers. Five participants bought fabrics and supplies by themselves, one participant bought fabrics and supplies in a shop in Takaungu, two obtained fabrics and supplies in Mombasa, two manufacturers got

fabrics and supplies from the Vutakaka Community Center. The results reveal that all participants were able to obtain fabrics and supplies. However, if they were unable to decide how the money was used, their income might be less useful in improving their economic status.

c) Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing?

(Participant: 12/ Others: 1)

This question explores whether the participants were in charge of the money they earned from their sewing. Twelve participants decided by themselves how to spend the money that they made from sewing. The results demonstrate that 92% of the participants had power over their income, although one participant said that her older brother made financial decisions regarding her profits. I should have asked whether her brother spent the money for the whole family, in order to know whether her income from sewing contributed to improving her quality of life. When the participants had control over their income from sewing, they needed to decide how to spend the money.

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

This question examines whether the income from sewing improved the quality of life of women in terms of increasing investment in daily goods or education

for their children. Fifty-four percent of the participants spent income to buy daily goods for their families. The results demonstrate that income from sewing might contribute to increasing daily goods for their families. Fifteen percent of the participants invested income from sewing in their children. The fact that one participant used income for a school fee for her children shows that income contributed to children's schooling and opportunities for children's education. The results also reveal that one participant could afford to buy additional clothes for herself, which might improve her quality of life through increasing her personal belongings and mental satisfaction. While it is significant to know how the participants spent the money from sewing, it is also important to explore whether the sewing class increased their opportunities to buy additional goods.

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

This question explores whether income from sewing improved the quality of life of women in terms of increasing opportunities to buy additional daily goods. Nine participants responded that the income from sewing allowed them to buy daily goods that they might not otherwise have been able to afford, while one participant planned to buy animals to start a business using income from sewing. Sewing income allowed

her to expand her business and economic opportunities in the near future. My expectation was that participants could invest money in children's education. However, the results reveal that 69% of the participants invested income to feed their families rather than in education. Still, the participants could improve their quality of life through increasing daily goods and economic opportunities. Not only the sewing skills but also general education knowledge could assist the participants to improve the quality of their lives. Therefore, in addition to machine usage and income generation, I asked the participants about classes concerning sewing, general subjects, and health.

3. Sewing, Adult, and Health Education Classes

A. General Questions

a) How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking? (0-30 min: 9/ 30 min-1 hr: 3/ 4 hr: 1)

This question examines how far the participants came from their homes, because the distance might negatively affect the opportunity for learning. The shortest time it took a participant to get to Vutakaka Community Center was five minutes by walking. The longest was four hours by walking. Ninety-two percent of the participants could come to the Vutakaka Community Center in less than one hour by

walking. One participant who took four hours to walk explained that she chose to walk from home, because a fee for a *matatu* (bus) was expensive for her. I saw her almost every day at the Vutakaka Community Center. The results show that the distance might not matter if the participant had a strong motivation to learn. At the same time, if a similar program were in her residence area, it might be easier for her to attend the class. Also, other woman in her community could have sewing skills. Although this question was not related to the actual classes, the next question is linked to sewing, health, and adult education classes.

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you? (Sewing: 7/ Kiswahili: 2/ English: 2/ Business: 1/ Math: 1/ Health: 0)

This question explores which class the participants perceived as the most beneficial and why they thought so, in order to evaluate each class. Seven participants stated that sewing was the most beneficial class among the sewing, health, and general education classes. The reasons the participants chose the particular subjects varied. One told me that she did not know anything about sewing, and she acquired the skills in the sewing class. Another informed me that the sewing class led her to become a tailor, while another stated that income from sewing enabled her to buy

food. As the participants raised the practical reasons for the sewing class, the reasons for English were similarly practical.

The reasons the participants chose English as the most useful class were similar to the reasons for choosing the Kiswahili class. One participant chose the Kiswahili class because she could communicate with others. Another needed to communicate in English, because people who were coming to the Center were mainly volunteers from the United States. Another wanted to learn English because she did not go to school. She thought that reading, writing, and speaking were useful skills. These results also can apply to the reasons for choosing the Kiswahili class.

The reasons the participants chose the Kiswahili class as the most beneficial class also ranged. One informed me that she could communicate with people more in Kiswahili than before she took the class. The results show that the Kiswahili class contributed to increasing her communication skills and social networking opportunities. Another said that the Kiswahili class enabled her to write customers' names. The results illustrate that literacy education in general rather than a particular subject of Kiswahili contributed to her sewing business. If she could not write down customers' names, it might be difficult to run a sewing business. The results also demonstrate how the combination of sewing and adult education worked. Like the

Kiswahili class, the participants raised the point that the relationship between sewing and business as well as the math class was beneficial.

One of the reasons that the participants perceived the business class as useful was articulated by one participant who said that when she got money from sewing, she could count the materials and know her profit. The results show how the combination of the sewing and business classes worked. These reasons also apply to the reasons the participants regarded the math class as the most useful. One participant informed me that she knew how to calculate the money that she used and how to measure the fabrics. The results demonstrate how math skills were useful for sewing. Similarly, another stated that she could take the customers' measurements and count the money she earned from sewing. While the participants perceived the particular class as valuable, it is important to explore whether these classes could even change the participants' self-image.

c) Do you have more self-confidence and self-reliance than before you took the classes? (Yes: 13/ No: 0)

This question examines whether the sewing, health, and adult education classes could contribute to improving quality of life in terms of building self-reliance. All participants had more self-confidence or self-reliance than before. Seven

participants had more self-confidence, because they learned how to read, write, and sew. The results show that reading, writing, and sewing skills contributed to building self-confidence and self-reliance of the participants. While in fact the participants felt that these classes contributed to building self-confidence and self-reliance, it is significant to know whether these classes also made them realize the importance of education.

d) What do you think about education for women?

This question explores how the participants perceived education for women because, through this question, I wanted the participants to think about why education for women was important. One participant informed me that the program was so helpful for women, children, and girls in the community, because some of the members of the sewing group did not know anything about sewing and health, until they took the sewing and health education classes. Another told me, "At first, I didn't know anything, but now I know. I can decide for my life [(choose my future)]." Another stated, "Women can improve themselves." The results demonstrate that the participants positively perceived education for women. My wish is that, through their own experiences of the EAC education programs, the participants would realize how education for their children, especially daughters, is important. It is significant for

women themselves to realize the importance of education in order to break the cycle of educating sons over daughters. As a result of their experiences, women might educate their daughters. However, it is important to consider their daily duties because their gender roles might become an obstacle to continuing schooling. Thus, I asked women the question about their schedules.

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

This question explores the general role and daily routine of women in the Takaungu sub-location. It is important for development workers to understand local life and culture in order to find out what makes girls and women attend school or continue schooling. The results reveal that the main duties of many of the participants were to make meals for their families, clean their homes, and fetch water. Based on the results, most participants were responsible for domestic duties. Considering their roles and schedules at home, the next question tests whether the time and the length of the classes suited the participants' daily lives.

f) Was the time of the classes good for you? (Yes: 6/ No: 1)

Was the length of classes good for you? (Yes: 11/ No: 2)

It is important to know whether the time and length of the classes were appropriate for the participants because the future classes could possibly be changed

for them. One participant thought that the time of the classes was not good for her. She explained the reason to me: "Sometimes I did not attend the adult education classes because my home is far. The time did not allow me to attend the classes. I attended the adult education three times a week. If the adult education classes were in the morning, I could attend them." Unfortunately, her recommendation would be difficult to accommodate because the teacher for the adult education classes had a class in the nursery in the morning. She was the only one who had a problem with the time of classes. Like the time of the classes, most participants were satisfied with the length of the classes.

Eighty-five percent of the participants perceived that the length of the sewing and adult education classes was appropriate. Conversely, fifteen percent of the participants thought that the length of the sewing and adult education classes was not good. One said, "The length of the sewing class was short. I did not finish sewing. Then the time was over." Another told me that for her, both sewing and adult education classes were short because she could not fully understand what teachers taught. The results might depend on the original education level of the participants. As I mentioned before, some had formal schooling experiences, others did not. This perhaps negatively affected the participant learning pace and effectiveness. Likewise,

their learning background had an influence on their ability to learn math by an English-medium instruction.

g) Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction?

(Yes: 4/ No: 5)

This question explores whether the participants had difficulties learning math by an English-medium instruction because the EAC could use the participants' feedback on language use, in order to improve the future programs. This question came to mind because through my participant observation in the math class I found that some of the participants had difficulties counting numbers in English. For many of the participants, English was their second or third language. Four participants did not answer this question. Because they already had enough schooling experience, they were not required to take the math class. The other nine participants who took the math class by an English-medium instruction answered this question.

Fifty-four percent of the participants informed me that they had difficulties learning math by an English-medium instruction. One participant stated that at first it was difficult for her to learn math in English because she did not go to school. The study found that those who had no formal schooling experience tended to say learning math in English was difficult. Because almost half of the participants stated that they

had difficulties learning math in English, the best way to improve the course might be to let the participants choose to learn either in Kiswahili or in English. The teaching method of the classes as well as the learning environment is important throughout the learning process.

h) Do you keep in touch with your classmates? (Yes: 12/ No: 1)

This question explores whether the programs enhanced participants' social networking, as well as whether the participants maintained their relationships with their former classmates in order to support each other. Ninety-two percent of the participants stated that they were still keeping in touch with each other. One informed me that the classmates helped, learned, and taught each other. The results demonstrate that the sewing, health, and adult education classes could contribute to create supportive learning groups even after their graduation. While all of the above questions were related to sewing, health, and general education classes, the next section will go into specific classes.

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates or teachers?

This question is to know what the participants liked about the sewing class, classmates, and teachers in order to impact the future program. One participant told

me, "What I liked the sewing class was a vision to achieve. I always wanted to know how to cut the fabric for the various design. I didn't have any knowledge. But I came to the Vutakaka Community Center and learned about them." Another stated that she liked the sewing class because she could get benefits (income) from sewing. Another informed me that she improved her knowledge of sewing and her skill of making skirts. The results found that many participants were satisfied with the fact that they could acquire various sewing skills. Thus, I asked the participants which aspects of the class they particularly liked.

The topics that the participants liked included sewing clothes for adults and children as well as bags. Furthermore, eight participants stated that the classmates helped each other. One participant informed me that the classmates were cooperative. Another told me, "The classmates taught and helped each other. When I didn't understand [what the teacher taught], my classmates helped me." Additionally, eight participants thought that teachers helped them. One participant stated, "The teachers were sociable. They made my learning process very smooth." Although it might be culturally inappropriate to say something negative about someone, particularly teachers, who taught them, the results might show cooperative learning environment

of the sewing class. It is important to know what the participants liked about the sewing class as well as whether they perceived the sewing class as useful.

b) Do you think the sewing class is useful? Why do you think so? (Yes: 13/ No: 0)

This question explores whether the participants regarded the sewing class as useful. It is important to get the participants' perspectives. All participants thought that the sewing class was useful. Fifty-four percent of the participants thought the sewing class was useful because they could learn how to sew, and 38% were involved because they were able to obtain income from sewing. One participant said, "The sewing class was important for me because the class assisted me to inspire my life and future." Another told me that sewing helped the family because she could get money from sewing. The results clearly show that the participants perceived that the sewing class was useful. Just as I did with regard to the sewing class, I asked the participants what they thought about the general education classes.

C. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher?

This question examines particularly what the participants liked about the adult education classes and the teacher in order to improve the future program. Responses were similar to the question, "Which was the most beneficial class for

you?" All participants positively answered to this question. The results show the participants' satisfaction with the adult education classes. It is significant to know what they liked about the general class as well as whether they perceived the adult class as useful.

b) Do you think the adult education classes are useful? (Yes: 10/ No: 0)

This question examines whether the participants regarded the adult education classes as useful because this study aims to evaluate programs from the participants' point of view. Although I forgot to ask three participants, all participants that I could ask gave practical reasons for thinking that the adult education classes were useful. The results demonstrate how the participants regarded the knowledge that they could use in their daily lives as useful. For example, one stated that when she got profit from sewing, she was able to calculate it. Another told me that she was using the knowledge of math to measure clothes, while another informed me that English was useful for her sewing business. The results illustrate that adult education contributed to the participants' sewing business, so I directly asked whether the knowledge from adult education classes was helpful for sewing.

c) Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult education classes useful for sewing? (Yes: 5/ No: 1)

If the participants regarded the skills as useful, then the results show clearly the combination of sewing and adult education worked well. While only six participants answered the question, five participants thought the knowledge of adult education was useful for sewing. Only one participant thought that knowledge of adult education was not useful for sewing. The reasons the participants regarded the knowledge of adult education as being useful for sewing varied. One participant told me, "If you know how to write, you can take the customers' measurements and write them down before you cut the fabrics." Another said, "Math and English are useful. I can measure the fabrics through math knowledge. I know how to talk with others (customers) in English." These stories show clearly that the combination of adult education and the sewing class worked well. While the participants regarded the knowledge of the adult education as useful, if they did not use them in their daily lives, the effectiveness of the program would be questionable.

d) Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life? (Yes: 10/ No: 0)

This question examines whether the participants were daily using the skills that they acquired in general education, in order to know that the adult education really improved the quality of life of women. All participants out of 10 were using some knowledge in their daily lives. One participant informed me, "I learned how to keep and divide money [(some money to use for family and some money for saving)]. For example, when I earn 200 Kenya Shillings (KES), I will use 150 KES for food and save 50 KES. When I get sick, I will use the money which I saved." Her experience shows that adult education classes possibly contributed to maintaining and improving her health status. While the results show clearly that adult education assisted the participants to improve their quality of life, it is also important to evaluate the health class.

D. Health Education

a) What did you like about the class and teacher of health education? (Hygiene and sanitation: 10/ Malaria: 3/ HIV/AIDS: 3/ Diarrhea: 1/ Cholera: 1/ How to take care of a sick person: 1)

This question explores what the participants liked about the health education class, in order to evaluate it and reflect the participants' perceptions, for improving the future program. Eight participants liked the topic of hygiene and sanitation, including personal hygiene, cleanliness in the home and in the community, cleanliness in eating, and water sanitation and health. Three participants chose the topics about Malaria or HIV/AIDS. One participant preferred the topics about diarrhea, Cholera, how to handle a sick person, environmental sanitation, or water for safe drinking. Another participant learned how to make her home, herself, and her children clean (topic about hygiene). Another acquired the knowledge of how to handle a person who was diagnosed with malaria or HIV/AIDS. Another gained an understanding of diseases such as malaria and diarrhea that children were easily affected by. Another acquired skills in how to handle a sick person and give him or her medicine. The results show that health education might assist women and their families to stay

healthy. It is important to know not only what the participants liked about health education but also whether they found it to be useful.

b) Do you think the health education class is useful? (Yes: 12/ No: 0)

This question explores whether the participants considered the health education class as useful, in order to assess the program from the participants' point of view. Twelve participants thought that health education was useful. One participant said that she learned more about how to take care of someone with diarrhea, vomiting, and malaria (how to get malaria and treatment and how to prevent malaria). Because she had a toddler, these topics were very important for her. The results show that the participants were able to prevent diseases in themselves as well as in their families, especially their infants who got infected with several diseases more easily than adults. Thus, the health education might assist women to maintain better health for the next generation. While most participants perceived health education as useful, if they could not apply the knowledge into their daily lives, the class might be less valuable.

c) Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life? (Yes: 11/ No: 0)

This question explores whether the participants were applying their knowledge into their daily lives, in order to analyze the effectiveness of the program.

Eleven participants were using knowledge of health education in their daily lives. One participant gained an understanding of mosquito nets, washing hands after going outside, and cleaning hands after using rest room. Another told me, "I'm making my compound clean. I'm washing dishes and things for cooking, such as pans. I know how to make myself clean." Another was using the knowledge about how to prevent HIV/AIDS. These experiences reveal that health education made the participants more aware of prevention of diseases. Another kept clean water in the house. This was another example of realizing the importance of safe drinking water to prevent sickness such as diarrhea. Some of the participants were using knowledge about first aid to help a sick person. One stated, "When I see a sick person who has diarrhea, I will boil water and add salt and sugar for first aid before I send the patient to the hospital." Another said, "I can take care of a person who gets burned or injured because I learned how to give the injured first aid. First, I clean the injury and dress the wound, and then go to hospital." Knowledge about first aid contributes greatly to the participants' daily lives because they could help others. The sewing, heath, and general education classes seem to be effective because many of the participants were using the knowledge in their daily lives. The last interview question gave women the opportunities to express any comments on the EAC program in general.

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any advice for the sewing, health, and adult education classes?

This question examines whether the participants had any recommendations for the sewing, health, and adult education classes, in order to improve the future programs. Seven participants wanted the sewing, health, and adult education classes at the Vutakaka Community Center to continue in order to provide benefits to others. Six participants wanted to continue going to the sewing, health, and adult education classes. One of the manufacturers wanted the EAC to get more orders for sewing. The results found that the participants were eager to learn more about sewing, health, and general knowledge of adult education. Moreover, many of the participants hoped that the sewing, adult, and health education would continue. These comments probably show their positive response to the EAC programs because they were able to find usefulness in them.

The next section will provide the results of the second sewing group survey. The second sewing group graduated one year after the first sewing group and obtained the sewing machines just one month prior to the survey. Because only one month passed after the second sewing group got the sewing machines, machine usage and income generation might be different from the results of the first sewing group survey.

The Second Sewing Group Survey (See Appendix G)

The second sewing group survey was conducted in a similar survey design, interviewee selection, purpose, time period, location, and questionnaire format as the first sewing group survey. The difference was that the second sewing group graduated on June 2007 and got machines on July 29th. Additionally, women's language level varied, so the second sewing group was divided into two groups that learned Kiswahili or English. Although the second sewing group was originally 14 people, five women were not able to graduate from the sewing class.

I interviewed those who were unable to graduate from the sewing class to explore why they were unable to graduate. I was not able to interview one woman because she was out of town. I visited her, but she was not in her home because she was on vacation. The director of the sewing program told me that the first sewing group was very cooperative, but the second was not. Also, I asked her why she thought that five people could not graduate the sewing class. She answered that they were just lazy. The EAC provided the machines to five manufacturers because the EAC planned to provide them to five women who could not graduate.

I could interview only three manufacturers out of five in order to know their machine usage. When I planned to interview them, the Vutakaka Community Center

was closed because of summer vacation. Manufacturers took some health and adult education classes. One of the manufacturers did not take sewing and adult education classes because she already knew how to sew and had completed primary school grade seven before she was hired by the EAC. She took only the health education class at the Vutakaka Community Center. Thus, I used only her information of current machine usage, sewing career status, and health education in this thesis. Because some results of the survey were similar to the first sewing group, I analyze only a part of the results that shows a distinctive difference from the first sewing group survey. I interviewed four of the five who did not graduate, three of the five manufacturers whom were given machines and all nine graduates. The total number of interviewees was 16. The total number of women was different because I forgot to ask some questions to some participants. Also, the number of the results of some questions was over 16 because these questions had multiple choices. The results of the second sewing group survey are as follows.

1. Current Machine Usage

a) Are you currently sewing? (Yes: 13/ No: 0)

Do you think you will continue to sew in the future? (Yes: 13/ No: 0)

Thirteen women out of 13 were using sewing machines. They thought they would continue to sew. One out of four I interviewed who could not graduate and did not receive a sewing machine from the EAC still sewed at this time because she borrowed a machine from her neighbor. She was a Mswahili woman. As I mentioned before, the Mswahili tended to be wealthier than the Mijikenda. Perhaps it might be easier for her to find someone who owned the sewing machine in her neighborhood in the center of the Takaungu sub-location. The other participants who could not graduate or obtain the machines were Mijikenda. It might be difficult for them to find neighbors who had a machine. While all women were using the sewing machines, some of them had trouble with them.

b) What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs? (Yes: 3/ No: 9)

Nine women out of 12 had never repaired their machines since they got them on July 29th. Three stated that their machines had needed repairs once after they got the machines. One woman told me that the machine was in bad condition because a needle and the thread were loose. She did not pay for repairs or buy any supplies

because her relative repaired it. Another mentioned that when she got the machine, the rope was too thick. She did not buy a new rope because her daughter repaired it. Another was not able to pay for a professional to repair the machine and her husband paid the 50 Kenyan Shillings to repair it. Overall, not many women needed repairs because they just got the machine one month prior to the interview. Additionally, the problem might not be the machine but women's maintenance of the machines. Thus, I asked them how they treated the machine.

c) Where do you keep the machine? Is it covered? (Yes: 10/ No: 1)

All women out of 12 I interviewed kept the machine inside their homes. Ten women out of 11 covered the machines, but I forgot to ask one woman whether she covered the machine. It is important to know not only how women kept the machines but also how they were using machines, in order to explore whether sewing skills assisted them and their families.

d) What are your main uses for the sewing machine? (Make or repair clothes only for the family: 2/ Make or repair clothes for family and others to sell: 10)

Ten women out of 12 stated that the main uses of the machine were to make or repair clothes for family and others to sell. Two women informed me that they made and repaired clothes only for their families because only one month passed

since they got machines. While the women's sewing skills benefited their families and community members, they could probably share the machines with others.

e) Who uses your machine? (Herself only: 7/ Daughters: 2/ Relatives: 1/ Friend: 1/ Husband: 1)

Seven women used their machines only for themselves. Two women informed me that their daughters used the machine. One mentioned that her relative, friend, or husband also used the machine. While some of the women's sewing skills and machines benefitted their families or community members, if there were too many skilled sewers in the community, it might be difficult to continue a sewing business.

f) Are there too many women providing sewing in the community? (Yes: 5/ No: 7)

Seven out of 12 women thought there was a need for more skilled sewers in the community. On the contrary, five believed there were too many women providing sewing. I asked this question because if there were already too many competitors among skilled sewers in the women's residences, it might be difficult for them to earn an income from sewing.

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a) Are you making an income? (Yes: 2/ No: 2)

What sells best? How much money do you get from sewing per day or week?

Eleven women out of 13 were making the income from sewing. The income they made varied from 20 Kenyan Shillings (KES) to 1000 KES per day. Three women stated that mending sold best, two women stated that bags, *marinda*, or school uniforms sold best, and one woman stated that blouses, skirts, or baby dresses sold best. One woman obtained only one order and earned 5500 KES. She made five bags and gave them to her son to sell them in Watamu, which was a more populated area. Another woman mentioned that at home she produced many baby dresses and sold them house to house. By doing so, she could earn almost 1000 KES per day. The results show that she developed her own way to sell the products. Her sewing skills benefited the community. It might be beneficial for sewing program graduates if they could share information on how to sell products effectively in the community. On the contrary, one woman informed me that she was mending only for her family because she did not have enough materials to sew for others at this time. While most women earned their income from sewing, it might be difficult for some women to get enough fabrics and supplies to run a sewing business.

b) Where do you get your fabrics and supplies? (Customers: 6/ Herself: 4/ Vutakaka Community Center: 6)

Six women out of 13 received fabrics and supplies from their customers. Six women obtained fabrics and supplies from the Vutakaka Community Center. Four women purchased fabrics and supplies by themselves at Mombasa or Takaungu. While most women could obtain fabrics and supplies as well as could earn an income from sewing, if they did not have power to control the income from sewing, improvement of their economic status might be difficult.

c) Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing? (Herself: 11/ Others: 0)

All women out of 11 stated that they decided by themselves how to spend money that they earned. While all women could control the money from sewing, they needed to decide how to spend income.

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

Five women out of 11 bought daily necessaries for their families, including food, cooking oil, paraffin, soaps, and water. Four women saved money, three purchased materials for sewing, two spent money for a school fee for their children or for clothes for themselves, and one paid for school stationery for their children. It is

important to know not only how the women spent the money but also to explore whether the income from sewing enabled them to buy additional goods to improve the quality of life of themselves or their families.

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

Four women out of 11 used the income from their sewing for their families. Three women kept money. The purpose of saving varied. One woman saved all money to purchase materials and fabrics because she sought to open a sewing shop, another kept money to buy for a table for the sewing machine and iron box, three women spent money for their children's school fee, and two purchased materials for sewing or clothes for themselves. Not only machine usage and income generation but also comments about sewing, health, and general education classes are important to evaluate the program.

3. Sewing, Adult, and Health Education Classes

A. General Questions

a) How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking? (0-30 min: 12/ 30 min-1 hr: 3)

Twelve participants out of 15 were able to come to the Vutakaka Community Center in less than 30 minutes by walking. While the distance might negatively affect the opportunity for learning, all participants lived near the Center and could easily attend the sewing, health, and adult education classes. Thus, I asked the participants to explain what they thought were the most beneficial classes.

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you? (Sewing: 7/ English: 3/ All subjects: 2/ Kiswahili: 2/ Health: 1/ Business: 0)

Seven women perceived the sewing class as the most beneficial class, three chose English as the most useful class, two thought that all subjects were useful, two regarded Kiswahili as the most beneficial class, and one perceived health as the most useful class. The reasons the participants chose a particular subject were similar to the first sewing group. One participant believed that health education was not useful because she could not understand all topics and the contents were not interesting. Another informed me that the business class was not useful because she thought that

if people did not have a capital to start business, they could not do business. Although the EAC does not offer any microcredit opportunities, the EAC does business advising (Jeneby). Additionally, Kenyan Women Finance Trust (KWFT) provides loans (Jeneby). This participant might not know about these opportunities. Thus, it might be helpful for local people if the EAC advertises its business advising activities more. While the participants regarded the particular class as beneficial, it is significant to examine whether these education opportunities also strengthen their self-confidence and self-reliance.

c) Do you have more self-confidence and self-reliance than before you took the classes? (Yes: 15/ No: 0)

All participants out of 15 thought that they had more self-confidence and reliance than before. The reasons were similar to the first sewing group. While education made the participants more self-reliant, it is crucial to know whether education opportunities could also change the participants' views on education for women.

d) What do you think about education for women?

All participants out of 15 stated that education for women was useful. The reasons were similar to the first sewing group. While all participants believed that

education benefitted women, it is important to consider some of the obstacles that made girls and women difficult to go to school or continue formal schooling because of their roles in domestic and public spheres. Therefore, I asked the participants about their daily routine.

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

The results of the participants' daily schedule were similar to the first sewing group survey. While nine participants still went to the Vutakaka Community Center to sew, six were not going to the Center. Eleven out of 16 sewed for average two to three hours per day at the Vutakaka Community Center and at home when they took the sewing class in 2006-2007. If the time and the length of the classes did not suit the participants' schedule, the EAC could possibly change them.

f) Was the time of the classes good for you? (Yes: 15/ No: 0)

Was the length of the classes good for you? (Yes: 10/ No: 5)

Was 10 months of schooling enough for you? (Yes: 6/ No: 9)

All participants out of 15 were satisfied with the time of the classes. On the contrary, five women stated that the length of the classes was not enough. For two participants, the length of the sewing class was not enough. One woman thought that the length of the adult education classes was not enough. For two participants, both

sewing and adult education classes were not enough. One participant believed that if a teacher allowed her to stay at the Vutakaka Community Center, she would stay from morning to evening because she was interested in learning something new and she wanted to learn a lot. Another told me that every time she went to the Vutakaka Community Center, there was no machine available because the number of the sewing machines was not enough and everyone sought to sew.

Nine participants perceived that 10 months of schooling was not enough. One thought that although she went to adult education classes for two years, it was not enough because she sought to learn a lot. Another learned in adult education classes for three years. Yet three years were not enough and she wanted to acquire the knowledge of general education as well as sewing. Another informed me that she could not continue going to the Vutakaka Community Center because she had a baby. When her child grew up, she would want to continue schooling. Not only the time and the length but also the teaching method would have a great influence on the participants' learning.

g) Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction? (Yes: 3/ No: 1)

Three participants out of four had difficulties learning math by an English-medium instruction. The one who did not have difficulties learning math by an English-medium instruction completed Secondary School grade one. For eight out of the 15 women who did not have any formal schooling experiences or completed only lower primary grade, math was taught in Kiswahili. Three participants took neither math nor English because they completed primary grade eight. Although the participants had difficulties learning math by an English-medium instruction, if the classmates were cooperative, they could help and teach each other.

h) Do you keep in touch with your classmates? (Yes: 12/ No: 3)

Twelve out of 15 kept in touch with their former classmates. One participant informed me that the classmates were greeting, chatting, teaching each other, and helping each other to read Kiswahili books. The other reasons were similar to the first sewing group. Three did not keep in touch with the former classmates. One informed me that she got pregnant and did not go to the Vutakaka Community Center. While the above questions were linked to sewing, health, and general education classes, the next section will give detailed results of the sewing class.

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates or teachers?

Eleven participants out of 15 liked to learn how to make bags. Nine women liked to acquire knowledge of how to sew *marinda* (one-pieces) or skirts, seven liked to gain an understanding of how to make baby dresses, six liked to know how to sew blouses, and four liked to learn how to make shirts. All participants out of 15 informed me that the classmates helped each other and teachers taught and helped students well. It is significant to examine not only which topics the participants liked but also how these skills were useful for them.

b) Do you think the sewing class is useful? Why do you think so? (Yes: 15/ No: 0)

All participants out of 15 thought that the sewing class was useful. Ten participants could sell clothes and get income. Seven participants were able to become proficient sewing and repairing the clothes. Three participants could provide food and clothes for their families, and two participants could become competent in how to use the sewing machine. In order to evaluate the program, it is important to examine both strengths and weaknesses of the class.

c) What was the thing you think you didn't need to learn?

Eleven women out of 15 said that everything they learned in the sewing class was useful. The reason five participants thought that they did not need to learn bags, *marinda*, or shirts was that they had difficulties learning them. One participant thought that mode bags were difficult to make and the design was not good. In order to improve the future sewing class, it is important to know not only what the participants did not need to learn but also what they wished to learn.

d) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

Four participants thought that everything was taught in the sewing class. The reason eight participants wanted to acquire the knowledge of how to sew bags was that although they learned them, the time was limited and short. The same reason could apply for *marinda*, skirts, blouses, and shirts. One participant sought to learn different designs of dresses. In order to run a sewing business, knowledge of basic literacy, math, and business is significant for the participants. Therefore, I asked the participants about the adult education classes in detail in order to examine how a combination of sewing and general education worked or did not work.

C. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher? (Business 7/ Kiswahili 6/ Math 5/ English 1/ All of above 4)

Seven participants liked the business class, six liked the Kiswahili class, five liked the math class, and one liked the English class. The other four were attracted to all subjects of adult education classes. Reasons participants had regard for the particular subjects and teachers in adult education were similar to the first sewing group. It is important to know what the participants liked as well as whether these skills that they acquired in the adult education classes were useful, in order to evaluate the program.

b) Do you think the adult education classes are useful? (Yes: 15/ No: 0)

All participants out of 15 thought adult education classes were useful. Reasons were similar to the first sewing group. Eight participants believed that reading and writing were the most useful kinds of knowledge. For example, one participant informed me that she was able to read the sign of a *matatu* (bus) that showed that *matatu* would go to Mombasa. Also, another stated, "If you learned subjects, you could know a lot of them and you could rely on yourself in terms of reading and writing [(you could read and write by yourself)]." Both pieces of

information show that knowledge that they acquired in the adult education classes increased their self-reliance. While the participants thought that knowledge that they acquired in adult education was useful, it is important to know whether these skills were useful for sewing in order to analyze whether a combination of sewing and general education worked.

c) Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult education classes useful for sewing? (Yes: 14/ No: 1)

Fourteen out of 15 believed that acquired knowledge of adult education was useful for sewing. Twelve thought that math was useful for sewing, two women perceived writing as the most useful knowledge for sewing, and one stated that business was useful for sewing. Reasons they chose the particular knowledge were similar to the first sewing group. While the participants perceived the adult education classes as useful, if they did not use the knowledge they gained, the effectiveness of the classes might be questionable.

d) Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life? (Yes: 12/ No: 3)

Twelve out of 15 used some of their acquired skills in their daily lives. The examples of the daily use of their knowledge were similar to the first sewing group. In

order to improve the future program, it is important to know not only whether the participants were using knowledge from adult education but also what they wished to learn.

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

The second sewing group was divided into two groups depending on the education level of participants. One group studied Kiswahili and the other studied English. Four participants in the Kiswahili group wished they had learned English also. Two women wished to gain an understanding of science. One could not answer this question because she did not complete all the lessons. The EAC could use the feedback from the participants not only on general education but also on health in order to improve the future programs.

D. Health Education

a) What did you like about the class and teacher of health education?

Seven participants out of 15 preferred the topic of hygiene and sanitation. Four women were pleased with the topic of family life, including relationships with family and conflict resolution strategies. One woman said, "At first, I did not know how to live with my husband, but students were taught how to live with our husbands peacefully. I learned how to handle my husband when he tried to beat me." A Giriama

woman told me, "Some husbands are cruel. They get angry quickly. In fact, beating their wives is common among the Mijikenda. Beating will happen when something is wrong in home, like when there is no food, or when the husbands are drunk or hungry." In addition to the topic of family life, some participants chose family planning. No one of the first sewing group talked about family planning during the interviews. On the contrary, four participants of the second sewing group preferred the topic of family planning. One participant said that although she had not started family planning yet, she thought that family planning was the one of the most useful topics. In fact the other participants were using family planning methods in their daily lives. The participants liked some of the topics as well as the teachers in heath education.

While one manufacturer did not attend health education because she wanted to learn more about sewing, all participants out of 10 stated that the teachers helped and taught students well. One participant said, "Students liked the teacher because he taught us how to depend on ourselves. If I have any problems at home, I can deal with them by myself. The teacher cannot be at my home, so he taught me how to deal with problems without any help from him." The results reveal that health education contributed to building self-reliance. In order to evaluate the program from the

participants' point of view, it is significant to explore not only what the participants liked about health education but also how they perceived health education.

b) Do you think the health education class is useful? (Yes: 15/ No: 0)

All participants out of 15 thought that health education was useful. Ten women stated that a topic about HIV/AIDS was useful. Eight participants noted that knowledge about malaria was useful, three women perceived hygiene and sanitation as a useful topic, and two participants regarded Typhoid or family planning as the useful topics. The other women mentioned that diarrhea, Tuberculosis (TB), prevention of diseases, family life, nutrition of food, or malnutrition (kwashiorkor) were the useful topics. While all participants believed that health education was useful, if they did not use this knowledge in their daily lives, the effectiveness of the class might be arguable.

c) Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life? (Yes: 14/ No: 1)

Fourteen out of 15 were using some knowledge of health education. Seven women were using knowledge about hygiene and sanitation. Three were using knowledge of how to take care of sick person. Two were using knowledge about family life or prevention of malaria or HIV/AIDS. One was using knowledge about

family planning, first aid to diarrhea, or sanitation and nutrition of food. One woman said, "I am using knowledge about how to live with my husband. I know how to talk with him. When my husband comes home drunk and he is angry about no food in the home, I will speak slowly. When he tries to beat me, I will tell him, 'beating is not good. Don't do it.' I learned how to handle and control my husband." Additionally, she informed me that she acquired the knowledge of how to handle a sick person and learned that a sick person should take medicines until the dose is finished. One participant did not use knowledge because since she learned, nobody has been sick and she had not started family planning yet. Another was using the knowledge that people should send a sick child directly to the hospital rather than borrowing tablets from the neighbors. Another told me, "I boil drinking water to prevent malaria. If you do not boil water, you get typhoid or malaria from water that might have eggs of mosquitoes." It is important to ensure that the participants were using some knowledge of heath education as well as knowing what they did not think they needed to learn, in order to improve the future class.

d) Which topics you think you did not need to learn?

Eleven participants out of 14 stated that all topics were useful. One 18-year-old woman did not want to learn about HIV/AIDS because she felt that she was too

young. She might be embarrassed because she was an adolescent, or because talking about sexual behaviors was culturally inappropriate. The 51-year-old woman said, "AIDS education is useful, but I did not want to learn and listen to it because I was embarrassed when the teacher talked about condoms. There were some abuse uses of terms. I am too old to learn it." The results show that direct use of sex education terms might be culturally inappropriate. While most women believed that all topics were useful, there might be some topics that they did not have opportunities to learn in the class.

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

Twelve participants out of 15 thought that everything was taught. One woman who could not graduate from the sewing program informed me that she wanted to learn more because she did not complete all the lessons. One woman said, "I wanted to learn more about hygiene, sanitation, and diseases, but the class time was limited." Another participant told me, "The teacher planned lessons, so I do not know which topics I did not learn." While this was feedback on health education, the last question allowed the participants to give the EAC any recommendations.

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any advice for the sewing class and adult education classes?

All participants out of 16 wanted the sewing or adult education classes to continue, and they sought to continue going to the sewing or adult education classes. One manufacturer who did not take the sewing class wanted to learn the design of *marinda* (one-pieces) because although she worked for four years at the Vutakaka Community Center, she acquired skills only in poaches and bags. One woman who could not graduate told me, "Unless you bring me the sewing machine, I will not go to the Vutakaka Community Center again." Another woman who was unable to graduate informed me that if she did not have any trouble with her classmates, she wanted to continue the classes at the Vutakaka Community Center. The other two women who were also not able to graduate stated that if the sewing class reopened, they wanted to continue and get the sewing machine. Because some of the participants who were unable to graduate expressed that they wanted to continue the sewing class, the next section will examine why four participants could not graduate.

Findings from Those Who Could Not Graduate from the Second Sewing Group

I asked the following questions of four participants who were unable to graduate from the sewing program: how often did you attend the classes last year

(2006)? Were there any inconveniences or difficulties for schooling? When did you stop coming to school? Why did you stop going to the classes? In the following section, I explain each participant's reason for dropping out of the classes, including conflict among the classmates.

Participant 1: Conflict among the Classmates

She attended every class before she had some problems with her classmates at the Vutakaka Community Center. She did not want to explain this problem in detail.

Participant 2: Pregnancy

She attended the sewing and adult education classes every day before she got pregnant. After she got pregnant in November 2006, she was able to attend only three times a week. It was difficult to go to school every day because she had morning sickness. If the sewing class would reopen, she would have liked to continue the class.

Participant 3: Child's Sickness and Divorce

She was unable to attend the class because her child was sick and she had to go to the hospital. The other reason she stopped going to school was that she got divorced and had to look for coconuts to sell them in Mombasa to earn some money in order to feed her family. I was not able to ask in detail when she got divorced

because my translator hesitated to ask about divorce because she thought it was impolite. Divorce was a sensitive topic, and talking about it might be culturally inappropriate. If her answer was accurate, it was better for the EAC to provide the machine for her because the reason she was unable to continue schooling was that she could not feed her children and attend school at the same time as a result of the divorce. The next participant explained a similar reason.

Participant 4: Child's Asthma

She attended the classes every day unless she had problems at home. She sometimes could not attend the sewing class because her child was suffering from asthma. After the sewing department director told her that she could not receive a machine because she did not attend every class, she refused to go to the Vutakaka Community Center again. Although she explained the reason, the director did not understand why she could not attend every class. She could not leave her child alone and go to the Vutakaka Community Center when the child was sick. Although four participants were unable to graduate, each had different reasons and the sewing director did not count on them. In order to improve the program, the next section analyzes overall effectiveness of the sewing, health, and general education classes.

Overall Program Evaluation: Sewing, Health, and Adult Education

Overall, the EAC sewing class appears to be a successful model for improving women's lives. Many of the participants were still using the knowledge that they acquired in the classes, despite some weaknesses found in this research. Most importantly, the programs seem to contribute to improving the quality of life of the participants. For example, most women made the income from sewing while it was difficult to measure how much profit they actually earned because of materials and fabric costs. The results show that some women could increase their economic opportunities through their skill development. Unlike the other development programs, the EAC sewing class could really improve the quality of life of women in rural communities.

The results of the EAC programs turned out to be the opposite of structural-adjustment policies that increased global capital economy and debt of the Kenyan government, and which have marginalized women by ignoring women's invisible work in domestic spheres. Although structural adjustment loans lead to unemployment and cut basic social services, the EAC programs strived to increase women's employment and access to social welfare through the combination of classes concerning sewing, health, and general subjects. The EAC provided economic

opportunities without wage exploitation that happened under structural-adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank and the IMF. Also, while SAPs imposed trade liberalization and created unfair structure, the EAC made outlets and a fairer trade system between the United States and Kenya. While it is difficult to indicate the direct contributions of the EAC programs to HDI, the sewing class might lead to increasing literacy rates, per capita income, and life expectancy at birth among the first and the second sewing group women at the grassroots level. In fact, the EAC sewing class was so successful that it became a "victim of its own success" and was discontinued.

Successful Sewing Class Discontinued: What Constitutes "Success"?

Although the sewing class appears to be successful, and many of the participants hoped that the sewing class would continue to provide benefits to others, the class was discontinued because the sewing program became an independent cooperative and self-supporting group on January 1st 2008 (Personal communication, Director of the Sewing Program). Jeneby said that "having a cooperative running itself is wonderful" because "from the beginning, the goal for the EAC is to start programs and teach people how to run the programs and leave." One of the benefits of the self-supporting group is that it could have more authority over the program.

Pluralistic management is a good strategy for rural development organizations, partly because it might allow local people to have more direct benefits from their efforts. The director of the sewing program informed me that before the sewing program became independent, the profits from selling products contributed to all EAC programs. Since the sewing program became an independent cooperative, all profits would be distributed to the director of the sewing program, head seamstress, and sewing manufacturers. The budget of the independent cooperative of the sewing program comes from the selling of the sewing products through the EAC's outlet (Jeneby). The director, head seamstress and sewing manufacturers continue making products to sell to Europe and the United States through the EAC in order to earn profits. Sewing manufacturers are local women who are hired from the sewing program and make products to earn their income. This case shows that pluralistic management helps some local women to have more income from sewing products. However, at the same time, the sewing program decided to discontinue the successful sewing class after it became an independent cooperative.

The sewing director informed me that if the sewing class continued, the program would need to charge future participants program fees. She thought that few people could afford to pay them. This information questions whether the EAC sewing

class was manageable for local people because the self-supporting sewing program could not offer the future class due to a lack of budget. The discontinuation of the sewing class also questions sustainability of the program in terms of funding. The executive director, Jeneby, stated that because of financial reasons, the sewing program was separated from the EAC. She said, "The EAC runs too many programs. There was not enough management. We decided to get rid of many of our programs and one of them was sewing." Jeneby continued, "It depended on the sewing program whether they would continue running the program and they chose not to do so." Jeneby explained in detail some other reasons that the sewing program became independent cooperative:

> Payment of the teachers' salaries was expensive. Paying for the materials was also expensive. A lot of times women were stealing the materials. They broke the machines and the EAC had to repair them. Paying for transportation and phone cards costs money. If women controlled the program themselves, they wouldn't steal from the program because they would be stealing from themselves. Another problem was the EAC had to provide all the supplies even if the women didn't make products very well. The EAC spent thousands of dollars on materials, and many of the products had problems. They brought back material to their homes and made their materials very dirty. They caught fire too. They burned all the products. The EAC was frustrated because the EAC lost money on labor and supplies. If the sewing program became an independent cooperative, they would feel pain when the bad things happened like the materials getting dirty. If the EAC paid every time they messed up something, they would not learn anything. They didn't feel it personally. It's just wasting our money. (Jeneby)

That the sewing program became an independent cooperative might decrease the EAC's financial burden. Jeneby stated that "the problem with the EAC is sustainability in terms of fund raising, not the programming." Also, this might make local people more responsible for their products and materials. When the sewing program became an independent cooperative, the EAC donated the space, all of the machines and furniture to the group (Jeneby).

The sewing class's discontinuation also questions whether it was a good investment for the EAC because it affected only selected participants and did not benefit many people in the Takaungu sub-location. In contrast, Jeneby evaluates the sewing training class as a good investment.

> It was a good investment for the EAC because women now have skills. They can repair their children's uniforms instead of paying to get them repaired. They can make their own clothes. Those skills last forever. That's something that they didn't have the opportunities to learn. It continues to help many families.

It is probably true that the sewing class improved the lives of the first and second sewing group women. As Jeneby stated, sewing skills will continue to support women's lives. At the same time, the sewing class impacted only a small portion of the population in the community. While I evaluated the EAC from multifaceted views, the next section will explore whether my evaluation methods worked or not.

Evaluating the Evaluation

My study finds that qualitative evaluation was an effective way to assess community-based programs if the target was a small group such as the EAC sewing class participants. Only the qualitative approach can show the details of participants' stories and experiences. Through this evaluation process, I was able to learn how the participants perceived sewing, general, and health education, as well as why they regarded the classes as useful. For example, one participant informed me that the topics such as diarrhea, vomiting, and malaria were more useful and important for her because she had a toddler. This information could be used to develop programs targeted at the needs of specific groups, for instance, pregnant women and new mothers.

If the number of the program participants had been larger, this qualitative evaluation might not have been feasible because of time and cost restrictions. As in my case, if organizations use a volunteer as an evaluator, they will not need to be concerned about time and cost except in the case of the evaluator needing to hire a translator or guide. Yet if organizations use volunteers who are not trained as evaluators, the quality of the evaluation might be questionable. Although the philosophy of qualitative evaluation through participatory monitoring and evaluation

sounds reasonable and appropriate for community-based organizations, practical application on a large scale basis is still challenging. In addition to qualitative evaluation, therefore participatory evaluation also fits my research goals.

The method of participatory evaluation has worked because the goal of this study has been to learn from the participants about the programs in order to improve future programs. Local people could have more opportunities to think about the programs in which they participated. Overall, participatory evaluation is a good tool to evaluate the organization because it focuses on qualitative results based on the participants' personal experiences and stories. Through this process, evaluators and program beneficiaries can learn and share information with each other. As I conducted this study, I became more aware of the effectiveness and long-term impact of the programs through listening to the participants' stories. At the same time, I realize the limitations of program evaluation from an outsiders' perspective. For example, I still do not know whether the sewing machines are truly beneficial among the community or broader region in Kenya; hence, I still must question whether or not the EAC investment in the sewing machines is feasible. Therefore, I recommend that the EAC conduct participatory monitoring and evaluation by the local people for the

future programs on a weekly or a monthly basis. The following chapter gives a summary and conclusion as well as some other recommendations for the EAC.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

In chapter one, I stated that my research question was: 1) *in what ways can the EAC programs improve the quality of women's lives at the grassroots level?* 2) *how can evaluation be used to strengthen these programs?* In the second chapter, using the existing literature, I discussed family life and its impact on women's roles and education in Kenya. The chapter also explored how British colonialism exacerbated Kenyan women's poor conditions. I argued that the quality of life is more important than national economic growth because economic success does not necessarily benefit all. I claimed that evaluation is needed for the rural development programs. In chapter three, I presented my observations of family life and education in Takaungu that I obtained through participant observation. Although the existing literature stressed how Kenyan family life has been transitioning, in the Takaungu sub-location, some aspects of the traditional culture still exist. In addition, the chapter explored the overview of the EAC programs, including organizational structure, staff,

and language use. In chapter four, I analyzed the sewing, health, and adult education classes mainly through the results of the first and the second sewing group surveys. The results found that many of the sewing class participants were still using sewing machines and were earning income from sewing. The results demonstrated that sewing skills contributed to improving the quality of life of women in terms of increasing their economic opportunities. Moreover, the results revealed how the combination of sewing and literacy education worked. Many participants perceived sewing, health, and adult education as useful. Many of the participants also hoped that the sewing, adult, and health education would continue at the Vutakaka Community Center. Although the sewing class appears to have been successful, it was discontinued, and became an independent cooperative. The fact that the sewing class was discontinued revealed that the success of the program needed to be evaluated in many ways. In this chapter, I am recommending that the EAC 1) implement Kiswahili and English bilingual education at the Vutakaka School, 2) increase awareness of implementation of Kiswahili-medium education, 3) declare a clear language policy on its web-site, 4) increase the number of evaluations, 5) be clear about goals and how "success" will be defined, 6) consider programs that benefit the whole community, 7) be more gender-sensitive, and 8) conduct a sewing group survey again. Additionally,

my recommendations for researchers were to consider location, duration, language competency, translators, physical condition, hierarchy, and cultural biases.

It is difficult to realize what problems the small community-based organizations have faced because of a lack of bridges between academia and practitioners. Some big international NGOs, such as Save the Children, OXFAM, and CARE, probably can get enough funding and supporters. However, the small-scale, but important, work of the grass-roots organizations gets little attention, which makes the implementation of their programs challenging. Academia, government, and development agencies need to pay more attention to small community-based organizations' programs. Also, a lack of systematic evaluation of the community-based organizations makes it hard to know what works well and what does not work well in real world.

A combination of qualitative, quantitative, and multifaceted evaluation is ideal to evaluate the rural development programs. In this study, I combined qualitative and quantitative methods of evaluation. The qualitative approach showed the details of participants' stories and experiences; the quantitative features were useful to measure the effectiveness of the program. Thus, I recommend this combination of qualitative and quantitative evaluation methods. Furthermore, my research found that

evaluation needs to be multifaceted because the successful sewing group was discontinued. Program "success" can be defined in many ways, including quality of the programs, sustainability in terms of funding, local manageability, and size of the beneficiary group. In order to increase more knowledge about the community-based organizations, I conducted research to evaluate the rural development programs in Kenya. Through this research, I could identify the significance of my study.

Many development organizations are less aware of program effectiveness or they do not have much capacity to implement evaluation. Yet, if evaluation does not exist, donors cannot know whether the programs are effective. This thesis, therefore, provides an example of what programs were the most effective and how the organization could improve the quality of the programs. This research contributes to building bridges between academia and practitioners of the real development programs. Additionally, this study provides knowledge of how well participatory evaluation through qualitative methods works. My qualitative evaluation found that the EAC had a successful sewing class.

My wish is that the grass-roots efforts by the community-based organizations like the EAC will increase and will continue empowering women and children through education. If the EAC had enough funding, it might have continued

the sewing class. Through the effective programs, women and children can empower themselves and decrease unfair structures within the regions, the country and among around the world. The next generation will create a better world. As a consequence, grass-roots efforts through the community-based development programs should be made and need to be evaluated more to improve the quality of the programs.

Recommendations for the EAC

Recommendation 1: Implement Kiswahili and English Bilingual Education at the Vutakaka School

My recommendation for the linguistic policy of the Vutakaka School is to implement Kiswahili and English bilingual education at the nursery and primary school rather than rely on English-only medium instruction. I strongly agree with King's statement that "the main thing is to respect local languages and legitimize them within the school system as well as giving pupils access to a national and foreign language" (qtd. in "Mother-tongue"). The global economy pressures people to learn international commerce languages, particularly English, to expand their access to future jobs. It is true that there are fewer job opportunities in rural communities, such as Takaungu. If community members seek jobs, they need to go to cities such as Mombasa or Nairobi, even though it is still questionable whether or not English

competency is crucial in urban areas. At the same time, English dominance marginalizes people in rural communities in Kenya. Trudell contends that "emphasising international languages in education has affected the self-identity of the well-educated, as well as marginalising the poorly educated" (559). Language is closely linked with identity issues, so learning languages helps students understand different cultures. John Kimemia notes, "The use of various local languages (including Kiswahili) will encourage the preservation and transmission of the cultural elements and values from the smaller groups (ethnic groups) to the larger group (the wider Kenyan community)" (95). Bilingual or multilingual education leads children to cultivate cultural sensitivity as well as to understand the importance of indigenous languages.

Through the study of indigenous languages in Kenya, my concern is that indigenous languages in Takaungu maybe dying out. The Yaaku are one of the ethnic groups in Kenya (Makoloo 9), but UNESCO has classified their language as being extinct (Makoloo 9). Once the last person who speaks a language passes away, it is difficult to revive the language. Therefore, the disappearance of a language means the death of its culture. In order to keep linguistic diversity, people should respect all languages in Kenya.

I ask whom education is for. While Kenyan education seems to favor the national élites, education should be for all children and should equally benefit all students in Kenya. Élites usually create national politics, including language policy. The Kenyan people should get rid of their biased attitudes toward the English language and see the real effectiveness for their children's education and future. The first step toward the implementation of mother-tongue instruction and bilingual education is awareness of respect to the linguistic diversity in Kenyan society. Thus, steady and grass-roots efforts to implement mother-tongue and bilingual education are needed in order to respect cultural diversity.

An ideal language policy in education enables every child in lower primary school levels to develop their academic skills through their mother tongues. Awareness of the benefits of mother-tongue education by stakeholders in education, particularly parents, is crucial for implementation of mother-tongue education. Trudell claims that "the introduction of local languages into the classroom often facilitates parents' ability to understand and critique what is happening there" (Trudell 560). Students may express themselves more freely in their own languages than in English. It is better for children to express themselves freely in their mother tongues and focus on the subjects that they are learning in school. Perhaps it is also difficult to

have confidence in speaking a second language. There is usually a hierarchy between people who can speak English fluently and those who cannot, because people who have less English competency usually cannot express themselves effectively. For a child's appropriate mental and intellectual development, all schools in Kenya should be more culturally sensitive and introduce mother-tongue education.

However, there are technical, political, and economic obstacles to overcome. The great obstacle to implement mother-tongue education is that society expects children to learn subjects in English at school rather than indigenous languages. Many parents in Kenya believe that international language-medium education is the best way for their children to learn in school. According to Trudell, "for the great majority of local citizens who have a stake in educational outcomes, international languages are unquestionably the appropriate media for formal education in Africa" (559). This statement is also applicable in the situation in the Vutakaka School in Takaungu. A mother of a student at the Vutakaka School told me that she was happy because more students at the Vutakaka School were able to speak English than at any other schools in the Takaungu sub-location.

My stay in Takaungu was only for three and half months, and therefore my understanding of the real voices of local people was limited. Still, there was less

awareness among teachers and parents about the importance of indigenous culture as well as language use in the Vutakaka School. Furthermore, Jeneby expressed her positive response to the teacher's decision on their language policy.

> Nationally all schools should teach in English. All subjects should be taught in English except the Kiswahili class. Some schools are relaxed about it and ignore the government language policy in education. Our teachers try to follow the policy because our teachers believe that English-medium education makes the school better. That's not the EAC policy, but teachers' policy. Teachers follow the national policy. (Jeneby)

Benson contends that "parents and communities as well as policymakers are often more certain of the importance of the ex-colonial language and culture than they are of the mother tongue and home culture" (qtd. in Trudell 553). The term 'educated' is closely related to English competency in Takaungu and other regions in Kenya. Trudell analyzes why people in Kenya strongly support English-medium education with Muthwii's study about the case of rural monolingual community in Kenya:

> Muthwii found that even monolingual Kalenjin-speaking parents in rural Kenya were opposed to using the children's mother tongue in school, for several reasons. Some argued that, since the children already spoke the mother tongue, there was no need to teach it in school. Others were convinced that the mother tongue simply had no place in the learning process, and would in fact confuse the children or otherwise detract from their learning. The fact that the local language is not examined like other subjects in the curriculum also biased local community members against its use in school. (Trudell 559)

Many people in Kenya have a strong belief that mother tongues are only for communication in the home.

Although Musau argues that "for children going to school in the urban areas or settlement areas where there are mixed populations, it may not be possible for practical reasons to be taught their mother tongue" (162), this complex linguistic situation is everywhere in Kenya, including in rural villages, such as Takaungu. In the particular case of the Vutakaka School in Takaungu, it seems difficult to implement mother-tongue education because of complex linguistic and ethnic situations as well as the cost to implement it. Musau notes, "the complex linguistic situation would still financially pose a big challenge to the government" (162). Mother-tongue education is practically and financially difficult to implement at the Vutakaka School. One possibility is to employ Kiswahili-medium education at the school and learn English as a subject.

Recommendation 2: Increase Awareness of Implementation of Kiswahili-medium Education

I recommend that the EAC increase the government and community awareness, understanding, and efforts for implementation of Kiswahili-medium education. Educational administrators need to be more aware of language diversity in

Kenya. Because students in the Vutakaka School are from various ethnic groups, mainly Mgiriama and Mswahili, if the school divides classrooms according to their mother tongues, it may create ethnic tension and make children separate from each other. Still, if the school uses Kiswahili-medium education, it is possible to raise awareness to the community's cultural values and language revival. In this way, the school will provide knowledge about the importance of indigenous cultural survival in or out of classes as one of the activities of the school curricula. While Kiswahili is not Mgiriama children's vernacular language, most children in the Vutakaka School are able to speak Kiswahili. Kiswahili textbooks are already available, so teachers can use them. Most people use Kiswahili as a means of inter-ethnic communication, so all teachers should be able to teach in Kiswahili. Kiswahili borrows many words from Arabic and English, so Kiswahili can borrow scientific terms from English.

Recommendation 3: Declare a Clear Language Policy on Its Web-site

My other recommendation for the EAC is to declare a clear language policy on its web-site to show their position on language. Language policy is an important aspect of education. It might be better for public schools to follow the national language policy, but the EAC is a private school and could possibly have its own language policy. Yet, it seems that the EAC does not have any clear language policy.

It is hard to know why the Vutakaka School has English immersion education. Because my evaluation of the nursery program found that language policy of the EAC school program should be culturally sensitive, all programs need to be evaluated in order to improve the quality for future participants.

Recommendation 4: Increase the Number of Evaluations

My recommendation is that the EAC should be more aware of its program effectiveness and long-term outcomes and increase the number of evaluations in order to improve its programs as well as to enhance accountability and transparency for the local community. Not only the EAC but also all development organizations should be self-critical in order to assess whether their programs really benefit local people. No programs are perfect from the beginning. The success of programs depends on whether the organization can learn from the participants for future programs. At the same time, it is difficult for many small community-based organizations to have mid-term or ongoing evaluation because of a lack of time as well as human and financial resources. Jeneby told me, "The programs will be evaluated, but haven't been yet. Not full extent. If the volunteers came with special interest in a particular program, they can research it. The EAC does not have the capacity to research in

depth." Still, the EAC can evaluate programs in simple ways such as small discussion groups among the program participants.

I recommend that the EAC have mid-term or ongoing evaluation for all programs in order to identify problems early as well as to improve the quality of the programs. While the impact of the adult and health education was measured by the Community Assessment Survey conducted by the EAC in 2006, this was the first time the EAC sewing class was evaluated. If the EAC conducted mid-term or ongoing evaluation, it could identify whether the contents of the sewing class were appropriate or effective, which might have been helpful for the second sewing group who graduated in 2007. It was better to evaluate in the middle of the sewing class to have better outcome for the participants. Through ongoing evaluation, the EAC would be able to decide whether the programs need to be continued or changed, as well as measure the program "success."

Recommendation 5: Be Clear about Goals and How "Success" Will Be Defined

It is difficult to measure program "success" because it depends on how the organization defines "success". Although, in terms of quality, the sewing class was successful, in terms of overall cost and local manageability, it looks unsuccessful because the self-supporting group could not continue the sewing class. Development

programs require quality as well as manageability. Many results of the sewing group survey show "success" of the EAC sewing class in terms of quality. However, it is important to consider overall effectiveness of the programs in order to evaluate development organizations. Because the sewing class was apparently successful but it was discontinued, not only the quality of the programs but also the overall cost and time effectiveness need to be considered to examine whether the sewing class was a good investment for the EAC in the long term. Quality of the programs should be high. At the same time, small development organizations, like the EAC, need to meet many real-world demands because they have a limited budget. Truly successful programs should be manageable for local people. In terms of manageability of budget, the sewing class was unsuccessful. Not only the cost effectiveness but also the size of the program beneficiaries should be considered.

Recommendation 6: Consider Programs That Benefit the Whole Community

Overall, because of the ratio of the cost effectiveness to people benefitted, my recommendation for the EAC is to consider something that is beneficial to the whole community rather than focusing on a specific group. For example, the adult and health education seemed to benefit many participants because they were open to all

adults. In addition to the size of the program beneficiaries, the sewing class needed to be more gender-sensitive because this program was designed for women.

Recommendation 7: Be More Gender-sensitive

Blame and miscommunication occurred between the sewing program director and four participants who could not graduate. Five participants of the second sewing group were unable to graduate, but I could interview only four of them. When I asked why five participants could not graduate, the director told me that they were lazy. People tend to overlook important facts and attribute results to one's character. Through my interviews, I discovered that the four participants had different reasons. While I do not know in detail why the director decided not to provide the sewing machines to those four participants, the EAC needed to consider women's life cycle more. For example, one participant was pregnant and she was physically unable to continue schooling. In fact, when I interviewed her, I saw her holding her little baby born in July 2007. If the information from the participants was accurate, the sewing director ignored their reasons for being absent from the sewing class and did not consider issues of women's role of childrearing.

All programs need to have gender sensitivity in order to understand the role of women in the home, including taking care of their children. Women cannot

perfectly control their children's health. The management of the program was difficult because if the director allowed one participant to be absent from the class, other participants might also skip the class. Yet, if the participants had some unavoidable reasons to be absent from the class, the director needed to understand them. To continue to assess the program, follow-up research should be conducted.

Recommendation 8: Conduct a Sewing Group Survey Again

Follow-up research is needed in order to measure future usage of the sewing machines and long-term income generation because this research was conducted just one month or one year after the EAC provided the sewing machines to the program participants. My wish is that women will continue to use the knowledge that they acquired in the class such as how to use machines and continue making an income from sewing. To measure the long-term outcome of the programs, the EAC needs to conduct an ongoing investigation to examine whether the participants will continue to use the sewing machines and make the income from sewing. If future research found that participants passed their knowledge to their children, or participants' children had a higher rate of school completion, it might truly show the EAC's program success because the EAC could invest in future generations. It is also questionable whether the sewing machines are still a useful tool to earn income a few years later. Therefore,

in order to measure the long-term outcome of the sewing program, follow-up research is needed. In addition to the recommendations I have given for the EAC, I have some recommendations for researchers.

Recommendations for Researchers

Recommendation 1: Conduct Research in More Than One Site and Remain for at Least Six Months

Because the research I conducted was only at one site: Takaungu in rural Kenya, future researchers should conduct research in more than one site, especially in coastal Kenya, in order to compare the results. In order to understand culture and the organization, I recommend that future researchers remain for at least six months for deeper understanding of the local culture. Language skills are also important for understanding culture.

Recommendation 2: Acquire Language Competency

My other recommendation for researchers is to learn Kiswahili and Mijikenda languages before starting research. The ideal is that a researcher is able to conduct interviews without a translator. Enough language competency to communicate directly with informants is significant for accurate information. I highly

recommend having language competency before starting a study; otherwise one should carefully choose one's translator.

Recommendation 3: Choose a Trained Translator

If a researcher needs a translator, he or she should attentively choose a translator because the translator's ability affects the study. Before starting interviews, I recommend discussing with a translator what the translator should and should not do, in order to avoid the translator's distortion of interviewees' original information. Researchers need to make sure that the translator interprets directly from what the interviewees said. Also, researchers need to ensure that the interpreter does not give the interviewees some examples to respond to the questionnaires. In order to conduct field research, considering the researcher's physical condition and the environment is also significant.

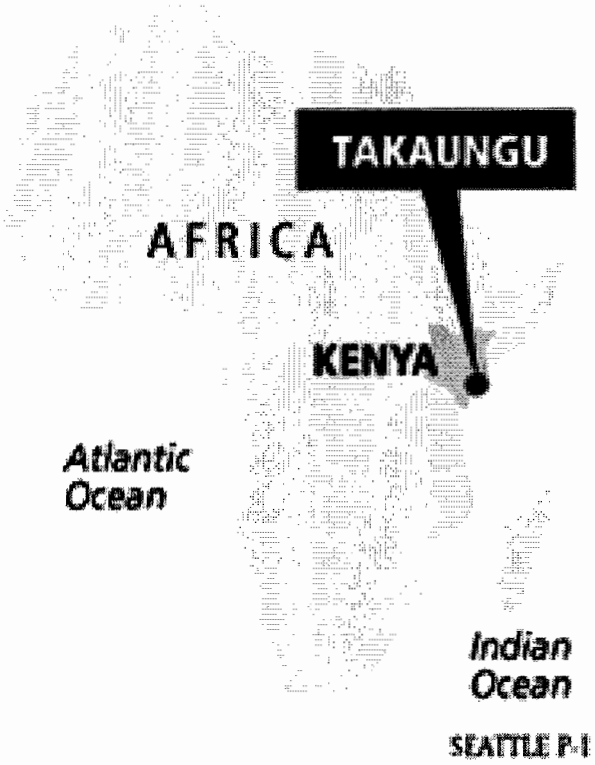
Recommendation 4: Consider Physical Condition, Social Difference, and Cultural Biases

Before starting the research, one needs to consider weather and one's own physical strength, as well as social differences relating to power, which might negatively affect one's interviewing. It is ideal to minimize hierarchy between the interviewer and the interviewees. It is important for researchers to minimize not only

power relations but also their cultural biases. Minimizing one's cultural biases is important for participant observation and analysis of the results in the field. The first step is to be aware of one's own cultural views.

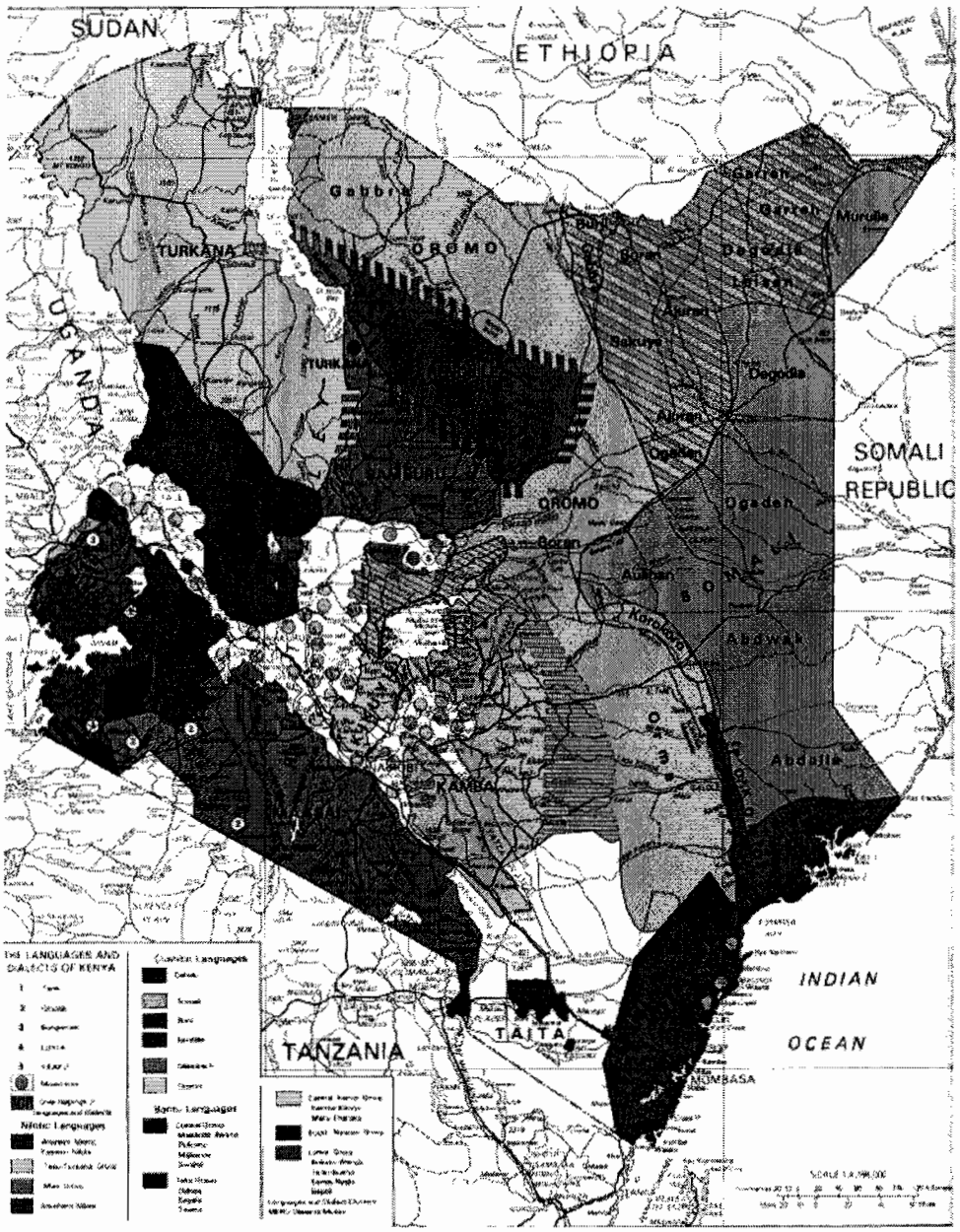
APPENDIX A

LOCATION OF THE EAST AFRICAN CENTER



APPENDIX B

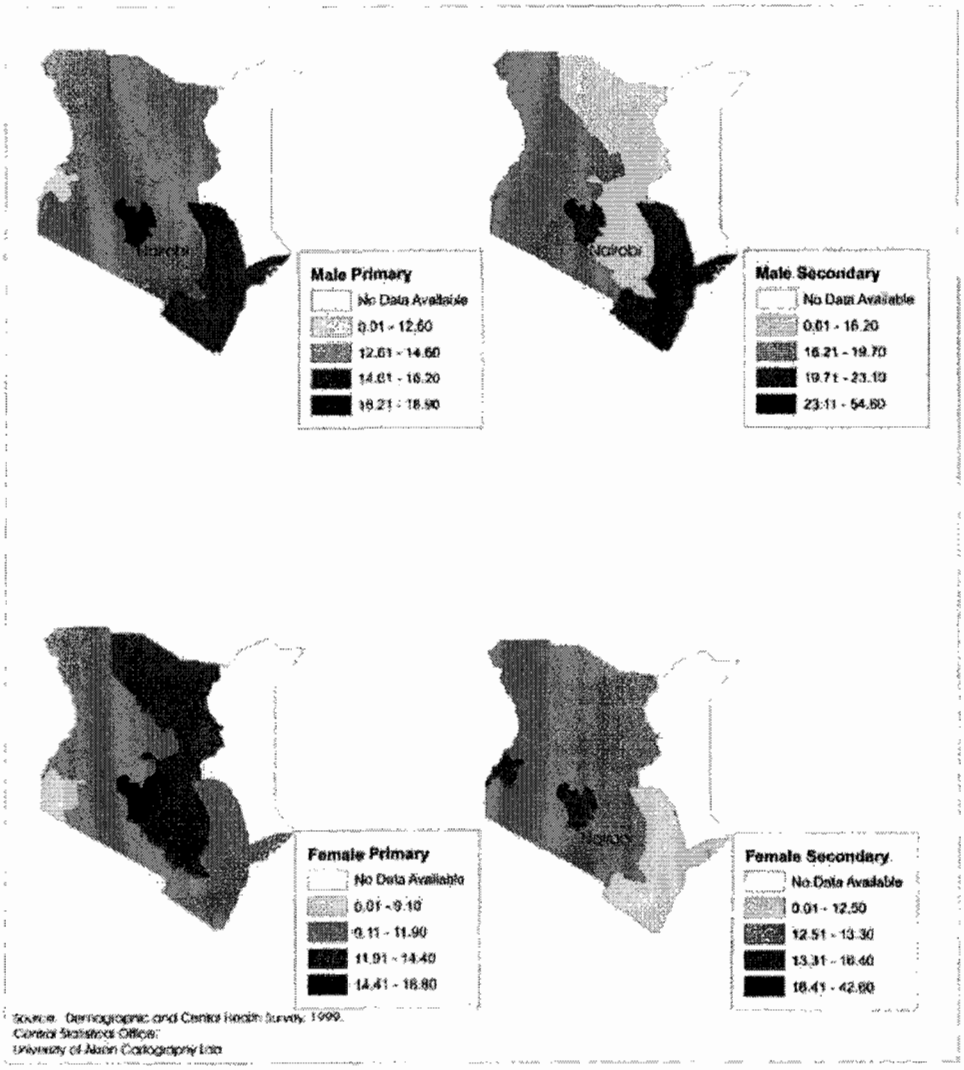
DIALECT MAP OF KENYA



APPENDIX C

MAP DEPICTING SPATIAL INEQUITIES

IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN KENYA



APPENDIX D

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: THE FIRST SEWING GROUP SURVEY

Background Information of Participants

- Age
- Ethnicity
- How many people in your family?
- Are you married?
- How many children do you have?
- Education Level
- When and how long did you take the adult, health and sewing classes? (Year)
- When did you get machine?

1. Current Machine Usage

a) Are you currently sewing? Do you think you will continue to sew in the future?

b) What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs?

c) Who fixed the machine?

d) Are you able to pay for repairs?

e) Where do you keep the machine? Is it covered?

f) What are your main uses for the sewing machine?

- Make/ repair clothes for the family
- Make/ repair clothes for others

g) Who uses your machine?

h) Did you teach others to use the machine?

i) Are there too many women providing sewing in the community?

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a) Are you making an income?

b) Where do you get your fabrics and supplies?

c) Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing?

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

3. Sewing, Adult, and Health Education Classes

A. General Questions

a) How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking?

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you (Kiswahili, math, business, health, and sewing)?

c) Do you have more self-confidence and self-reliance than before you took the classes?

d) What do you think about education for women?

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

f) Was the time of the classes good for you? Was the length of the classes good for you? Was 10 months of schooling enough for you?

g) Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction?

h) Do you keep in touch with your classmates?

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates or teachers?

b) Do you think the sewing class is useful? Why do you think so?

C. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher?

b) Do you think the adult education classes are useful?

c) Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult education classes useful for sewing?

d) Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life?

D. Health Education

a) What did you like the health education class?

b) Do you think the health education class is useful?

c) Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life?

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any other advice for the sewing, health and adult education classes?

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: THE SECOND SEWING GROUP SURVEY

Background Information of Participants

- Age
- Ethnicity
- How many people in your family?
- Are you married?
- How many children do you have?
- Education Level
- When and how long did you take the adult, health and sewing classes? (Year)
- When did you get machine?

1. Current Machine Usage

a) Are you currently sewing? Do you think you will continue to sew in the future?

b) What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs?

c) Where do you keep the machine? Is it covered?

d) What are your main uses for the sewing machine?

- Make/ repair clothes for the family
- Make/ repair clothes for others

e) Who uses your machine?

f) Are there too many women providing sewing in the community?

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a) Are you making an income? What sells best? How much money do you get from sewing per day or week?

b) Where do you get your fabrics and supplies?

c) Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing?

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

3. Sewing, Adult, and Health Education Classes

A. General Questions

a) How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking?

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you (Kiswahili, math, business, health, and sewing)?

c) Do you have more self-confidence or self-reliance than before you took the classes?

d) What do you think about education for women?

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

f) Was the time of the classes good for you? Was the length of the classes good for you?

g) Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction?

h) Do you keep in touch with your classmates?

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates or teachers?

b) Do you think the sewing class is useful? Why do you think so?

c) What was the thing you think you didn't need to learn?

d) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

C. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher?

b) Do you think the adult education classes are useful?

c) Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult education classes useful for sewing?

d) Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life?

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

D. Health Education

a) What did you like the health education class?

b) Do you think the health education class is useful?

c) Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life?

d) Which topics you think you did not need to learn?

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any other advice for the sewing, health and adult education classes?

Additional Questions for Those Who Cannot Graduate

- How often did you attend the classes last year?
- Was there any inconvenience or difficulties for schooling?
- When did you stop coming to school?
- Why did you stop going to the School?

APPENDIX F

FINDINGS FROM THE FIRST SEWING GROUP SURVEY

1. Current Machine Usage

a)

	Yes	No
Are you currently sewing?	11	2
Do you think you will continue to sew in the future?	11	0

b)

	Yes	No
What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs?	9	4

c)

	Participant	Family members	Professional
Who fixed the machine?	2	2	5

d)

	Yes	No
Are you able to pay for repairs?	5	2

e)

	Inside home	Shop	Other
Where do you keep the machine?	10	2	1

	Yes	No
Is it covered?	9	3

f)

	Make or repair clothes for the family or themselves	Make or repair clothes for others to sell
What are your main uses for the sewing machine?	9	12

g)

	Participant	Husband	Relatives
Who uses your machine?	13	1	1

h)

	Yes	No
Did you teach others to use the machine?	2	11

i)

	Yes	No
Are there too many women providing sewing in the community?	6	7

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a)

	Yes	No
Are you making an income?	13	0

Income Generation of 13 Participants:

Participant 1: 100-200 KES per day. 1000 KES per week.

Participant 2: 20-50 KES per day.

Participant 3: 150 KES per week.

Participant 4: 20 KES per day. One repair was 20 KES.

Participant 5: 200 KES per week for mending.

Participant 6: 500 KES per day.

Participant 7: 50 KES per day.

Participant 8: 300 KES per month. One order per month because there were a lot of sewing machines in her residences. 300 KES for one dress.

Manufacturers (Income from the orders of the EAC depended on which item they made.):

Participant 9: 200 KES per week at home.

Participant 10: 200 KES per year at home. One order of the dress per year. 200 KES per one dress.

Participant 11: No income at home.

Participant 12: No income at home. 3000 KES per month from the orders of the EAC.

Participant 13: No income at home. 1000-2000 KES per month if she made bags.

b)

	Customers	Participants themselves	Vutakaka Community Center
Where do you get your fabrics and supplies?	8	5	2

c)

	Participants	Others
Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing?	12	1

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

Daily goods for family	7
Save money	2
School fee for children	1
Buy school uniforms for children	1
Buy domestic animals	1
Build a work station for the sewing machine	1
Buy clothes for yourself	1
Women's group	1
Buy materials for sewing	1

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

Daily goods for family	9
Buy materials for sewing	3
School fee for children	2
Buy school uniforms for children	1
Transportation fee for children for school	1
Buy clothes for yourself	1
Build a work station for the sewing machine	1
Buy domestic animals	1

3. Sewing, Adult, and Health Education Classes

A. General Questions

a)

	0-30 min.	30 min.-1 hr.	4 hr.
How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking?	9	3	1

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you?

Sewing	7
Kiswahili	2
English	2
Business	1

Math	1
Health	0

The reasons why the participants chose a subject:

Sewing

- I can know more about sewing.
- I can earn money and buy food.
- I know how to repair the clothes and make dresses.
- I wanted to have knowledge about sewing. Before I took the sewing class, I didn't know anything about sewing.
- The sewing class allowed me to become a tailor. Sewing allows me to get money for my life.
- I like sewing.

Kiswahili

- I can communicate with others.
- I understand Kiswahili more.
- Before I took the class, I knew a little. But now I know a lot.
- I know how to write and read in Kiswahili.
- I know how to write customers' names.
- Kiswahili is a national official language in Kenya.

English

- People who are coming to the center are mainly volunteers. I need to communicate using English.
- I can communicate with others.
- I wanted to learn English a lot.
- I wanted to learn English because I didn't go to school. Reading, writing, and speaking are useful skills for me.

Business

- At first, I learned about business at the primary school. Then I learned more in the Vutakaka Community Center. When I get money from sewing, I can count the materials and know the profit.
- I like to learn about business.

Math

- I can take the customers' measurements and count money that I earned from sewing.
- I know how to calculate money that I used and measure the fabrics.
- At first, I had no knowledge. I got knowledge from the classes at the Vutakaka Community Center.

Health

- Health education helped me to understand my body functions.
- I know how to make myself and my house clean.

c)

	Yes	No
Do you have more self-confidence or self-reliance than before you took the classes?	13	0

d) What do you think about education for women?

- The program is so helpful for women, children, and girls in the community because some of the members of the sewing group did not know anything about sewing and health. But they learned a lot from the sewing and health education classes.
- Education for women is nice. If you don't know anything, you cannot do anything. But now we can know and learn a lot.
- Education for women is good for me. At first, I didn't know anything, but now I know. I can make decision for myself.
- Women can improve themselves. A lot of women didn't go to school, but now they know how to read and write.
- Education is useful. Reading and writing are important for me to run the sewing shop.
- Women are privileged to learn from the classes.

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

Make meals for family	11
Clean home	10
Go to the Vutakaka Community Center (to use the sewing machine)	6
Use the sewing machine at home	5
Fetch water	4
Prepare children for school	2
Work at *shamba*	2
Take animals to *shamba*	1
Meet customers for sewing	1
Work at the sewing shop	1
Wash dishes	1
Wash clothes	1
Make food for selling	1

f) Time and Length of the Classes

	Yes	No
Was the time of the classes good for you?	6	1
Was the length of classes good for you? (2 hours each)	11	2

The reasons two participants said the length of the sewing or adult education classes (2 hours) was not enough:

- The length of the sewing class was short. I haven't finished sewing. Then the time was over.
- Both adult and sewing classes were short because I couldn't understand what teachers taught.

The reason one participant said the time of the adult education class was not good:

- Sometimes I didn't attend the adult education classes because my home is far. The time didn't allow me to attend classes. I attended the adult education three times a week. If the adult education classes were in the morning, I could attend them.

g) Language Issue

	Yes	No
Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction?	4	5

Reasons:

- At first it was difficult for me to learn math in English because I didn't go to school.

h) Social Networking

	Yes	No
Do you keep in touch with your classmates?	12	1

What are you doing with classmates?

- Classmates remind each other.
- Classmates help, learn, and teach each other.
- Classmates work together like sisters.
- Classmates chat and help each other about sewing.

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates, or teachers?

Class:

- What I like about the sewing class is a vision to achieve. I always wanted to know how to cut the fabric for the various designs. I didn't have any knowledge. But I came to the Vutakaka Community Center and got knowledge about them.
- I didn't know how to sew before I took the class, but now I know.

- I benefit from sewing.
- I like to learn how to sew a bag because I didn't know how to make the bag.
- I like to sew dresses for children and adults.
- I got more knowledge of sewing. My skill of making a skirt improved.

What did you like about the sewing class?	Dresses for adults	5
	Bags	4
	Shirts for men	1
	Dresses for children	1

Classmates: Eight participants said classmates helped each other.

- The classmates are cooperative.
- The classmates teach and help each other. When I didn't understand (what the teacher taught), my classmates helped me.

Teachers: Eight participants said teachers helped them.

- The teachers are sociable. They made my learning process very smooth.
- I like teachers because they helped and taught me.

b)

	Yes	No
Do you think the sewing class is useful?	13	0

Reasons:

- The sewing class is important for me because the class assisted me to inspire my life and future.
- I benefit from sewing.
- I didn't know how to cut and make the clothes, but now I know how to do it.
- Before I started schooling, I was idle (lazy) at home. But now I can be busy at the Vutakaka Community Center.
- Sewing helps the family because I can get money from sewing.

I can get the income from sewing.	7
I learned how to sew.	5

C. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher?

Class:

Kiswahili

- Before I took the class, I knew Kiswahili a little bit. But now I know a lot.
- Writing and reading skills are useful.

English

- I learned how to talk with others.
- I like to learn English because I didn't know English.

Math

- I learned how to calculate, so now I can calculate the benefits of my business.
- I learned how to take the customers' measurements and to arrange my home. For example, (I learned) how to spend money.

Business

- I learned how to make my own savings.
- The class helped me to know how to calculate the loss and profit.

Teacher:

- I want to praise the teacher because the teacher made things possible for me. Before I took the class, I didn't know anything. But now I know a lot.
- The teacher helped me learn how to read and write.

b)

	Yes	No
Do you think the adult education classes are useful?	10	0

Reasons:

- In the math class, I learned how to know the loss and profit of the business.
- At first I didn't know how to read and write.
- When I get profit, I can calculate. I can measure the fabrics.
- I'm using the knowledge of math to measure clothes.
- English is useful for my (sewing) business.
- At first women didn't know anything, but they got knowledge from the classes.
- At first I had a bit of knowledge, but now my knowledge increased.

c)

	Yes	No
Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult education classes useful for sewing?	5	1

Reasons:

- I learned how to measure the clothes. I also know how to calculate through math class and how to run a business through the business class.
- I can measure the clothes of the customers by using my knowledge of math. I use numbers for sewing.
- If you know how to write, you can take the customers' measurements before you cut the fabrics.
- Math and English are useful. I can measure the fabrics through math knowledge. I know how to talk with customers through English.

d)

	Yes	No
Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life?	10	0

Examples:

- I learned how to keep and divide money (some money to use for family and some money for saving). For example, when I earn 200 KES, I will use 150 KES for food and save 50 KES. When I get sick, I will use the money that I saved.
- I know how to calculate the money that I get. I know how to take the customers' measurements.
- I'm using Swahili at the shop to talk with my customers.
- I'm using math to measure the clothes and calculate money.

D. Health Education

a) What did you like about the health education class?

- I learned more about environmental sanitation and water for safe drinking.
- I learned how to make my home, myself and children clean.
- I learned how to handle a person who gets malaria or HIV/AIDS.
- I learned how to handle my house and children's diseases.
- I can take care of children when they are sick. I know how to handle sick people and give them medicine.

Topics participants like	Hygiene and sanitation	10
	Malaria	3
	HIV/AIDS	3
	Diarrhea	1
	Cholera	1
	How to take care of a sick person	1

b)

	Yes	No
Do you think the health education class is useful?	12	0

Reasons:

- I learned more about how to take care of someone with diarrhea, vomiting, and malaria. Because I have a toddler, these topics are very important for me.
- I like the topics about how to clean the house, myself, and children.

Useful topics	Hygiene and sanitation	6
	How to handle sick people	5
	Malaria	3

	HIV/AIDS	3
	Diarrhea	3
	Diseases	1
	Vomiting	1
	How to handle myself	1
	How to take care of injured people	1

c)

	Yes	No
Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life?	11	0

Examples:

- In the home, I can keep my environment more clean. I learned about mosquito nets, washing hands after going out and cleaning my hands after using the toilet.
- I am making my compound clean. I'm washing dishes and things for cooking, such as pans. I know how to make myself clean.
- In the morning, I clean myself and my house. If there is a sick person, I will give her or him tablets, or send her or him to the hospital.
- When I see a sick person who has diarrhea, I will boil water and add salt and sugar for first aid before I send the patient to the hospital.
- I'm using knowledge about how to prevent HIV/AIDS.
- I keep clean water in the house.
- If I get burnt, I know how to handle it and give first aid for the burn.
- I can take care of a person who gets burnt or injured. First, I clean the injury, and bandage and go to the hospital. I know how to give the injury first aid.

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any advice for the sewing, health, and adult education classes?

I want the sewing and adult education classes to continue.	6
I want to continue going to the sewing and adult education classes.	4
I want the Vutakaka Community Center to get orders for sewing more for manufacturers.	1
I want to know how to cut and sew more. I want to know how to use the sewing machine more.	1
I want to continue going to the sewing class.	1
I want the sewing class to continue.	1
No advice.	3

APPENDIX G

FINDINGS FROM THE SECOND SEWING GROUP SURVEY

1. Current Machine Usage

a)

	Yes	No
Are you sewing now?	13	0
Do you think you will continue to sew in the future?	13	0

b)

	Yes	No
What condition is the machine in? Has it needed any repairs?	3	9

c)

	Sitting room	Bed room	Inside home
Where do you keep the machine?	6	5	1

	Yes	No
Is it covered?	10	1

d)

	Make or repair clothes only for the family	Make or repair clothes for family and others to sell
What are your main uses for the sewing machine?	2	10

e)

	Herself only	Daughters	Relatives	Friend	Husband
Who uses your machine?	7	2	1	1	1

f)

	Yes	No
Are there too many women providing sewing in the community?	5	7

2. Income Generation from Sewing

a)

	Yes	No
Are you making an income?	11	2

Income Generation of 11 Women

(Manufacturers included only income at home. Their income from the orders of the EAC depended on what they made. Income of women was average.)

1: 150 KES per week

2: 100 KES per day/ 500 KES per week

3: 300 KES per day/ 500 KES per week

4: 25 KES per day

5: 20 KES per day/ 50 KES per week

6: 50-100 KES per day/ 250 KES per week

7: 100 KES per day/ 700 KES per week

8: 150-200 KES per day/ 600-700 KES per week

9: 5500 KES (Only one order)

10: 1000 KES per day

11: 100-200 KES per day/ 500 KES per week

What sells best?	Mending (10-15KES)	3
	Bags	2
	Marinda (150KES)	2
	School uniforms	2
	Blouses	1
	Skirts	1
	Baby dresses	1

b)

	Customers	Herself	Vutakaka Community Center
Where do you get your fabrics and supplies?	6	4	6

c)

	Herself	Others
Who makes the decision of how to spend the money you earned from sewing?	11	0

d) How do you spend the money that you earned from sewing?

Daily goods for family	5
Save money	4
Buy materials for sewing	3
School fee for children	2
Buy clothes for yourself	2

Buy stationery for children	1

e) What things does the income from your sewing allow you to buy that you might not otherwise buy?

Daily goods (food, clothes, water) for family	4
Save money	3
School fee for children	3
Buy materials for sewing	2
Buy clothes for yourself	2

3. Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

A. General Questions

a)

	0-30 min.	30 min.-1 hr.
How long does it take you to get from your home to the Vutakaka Community Center by walking?	12	3

b) Which was the most beneficial class for you?

Sewing	7
English	3
All subjects	2
Kiswahili	2
Health	1
Business	0

c) Do you have more self-confidence or reliance than before you took the classes?

	Yes	No
Do you have more self-confidence or reliance than before you took the classes?	15	0

d) What do you think about education for women?

	Yes	No
Education for women is useful.	15	0

e) What are you usually doing? Could you tell me about your daily schedule?

Make meals for family	13
Clean the compound	12
Go to the Vutakaka Community Center (to use the sewing machine)	12
Fetch water	5
Wash utensils	3
Prepare children for school	1
Take animals to *shamba* (field)	1

Take a shower and wash a body	1
Work at my glossary shop	1
Brush my teeth	1
Correct food to sell	1

	Yes	No
Are you still going to the Vutakaka Community Center?	9	6

	2-3 hr.	5 hr.	8 hr.	10 hr.	Whole day
How long were you sewing per day?	11	1	2	1	1

f)

	Yes	No
Was the time of classes good for you?	15	0
Was the length of classes good for you? (2 hours each)	10	5
Was 10 months of schooling enough for you?	6	9

g)

	Yes	No
Were there any difficulties in learning math by an English-medium instruction?	3	1

h)

	Yes	No
Do you keep in touch with your classmates?	12	3

B. The Sewing Class

a) What did you like about the sewing class, classmates, or teachers?

What did you like about the sewing class?	Bags (including Jane, square, and mode bags)	11
	Marinda (one-pieces, long dresses)	9
	Skirts (including school skirts)	9
	Baby dresses	7
	Blouses	6
	Shirts	4

Classmates helped each other. They were cooperative.	15
Teachers taught and helped students well.	15

b) Do you think the sewing class is useful? Why do you think so?

	Yes	No

Do you think the sewing class is useful?	15	0

Reasons:

I can sell the clothes and get an income.	10
I could learn how to sew and repair the clothes.	7
I can provide (buy) food and clothes for my family.	3
I could learn how to use the sewing machine.	2

c)

What was the thing you think you didn't need to learn?	Everything is useful.	11
	Bags	2
	Marinda	2
	Shirts	1

d)

Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?	Bags	8
	Nothing	4
	Marinda	3
	Skirts	2
	Blouses	1
	Shirts	1

B. Adult Education (Kiswahili, English, Math and Business)

a) What did you like about the adult education classes and the teacher?

Business	7
Kiswahili	6
Math	5
English	1
All subjects	4

b)

	Yes	No
Do you think the adult education classes are useful?	15	0

What is the most useful knowledge for you?	Reading and Writing	8
	Business (loss and profit, budget)	4
	English	2
	Math	1

c)

	Yes	No
Is the knowledge which you learned in the adult	14	1

education classes useful for sewing?			
Which knowledge is useful?	Math	12	
	Writing	2	
	Business	1	

d)

	Yes	No
Are you using some knowledge which you learned from the adult education classes in your daily life?	12	3

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

Nothing	English	Science	Cannot answer
8	4	2	1

D. Health Education

a) What did you like about the class and teacher of health education?

Topics participants like	Hygiene and sanitation	7
	How to prevent from diseases	4
	Family planning	4
	Family life	4
	Malaria	1
	HIV/AIDS	1
	How to handle a sick person	1
	How to take care of children	1

b)

	Yes	No
Do you think the health education class is useful?	15	0

Useful topics	HIV/ AIDS	10
	Malaria	8
	Hygiene and sanitation	3
	Family planning	2
	Typhoid	2
	Diarrhea	1
	Tuberculosis (TB)	1
	How to prevent from diseases	1
	Family life	1
	Nutrition of food	1
	Malnutrition (kwashiorkor)	1

c)

	Yes	No
Are you using some knowledge which you learned in the health education class in your daily life?	14	1

Hygiene and sanitation	7
How to take care of a sick person	3
Prevention of malaria	2
Prevention of HIV/AIDS	2
Family life (conflict resolution strategies)	2
Family planning	1
First aid to diarrhea	1
How to prepare food (sanitation, nutrition)	1

d) Which topics you think you did not need to learn?

All are useful	HIV/AIDS
11	3

e) Was there anything you wish you had learned but did not?

Yes	No	Hygiene, sanitation, or diseases	I do not know
1	12	1	1

E. Recommendations for the Sewing, Health, and Adult Education Classes

a) Do you have any advice for the sewing class and adult education classes?

I want the sewing or adult education classes to continue	16
I want to continue going to the sewing or adult education classes.	16

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