

*Democracy and Education for Human Development
with Special Reference to Women and Kenya*

*being a thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
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by

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Summary of Thesis Submitted for PhD. Degree

by

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on

**Democracy and Education for Human Development with Special Reference
to Women and Kenya**

Democracy and development are given great importance in the contemporary world as exemplified by the increasing number of countries that have adopted multiparty governments and the 1990s UNDP's emphasis on equitable human development. The UNDP considers active democratic participation as crucial for engendering the human development goal of enlarging people's opportunities for choice. The Organization suggests a human development paradigm and recommends that each country formulates its own comprehensive strategy for realizing it.

Following these views, this current study focusing on Kenya attempts to identify and examine a multi-dimensional democratic framework for realizing the principles and components of the paradigm. The researcher adopts a philosophical approach which involves conceptual and critical analyses of 'democracy for human development' and of how education could enhance it. Particular attention is paid to the women's case in the endeavour to find ways of redressing gender disparities in political and socio-economic development in Kenya.

The work is organized into eight chapters and it addresses the following issues:

- the criteria for participatory democracy for engendering human development
- the historical background of democracy for human development in Kenya and in some selected influential countries

- the interrelationship between democracy for human development and education
- the implications of the researcher's democratic criteria for human development for Kenyan government policies and statements.

The thesis concludes: (i) that the criteria for democracy for human development can be categorized into prescriptive, methodological, developmental, opportunities, protective and pragmatic dimensions, (ii) that the Kenyan history of democracy for human development shows shortfalls, (iii) that formal education could be used to promote democracy for equitable human development for both genders and (iv) that Kenyan government policies and statements indicate commitment to promoting democracy for equitable human development for both women and men but the reality shows some discrepancies.

The researcher therefore argues that, human and overall development may be engendered by: (i) improving democratic participation for both women and men, (ii) instituting formalized democratic procedures for effective self-expression for all people and for distributing power, duties and responsibilities equitably, (iii) developing appropriate skills, qualities and attitudes in people, (iv) providing relevant political, socio-economic and educational opportunities, (v) protecting human rights, and (vi) contextualizing democratic strategies in societal affairs. These requirements need concerted efforts by the school, the family, the church, and the community.

If these findings and conclusions are considered, they might be useful to policy-makers, educationists and other researchers in the collaborative efforts which are necessary for developing a valid country strategy for enhancing human and overall development in Kenya.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late grandfather, Daniel Wanduri and my late uncle, Zakayo Kuhunya, both of whom passed away in the course of this study. May the almighty God rest their souls in eternal peace.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0.0. IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Democracy's popularity in the contemporary world is theoretically grounded in its suitability as a means of promoting among other goals equality and development (Held 1987: 3; Wringe 1984: 19-23; Przeworski *et al.* 1995: 107-112; Ball and Dagger 1995: 4). Ball and Dagger (1995) demonstrate how proponents of different ideologies including liberalism, conservatism, socialism, communism, and liberation ideologies have shown some association with democracy. On the same issue, Held (1987: 1) states that "...nearly everyone today says that they are democrats no matter whether their views are left, centre or right." Ball and Dagger (1995: 3) suggest that democracy is a good thing but there is disagreement, among the proponents of the ideologies mentioned, about how to bring it about.

The researcher conceives democracy as a way of life that enhances personal, socio-economic, moral and political development by maximizing all people's participation in both decision-making and implementing plans of actions in public and family affairs (see UNDP 1993: Chapter 2 on 'people's participation'). Following this concept, the researcher supports Karl's (1995: 1) statement that "...there can be no true democracy, no true people's participation in governance and development without equal participation of women and men in all spheres of life and levels of decision-making." To maximize people's participation and development in different aspects of life, there is a need for governments to provide logically and critically examined theoretical democratic frameworks for guiding formulation of policies and equitable citizens'

participation in public affairs. Such frameworks need to take gender disparities into consideration.

Major Kenyan government documents published in the post-independence period such as the *Constitution of Kenya*, the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 on *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*, ruling party manifestos, development plans, and education reports indicate commitment to democracy. The government expresses commitment to promote equality of rights and equitable participation of all people in political, socio-economic and educational sectors. For instance it has shown commitment to pursue this decade's UNDP human development goal of enlarging people's choices in life (see *Development Plan 1994-1996- Republic of Kenya 1994: 41*). The *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1995: iii) emphatically states that human development for every individual (both women and men) is the surest way to economic and overall development.

Politically, Kenya has moved back and forth between multiparty and single party systems of government (Fox 1996, Republic of Kenya 1983: 43-45), the most recent change being from single to multiparty democracy in 1992. The change may be said to have occurred during the last worldwide democratization wave according to Huntington (1993a), Wiseman (1997) and Schmitter (1995)¹. In spite of this major change, clearly defined programmes (for instance governmental civic education schemes) necessary for establishing an effective multiparty system have been lacking. Indeed, the government has shown hostility to non-governmental organizations and churches that have been at the forefront in trying to provide civic education for the public (Chemutai 1997, Joseph

¹According to Huntington (1993) and Wiseman (1997), the last democratization wave began in the late 1980s but Schmitter (1995) argues it started in 1974.

1993: 315). Such occurrences have limited people's participation in strengthening democracy in Kenya.

The Kenyan government has nevertheless considered itself democratic under both single and multiparty systems (see Sessional paper No. 10 - Republic of Kenya 1965: 3 and *Development Plan 1994-1996* - Republic of Kenya 1994: 37). This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that the Kenyan government has held 'competitive' elections regularly since the country gained its political independence in 1963 (see Schmitter and Karl 1993: 42 for example where they assert that democratic methods have generally been equated with fair, honest and regular elections). However, the elections especially those held in 1992 and 1997 had serious irregularities which hindered some people from participation as reported in numerous reports in the national mass media (*Daily Nation*, *Economic Review*, *Weekly Review*-particularly December 1997 and January 1998 publications; international mass media for instance the Internet²); and as discussed by writers such as Widner (1995), Muigai (1995), and Fox (1996).

Further, the Kenya government may also have considered itself democratic because political and socio-economic affairs are organized through the three common bodies, namely: the legislative, executive and judiciary. However, these organs do not seem to function autonomously. For instance Justices, Chief Justices, and Attorney Generals are presidential appointees and no body, including the Parliament which represents the citizens, has power to veto such appointments (*Constitution of Kenya-1998* edition, section 61 and 109). Thus, the autonomy of the Kenyan judiciary is subject to criticism as to whether officials can participate effectively in decision-making without the influence of those who put them in power.

² A web site was created on the Internet by *Nation* Newspapers Ltd. specifically to report about the 1997 Kenya parliamentary and civic elections and the consequent developments (see *Daily Nation* 1997a, 1997b): <http://www.kenyaelections.com/> and http://www.kenyaelections.com/html/search_archives.asp.

Socio-economically, Arnold (1981: 104) states that Kenya has adopted democratic socialism but it practises capitalism to a large extent. This conflict is manifested in the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 which states that Kenya's national egalitarian ideology is based on 'African Socialism' but it simultaneously encourages competitive private ownership of property and rewarding individual efforts and initiatives.

Education in Kenya is said to be interrelated with democracy (see Eshiwani 1990; 1993 for example). The author expresses the Kenyan government's commitment to democratize education through various policies such as:

- offering universal free primary education for all school-going children (in principle)
- expanding educational opportunities at all levels in collaboration with self-help groups and business people offering private education
- restructuring the education system from a 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 structure³ to enable better preparation of primary school drop outs for future vocational training or developing self-employment
- expanding the curriculum to include vocational subjects in order to make education more relevant and to develop diverse talents and potential abilities
- introducing the regional quota system of selection of students for admission into public secondary schools to ensure equitable distribution of opportunities.

Although these provisions may suggest enhancement of democracy in terms of equalizing participation in education, inequalities still persist according to socio-economic backgrounds, gender, and quality of educational services and facilities among other factors. Another predicament for enhancement of democracy is expressed in Sifuna's (1997a) statement that educational provisions by the government are usually

³ The 1976 Kenya government *Report of the National Committee of Educational Objectives and Policies* recommended a 9-4-3 educational structure.

implemented in a dictatorial and *ad hoc* manner through presidential directives announced in public meetings. This kind of situation curtails people's participation in decision-making either directly or through their representatives.

The Kenyan government further expresses some commitment to promote gender equality in different aspects of life (*Constitution of Kenya-1998* edition, *Development Plan 1994-1996* and the *KANU Manifesto 1997*). Indeed, in August 1998, the government launched the first draft of the '*National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable Development*' (*Nation Reporter* 26th August 1998k, Mwakisha 1998). In spite of such commitments, there are some discrepancies in women's practical life as illustrated below:

- The Kenyan government states that all mature citizens have equal political rights and equal opportunities. However, in the last 1997 parliamentary and civic elections female presidential candidates had to seek consent from their spouses before registration (*Nation Reporter* 25th May 1998g).
- The Kenyan government states that “[p]olitical democracy implies no individuals or groups of people should have undue influence in the policies of the state” (Republic of Kenya 1965: 4), yet women form only small minority in the Parliament and other top decision-making positions in the public sector (Nzomo 1993).
- The *Constitution of Kenya* has been amended to allow women to own property, but equal participation in socio-economic affairs is curtailed by inequalities of opportunities for credits, loans and business training, thereby limiting them to small-scale activities (Mburugu 1995)

- The Kenyan government states that there should be equal opportunities for all people regardless of race, sex or creed. In spite of the government's efforts to abolish fees in primary schools and lowering the required number of entry points to secondary schools for girls, remarkable inequalities still persist at nearly all levels in terms of enrolment, completion rates, quality of schools and unproportional distribution of decision-making positions (1995 *Statistical Abstract*; Mugenda 1995; Masiga 1995; Eshiwani 1993).
- The *Constitution of Kenya* provides for protection of human rights of all people, however, sexual harassment in schools and in the workplace among other forms of violence against women have been on the increase (Mbote 1995: 27-28; Nzomo 1993: 68; Odaga and Heneveld 1995: 34; Omosa 1995: 67).

Generally, the above concerns could exemplify limited participation, or factors that have led to limited women's participation in different spheres of life in the Kenyan society, thereby curtailing enhancement of equality and women's individual development.

The foregoing description of the Kenyan society and particularly the case of women manifest some inconsistencies, inequalities; and discrepancies between policies and practice in political, socio-economic and educational sectors. These observations provide a strong reason for seeking a way of enhancing democracy in Kenya which would be likely to address the inequalities and the slow human and overall development.

The following sections first outline the conceptual framework applied in seeking some ways that would be likely to contribute towards raising the quality of life in Kenyan society. They then introduce the research questions addressed and the organization of the thesis.

1.1.0. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ENHANCING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRESENT STUDY

When we consider the researcher's concept of democracy and the diverse problems experienced in Kenyan society and particularly by women (see above examples), establishing a democratic way of life in Kenya that pervades political, socio-economic and cultural aspects of life would seem to be relevant in realizing the UNDP's (1995: 1-2) human development paradigm. The paradigm embraces at least three principles: first, equality of rights between women and men in all spheres of life, and this may necessitate a strong affirmative action where rights are curtailed by legal, economic, political or cultural barriers. Second, women must be regarded as agents and beneficiaries of change, and thus their capabilities and empowerment to make choices should be improved. Third, there should be equal opportunities for both women and men to make choices.

The UNDP (1995: 12) outlines four essential components of the human development paradigm as:

- *Productivity*: This element requires that people are enabled to increase their output and to participate fully as agents of economic growth. Economic growth is therefore considered a subset of human development.
- *Equity*: This characteristic requires that people have fair access to opportunities and that all barriers to socio-economic and political opportunities be eliminated to enable people to participate in and benefit from available opportunities.
- *Sustainability*: The element requires that equitable opportunities be made accessible to present and future generations, and thus physical, environmental and human resources must be replenished.

- *Empowerment*: This component requires that people be enabled to participate in the design and implementation of key decisions that shape their lives.

The present study therefore tries to make a contribution towards pursuing these components following one of the recommendations in the 1993 UNDP *Human Development Report* (which focuses on people's participation in familial, socio-cultural, economic and political affairs). The recommendation states that:

To ensure that activities [in society] link together naturally, it might be useful to formulate a comprehensive country strategy for human development- a strategy concerning all the steps from the identification of priority areas to the implementation of policies and programmes and a [system for] monitoring progress (UNDP 1993: 20).

The researcher believes that developing a democratic theoretical framework and applying it to analyze conceptual and policy problems surrounding democracy in Kenya could perhaps facilitate identification of ways of redressing inequitable participation between women and men, and of improving the overall rate of development. Furthermore, the researcher believes that if democratic participation in education were given priority, it would be likely to influence other political and socio-economic institutions in Kenyan society accordingly. In fact, UNDP (1995: 9) for example considers education to be one of the key areas that need consideration in increasing women's opportunities for making choices in life.

The section that follows highlights the dimensions of democracy proposed by the researcher as being essential for engendering human development.

1.2.0. PROPOSED DIMENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Based on the above human development paradigm and its essential components, the researcher believes democracy could perhaps satisfactorily redress Kenyan women's limited participation in decision-making and inequitable sharing of public duties and responsibilities if the following multi-dimensional theoretical framework were considered; the six dimensions included are:

- a prescriptive dimension that supports political equality in terms of active individual participation in decisions-making in societal affairs by all people including women; this would be likely to develop some understanding of goals, norms or standards set in their societies and justifications provided for them
- a methodological dimension that involves formulation and adoption of systematic methods which equitably distribute leadership positions (for instance according to gender), and enable fair sharing of power, duties and responsibilities that emerge in attempts to achieve societal goals
- a developmental dimension that acknowledges the necessity of providing an environment that enables personal, social, moral and political development which would enable women to develop into the highly rational, inquisitive, critical-minded, creative, and morally upright citizens which they are capable of becoming
- an opportunities dimension that takes into consideration the provision and creation of opportunities in political, socio-economic and cultural spheres of life for women (i) to acquire relevant education, (ii) to exercise freedom of speech, association, press, and conscience in order to express varied views in matters of public concern, (iii) to get access to relevant information to enable them make valid and informed decisions

and take appropriate actions, and (iv) to meet the basic needs in life, among other factors that might promote effective participation in public affairs

- a protective dimension that allows preservation of women's rights and aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination, humiliation, sexual harassment and other forms of injustices in education, workplace, family and other institutions
- a pragmatic dimension that appreciates the importance of developing and implementing pragmatic strategies depending on prevailing circumstances in particular contexts for example: (i) affirmative action in cases where women are disadvantaged because of a general low opinion of their capabilities and (ii) provision of funds for campaigns for women with appropriate leadership qualities and who are willing to contest for public positions but might be hindered by their economic status.

The following section tries to highlight the importance of the present study.

1.3.0. PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The purpose of the present study therefore is to provide a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between democracy and human development, of how education can be applied to enhance them, and of how application of the researcher's concept of democracy might enhance Kenyan women's human development. The aim is to establish ways of enhancing gender equality in democratic participation and individual development which might eventually lead to overall development in Kenyan society.

This aim may be pursued from different perspectives in different academic disciplines, each of which would probably contribute towards a clearer understanding of the interrelationship between gender equality, democracy, education and development. In

this study, the researcher endeavours to approach the study from a philosophy of education point of view by trying to achieve the following objectives:

- provide a conceptual analysis of democracy to show how the proposed dimensions above can contribute towards realizing the components of the human development paradigm, paying particular attention to the case of women
- based on the dimensions, examine critically the shortfalls in the history of democracy in Kenya both in theory and in practice, making special reference to the women's case
- explore ways in which education could perhaps promote the different dimensions in order to develop a more effective and a more sustainable democratic system for improving the Kenyan society in general and women in particular
- based on the findings of the foregoing objectives, examine various Kenyan government policies to indicate where there are contradictions, and to highlight cases where there are discrepancies between principles and real life situations
- lastly, make relevant recommendations for consideration by policy-makers, educators and other researchers interested in this area of study.

Following these objectives, the research questions that this piece of research attempts to address are outlined below.

1.4.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the purpose and objectives of this study, the researcher attempts to answer the following research questions⁴:

⁴ Also see the conclusion of Chapter 2 on literature review.

- (i) What would be the most effective democratic system that would significantly promote effective participation and human development for most Kenyan women in different aspects of life?
- (ii) What conditions are essential for a democratic system for engendering human development and reducing gender disparities in the Kenyan context? (see for example the six dimensions proposed earlier)
- (iii) Based on the conditions identified:
 - (a) What have been the shortfalls in the historical development of democracy in Kenya?
 - (b) What are the possible historical root causes of these shortfalls?
- (iv) What might be the implications of the democratic conditions identified for Kenyan education in attempting to reduce the shortfalls?
- (v) What would be the implications of promoting the democratic dimensions proposed for the Kenyan government educational policies?

The next section now tries to show how the thesis is organized.

1.5.0. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organized in eight chapters and the first one discusses the importance of the problem of the study and the rationale for attempting to address it. The researcher then outlines briefly the concept of democracy proposed for enhancing democratic participation especially for Kenyan women. Further, the researcher provides some research questions that guide the study towards findings ways of improving or facilitating human development through active participation by all Kenyan women and men in different socio-economic and political aspects of life.

Chapter 2 provides a springboard for the present study by reviewing works that have endeavoured to address the problem of ineffective democratization, gender inequalities and women's low socio-economic and political status in general and specifically in Kenya. The purpose of this literature review is to develop a deeper understanding of democracy, education and how the two have been interrelated with development, and to show the extent to which women are empowered or disempowered in decision-making activities in socio-economic and political affairs. Further, the review tries to identify the key areas that require improvement within the Kenyan 'democratic' system so as to engender human development by reducing gender inequalities. The researcher therefore focuses on two main categories of scholarly works: (i) literature on democracy in general, and (ii) literature that examines the interrelationship between democracy, education and human development issues. These scholarly works are examined critically to show how women's participation in public affairs has been addressed, to indicate possible weaknesses in the content and methodology, and to highlight points where certain authors agree or disagree.

Having identified in the existing literature the factors that hamper human development in Kenya particularly for women, Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology used for addressing the research questions raised in the present study. The methodology incorporates philosophical, historical and case study dimensions. Chapter 4 analyzes the concept of democracy for human development from a philosophical point of view under the six dimensions proposed in Chapter 1, namely: prescriptive, methodological, developmental, opportunities, protective and pragmatic. The objective is to provide a deeper understanding of democracy for human development and try to show how equal participation between women and men both in decision-making and in policy implementation processes, could perhaps be enhanced.

Chapter 5 then examines the development of democracy for human development in Kenyan history. The researcher's framework is used to identify the dimensions that may be said to have been ignored for the case of women and therefore to have led to the historical gender inequalities in democratic participation. Chapter 6 attempts to find practicable ways of alleviating the shortfalls in democracy for human development in Kenya (as identified in Chapter 5) through education and particular reference is made to the case of women. The chapter tries to show how education may be used to develop young people, particularly girls, as active participants in making and implementing gender-sensitive decisions, policies, rules and regulations.

Chapter 7 examines critically various Kenyan government policies, statements and provisions to show the extent to which they could be said to have, in principle, incorporated the researcher's six dimensions of democracy. The idea is to highlight Kenyan government commitments to its citizens, and to show the discrepancies between public policies and realities of life for consideration by public policy-makers, educators and other researchers.

The researcher concludes in Chapter 8 by:

- trying to show how the present study has contributed to the already existing knowledge on democracy, education and human development by highlighting the findings of the study
- making some recommendations based on the research questions, the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and the findings of the study.

Lastly, the researcher tries to provide a self-critique on the way the research problem was perceived, the methodology adopted, the scope of the study and the practical limitations.

1.6.0. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This researcher hopes the six-dimensional theoretical framework for democratization will be considered and found useful by Kenyan public policy-makers and educationists in formulating plans of action to reduce gender inequalities so as to promote equitable human and overall development.

Secondly, the exploration as to how the theoretical democratic framework might be applied in Kenyan education, the researcher hopes, it provides some ideas which could perhaps be considered in engendering human development for a significant number of young Kenyans (both girls and boys). According to the *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 199-202), in 1997 for example the following numbers of people were enrolled at different levels of education:

primary schools	5,677,300
secondary schools	687,473
primary teacher training colleges	18,407
technical training institutes	8,553
public universities	43,591

It can be seen from these figures that formal education already provides institutions where Kenyan women and men collectively can be provided with opportunities for gaining knowledge and acquiring skills necessary for effective participation in making decisions and choices and in implementing policies that improve their lives. Thus, the study hopefully provides some ideas for enhancing human development for all people by developing both women and men to become active gender-sensitive decision and policy-makers, and gender-sensitive implementors of resulting plans of action.

Thirdly, if the findings, the conclusions and the recommendations of the present study are considered, they may provide useful insights for public policy-makers, educationists and other researchers interested in the area of study:

- a) in formulating and reviewing democratic educational policies that are likely to equitably enhance democracy for both women and men in Kenya in accordance with the principles of the human development paradigm
- b) in establishing democratic educational institutions
- c) in developing criteria for evaluating progress in democratic participation for human development for both girls and boys in schools.

In the next chapter, the researcher tries to examine some selected literature to develop further knowledge and understanding of the present study's area of interest.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON DEMOCRACY, EDUCATION AND WOMEN

2.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to review and synthesize selected literature interrelating democracy and education with human and national development making special reference to women and Kenya. Adopting the UNDP's definition of human development (see annual publications of *Human Development Report* (1990-1998), the researcher conceives democracy as a way of life that involves enlarging all people's choices, providing opportunities for decision-making and eliminating gender discrimination and inequalities. Thus, the democratization process is viewed as empowering all people including women to participate both in decision-making and in implementing policies in public and private sectors. This is expected to enable all people to benefit from development processes in social, economic and political aspects.

Consequently, a democratization process embracing human development for all people including women needs to address issues such as:

- equalizing access to education, health and other basic social services
- equalizing decision-making opportunities in politics, industry and families
- equalizing rewards for equal work
- equalizing citizens' rights in public and private spheres of life
- equalizing protection under the law
- eliminating all forms of discrimination and violence against women (see UNDP *Human Development Report* 1995: 1).

The researcher applies these issues in identifying, selecting and examining the literature reviewed. The education aspect is however given particular consideration as indicated in Chapter 1.

As Bruce (1994) and Anderson and Arsenault (1998) state, literature review is both a process and a product (report) whereby previous knowledge, thinking and research are summarized, analyzed and interpreted to justify the importance of an on-going research project. A literature review therefore aims at developing a deeper understanding of the evolution and state of the subject of interest.

The importance of the literature review in the present study therefore is to help the researcher:

- to analyze critically the research problem in attempts to define it more precisely
- to develop clearer understanding of democracy, education, and how they can be utilized in promoting human and overall socio-economic and political development
- to gain insights from previous studies on gender disparities and human development, for example the steps that have been taken to address inequalities between women and men at international and national levels
- to show the nature and the extent of gender disparities in political, socio-economic and educational aspects of Kenyan life in order to identify strategies that could perhaps contribute towards engendering human development for both women and men
- to avoid replication of studies
- to provide some ideas necessary for delineating a set of criteria or a framework for analyzing the historical development of democracy in Kenya, for examining how Kenyan education could probably be used to improve the current situation, and for

comparing and contrasting the existing government policies and the real life situation in relation to democracy, education and development (for general discussions on literature review see Anderson and Arsenault 1998 - Chapter 8; Wiersma 1986 - Chapter 3; Mouly 1978 - Chapter 4; Cohen and Manion 1994: 51; and Verma and Beard 1981: 28).

Following these aims, data on democratic participation, democratic systems, human development, creation and distribution of opportunities, human rights and pragmatic strategies; and data on how these conditions are interrelated with education are reviewed. Also some studies that have focused on women in examining these factors are considered. Thus, as Anderson and Arsenault (1998: 76) describe the product of literature review, this chapter is "...a summary, analysis and interpretation of the theoretical, conceptual and research literature related to a topic or theme," which in the present study is democracy, education and development.

The materials are reviewed under four sections:

- democracy in general
- democracy and its interrelationship with education
- democracy, education and women in general
- Kenyan democracy, education and women.

Some selected literature on the development, concepts, and types of democracy, the first area to be covered, is reviewed below.

2.1.0. DEMOCRACY: DEVELOPMENT, CONCEPTS, TYPES AND THEORIES

2.1.1. Development of democracy

The concept of democracy has preoccupied the minds of scholars, revolutionists and feminists during the twentieth century which has seen former colonized countries gain their political independence and most women gain their suffrage. Different scholars have conceptually analyzed democracy descriptively, prescriptively or both and in the process some scholars have considered democracy to be ambiguous (Macpherson 1966: 2, Held 1987: 3), vague (Benn 1967: 339) and elusive (Pinkney 1993: 5).

This notwithstanding, the scholars also indicate that the different meanings of democracy share some common elements. The position taken in the current study is that democracy is a class of systems or ways of life with certain similar characteristics but which have differences due to their historical backgrounds and theories of national development for example.

Democracy has developed both in terms of broadened interpretations and in terms of an increasing number of countries that have adopted it. Based mainly on the criterion of competitive elections, Huntington's (1993a) article "*Democracy's Third Wave*" and Schmitter's (1995) article "*Democratization, Waves of*" discuss development of democracy in terms of 'waves' which they define differently. Huntington conceives waves as increments in the number of countries considered to have attained democracy at a given time and argues that there have been three waves of democratization in the history of modern world since the 1820s. The three waves are said to have occurred in the following periods: 1820s-1926, 1945-1962, and 1975- 1990s. Huntington notes that

the first and second waves were separated by a decrease in the number of countries that were considered democratic.

Schmitter, on the other hand, defines democratization waves as sets of changes in regimes occurring within a short span of time and over a geographical region. Thus, he argues that waves are produced by processes of 'diffusion' and identifies four democratization waves. Accordingly, he considers the waves to have occurred as follows:

- 1826-1926
- during the first World War period and the aftermath
- during the second World War period and the aftermath
- from 25th April 1974 (when the bloodless military coup began in Portugal) to the present times.

Both Huntington and Schmitter provide some explanations for the democratization waves and obstacles which have some similarities and differences. Huntington asserts that the waves resulted from problems of authoritarian regimes, global economic growth, a striking shift in the doctrine and activities of the Catholic Church, changes in the policies of external actors and effects of earlier waves on people's political ideas. He considers the obstacles to be cultural as in the case of Islam and Confucianism, and economic in the case of poor developing countries. Consequently, Huntington states that "Poverty is a principal ... probably the principal ... obstacle to democratic development. The future of democracy depends on the future of economic development. Obstacles to economic development are obstacles to the expansion of democracy" (Huntington 1993a: 22). If Huntington is right, then it might be difficult to argue a case for

establishing democracy in most developing countries such as Kenya before they attain certain levels of economic development.

Schmitter on the other hand, explains the democratization waves in two ways: first, they are viewed as outcomes of processes of 'diffusion' which means a successful example of one country's transition provides a model for other countries. This influence may not only be felt in neighbouring countries but also in different regions because of technological advancement as in communication systems among other factors.

The concept of democratization waves as processes of 'diffusion' may overlook critical consideration of contextual differences between societies and their implications for the development of democracy. Again, the reverse might easily occur through the same 'diffusion' process.

Schmitter's second explanation for democratization waves is the outcome of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank's conditionalities to foreign aid recipients. "Receiving governments must take measures to reform political institutions, hold honest elections, respect human dignity, and protect the physical safety and culture of ethnic or religious minorities" (Schmitter 1995: 349).

Focusing on the 1990s, Daniele and Held's (1995) introduction to *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order* generally concurs with the above scholars about the expansion of democracy but they also acknowledge the process has had some problems. They accordingly assert: "Although the first steps towards domestic democracy have in most cases been tentative and riddled with contradictions, the first half of the 1990s deserves to be remembered as an era, if not the era of democracy" (ibid.: 3). Nonetheless, they have noted that civil wars in some parts of Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa are yet another obstacle to democratization.

In an attempt to provide a more systematic understanding of democratization, Potter (1997: 10) identifies three approaches, namely:

- the *modernization approach* which emphasizes a number of social and economic requisites that are either associated with existing liberal democracies or are necessary for successful democratization
- the *transition approach* that emphasizes political processes and elite initiatives and choices that account for moves from authoritarian rule to liberal democracy.
- the *structural approach* which emphasizes developing structures of power that are favourable for democratization.

However, Potter notes that there is no single theory that can explain the complex democratization process and therefore from the above approaches he identifies economic development, social divisions, state and political institutions, civil society, political culture and ideas, and transnational and international engagements as some of the factors that may be applied in explaining the process. These approaches and explanatory factors provide theoretical frameworks for discussing, comparing and contrasting democratization processes in various parts of the world.

Potter also, using the criteria of accountable governments, free and fair competitive elections, civil and political rights, and associational autonomy; classifies different countries as liberal democracies, partial democracies, and authoritarian governments. Kenya is classified under the partial democratic group where there is limited accountability of government to citizens, unfair competitive elections, curtailed freedom of expression and compromised associational autonomy. These characteristics negate the principles of human development, and research is required for finding possible ways of redressing this situation.

The above writings generally show a growing popularity of democracy albeit with certain obstacles that retard the rate of progress. The researcher seeks further understanding of the area of interest by reviewing some selected works that analyze concepts and types of democracy that are orientated towards human development issues.

2.1.2. Concepts, types and theories of democracy

The analysis by Benn and Peters (1959) in *Social Principles and the Democratic State* indicate that a UNESCO sponsored study in 1949 found democracy to be:

- a term of approval in different contexts, ideas, institutions, or decisions
- a term that generally suggests some sort of egalitarianism.

The authors show that democracy has two types of meanings: prescriptive and descriptive¹. The prescriptive meaning is expression of approval or commendation while the descriptive one is a factual or operational definition.

In the prescriptive sense, Benn and Peters indicate that what is usually approved can be understood by considering Jacobian and natural rights theories. The Jacobian theory (which according to the authors influenced Rousseau's ideas) is about expression of general will and the object is common good. The natural rights theory (that they considered to have influenced Locke's ideas) is about natural rights and social contract, and it grew out of individualism in the seventeenth century.

The Real World of Democracy (Macpherson 1966) provides more ideas by focusing its analysis mainly on operational or descriptive definitions of democracy in different societies in the 1960s. The author identifies three concepts of democracy adopted in the then newly politically independent states, former communist countries and the Western world as follows, respectively:

¹ See also Sartori (1962: 3-5).

- government by and for the common people who were hitherto oppressed
- government based on an ideal human equality (both economically and politically)
- government organized on a principle of freedom of choice.

From the three concepts of democracy, Macpherson identifies the common notions as:

- freedom and human dignity
- moral worth for every member of society
- provisions of conditions for free and full development of essential human capacities of all members of given societies.

However, Macpherson considers the theory and practice of individualism in liberal societies to be likely to curtail freedom, respect of human dignity and development of human capacities for some people due to differences in strength and skills. In contrast, the author indicates that the theory and application of utilitarianism could enhance those features, for instance human rational action could be maximized in order to maximize utilities. The interrelationship between democracy and utilitarianism can be viewed from different perspectives as shown by Benn.

Benn (1967: 338-341) in *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* conceives democracy as government by the people or popular government and outlines two types of democracy: (i) a direct version which means government where everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in decision-making and (ii) a representative version involving government by persons elected by citizens in particular societies. He considers the latter version suitable for highly populated states, a view that is increasingly being questioned by proponents of people's active participation in community and workplace affairs.



Benn argues for the possibility of realizing democratic societies although he acknowledges difficulties in their development. The ones relevant here are that unequal economic power hinders achievement of equal political rights, and that few voters have the expertise required for self-government.

While Macpherson above considers utilitarianism as a means of enhancing democracy by developing human capacities to the maximum, Benn uses utilitarianism to justify establishment of democracy as the best form of government that can consider the interests of the governed and protect them against the abuse of power. Benn cites *Considerations on Representative Government* (McCallum's 1946 edition) where Mill considers universal suffrage to be an unnecessary expense. Mill therefore excluded all women and all men aged below forty years on the grounds that their interests would be safeguarded by their husbands and fathers.

According to Macpherson (1977), Mill proposed that franchise be extended to all adult males above forty years of age and who are in possession of a certain amount of property. These conditions could therefore have limited franchise to a small percentage of the population especially if there was no big difference between the average life expectancy and the age limit of 40 years and if the minimum amount of property was not affordable by most people.

Benn however does not discuss ways of redressing any abuse of power by representatives or cases of conflicting interests between the representatives and those represented. Limited suffrage does not augur well for the concept of human development adopted in the current study because it denies decision-making opportunities to large proportions of the citizens.

Gitonga (1988a) in the book *Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa* discusses both prescriptive and descriptive senses of democracy as 'a fair, good, and just government'. He states that the necessary conditions for developing and sustaining such a government are: (i) *infrastructure* - meaning a healthy and prosperous economy, (ii) *technostructure* - meaning simple and open electoral rules and procedures, and (iii) *superstructure* - meaning a political culture based on equality, liberty, and human dignity. These conditions could generally be understood to imply the provision of enabling environment for people to make choices, which is an important factor for human development. Nevertheless, the criterion of a healthy and prosperous economy may be interpreted as excluding poor countries from pursuance of democracy.

Gitonga asserts that there are various types of democracy such as liberal, social, African and Arab; and he views governments as a continuum of socio-economic and political systems from undemocratic to democratic extremes. Thus, democracy is not 'an all or nothing affair' but varies in degrees.

Furthermore, Gitonga explains the complexity of democracy through multifaceted forms of its existence which he identifies as abstract, practical and concrete modes. In the abstract mode, democracy exists as a hypothetical reality, or a state of affairs conceived of and existing in the minds of men and women as can be seen in the following statement:

...the quest of democracy is the quest for freedom, justice, equality and human dignity. It is the quest for liberation of mankind from all forms of servitude, injustices, discriminations, and humiliations. It is a far-reaching and wide-ranging movement, encompassing the liberation of citizens from local despots and tyrants, women from domestic and social subjugation and nations from foreign domination and exploitation (Gitonga 1988: 2)

The practical dimension involves translation of such abstract ideals into reality by developing theoretical government structures and constitutions. The concrete dimension is about actual establishment of government structures in real life.

Under concrete reality, Gitonga writes that democratic behaviour has to be learned, it is not genetically conditioned, inborn or inherited. He therefore states that “For democracy to exist, survive and prosper, it requires that people be bathed in and drenched with democratic ethos” (ibid.: 22). He furthermore writes that “Among other things, ...education must preach the gospel of equality, freedom, and human dignity” (ibid.).

These statements may indicate the importance given to democracy, but they may also suggest indoctrination of people to accept democratic ideals rather than encouraging rational and critical consideration before people can make choices. Indoctrination negates the notion of people’s empowerment to exercise their right to make choices as expressed in Allen’s work below.

Allen (1943) in *Democracy and the Individual* asserts that there are different interpretations of democracy, examples being: rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes, and government of the totality or by the majority but at the same time giving due consideration to the minority. He argues for the following characteristics as being essential for democracy (and which the current study also considers relevant to human development). They include:

- *political equality*: this is attributed to moral worth, or human wisdom which means ability to make judgements. Thus, all human beings are considered to deserve an opportunity for the self-development they are capable of grasping; protection and

subsistence if disabled, and recognition and consideration of each individual's interests.

- *representative government*: such a government is formed by elected leaders from a widely enfranchised society and representatives chosen according to conspicuous qualities of wisdom, probity and leadership. It may also be a 'cross-section' representing as comprehensively as possible different grades of interest, intelligence and occupations in given communities. The kind of representative group chosen is determined by the leadership qualities that voters consider important.
- *personal responsibility of the individual to the government*: this requires commitment to the betterment of one's community, sometimes through voluntary work. Education is considered to be a means of spreading knowledge and improving intellectual capacity to enable individuals take their fractional share in self-government. According to Allen, education must be free intellectually but not necessarily in the monetary sense, meaning indoctrination of the young needs to be avoided as it curtails open-mindedness. This concept of education is more relevant for human development than Gitonga's above because it would enable people to be agents and beneficiaries of change and development in their societies.
- *leadership*: this involves representing people's interests and views, guiding, informing and warning the electorates and it requires skill, knowledge, expertise and responsibility.
- *the majority principle*: this is considered to be the only practical means by which voluntary and morally justified human association can work. In the majority

principle, there is agreement to differ and action is taken depending on people's judgement and approval.

- *freedom of discussion*: this condition is considered necessary for providing people with opportunities to express different views freely and openly. It can take place directly among electorates, in political parties, cabinets, parliaments and non-governmental organizations among other groups of people, or through the mass media.²
- *the rule of law*: this criterion is viewed as necessary for enabling impartiality and justice in human associations. The law applies to all individuals in a given country, all citizens have a right of recourse to it for redressing grievances, and are equally subject to its penalties for violation of rights.
- *liberty of the individual*: this is considered necessary for developing individuality.

The above works generally show that democracy can encompass the principles and concerns of human development depending on how it is defined. Some historical accounts and studies supporting particular types of democracy are therefore reviewed below to provide further insights to enable identification of the type that is most appropriate for human development.

In their book *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, Ball and Dagger (1995) discuss the historical development of democracy and the meanings adopted in different societies in the Western world. For instance in Ancient Greece democracy was understood as rule by the common people while in England it centred on self-protection and self-development. In the United States of America (USA), the concept of

² See Lindsay (1935) for more detailed examination of discussion as a fundamental requirement for democracy

democracy has gradually been orientated towards offering people opportunities to participate in decision-making in community affairs, thereby developing a widespread and deeply rooted devotion to the common good.

These authors further identify three main types of democracy which they consider to have some common features as well as sharp differences namely: liberal, social and people's democracy. The similarity among the three concepts is the emphasis laid on rule by the people (or the majority of people) in consideration of common interests, but differences arise from the way people's interests are addressed. Ball and Dagger's distinctions between liberal and social democracy (similar to those provided by Steyn's (1995) conference paper '*Education for a liberal democracy or a social democracy*') are:

- liberal democracy stresses individual freedom and individual value systems: it supports free market forces, prefers decentralization and limits state power
- social democracy emphasizes equality, communality and common value systems: it supports regulated market forces, prefers centralization and strengthens state power.³

Instead of viewing liberal and social democracy as separate and distinct, Steyn argues that freedom and equality are complementary features of democracy.

Ball and Dagger distinguish people's democracy from the liberal and social types by its focus on the interests of previously exploited low class people through suppressing the politically and economically powerful bourgeoisie, and it is orientated towards developing classless societies.

Although these types of democracy may be considered as means of engendering human development by enlarging opportunities for the majority of people to have some control

³ See also Plant and Barry (1990)

over their lives, they also seem to have some shortcomings. Free markets in liberal democracy may be unfavourable for poor people, strengthening state power in social democracy reduces maximization of people's decision-making opportunities, and suppression of the bourgeoisie may be considered discriminatory.

These shortcomings are expressed in *Democracy in the Third World* where Pinkney (1993) classifies democracy into two: left-wing and right-wing. He indicates that there is however no clear-cut distinction between them. The problem in left-wing democracy (quite similar to the definition of social democracy) is that the government has great control leading to repression of political competition and dissent. The shortcoming in the right-wing type (similar to liberal democracy) is the likelihood of class exploitation.

He further descriptively analyzes democratic systems using a framework of seven criteria including:

- objectives of the various systems
- perception of society
- role of the state
- political process
- citizen participation
- citizens' rights
- actual and potential problems.

The analysis identified five types of democracy: radical, guided, liberal, social and consociational. Each type is considered an ideal on its own, but the author asserts that most societies combine elements from more than one type. Kenya for example is cited as combining the guided and consociational types because it respectively conducts regular 'competitive' elections (but with a high degree of authoritarianism in

government and little threat to the presidency) and it forms governments which are composed of representatives from different ethnic groupings in reality but not necessarily in principle.

Pinkney upholds liberal democracy which he takes to mean free competition for elective offices complemented by a free economy. Pinkney's discussion on the prospects and survival of liberal or pluralist democracy shows that economic development, appropriate political culture and behaviour, and functioning political institutions are important requirements.

His discussion also shows that although there are historical and ideological differences between societies, three factors (at least) have increased pressure for restoration or continuation of pluralist or liberal democracy. First, authoritarianism has generally failed to deliver material benefits (probably with the exception of countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia -see Wiseman 1997: 277). Second, legitimacy is now accorded to pluralist democracy and not to monarchies and theocracies, and lastly, there was a change of attitude towards Third World authoritarian governments after the Cold War: Western aid is increasingly tied to commitment to pluralism (also see Wiseman 1997: 287). These factors have had an impact on Kenya and other developing countries resulting in the on-going establishment of multi-party politics and liberalization of the market.

Pinkney's study thus provides some insights into different types of democracy relevant to improving or curtailing people's opportunities in making choices, and he acknowledges the growing popularity of a more participatory and egalitarian democracy. He nevertheless considers liberal democracy a necessary stage of democratic development for societies aiming at the participatory type. The next study examines

among other issues the possibility of combining both liberal and participatory democracy.

In *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, Macpherson (1977) identifies four historically successive models of liberal democracy considered to have existed in the Western world since the mid nineteenth century. These are: protective, developmental, equilibrium and participatory democracy. With the exception of the equilibrium type, all seem to be relevant to engendering human development: protective democracy includes political systems that protect the governed from oppression by the government, a characteristic likely to enable people to participate in making political and socio-economic decisions. Developmental democracy emphasizes individual self-development which is necessary for empowering people by improving their potential capabilities. Equilibrium democracy stresses competition mainly between elites to produce equilibrium: it negates the expectations of human development because it appears to limit most people's opportunities to participate actively in making choices. Lastly, the participatory model suggests improved citizen participation in decision-making. Participatory democracy may not seem compatible with the liberal type if the equilibrium model is considered, but Macpherson, mainly focusing on the developmental model, argues for their compatibility.

The author asserts that the liberal democratic ethical principle is the equal right of all men and women to the full development and use of their capacities, a key tenet of the developmental model. Based on this assertion, he argues participatory democracy can be a model of liberal democracy if it upholds equal right to self-development. Nonetheless, if Pinkney's concept of liberal democracy as free competition for elective office or the

notion of equilibrium democracy above are applied, then the participatory and the liberal models may be viewed as two distinct types.

The conditions for participatory democracy are given as changing people's consciousness from consumerism to developing and utilizing their own capacities to the maximum. Secondly, a great reduction of social and economic inequality is required, if more democratic participation is to be achieved to a high degree. To avoid a seemingly circular argument concerning attainment of more democratic participation and reduced socio-economic inequalities, Macpherson argues that the two conditions should be pursued concurrently.

Macpherson proposes a model of participatory democracy which combines direct democracy and competitive political parties, which would allow effective handling of national issues such as overall allocation of resources, and educational, environmental and urban planning for example. Then the different parties would operate through participatory democracy. Macpherson's work generally indicates democratic development towards improved participation in decision-making in public affairs, gaining experience, and exercising freedom of choice, which might provide an environment more conducive to enhancing human development.

In *Models of Democracy*, Held (1987) provides a more detailed historical account of democracy and covers a longer period of time. He discusses nine historical versions of democracy adopted since the ancient times, provides a critical narrative of successive democratic ideas and examines what democracy should mean in the contemporary world. This discussion provides a deeper understanding of democracy necessary in exploring ways of engendering human development.

The author conceives of democracy as a state in which there is a form of political equality among people. He acknowledges that democracy has been conceived differently by different writers but there are commonly shared criteria among earlier theorists such as J. S. Mill, Marx, and “new right” and “new left” thinkers which are outlined as follows:

creation of the best circumstances for all humans to develop their nature and express their diverse qualities (involving an assumption of respect for individuals’ diverse capacities, and their ability to learn and enhance their potentialities)

protection from the arbitrary use of political authority and coercive power (involving an assumption of respect for privacy in all matters which are not the basis of potential and demonstrable ‘harm’ to others)

involvement of citizens in the determination of the conditions of their association (involving an assumption of respect for the authentic and reasoned nature of individuals’ judgements)

expansion of economic opportunity to maximize the availability of resources (involving an assumption that when individuals are free from the burdens of unmet physical need they are best able to realize their ends) (Held 1987: 270).

The new right thinkers argue that liberty and equality are goals tied to individualist political, economic and ethical doctrines. Individuals are, in essence, sacrosanct, free and equal only to the extent that they can pursue and attempt to realize self-chosen ends and personal ends. On the other hand, new left thinkers argue for desirability of certain social or collective means and goals. They consider equality, liberty and justice unachievable in a world dominated by private ownership of property and capitalist economy. Thus, human beings can develop as free and equal only if all forms of coercive power are reduced and accountability maximized.

Held shows a new polarization towards participatory democracy. The main aim behind this development is to improve the level of active democratic participation. Democratic autonomy that includes the right and opportunity to participate in public life is thus considered a crucial requirement.

Macpherson (1977) and Held (1987) suggest a growing popularity of participatory democracy, and thus *Participation and Democratic Theory* by Pateman (1970) is reviewed here for further understanding of this type of democracy. Pateman conceives participatory democracy as a system where people participate fully or partially in decision-making on matters that affect them. Political equality in participatory democracy is therefore construed as equal power in determining the outcome of decisions. The justification provided for participatory democracy is based on individuals' social and political development. A participatory system, she argues, would release reserves of energy and initiative in ordinary people thereby improving efficiency in industry for instance. This is closely related to the UNDP's view that human development is the surest way of contributing to economic and overall development (see Chapter 1).

Based on writings by proponents of participatory democracy such as Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill, her work criticises recent writers' view of democracy as participation of the minority elite and the non-participation of ordinary people who are considered to be apathetic and lacking political efficacy.

Pateman states that evidence in her work supports the arguments advanced by Rousseau and Mill among other writers that:

...we do learn to participate by participating, and feelings of political efficacy are more likely to be developed in a participatory environment. Furthermore, ... [available] evidence indicates that experience of a participatory authority structure might also be effective in diminishing tendencies towards non-democratic attitudes in the individual. If those who come newly into political arena have been previously 'educated' for it then their participation will pose no dangers to the stability of the system (ibid.: 105).

Pateman supposes that if participatory democracy were accepted and introduced in the workplace, then there would be a good case for extending similar opportunities for

students in higher education as a way of preparing them for their future roles as mature citizens. Nevertheless, Pateman like Macpherson, suggests a combination of participatory and representative democracy in dealing with local or workplace and national affairs respectively.

To emphasize the vitality of participation in local affairs and the impact on national politics, she states that:

...participation in alternative areas would enable the individual better to appreciate the connection between the public and private spheres. The ordinary man (sic) might ... be more interested in things nearer home, but the existence of a participatory society would mean that he (sic) was better able to assess the performance of representatives at the national level, better equipped to take decisions of national scope when the opportunities arose to do so, and better able to weigh up the impact of decisions taken by national representatives on his own life and immediate surrounding (ibid.: 110).

Some ideas on factors that can help develop a democratic participative culture are provided by Almond and Verba below.

Almond and Verba's (1963) empirical cross-cultural study entitled *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* covering United States of America (USA), Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico provides a deeper understanding about democratic participation. The authors among other things found:

- a positive relationship between political efficacy and political participation
- a large proportion of respondents considered themselves able to influence decisions of the local government as compared to national government
- the highest level of competence in USA and Britain where institutional opportunities existed for local participation.

A comparison between women's and men's political culture shows considerable differences in factors such as attitudes towards government and politics, participation,

competence, social relations, civic cooperation, and level of information about public affairs and governments in different countries. The cultural differences between men and women are attributed to the socialization process (ibid.: 387-401).

The study also shows education to be the most important determinant of political attitudes and the most manipulable. The authors state that:

The great advantage of education is the skills that may take years to develop for the first time can be passed on much more easily once there are some [people] who possess them. Education [as shown in this study] can develop a number of major components of the civic culture. It can train individuals in the skills of political participation. They can be taught how to gather information; they can be brought into contact with the mass media; they can learn the formal structure of politics, as well as the importance of the governmental and political institutions. And it is possible to communicate through the explicit norms of democratic participation and responsibility (ibid.: 501-502).

The authors note that education can develop only some of the components of civic culture.

Studies by Allen, Gitonga, Pateman and Almond and Verba above suggest some important interrelationships between democracy and education in that:

- education is necessary for developing knowledge and intellectual capacity for democratic participation
- education is required to develop some understanding of democratic values such as equality, freedom and human dignity in young people
- democratic participation is itself a process of education
- education is crucial for developing democratic culture.

The following section now focuses on some works that have examined the interrelationship between democracy and education in greater detail so as to develop a

clearer understanding necessary for relating the two elements to human and national development.

2.2.0. DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Democracy can be interrelated with education to engender human development through equitable distribution of educational opportunities to eliminate discrimination, or through providing opportunities for individuals' development of knowledge and skills to improve their participation both in decision-making and implementation of public policies.

Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (Dewey 1916), the first book to be reviewed under this section, focuses on functions, aims and methods of education, and theories of knowing and moral development. Dewey considers democracy to be moral implying that it is a superior political system when compared with others. Individuals are considered to possess intrinsic worth and dignity (also see Allen's work cited earlier), and therefore their welfare has the greatest importance. As a consequence, educational institutions need to be designed and organized in democratic ways that enable development of individuals' potential abilities, talents and interests.

Dewey (ibid.: 81-99) outlines two main criteria for democracy, namely:

- varied points of shared common interests and reliance upon the recognition of mutual interests as a factor of social control
- freer interaction between people in different social groups and continuous change in social habits according to situational changes.

He considers an activity both educational and democratic if it concerns common interests, and if it involves many contacts with a wide variety of individuals. He puts it that:

A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder (ibid.: 99).

Thus, educational institutions need to encourage participation in cooperative deliberation, shared enquiries and collective decision-making in solving practical, moral and social problems. Such education Dewey thought would provide opportunities for individual freedom and growth by developing social attitudes, skills and dispositions for collective decision-making and action. He however foresaw likely difficulties arising from social stratification rendering educational opportunities inaccessible to certain groups of people.

The second selected work on democracy and education, Peters (1966) *Ethics and Education*, asserts that democracy is justified for public implementation if it employs at least three necessary political procedures including consultation of interested parties, safeguards of freedom of discussion and assembly, and public accountability. He nevertheless considers it a difficult way of life to sustain.

He outlines the preconditions of a democratic system of government as:

- acquisition of relevant experience in applying and justifying guiding principles as well as moral ones in real life circumstances

- rationality, cooperation and a large measure of consensus at the level of procedural principles which include fairness, liberty, consideration of interests and respect for persons
- willingness to participate in public life.

Peters considers education necessary for attaining these preconditions by training or initiating the young generations into an effective tradition of critical thinking, reasonableness and tolerance. He suggests provision of moral and political education as a way of pursuing this goal. The following work reiterates the importance of developing democratic qualities mainly through participation in decision-making on school organization.

Wringe (1984) in *Democracy, Schooling and Political Education* underlines further the indispensability of education for successful democracy by stating that “Democracies...can only truly be so described if their citizens have some measure of education” (ibid.: 80). Based on this assertion, Wringe notes that historically the poor, the colonized and black American people were denied suffrage due to ignorance and illiteracy. Further, he notes that John Stuart Mill, a major proponent of the democratic ideal argued for universal education to ensure electorates chose suitable representatives⁴. The argument was that a country in which electorates did not understand what they were voting for would be no democracy.

Education is further linked to democracy in that participation is in itself considered an educative process in that it enables people to gain relevant experience and develop some skills (ibid.: 82, also see Pateman 1970 cited earlier). A third possible linkage concerns equality between teachers and pupils in the educational process. If critical thinking by

⁴ See McCallum's (1948: 209-230) edition of Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* discussing extension of the suffrage.

both teachers and pupils is encouraged in the educational process, then it could be considered democratic.

Following the linkages outlined by Wringe between education and democracy, he argues a case for political education to develop some knowledge and understanding of the political process and political issues that affect individuals' lives. Such knowledge and understanding is considered to enable meaningful exercise of political rights. He notes that political education has been viewed as teaching respect for democracy, teaching civics and constitutions, developing political literacy or learning through democratic organization of schools. The last concept involves actual participation in the management of school affairs. Nonetheless, problems concerning conflicts between children's involvement in school management and public accountability, and non-utilization of outcomes from teachers' consultative meetings in formulating school policies have been noted.

Brennan (1981) in *Political Education and Democracy* further stresses the necessity of learners' democratic participation. He supports Julius Nyerere's (former president of Tanzania) view that people have to be educated in the democratic process for them to take up power and responsibility. He asserts that democratic participation therefore requires developing appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes, and that a useful beginning might be through participatory political education in schools.

However, he discusses four groups of barriers that are likely to be faced in political education which he classifies as:

- barriers of conservatism that concern the attitude that school and politics should not be mixed

- professional barriers associated with conflicting interests of different groups of people
- pedagogical barriers including problems of school organization, curriculum innovation, teacher training and educational resources
- societal barriers which concern mismatches between objectives of political education and practices in social and political institutions.

The above works on the interrelationship between education and democracy mainly focus on the development of democratic knowledge, skills and experience but some writers below examine the interrelationship in terms of distribution of opportunities.

Halls (1985) in his chapter "*Democratisation in Secondary and Higher Education: Some Comparative Viewpoints*" discusses 'equal educational opportunities' and the meanings applied across various countries in the Western world. He however seems to have been caught up between the two concepts concerning the distribution of educational opportunities; one supports sameness and the other, diversity. He argues for both 'sameness' and 'diversity' in equal educational opportunity but in different countries and at different levels of education as shown below. With regard to the lower secondary curriculum, he seems to have favoured the centralized system in France where sameness was emphasized. He put it thus:

Even in the most centralised country, France, joint commissions of inspectors and teachers are responsible for what is taught. Thus, a child who moves from one part of the country to another will find the same curriculum operating and roughly the same content in each subject. Surely, this offers greater equality of opportunity than the haphazard approach that prevails in different schools and authorities in England (ibid.: 25-26).

In England, before the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988, each secondary school had the prerogative to decide the content of education it dispensed, and students were given opportunities to choose their subjects. Halls (ibid.: 25) notes that it was

difficult to see how this diversity of choice between schools would promote equality of opportunity.

Later on, in discussing the upper secondary curriculum he asserts that:

In the United States, the model of senior high school - grades ten through to twelve - shows three tracks existing side by side: academic, vocational and general. But the Swedish example probably corresponds even more to the ideal of equality of opportunity. There are 23 different "lines", between which the youngsters can opt at the age of 16, with courses of two, three or even four years in length (ibid.: 29).

These quotations show conflicting value judgements made concerning sameness and diversity in the provision of equal educational opportunities but at different levels and in different countries.

Some 1990s publications on education and democracy such as Harber (1992), Kelly (1995), Aspin (1995), and Carr and Hartnett (1996) argue for promoting both education for democratic citizenship, and active pupils' participation in critical evaluation and decision-making in school and classroom management and administration.

Harber (1992) in *Democratic Learning and Learning Democracy: Education for Active Citizenship* mainly focuses on Britain and he argues that schools are the key institutions for propagating political culture. He identifies the essential prerequisites as political education and greater democracy in school structures. The argument for political education is based on earlier writers' evidence showing political ignorance, apathy, and incoherent political opinions among school leavers.

The author considers democracy meaningful only if it is accessible to and understood by its citizens, and thus political education for democracy that develops political knowledge, skills, and values is necessary. He further argues that a democratic school environment that is conducive to critical and informed participation in political debate

and action is crucial. Harber consequently suggests that high priority should be given to social sciences and political education as a means of developing critical minded democratic citizens, and that school parliaments (following experiments in Holland and Britain) should be established to develop democratic culture in both pupils and staff.

In *Education and Democracy: Principles and Practices*, Kelly (1995) outlines the basic principles of democratic life as (i) possession of inalienable natural rights, (ii) equality of treatment based on the assertion that all human beings are free and equal, (iii) natural liberty which means people have freedom of thought, speech, opinion and behaviour, and (iv) popular sovereignty which means full participation of every member.

Kelly considers education important for effecting these principles and he therefore asserts that democratic societies need to have faith in human potentiality. He argues that education should be provided as a human right, that there should equal treatment in education, that individual autonomy and empowerment be developed, that openness in developing knowledge be promoted so as to produce rational, informed and critical-minded citizens, and lastly that academic freedom and academic autonomy need to be maximized.

Based on these conditions, Kelly's examination of the current trends and policies in higher education and school curriculum in England and Wales indicate various shortcomings including introduction of the National Curriculum (a feature also found in Kenyan education). Arguing that education should prepare the young for active democratic participation in society, he supports personal, social and moral education for individual development, school organization that allows development of democratic citizens through the hidden curriculum, and education for active, critical-minded democratic citizenship. Kelly centres on individual development. For instance he states

that curriculum should be reconceptualized as "... the process of learning rather than its content, and [as the process] of education for human development rather than the assimilation of knowledge" (ibid.: 113).

Aspin's (1995) chapter on "*The Conception of Democracy: A Philosophy for Democratic Education*" provides further evidence in support of enhanced students' participation in school organization and administration, and he proposes democratization of the principals' roles and school councils. He asserts however that due to students' limited experience and inadequacy in necessary skills, they can play only minor roles in the organization and administration of their institutions. Such roles could include choosing the range of subjects they wish to study, participation in lesson preparation, maintenance of cleanliness, and preservation of order and discipline. Other major responsibilities such as appointment of staff, evaluation of curricula, and administration and control of budgets involving large sums of public money should be dealt with by qualified staff. The following authors also support democratic participation of learners in the educational process in contemporary societies.

In *Education and the Struggle for Democracy: The Politics of Educational Ideas*, Carr and Hartnett (1996) provide a historical account showing a close relationship between the development of both British education and democracy. They consider the primary aim of education to be equipping young citizens with the knowledge, values, and skills for deliberative reasoning necessary for participation in the democratic way of life. Consequently, development of virtues such as critical reasoning, tolerance and truth-telling is therefore crucial.

Accordingly, equality and freedom need to be promoted, and thus non-discrimination, non-repression, provision of opportunities and consideration of diverse values, needs,

interests are considered necessary. Carr and Hartnett therefore assert that cooperation rather than competition among the young needs to be encouraged. They state the key purpose of education to be empowering the young people increasingly to contribute consciously, critically and freely in an open, pluralistic, participatory democratic society.

The literature reviewed above collectively show the importance of education for:

- enhancing people's participation in decision-making
- providing necessary opportunities for developing necessary knowledge, skills and experience
- promoting equality of treatment in distributing educational opportunities
- preserving natural rights
- improving freedom of thought and expression.

Some studies that have discussed these issues focusing on women are reviewed next.

2.3.0. WOMEN, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION IN GENERAL

Studies on women generally note limited involvement in decision-making in various spheres of life and inadequate provisions for developing the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes for democratic citizenship. Some selected literature is reviewed below to develop deeper understanding of the current women's situation and to justify the need for further research in the area in order to engender human development and gender equality.

Rowbotham (1986) in *New Forms of Democracy* notes that there has been a persistent theme of political thought that women and democracy do not go together. Nevertheless, the historical account provided shows that from the seventeenth century women in the Western world have continuously demanded a right to have a say and express their

needs and interests. Great progress has been made towards achieving this right but there is still a great deal to be done.

The outcomes of women's demands and deeper understanding of the interrelationship between political, social and economic aspects of life have led to extension of women's suffrage and gradual transformation of the concept of democracy to improve women's situation. This has facilitated women's greater participation in public life although equality has not yet been achieved.

Rowbotham explains that women no longer view democracy as extension of the vote alone, but representation in political institutions and active participation in different aspects of life. The historical account generally shows there has been a transformation from representative democracy towards women's greater participation in decision-making and implementation processes in community activities using public funds for instance from British city councils. Although there are great contextual differences between the developed and developing countries, this democratic transformation gives some encouragement to women in the latter countries in pursuing improved well-being and participation in public affairs.

In *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Pateman (1989) provides further insights into progress made in ameliorating the situation of women in the Western world by examining the contributions of feminists. She states that feminists' central concerns are power and government, and thus democracy, citizenship, freedom, justice and equality among other issues are considered important. The theory of liberal individualism, she observes, has not adequately addressed women's political, social and economic inequalities. This is expressed as follows:

Today women have won an independent civil status and the vote; they are, apparently, 'individuals' as well as citizens- and thus they require no special

attention in discussions of democracy. However, one of the most important consequences of the institutionalization of liberal individualism and the establishment of universal suffrage has been to highlight the practical contradiction between the formal political equality of liberal democracy and the social subordination of women, including their subjection as wives within the patriarchal structure of the institution of marriage (ibid.: 214).

From a general point of view, Macpherson (1966) cited earlier shows liberal individualism leads to inequalities in freedom and development of potential human capacities.

Pateman notes that there are persistent gender inequalities even though women are enfranchised, and this is because of unacknowledged sexual harassment, discrimination by employers and trade unions, and inequitable sexual division of labour among other factors. These problems affect women's ability to participate in decision-making activities negatively. Pateman therefore concludes that "...a democratic theory and practice that is not at the same time feminist merely serves to maintain a fundamental form of domination and so makes a mockery of the ideas and values that democracy is held to embody" (ibid.: 223).

Furthermore, she observes that writings on participatory democracy including her own mainly focus on the workplace, but without a gender perspective. This indicates a need for further exploration and research into women's greater participation in decision-making activities. The United Nations (UN) and its various bodies, and some non-governmental organizations have shown great concern about women's participation in societal affairs, and thus some documentation on UN and NGOs' views and involvement in promoting women's participation are reviewed below.

2.3.1. United Nations, non-governmental organizations and women's participation

The UN and its various bodies, and some regional and national non-governmental bodies have in the last three decades done a lot to raise awareness about gender disparities and the importance of women's active participation in both decision-making on development issues and implementing resulting policies. Gender issues relating to equitable women's participation in societal affairs have been top of the agendas in some international, regional and national conferences [see for example *Women in Politics and Decision-making in the Twentieth Century: A United Nations Study* (UN 1992), *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics* (UN 1995), *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making* (Karl 1995), *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1995) and *The State of World Population: Decisions for Development: Women, Empowerment and Reproductive Health* (United Nations Population Fund UNFPA 1995), and *The State of World Population: Changing Places: Population, Development and the Urban Future* (UNFPA 1996)]. Indeed, UNDP (1995: 12) states that "Human development is impossible without gender equality."

These publications statistically analyze and discuss education and training, health, work, power and influence among other issues given prominence in UN global forums as seen in reports such as:

- the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (1979)
- the *Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* (1985)
- the *Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* (1992)

- the *Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development* (1994)
- the *Programme for Action of the World Summit for Social Development* (1995).

Issues concerning women specifically are further discussed in the *Beijing Platform for Action* which resulted from the fourth world conference on women (United Nations 1995a).

The general themes in the above publications are:

- that empowering women by developing their potentialities to the maximum and improving their status in society are essential for realizing the full potential of economic, political and social development
- that developing awareness, knowledge, skills and confidence among women is crucial for participation in decision-making, exercising their rights and effective contribution in establishing development programmes and projects
- that empowering women is an important end in itself
- that as women acquire the same status, opportunities, and social, economic and legal rights as men and as they acquire the right to reproductive health and the right to protection against gender-related violence, human well-being will be enhanced
- that there is need to attain a critical mass of 30-35% of women within political, social and economic decision-making structures
- that governments' intervention is necessary for formulating and implementing policies that improve women's situation
- that democracy cannot be achieved as long as women who constitute half the world's population are excluded from decisions that determine their own future.

The UN (1995) and UNDP (1995) statistical data and analyses provide important information about gender disparities demographically, politically, socially, and economically, and therefore data on population, health, education and training, work, and power and influence, are analyzed. Varied degrees of improvements across countries and regions have been made; and thus gender equality based on indicators such as life expectancy, literacy, income levels is nearly achieved in some countries, while others are far off from attaining it.

This means that world-wide elimination of inequalities and discrimination against women is far from being solved, and therefore measures are still needed to address the main obstacles that curtail women from attaining equal participation in societal affairs. The *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women* (UN 1995a) provides strategic objectives and recommends some actions to be taken by governments, international donor agencies, and banks for example, in addressing the persisting gender inequalities.

This current study considers education as a means of promoting women's democratic participation and therefore a closer look at the UN's view of education is necessary for providing some further insights. The UN considers education as one of the most important means of empowering women with the knowledge, skills, and self-confidence necessary for full participation in developmental processes (UN 1995: xix, UNPFA 1996: 19). Education enables women to take opportunities in the labour force, to become more receptive to political participation, to challenge their traditional roles and develop awareness of choice among other factors that improve their lives. According to the UN (1995), education should be designed to eliminate social and cultural barriers that discourage or exclude women and girls from participating actively in order to promote equal opportunities in all aspects of life.

The various UNDP (1990-1998) reports show that distribution of educational opportunities at different levels is one of the key indicators of human and gender-related development. However, UNPFA (1996: 21) states that access to education alone is not sufficient, but that quality also matters. What girls learn and how they learn it has an impact on the resulting behaviour. Thus, the quality of education provided needs to empower women adequately with knowledge and skills, and to develop participative qualities necessary for sustainable development. Some selected studies that have dealt with factors affecting women's participation in education in particular are reviewed below.

2.3.2. Women's participation in education in general

The UN (1948) state that education is a human right and there is a worldwide declaration of 'education for all by the year 2000'; but UNDP (1995: 16), Ndawi (1997), and UN (1995: 91-92) indicate that this is a distant reality in most developing countries. The situation in Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe among other developing regions is compounded by the 1980s retrogression in primary-secondary enrolments resulting from civil wars, economic adjustments and declining international assistance (*ibid.*). In contrast, some developed countries have already realized the goal.

Various studies that have analyzed the distribution of educational opportunities between women and men in developing countries show both gender inequalities at almost all levels and a diminishing proportion of women from one educational level to the next. UN (1995: 89-91) attributes these problems to family preferences for investing in boys' education for future parental support, the need for subsistence agricultural labour and traditional stereotypes in women's and men's roles among other factors. The following

studies focusing on particular countries and regions are reviewed to provide a deeper understanding of constraints experienced in female education.

The World Bank's paper *Girls and Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action* by Odaga and Heneveld (1995) provides an informative summary of some of the early 1990s major research findings on factors that constrain girls' schooling in this region. The authors classify the factors broadly into three groups: socio-cultural and socio-economic aspects, school environment, and political and institutional context. Further, they identify statistical indicators including access, achievement, attainment and accomplishment for preparing summarized country profile tables. The authors recommend statistically analyzed and tabulated data as a basis for reflection and discussion by policy makers and stakeholders in evaluating existing government policy. The study also provides some research instruments for carrying out empirical studies on female participation in education, and provides some procedures for summarizing collected data statistically for application in evaluating and implementing policies. Thus, it provides a framework for incorporating an operative gender perspective into educational planning, programming, management, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

The above international documents generally indicate world-wide problems of gender inequalities in social, economic, political and educational affairs. A world-wide statistical representation of this situation shows that the female share of primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment is 46%, parliamentary seats 10%, ministerial positions 6%, labour force 38%, and administrative and managerial positions 14% (UNDP 1995: 47). However, these proportions vary considerably in different countries, for example in 1993 women holding parliamentary seats in Seychelles constituted 45.8% while in

Kenya the proportion was only 3% (Karl 1995: 91). There is therefore a need to consider each country individually.

Based on the works reviewed in the foregoing sections, the following conclusions can be made:

- democracy that combines equitable representation of both women and men in national affairs, and individual participation at the local level in decision-making and implementing policies may be considered the most appropriate for people-centred and gender-sensitive human development in various aspects of life
- education is necessary for promoting democracy that is orientated towards developing knowledge, skills, appropriate qualities and attitudes in people; and for enlarging people's opportunities for choices in political, social and economic spheres of life
- governments' intervention through policy reforms and affirmative action is necessary to improve human development that addresses gender inequalities.

Following these conclusions, some literature on Kenyan democracy, education and the situation of women is examined in the following sections to identify issues that need to be addressed in developing a democratic system for engendering human development for all people including women.

2.4.0. KENYA: DEMOCRACY, EDUCATION AND WOMEN

2.4.1. Kenyan democratic situation

Kenya is considered only partially democratic because of citizens' limited opportunities to influence public affairs and the way elections are conducted (Potter 1997, Pinkney 1993). Fox's (1996) examination of the 1992 Kenyan multi-party elections in the article "*Bleak Future for Multi-Party Elections in Kenya*" found:

- that people mainly voted along tribal or ethnic lines
- that the elections were unfair because the electoral commission created extra constituencies in pro-ruling party districts to ensure the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party retained the presidency.

Owing to this situation, Muigai (1995) in his Chapter “*Ethnicity and the Renewal of Competitive Politics in Kenya*” asserts that ethnicity affects democracy in Kenya particularly when some sections of society are excluded from the process of governance. The writer recommends: first, amendment of constitutional and electoral laws to allow proportional representation in government according to ethnicity. Second, he proposes a change in the presidential winning conditions from 25% of votes in at least five provinces to more than 50% of the votes in order to force election coalitions that unite rather divide people.

In the recent 1997 elections, reports also showed that most people again voted along ethnic lines and also gender stereotypes influenced the way some people voted (*Nation Reporters* 24th April 1997a). The recently published 1998 UNDP *Human Development Report* shows that Kenya continues to score poorly in terms of women’s participation in the economic and political life of the country (also see Redfern 1998).

Some studies that attempt to explain the persisting gender disparities in Kenya are reviewed in the following section. They also provide some suggestions that may be helpful in seeking ways of developing democratic systems that would engender human development for all people including Kenyan women.

2.4.2. Kenyan women's participation in political and socio-economic affairs

The purpose of this section is to provide a clearer understanding of the political, social and economic situation of Kenyan women in relation to human and overall development. In *African Women's Liberation: A Man's Perspective*, Wachege (1992) analyzes seven spheres in which Kenyan women in different communities are oppressed and exploited, and they include:

- the traditional sphere that involves some cultural factors that place women in subordinate positions in comparison to men and he attributes them to adoption of patriarchal systems
- the social sphere that concerns gender roles, and discrimination against women and girls
- the political realm which encompasses inequitable representation in governmental bodies, and government's unwillingness to address women's problems
- the economic aspect that shows women provide most of the labour in homes and in agriculture production, yet their economic returns are minimal; and that they themselves are in some cases viewed as economic assets because of dowry paid when they get married
- the sexual aspect that concerns violence against women exemplified by an increasing number of rape cases and sexual harassment in workplaces
- the intellectual sphere that includes stereotypes and prejudices towards women's intellectual abilities and discrimination in the distribution of educational opportunities
- the religious/ecclesiastical aspect that concerns discriminatory elements in different churches, for instance denial of women's priesthood status in the Catholic church.

Viewed from the human development perspective, the present study may support Wachege's assertion about the last religious aspect. It can however be argued that 'women's priesthood' is not a status issue at all but a theological issue, above and beyond status, *per se*.

Wachege's study suggests consideration of theological liberation in attempts to resolve the problems highlighted above. The next scholar also discusses similar problems but recommends some transformations in society.

Nzomo (1988) in the Chapter "*Women, Democracy and Development in Africa*" discusses the origin, nature and persistence of African women's oppression and exploitation paying particular attention to the Kenyan case. She attempts to explain the prevailing gender inequalities and curtailment of women's freedom. She advances the argument that establishment of patriarchal and capitalist systems have greatly contributed to the Kenyan women's subordinate status and inequalities in almost all aspects of life. The author asserts that patriarchal systems deny women property ownership which means inaccessibility of loan facilities available in public and private lending agencies due to lack of security, and this reduces their ability to participate in economic development.

Nzomo therefore postulates that: "If ... it is accepted that women in Africa need to be full participants in Africa's development, then a democratic environment should be created whereby women's participation will not only be in the arena of physical labour but also in that of decision-making and planning" (ibid.: 145). She supposes that this would change the existing discriminatory social, economic and political structures, thus enhancing gender equality in opportunities, services and control of the economy.

Nzomo also notes that Kenyan women's education is generally lower than men's both in quantity and in quality, which normally has negative effects on opportunities for higher education, training programmes and jobs. Further, there is sexism in the educational process, thus female education is orientated towards domestic roles and low status professions such as nursing, typing and primary school teaching. Furthermore, the proportion of women keeps diminishing from each level of education to the next higher one.

Politically, women's low participation in decision-making is attributed to several factors including:

- apathy
- few female candidates
- lower credentials
- stereotypes about women's roles
- incapability in effective decision-making due to lack of experience
- the unjustified classification of women as the weaker sex physically and mentally
- unfair scrutiny of women's fitness for public office (physically and intellectually)
- resistance by society due to the idea that politics are dirty and hazardous for women
- lack of support for female candidates by women's organizations
- government's unwillingness to address gender inequalities (also see Wachege 1992 above)
- high illiteracy rates
- indoctrination and psychological conditioning leading to acceptance of inferior status.

Nzomo recommends a socialist transformation in place of a capitalist system. She therefore argues for the abolition of the institution of private property; elimination of

dowry, early marriages and domestic male supremacy; psychological liberation from servile and defeatist mentality; and struggle for domestic rights and freedoms. She notes that the process of change would be long and arduous but it would eventually culminate in making women economically independent and more effective participants in national development.

Although the author's suggestions could engender human development by improving women's opportunities for making choices, the problem likely to be experienced in implementing socialist transformation is that Kenya depends largely on foreign aid for its development projects. Such financial assistance as noted earlier is given with conditionalities, one of them being liberalization of markets favouring capitalist over socialist systems.

In another article "*The Gender Dimension of Democratization in Kenya: Some International Linkages*", Nzomo (1993) provides a summarized record of Kenyan women's political participation from the time of independence in 1963 to 1991 as follows:

Kenya's record of women's participation in politics and public decisionmaking (sic) has been pathetic by any standards. Between 1963 and 1969 there was not a single woman member of parliament. In 1969 the first woman was elected to the National Assembly and one more was nominated to sit in the august legislative body along with eleven male nominated members. Between 1969 and 1974, of the total elected members of parliament, women formed between 0.5 and 8 percent of the nominated members. Except for the period 1974 to 1979, when women's representation improved slightly, the general trend has been one of women's marginalization in political decisionmaking (sic) at the national level. As of 1991, of two hundred elected members of parliament, there were only two women elected members. Only one of these sits on the front bench as assistant minister for culture and social services, along with sixty-nine men assistant ministers (ibid.: 64).

Nzomo has gone further to indicate that the position of assistant minister is the highest position a woman has ever held in Kenya's National Assembly. Moreover, she has

pointed out that since independence there has never been more than one woman holding one of the highest national posts at the same time.

However, this situation has changed slightly. Before the dissolution of Kenyan Parliament in preparation for the recent 1997 elections, there was one woman Minister for Culture and Social Services (Nduta 1996: 16) and one woman assistant Minister for Education (*Nation* reporters 24th April 1997a). Such dismal representation is also found in the high court, diplomatic posts and other top ranking public decision-making positions.

Nzomo argues that if women were represented in large enough numbers (above the critical mass of at least 30-35%) in decision and policy making capacities, they could exert decisive influence to ensure the repeal of discriminatory laws, and participate in designing development policies that mainstream rather than marginalize and disempower them. She therefore advances strategies for attaining the 30-35% critical mass which include: (i) sensitizing and conscientizing women who form the majority of voters to vote for committed women rather than men, (ii) women's pressure groups to encourage and build confidence in politically willing and committed women to contest civic and parliamentary seats.

The writer further states that:

- Kenya's records on preservation of women's rights is poor, and she cites cases where school girls have been molested and even killed
- the Kenyan women's situation has been compounded by the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which most women do not understand
- women constitute only 20 per cent of the labour force.

Based on these findings, she asserts that in the on-going democratization struggle in Kenya and other African countries, women must fight to attain decisive political and public decision-making representation to influence national development policies and programmes that enable them to make choices in their lives. Further, she states that genuine democratization requires accommodation of varied opinions, tolerance, consensus and effective participation by all people.

The events and discussions before the 1997 Kenyan civic and parliamentary elections, and the results of the elections show that there is still a great deal to be done before gender equality can be attained. Gacheru (1997), Mudasia (1997), Kimathi (1997) and *Nation* Reporters (24th April 1997a) discuss the rejection of an “affirmative action motion” to engender Kenyan women’s political participation by the Kenyan Parliament (which is male dominated). The reasons given for rejecting the motion seeking to give women one-third of parliamentary seats are:

- that time is not ripe to empower women
- that women have no right to ask for preferential treatment as they make up 52 per cent of the population and could therefore vote out male MPs
- that the motion was too radical and against Kenyan culture
- that women prefer to be led by men and therefore it would be wrong to force women leaders on them
- that Kenya is not ready for women leaders
- that Kenyan women according to one of the ministers had nothing to complain about as they were well taken care of by the government and that there was no discrimination against women

- that things should be left to evolve and there may be a time when there will be a majority of women in parliament.

After the rejection, the supporters of the motion suggested among other measures intensification of efforts to educate Kenyans on the facts and fundamentals of democracy including gender equity. Later on, in a civic education seminar (*Weekly Review* 1997, *Daily Nation* 21st July 1997f) women's non-governmental organizations reiterated the concerns of the rejected motion as well as the need for women's participation in the Kenyan constitutional reforms.

The following studies reviewed provide more explanations for gender inequalities in different spheres of life in Kenya and some suggestions for improving the situation. In the study entitled "*Politics, Class and Gender in African Resource Management: The Case of Rural Kenya*", Thomas-Slayter (1992) shows that women's situation is negatively affected by the Kenyan political system, socio-economic stratification and gender roles. The main problems found are that: women perceive themselves as having no organizational capacity to demand accountability from political and administrative officials even when grievances threaten their community's survival such as damaging their nearest water source. Thomas-Slayter states that "Poor, uneducated rural women have little status within the community and it is exceedingly difficult for them ... nearly unthinkable to organize opposition" (ibid.: 823). Secondly, women generally accept the unfair division of labour, and consequently they do the bulk of domestic work and provide most of the agricultural labour⁵. Thirdly, administrative officials force women to do voluntary work by instituting social sanctions for those who refuse to cooperate.

⁵ See also Mburugu (1995)

Based on the problems found, the argument states that the national-level policies can address resource issues to curb unbridled efforts for personal gain. If implemented effectively at the local level, they are likely to prevent deterioration of the situation.

The study "*Gender and Land Rights in Murang'a District, Kenya*" by Mackenzie (1990) shows how manipulation of customary and state laws in Kenya has disadvantaged women in terms of control of resources and agricultural production. The state laws have been amended to allow women to own property, but some men view it as a threat to their customary household power and authority, and consequently prevent their wives from exercising this right.

Nevertheless, other women have formed cooperative self-help groups which mainly operate as rotating savings and loans societies, and this has helped them advance economically. Although women have been enabled to purchase property through these self-help groups, membership for some is denied by husbands thereby violating women's constitutional rights.

As "*The Legal Status of Women in Kenya*" (Mbote 1995) explains, this situation is compounded by women's lack of awareness about their own rights and by discriminative sections in the *Constitution of Kenya*. The author states that "Education of women on the content of their rights and modes of exercising those rights is a must if law reform is to achieve its stated objectives" (ibid.: 9).

Gordon (1995) in the article "*Gender, Ethnicity and Class in Kenya: 'Burying Otieno' Revisited*" also discusses the persisting gender discrimination and inequalities in different communities with regard to property ownership, education, economic opportunities, and employment in the formal labour market. It is noted that formal

education enables women to press for better employment opportunities, rights and greater political participation.

Like Mackenzie above, Gordon indicates that formation of women's groups is another way through which women seek empowerment by owning and controlling land resources, controlling their own labour, and resisting gender and class exploitation. However, Gordon states that although these efforts may be promising, they fall far short of what is needed to equalize men's and women's economic and political power genuinely. Gordon further notes that this situation will remain as long as the government, donor agencies, women and women's groups continue to perceive women primarily as mothers and wives rather than leaders, entrepreneurs or individuals like their male counter parts.

The case study "*Gender and Agricultural Production in Samia, Kenya: Strategies and Constraints*" (Olenja 1991) provides further evidence for the need of government's intervention. The study found that women in rural Kenya are exploited in providing cheap labour for agricultural production, which is considered demeaning for men. Men generally migrate to the urban areas to take up better jobs, while in the rural areas women form work groups to alleviate labour problems. Nevertheless, it is noted that these work groups are beneficial only to the relatively rich households which can afford to hire them cheaply to clear large tracts of lands in a reasonably short time. The scholar states that work groups as a strategy for alleviating labour problems and improving agricultural production are not effective in the absence of structural changes and adjustments both in perception of gender roles, and overall economic development.

The findings in the above studies on Kenyan women generally negate the principles of human development in political, social and economic aspects of life, and they therefore

indicate a need for government's intervention to improve the situation. Some studies reviewed below show that Kenyan education is generally authoritarian, and may not adequately address women's persisting problems and the changes required for engendering equitable human development.

2.4.3. Kenyan education and democracy

Studies by Harber (1989), Sifuna (1997, 1997a), Abagi (1997, 1997a) and Osler (1993) generally show that although educational opportunities have expanded, Kenyan education does not adequately promote active and critical participation in decision-making and development of democratic citizens. In the study *Politics in African Education*, Harber (1989) found:

- that Kenya lacks a clearly defined ideology and there are contradictions between government policies and practical life: Kenya in principle upholds African socialism which is mainly grounded on social equality but it encourages capitalism in the economic sector, and competitiveness and meritocracy in education
- that pupils generally hold conflicting ideological views, for example competitiveness in political issues and equality in distributing job opportunities according to sex
- that these discrepancies can be attributed to political socialization
- that Kenyan education propagates stereotypes in gender roles⁶ and certain ethnic groupings through biased textbooks
- that national goals, syllabuses, and exclusion of potentially controversial issues inhibit critical inquiry and augment political conformity

⁶ See also Wamahiu (1990), Obura (1991) and Osler (1993)

- that objectives of the various subjects in primary and secondary education do not give learners opportunities for understanding, describing, appreciating, and demonstrating issues that relate to political knowledge and values.

Based on these findings, Harber recommends that the Kenyan government and educationists need to address seriously the issue of political education through critical consideration and formulation of appropriate policies that enable development of political knowledge and values in young people.

Moreover, Kenyan education is found to have a high degree of authoritarianism which is exemplified by politically appointed leaders⁷, limited participation in decision-making by students and staff, and educational policies which come as presidential pronouncements [see Sifuna (1997, 1997a) in "*Crisis in the Public Universities in Kenya*" and "*The Quality of Primary Education in Kenya: Some Issues*" and Abagi (1997, 1997a) in "*Revitalizing University Education in Africa: Addressing What Is and What Is Not an Issue From Kenya's Perspective*" and "*The Impact of Politicized Educational Reforms on the Quality of Primary Education: Experience from Kenya*"].

Sifuna and Abagi assert that the implementation of presidential policy pronouncements is moreover done without discussion and in an *ad hoc* manner. They also note that Kenyan education is characterized by a general lack of academic freedom, and a centralized curriculum for primary, secondary, and post-secondary technical and vocational education.

Both of these scholars recommend democratization of education but Abagi further states that the persisting gender bias also needs to be addressed. However, neither author has offered any suggestions as to how this can be done.

⁷ See also *World Development Report* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1997: 9)

Osler (1993) in "*Education for Development and Democracy in Kenya: A Case Study*" reports some findings from an empirical study under the Pied Crow Project⁸ which emphasizes a model of development that is participatory and community based. The project therefore encourages active participation by pupils as a way of preparing and educating them for democratic development.

The study involving primary school children (13-14 years old) and focusing on political education, gender and development, and vocational education found:

- that pupils demanded more information on politics particularly materials on democracy, multi-partyism and the next president of Kenya
- that pupils agreed they need more information about political processes and opportunities to learn more about politics in school
- that pupils needed a way of distinguishing between propaganda and real issues in newspapers
- that gender stereotypes and prejudices persist in Kenyan schools and they are deepened by textbooks portraying women occupying low status roles
- that there is an attitudinal problem against agricultural jobs for educated people, and domestic activities are not considered as work

Following the above findings, the Pied Crow Curriculum materials seek to focus on subject matters relating to development and political issues (but in a non-controversial way), to broaden pupils' understanding of work, and to challenge some traditional values and practices that affect women.

⁸ Pied Crow project assists in curriculum development and is supported by international organizations such CARE-Canada, CARE-Britain, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and Overseas Development Agency (ODA) now known as Department For International Development (DFID).

Abagi and Osler show that gender issues in Kenyan education need to be addressed as this is important for engendering human development. Osler (ibid.: 166) indeed states:

The Pied Crow project works within [a] policy framework, seeking to enhance the position of girls and women in society and in the development processes. The project, through its curriculum support materials, promotes the view that girls should be treated equally to boys in the family and that they should have access to all types of employment (ibid.).

If the objectives of such projects are achieved to significant degrees, then girls would be likely to develop positive self-images, the attitude that women are good at domestic work only would gradually change, and girls' ability to analyze matters of concern to them and the public more critically would be enhanced.

In the next section, the researcher endeavours to develop a clearer understanding of Kenyan women's participation in education.

2.4.4. Kenyan women's education

The literature reviewed here on Kenyan women's education shows that quantitative and qualitative educational inequalities affect their participation in political and socio-economic activities negatively. Quantitatively, inequalities in women's educational opportunities increase from each educational level to the next higher one, and qualitatively, girls' education is affected by poorer educational facilities, teachers' negative attitudes, sexual harassment, and limited subject choice among other factors.

Mugenda (1995) in the chapter "*Female Education in Kenya: A Status Review*", Odaga and Heneveld (1995) cited earlier and 1995 Kenyan Government *Statistical Abstract* show that gender parity in primary education enrolment is almost achieved, but at higher levels the proportion of women is considerably lower. Moreover, according to the Kenyan Deputy Director of Education (*Nation Correspondent* 4th April 1998a), Mugenda

(1998), Githinji's (1998) report on a meeting held to discuss 'female education in mathematics and science in Africa' (FEMSA), the Kenyan primary school completion rate is only 34-35% for girls and 70% for boys. This problem of unequal female participation in education is collectively attributed to: societal expectations and norms, parents' education, perceived rewards and benefits, cultural factors, absenteeism, drop out rates, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), increasing cost of education, lack of job incentives, performance in national examinations, teachers' attitudes, and shortage of role models.

A second problem found is low girls' participation and performance in science-oriented subjects, and this is mainly attributed to teachers' attitudes and stereotypes about girls' intellectual abilities. Odaga and Heneveld (1995) cited earlier and Hughes and Mwiria (1989) in the article "*Kenyan Women, Higher Education and the Labour Market*" indicate that choice of academic subjects negatively affects women's ability to compete for jobs in the labour market. Hughes and Mwiria also show that participation and advancement of Kenyan women university graduates in the labour market are hampered by low rates of promotion and therefore few women reach the policy and decision-making levels in either private or public sectors.

The following are outlined as major contributing factors to inequalities in post-graduation experiences:

- Kenya has a male-dominated socio-cultural system where women rarely occupy positions of power and authority, and generally people are socialized to accept the status quo
- working mothers continue to take the greater share of domestic responsibilities and duties

- shortage of role models (also noted above as a problem for low female participation in primary education).

To alleviate this problem, the authors suggest improvement of women's representation in the scientific and technical fields, and promotion of equity in university leadership. To effect these proposals, government's intervention is necessary.

Masiga's (1995)⁹ conference paper on "*Gender Issues in the Teaching Profession*" highlights the shortcomings in the teaching profession in Kenya which include: lack of gender-related policies for addressing specific needs for girls and women, and assumptions in the acts and regulations governing the profession that equal opportunities for all citizens (both women and men) will prevail without deliberate intervention. These shortfalls indicate a need for re-evaluating existing policies, acts and regulations to engender human development for all Kenyans including women.

The above studies on the Kenyan case generally show a need for engendering human development for women in all spheres of life. The current study suggests that this could perhaps be pursued through promoting democracy in Kenya, in which case appropriate education is considered indispensable. However, Kenyan education as currently provided falls far short of the human development requirements outlined earlier. To make substantive progress towards engendering gender-sensitive human development, Kenya government's intervention in re-evaluating existing policies and implementing modified or newly formulated ones to improve the welfare of both women and men is crucial.

⁹ In 1995 Elizabeth Masiga was a Deputy Director of Education in Kenya.

2.5.0. CONCLUSION

The reviewed literature in this chapter provides evidence that women in general and in Kenya in particular experience considerable gender inequalities in education, the labour market and politics among other institutions in society. According to the standardized UNDP ratings in human development, Kenya performs poorly particularly when gender equality is considered. Kenya therefore needs to make great efforts to pursue the UN common goals of enhancing gender equality in human development in all aspects of life.

Following this assertion and in view of gender inequalities shown in the literature reviewed, the general question that arises is as to how the Kenyan government can engender equitable human development for both women and men. The present piece of research aims to explore ways in which a participatory democratic culture could perhaps be promoted in Kenya through education as a means of promoting this kind of development.

Based on the discussions in these first two chapters, the researcher upholds the UNDP's (1993: 21-29) argument for active individual participation and equitable representation in decision-making (whenever necessary) in familial, socio-cultural, economic and political matters. To realize participatory democracy in Kenyan society, there are various factors that need to be considered such as enabling people to understand societal goals and standards comprehensively, and to develop appropriate qualities and attitudes effectively. Consequently, the ideas and facts provided in this chapter leads the researcher to the following more precise research questions¹⁰ in the attempts to develop a strategy for engendering human development for both women and men equitably:

¹⁰ See Chapter 1 also.

- Given that the literature review indicates democracy has various interpretations which have similarities and differences, what are the criteria for the participatory democracy for human development that is envisaged for the Kenyan society?
- Since the literature review shows that Kenya falls far short of equitable human development for both women and men, what factors might have impeded the development of participatory democracy that is orientated towards human development for all Kenyan people in the past?
- How can Kenyan education contribute towards developing participatory democracy to engender equitable human development particularly for women?
- What are the implications for existing Kenyan government policies and statements relating to democracy and education if gender equality and human and overall development are to be enhanced?

Before trying to address these questions, the following chapter attempts to discuss and justify the methodology adopted in the present study and to point out any possible limitations.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

PART I: GENERAL RESEARCH APPROACH

3.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodology adopted in studying how democracy and education can reduce prevailing gender disparities in Kenya and thereby promote human development for all people. Discussion on methodology helps to develop some understanding of the research process and its limitations (see Cohen and Manion 1994: 38-39; Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 86-88). Thus, this chapter endeavours to:

- justify the general research approach in the current study
- examine sources of information and analyses on democracy, education, gender issues, and human development principles in general and particularly in Kenya
- examine the process of reviewing and analyzing existing literature on democracy, education, and gender issues to show how the UNDP human development paradigm is applied
- discuss the limitations of the research process in the current study.

In general, the methodology adopted can be described as qualitative and philosophical in nature. The information and analyses utilized are from past and contemporary documentary materials. These already existing materials may have some limitations as will be seen. These descriptions and limitations are discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

3.1.0. TYPES OF RESEARCH

Research is generally classified into quantitative and qualitative approaches according to:

- how the nature of reality is conceived
- the approach to developing knowledge
- the accuracy and precision in measurements and data analysis (see Verma and Beard 1981: 31-35; Guba and Lincoln 1994: 105-107; and Cohen and Manion 1994: 6-9; Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 5-6).

The above authors characterize quantitative research by a high degree of precision in measurements using reliable instruments, manipulating and controlling variables, analyzing data collected statistically, a high degree of reliability or replicability, generalizability, and prediction of future measurements. Based on these characteristics, research findings are considered meaningful only if they are observable and verifiable, and thus this approach is appropriate for investigations in natural sciences.

The qualitative approach, on the other hand, is applied in the social sciences and humanities for instance. It is more holistic and it is applied to human relations. In this approach, meanings given to issues under investigation by researchers, the researched and other scholars are given prominence. Qualitative research is therefore more suitable for examining human relationships and human behaviour in socio-economic, cultural and political affairs such as the areas of human development, democracy and education in the present study. In fact, UNDP (1993: 19) notes that "...human development objectives cannot be limited to quantifiable targets. Many aspects of human development escape quantification and can be analysed only in qualitative terms. For

example, people's education depends both on years of schooling and on the type of knowledge imparted."

Thus, Verma and Beard (1981: 36) rightly asserts that classifications such as quantitative and qualitative research do not represent discrete categories or clusters, but they are merely endpoints of continuum scales. The present study for example is largely qualitative and it obtains the information required from already existing documentary materials some of which are quantitative in nature. For instance, statistical analyses on proportions of girls and boys enrolled at different levels of Kenyan education, percentages of women and men in the labour force and other quantitative indicators are utilized in trying to show the extent of gender disparities.

The general approach to any research may also be viewed in terms of:

- procedures of data collection as in surveys and experimental studies
- types of questions addressed as in correlational, descriptive and policy research
- the area of academic discipline for example historical, philosophical and educational research
- the purpose of research as in basic, applied and evaluation research (see Verma and Beard 1981: 18-20; Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 89; Cohen and Manion 1994; Wiersma 1986: 17).

Nonetheless, some studies may apply more than one method of data collection, address different types of research questions, be multi-disciplinary, or serve different purposes. For example, according to Cohen and Manion (1994: 45) and Verma and Beard (1981: 53), all pieces of academic research regardless of approach have historical dimensions, because the literature review examines what has been done in the past in the area of interest.

Following the general research approaches above, the present study may be classified as:

- qualitative research because it is concerned with meanings and implications of gender inequalities for socio-economic and political development, for example (see Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 89-90)
- as a case study because it makes special reference to the Kenyan case (ibid.: 153)
- as applied research aimed at finding solutions to prevailing gender inequalities and associated women's problems in Kenya (see Verma and Beard 1981: 18)
- as historical research because it utilizes already existing materials (see Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 94; and Cohen and Manion 1994: 45)
- as documentary research because the information used for analysis is obtained from past and contemporary documents (see Mouly 1978: 171)
- as multi-disciplinary research because it has some political, educational, gender, and philosophical aspects.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the current study is primarily approached from a philosophy of education perspective by analyzing democracy for the purposes of enhancing gender-sensitive human development and examining how education could perhaps be used to promote it.

The following discussion further attempts to classify the current piece of research in a particular paradigm.

3.2.0. RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Research paradigms are considered now in an attempt to define more clearly the perspective from which the current study is approached. Guba and Lincoln (1994: 105) define research paradigm as "... the basic belief system or worldview that guides the

investigator, not only in choice of methods but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.” Thus, paradigms indicate:

- how natural or social realities are conceived
- whether knowledge is objective or subjective
- the methodology followed in developing knowledge or discovering facts.

These ontological, epistemological and methodological factors are used to distinguish between paradigms.

Cohen and Manion (1994) in their introductory chapter discuss two main categories of research paradigms applied in social sciences which they refer to as normative (positivist) and interpretive (anti-positivist) paradigms. In the normative paradigm, human behaviour is considered to be controlled objectively by internal and external stimuli (for example hunger or societal expectations), and it can be studied through experimental tests by methods taken from the natural sciences.

In the interpretive paradigm, on the other hand, meanings of human experience and behaviour in society are given prominence. The current study is more orientated towards the interpretive paradigm because it is concerned with human experiences and ideas about democratic societies, organization of educational institutions and human development among other issues.

Further insights into research paradigms are provided by Guba and Lincoln (1994: 105-117) where they discuss four competing paradigms in qualitative research, namely: positivism, postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism.¹ Applying the criterion of aim of inquiry, positivism and postpositivism are considered to serve the purposes of

¹ Detailed differences and some similarities between the research paradigms are tabulated clearly and discussed using criteria such as inquiry aims, nature of knowledge and methodology applied in Guba and Lincoln 1994: 108-117.

explaining, predicting and controlling; critical theory is for critiques and transformation, restitution and emancipation; and constructivism is about developing understanding and reconstruction.

The present piece of research is more orientated towards Guba and Lincoln's definition of critical theory. According to Guba and Lincoln (*ibid.*), critical theory considers social reality to be shaped by historical factors, and thus the nature of reality is referred to as 'historical realism'. Consequently, the aim of inquiry in this paradigm is to examine critically the existing social, political, economic, cultural and gender structures that constrain people (*ibid.*); and this is closely related to the purpose of the present study (see Chapter 1).

Secondly, epistemology in critical theory concerns the linkage between research findings, and the researcher's and other people's values and ideas on the subject under examination (*ibid.*). The researcher in the current study uses other writers' research findings, views, ideas and opinions to support the proposed democratic framework for enhancing human development, and to analyze discrepancies between reality and Kenyan government policies on democracy, education, gender equality and other human development issues.

Thirdly, methodology in critical theory concerns uncovering forms of historical and subjugated issues that have led to experiences of suffering, conflict and collective struggle. The aim is to develop more informed consciousness about subordination, oppression and exploitation, and how they can be changed or transformed (*ibid.*). This methodology is relevant to the current study because it aims at examining critically how existing public policies in Kenya could perhaps be changed or modified to enhance

participatory democracy through education, and in turn promote progressively human development that reduces gender disparities.

Having identified critical theory as the most relevant research paradigm for the current study, procedural details of how the study is carried out are discussed below.

PART II: INFORMATION REQUIRED: TYPES, SOURCES, COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.3.0. TYPES OF INFORMATION REQUIRED

Different researchers can identify similar problems but investigate them from various perspectives and consequently, different types of data are required. The problem of gender inequalities for example can be studied:

- to compare the extent of the problem in rural and urban areas
- to find out its historical origins
- to examine its effects on the psychological development of young girls
- to investigate its effects on social relations
- to develop long-term holistic systems of resolving the problem.

This means that research on gender could be based in comparative studies, history, psychology, sociology and philosophy among other academic disciplines. Consequently, data required, methods of its collection and analysis may be different (see table below).

Table 3.I. Examples of studies on gender inequalities

Examples of studies with different types of data	Research method	Applicable method of data collection²	Applicable method of data analysis
Comparisons between women and men in different aspects of life	survey-using whole target populations or samples	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • questionnaires • interviews • standardized tests • observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • statistical or descriptive analysis and discussions
Psychological effects of gender inequalities on women	experimental research: pre-test-post-test, true experimental, and quasi-experimental designs ³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observation • testing • questionnaires • interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • statistical analysis and discussions
Gender stereotypes	case studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interviews • observation • standardized attitudinal tests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • descriptive analysis and discussions
Sociological effects of gender inequalities on women	ex-post facto research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interviews • questionnaires • focus group discussions • non-participant observation • participant observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • statistical or descriptive analysis, and discussions
Historical explanations of gender inequalities	historical research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • descriptive and critical analysis and discussions
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • documentary analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • critical analysis
Developing problem solving strategies for gender inequalities	philosophical research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • documentary analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • descriptive, conceptual and critical analysis

Sources of general information on research methodology: Cohen and Manion (1994); Anderson and Arsenault (1998); Wiersma (1986); Mouly (1978); and Verma and Beard (1981).

² See a tabulated summary of these methods of data collection, applicable instruments of data collection, and the factors usually considered in choosing appropriate methods of data collection in table 9.1. in the Appendix. This may show more clearly the nature of information utilized by the researcher in the present study.

³ Also see Verma and Beard (1981: 78-84).

Although findings, discussions and recommendations from surveys, experimental studies, ex post facto research, and historical studies (see examples in the table above) are indeed used to provide relevant information for the present study, these methods themselves may not be suitable as the main procedures for addressing the research questions raised in Chapter 2.

The current study acknowledges the Kenyan government's commitment to engender human development as defined by UNDP (see *Development Plan 1994-1996* -Republic of Kenya 1994: 41) and the various existing studies showing that:

- gender inequalities persist Kenya in general and in education
- Kenya is only partially democratic
- authoritarianism prevails in Kenyan educational institutions (see Chapter 2)

The present study consequently attempts to develop a democratic framework consisting of necessary conditions which logically follow in attempts to pursue high levels of human development by promoting participatory democracy and by reducing gender inequalities. The framework is then applied as criteria for analyzing the historical development of democracy in Kenya and in some selected countries that have influenced the changes in this country. The study then attempts to analyze logically how Kenyan education could perhaps be organized to help overcome the shortcomings in the historical development of democracy. Lastly, the study tries to examine the implications of using education to enhance democracy and human development (particularly for women) for the existing Kenyan government policies.

The researcher therefore considers a philosophical approach more appropriate for researching issues concerning meanings and applications of broad concepts such as democracy, education and human development. As Raphael (1994: 6) puts it,

philosophical studies cover wider scopes than others, and they borrow ideas and findings from different disciplines. Raphael further asserts that such studies attempt among other things to give holistic understanding of concepts and ideas developed and applied in practical life.

The discussion below focuses on the kinds of studies in the table above and other relevant sources of information for the present study. The researcher makes an attempt to provide reasons for adopting a philosophical approach and to identify possible shortcomings.

3.4.0. SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND DISCUSSIONS REQUIRED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The sources of information and discussions utilized in the present study could be grouped into four:

- Sources on the concept of democracy in general
- Sources on the concepts of democracy and education and their interrelationship with human development
- Sources on the concept of democracy as applied to women's issues
- Sources that contain government policy statements on democracy, education, human development and women in Kenya.

The information and discussions in these sources may have been developed through different research methods. Various examples of research methods are discussed below in an attempt: (i) to show the nature of studies from which the researcher obtains the information required; (ii) to indicate the limitations of different research methods and their implications for the present study, and (ii) to show why the researcher adopts a philosophical approach with case study and historical dimensions and not other

methods. Further, government documents and mass media are discussed as other sources of information.

3.4.1. Surveys

The present study utilizes findings from surveys but it does not itself adopt the survey method. The purposes of surveys include:

- describing the present status of given phenomena
- identifying standards for comparing prevailing conditions
- determining the relationships between specific events (Cohen and Manion 1994; Anderson and Arsenault 1998; Wiersma 1986; Mouly 1978; and Verma and Beard 1981).

The above authors further indicate that surveys are suited for studies requiring extensive coverage. They are therefore useful in compiling national statistics for example the numbers and proportions of women and men in national populations, at different levels of education, and at workplaces in different government ministries and in the private sector (see for example the 1995 Kenyan government *Statistical Abstract*). Almond and Verba's (1963) study on civic culture in five countries, and Brock and Cammish's (1997a) study on female participation in education in seven countries cited earlier, provide examples of surveys from which relevant information for the present study can be obtained.

Surveys may also develop information or discover facts using smaller groups of people, for example in studies that attempt to compare the time spent on domestic activities by girls and boys, and how they relate to their performance in given schools. Another example is teachers' attitudes towards girls' and boys' intellectual abilities, and

attention given to girls as compared to boys in classroom observations (see Odaga and Heneveld 1995: 31-32).

From this brief outline, it can be seen that existing surveys may provide the researcher with relevant information on the prevailing situations. However, survey was not considered appropriate as the main method for examining critically the necessary conditions for concepts such as 'democracy for human development' and 'education', the interrelationships between them, and what steps might need to be taken to promote them. In using findings and discussions from existing surveys, the researcher in the present study has to be aware of possible limitations.

Limitations of surveys

Depending on the size of target populations, surveys may provide information and discussions based on sampled representative groups. Surveys may develop information using different sampling procedures: Cohen and Manion (1994: 86-89) have identified ten types and have grouped them as probability sampling (for example the stratified and cluster types) and non-probability sampling (for example the purposive type)⁴. The first shortcoming is that the sampled groups may sometimes not represent the characteristics of target populations exactly.

The second drawback is that information in the existing surveys may have been developed using poorly designed instruments of data collection (such as questionnaires, interview schedules, observation schedules and so on - see table 9.1. in the Appendix). Moreover, some researchers may have been biased in collecting data even though the instruments may be properly designed.

⁴ See Cohen and Manion (1994: 86-89) for detailed discussions on sampling procedures.

The third weakness is that the subjects may not give accurate information particularly where controversial issues are studied, or give incorrect responses in cases where questionnaires are poorly designed.

In an attempt to ensure high degree of validity in the present study, the researcher has therefore tried to consider as many studies addressing similar issues as possible. This is used as a way of counter checking the findings and conclusions in different studies, and any relevant differences are pointed out.

Another relevant source of information for the present study is experimental research discussed below.

3.4.2. Experimental research

Some experimental pieces of research carried out in the past provide the researcher with relevant findings, discussions and conclusions, but the method itself was not considered appropriate for addressing the research questions raised in the present study. The information obtained from experimental research is developed by deliberately controlling and manipulating variables to identify their relationships (Cohen and Manion 1994: Chapter 8, Mouly 1978: Chapter 10; Wiersma 1986: Chapter 5). According to Verma and Beard (1981: 74), variables are defined as characteristics that can be manipulated, controlled and observed by the experimenter. For variables that affect each other, manipulation of one normally referred to as the independent variable has an effect on another known as the dependent variable.

Variables in the existing experimental studies assume a range of values, they include:

- nominal values meaning they do not have numerical implications (for instance, race and gender)

- ordinal values indicating they can be ranked (for instance performance grades A, B, C, and so on)
- interval values implying they can be grouped (for example ages 5-10, and 10-15)
- ratio values showing compositions in populations (for instance girls and boys enrolled at different educational levels) (Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 12).

The information obtained from experimental research can be developed through various designs as shown earlier (see table 3.I. in section 3.3.0). Cohen and Manion (1994: Chapter 8) for example explain that quasi-experimental designs and experimental designs require both sampled experimental and control groups, while pre-test/post-test involves one group that is tested before and after manipulation of the independent variable. The true experimental design may be difficult to apply in studying people because it is not possible to get identical experimental and control groups among populations studied. Thus, pre-test/post-test and quasi-experimental designs are normally used to ensure as much as possible that the effects on dependent variables are not caused by extraneous (uncontrollable) variables.

From this brief description, the researcher did not consider experimental method suitable for the current study because the issues under examination such as criteria for 'democracy for human development' and their implications for already existing Kenyan education system and government policies may not easily be examined through control and manipulation under experimental conditions.

Nevertheless, findings and discussions from existing experimental studies can be used to provide important information for the present study on teachers' attitudes and girls' self-perception, or the effects of separating and mixing girls and boys on girls' participation in school activities among other issues. In such experiments, independent

variables (such as teachers' attitudes) and dependent variables (such as girls' self-perception, and girls' participation) have been defined in measurable terms. This enabled systematic manipulation of the independent variables and measuring the effects on dependent variables.

The researcher in this current study however has to take into account that there may be limitations in such studies which could probably weaken the validity of their findings, discussions and conclusions negatively.

Shortcomings in experimental research

Weaknesses such as inability to control some extraneous variables threaten the validity of research findings obtained. Cohen and Manion (1994: 170-172) outline various factors that threaten internal validity or overshadowing the true effects of independent variables on dependent ones. They include: history, testing, instruments, and selection. Other factors may threaten external validity or generalizability of findings, and they include inexplicitly described independent variables, lack of clear measurable definitions of dependent variables, and lack of representativeness of sample groups.

Due to such weaknesses, the researcher in the present study has tried to use a range of sources of information in attempts to ensure a high degree of validity in developing further ideas in the light of the human development paradigm. The third source of information to be considered is ex post facto research.

3.4.3. Ex post facto research

The present study may obtain useful findings and conclusions drawn from ex post facto research, but the researcher did not consider the method itself suitable for identifying and examining the criteria for democracy for human development and their implications

for Kenyan education and government policies. Ex post facto research develops information through “...systematic and empirical inquiry in which the independent variables have already occurred and are inherently not manipulable by the researcher. Inferences about relationships among variables are made without direct intervention” (Wiersma 1986: 172). As Cohen and Manion (1994: Chapter 7) explain, researchers observe existing conditions (dependent variable) and search in retrospect, possible causal factors (independent variables).

The authors note that this kind of research is suitable in situations where researchers have no control over independent variables for example in relationships between academic achievement and social class, race, sex and intelligence. Hughes and Mwiria (1989) for example provide relevant findings by investigating the Kenyan case where female university graduates form a small proportion in the formal labour force in general and in decision-making positions. Such findings are important in determining which aspects in the existing government policies might need to be adjusted or whether new policies need to be formulated to engender human development for all people. Ex post facto research also has some weaknesses that need to be considered in utilizing its findings and conclusions.

Shortcomings in ex post facto research

The problems with ex post facto research are:

- difficulty in establishing with certainty interrelationships between dependent and independent variables
- difficulty in establishing whether the dependent variable is interrelated with single or multiple independent variables

- lack of control over the independent variables (see Cohen and Manion 1994: 153; Wiersma 1986: 176).

These problems may threaten the truthfulness or validity of ex post facto studies. The researcher in the present study therefore tries to use ideas developed and facts discovered by various similar studies and by studies that have applied different approaches.

Case studies are discussed next as a fourth source of information and analyses. This research method has some relevance to the present study as indicated earlier.

3.4.4. Case studies⁵

According to Cohen and Manion (1994) and Anderson and Arsenault (1998), case studies can be used to develop information by investigating the characteristics of sampled individual units or cases such as children, classes, schools, communities, or women for example. They are in-depth studies that analyze various aspects of units with a view of making generalizations about the wider populations to which they belong. Anderson and Arsenault (1998: 153) state that case studies can adopt different research methods, and therefore they are defined by interests in individual cases (for example Kenya in the present study) and not by methods of inquiry.

Existing case studies on democracy, education and gender issues relating to specific countries such as Kenya, or to specific geographical regions such as rural and urban areas for example, provide necessary information and discussions for the present piece of research. As Anderson and Arsenault (ibid.) put it, case studies are concerned with how things happen and why; and these issues are important in finding ways of

⁵ See detailed discussions in Anderson and Arsenault (1998: Chapter 5), Cohen and Manion (1994: Chapter 5), Mouly (1978: 259-260), and Verma and Beard (1981: 61-62).

counteracting gender inequalities in Kenya. Mugenda (1995) and Gordon (1995) provide relevant case studies by examining respectively, factors that affect female education specifically in Kenya, and a specific court case relating to burial and property ownership rights for Kenyan women.

Limitations of case studies

As in other research methods, case studies may have some shortcomings: for instance different researchers investigating the same case may differ in their interpretations and conclusions (Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 159). Secondly, case studies may not be representative of wider populations, and therefore generalizations of research findings may not be valid (Verma and Beard 1981: 62). However, research findings and conclusions from several similar case studies can be used for making generalizations, and thus provide some information for other studies such as the present one.

The following section discusses historical research as the fifth source of information and discussions, and this approach is also relevant to the methodology of the current study.

3.4.5. Historical research

Findings from previous studies are particularly important for the current study in reviewing existing literature to develop deeper understanding of the historical roots of gender inequalities, the development of democracy in Kenya, and measures that have been taken to address these issues. Historical research is characterized by:

- utilizing information that already exists in documents (as in the present study), oral records, and artefacts among other sources
- analyzing data obtained qualitatively based on personal judgement

- taking broad views of events under investigation rather than specific variables (gender inequalities in historical studies for example may thus be attributed to various factors in the same study)
- attempting to understand and explain past events in order to explain contemporary situations and make predictions about the future (see Cohen and Manion 1994: 45-66; Verma and Beard 1981: 54-57; and Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 94-99).

Limitations of historical research

Just as with the above types of sources of information, historical research also has certain limitations that the researcher in the present study needs to consider. First, although there are generally accepted procedures of data collection, analysis and reporting; there may be differences in interpretations of findings by individual researchers. Thus, relevant differences in conclusions need to be pointed out. Second, it relies on data accessible to researchers which may sometimes be fragmentary. This limitation could result in weak conclusions.

Next, philosophical research is considered as the main method adopted in the present study and as a source of information and analyses.

3.4.6. Philosophical research

Philosophical inquiries serve among other purposes to analyze concepts, policies and practices with the view of justifying or reconstructing them (Power 1982, Mbiti 1981, Raphael 1994). This research method is therefore the most appropriate for the present study for analyzing the concept of 'democracy for human development', its development in Kenya, and finding out its implications for the Kenyan education system and existing government policies.

The method is also relevant in that studies that have analyzed key concepts such as democracy (see for example Held 1987; Macpherson 1966, 1977), education (Peters 1966, Njoroge and Bennaars 1986); democracy and education (Kelly 1995, Harber 1992, 1997, Carr and Hartnett 1996), and educational opportunities (Howe 1994) provide crucial sources of previous analyses relevant to the present study.

Limitations of philosophical research

Such studies may have the following limitations:

- they do not involve systematic observation to create their own data instead they rely on documentary materials normally produced for other purposes
- some conclusions made may be weak if they are supported by findings from a few sources only.

In the attempt to counteract these shortcomings, the researcher in the present study consults diverse sources of information and analyses, and studies that have applied different research approaches.

Next, we consider sources of information and discussions that are not themselves types of research but they may be research based or they may express opinions on issues relevant to the present study.

3.4.7. Government documents

Kenyan government documents are crucial primary sources of information for the current study particularly in dealing with research questions that relate to policies. Anderson and Arsenault (1998: 52) state that "Governments everywhere are constantly producing information, some of it research based while other publications are not.

Some of the most useful types of information are census statistics, policy documents and evaluation research information.”

The researcher utilizes education reports, development plans, party manifestos, the *Constitution of Kenya*, national statistical abstracts and other Kenyan government documents in examining incorporation of a gender perspective in public policies relating to democracy and education. Further, the researcher examines some conference papers and published articles that have discussed Kenyan government policies related to gender issues (see for example Masiga 1995 and Nzomo 1993, 1993a).

The limitations of this source of information are:

- sometimes the data provided are estimates which may not necessarily tally with the real situation
- the data may not be collected accurately (for example the 1989 Kenyan population census)
- some government documents do not discuss the methodology used in obtaining figures provided and this makes it difficult to examine the validity critically.

Finally, mass media reports also form important sources of information in the current study as indicated below.

3.4.8. Mass media reports

In Kenya, as shown in the literature review, some government policies are normally in form of presidential pronouncements which are reported through the mass media. Thus, newspaper reports are important records for such pronouncements, as well as consequent reports about them. Also, some articles may contain relevant general ideas relating to democracy, gender issues and education.

The limitation of mass media reports is bias, and some may mainly be propaganda.

3.4.9. Summary on sources of information

The present study tries to utilize information and analyses from different types of sources because the various issues discussed can be studied from different perspectives in various disciplines, and also because various non-research materials contain relevant views and ideas. The utilization of diverse sources of information, it is hoped, strengthens the validity of the analysis, findings and conclusions in the current piece of research.

3.5.0. PROCESS OF ANALYZING RELEVANT INFORMATION AND DISCUSSIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

The selected materials discussing issues that are relevant to the present study are analyzed critically: in each document the researcher reviews the ideas and views advanced, and the perspective from which they are discussed. The researcher then attempts to utilize the relevant views and ideas to identify and develop a democratic framework that could theoretically contribute towards enhancing human development that encompasses gender equality. The researcher then examines the implications of adopting the necessary conditions in the democratic framework for education and existing public policies in Kenya.

As Mbiti (1981: 13) indicates, the philosophical approach has to do with:

- clarifying conditions that are necessary and sufficient for various concepts
- making explicit ideas, theories and assumptions; examining methods, concepts and ideas to establish their validity

- framing new and better alternatives for solving problems or pursuing societal goals.

The main tool used in analyzing the ideas, standpoints or views in the information collected is logic. Salmon (1963: 14) states that logic provides tools for analyzing available information, and that it is indispensable for clear expression and understanding. The tools include deductive and inductive arguments, both of which the present study utilizes. However, the inductive arguments may have a shortcoming in that they could be weak or strong depending on the number of cases that support them.

The first research question raised (see Chapter 2) requires conceptual analysis to outline the democratic conditions considered necessary and sufficient for enhancing human development. According to Peters (1966: 45), conceptual analysis is necessary for giving a clearer grasp of fundamental issues of controversial concepts by mapping their area and revealing the contours of the criteria built into them. As shown in the literature review, concepts of democracy have similarities and differences, and therefore it is necessary to develop a democratic framework orientated towards engendering human development and reducing gender inequalities.

The present study's proposed multi-dimensional democratic framework (briefly outlined in Chapter 1) is supported by ideas and arguments of authorities on democracy such as David Held, Clive Harber, Carole Pateman, Robert Dahl, C. B. Macpherson among other scholars. Different works on democracy, education and women's problems; ideas on how different societies deal with these issues; and justifications provided for them are first analyzed descriptively before they are critically examined. The process enables the researcher to develop new ideas and create awareness about issues that may have been overlooked. The process of developing the democratic framework for enhancing

human development has involved constant reflection, adjustment in the light of criticism, elaboration and revision.

The tasks that follow concern the application of the democratic framework in:

- evaluating the historical development of democracy in Kenya
- examining how democracy for gender-sensitive human development can be enhanced in and through education
- discussing the implications for Kenyan women's participation in both decision-making and implementation of public policies.

The attempt to carry out these tasks requires critical analysis to show discrepancies between theory and the realities of life. The process enables the researcher to provide some practical suggestions that could perhaps be considered in formulating or adjusting public policies to enhance democracy and to add a gender perspective in human development in Kenyan society.

Peters (*ibid.*: 53-54) clearly indicates that critical thought involves examining the applicability of findings of conceptual analyses to particular contexts. Thus, it involves applying such findings in assessing conditions of particular situations and in attempting to develop pragmatic strategies for improving the prevailing conditions in the contexts under consideration. Secondly, it involves comparing and contrasting the applicability of concepts in different cases, under different circumstances and at different times. This is important in justifying procedural differences in pursuing democracy for human development in, say for example, Kenyan primary schools and public universities.

Critical theory is useful in revealing any inconsistencies and contradictions in interpreting democracy and human development issues such as gender equality, and in

formulating and in implementing resulting public policies in Kenya. As Barry (1989: 259) puts it:

...once we can recognise the legitimacy of saying that, for example, 'decision x was arrived at democratically but its implementation involves the violation of an individual right', then it will be possible to develop a 'critical' theory of democracy. Such a theory includes both an analysis of certain descriptive features of democratic regimes and an appraisal of those features from a more general normative standpoint.

In the current study, the researcher uses the multi-dimensional democratic framework outlined in Chapter 1 and developed in Chapter 4 as a normative standpoint to examine the Kenyan case in attempts to establish pragmatic ways of pursuing human development (particularly for women). Thus, socio-economic, political and educational factors for instance, are considered in showing how women are either empowered or disempowered in making choices and decisions in everyday life in Kenya.

Having discussed the general research approach adopted, types of information used, processes of collecting and analysing information; the next section considers the limitations of the research methodology.

PART III: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

3.7.0. LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted in the current study has some limitations as indicated below.

- Some relevant materials and documents have not been accessible to the researcher because of the languages in which they are published.
- It is difficult to generalize the findings, conclusions and recommendations because the study generally focuses on the Kenyan case. However, the study could perhaps be useful in studying countries with similar backgrounds.

3.7.0. CONCLUSION

Although the methodology discussed above has some limitations, it is hoped that it can help to develop some ideas that could perhaps be useful in promoting human development for both women and men through democracy and education in Kenya. Through conceptual analysis, the next chapter endeavours to develop a democratic framework consisting of essential conditions that may need to be considered in pursuing this goal.

CHAPTER 4

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE FOR WOMEN

4.0.0. INTRODUCTION

Democracy for engendering human development could perhaps be made more comprehensible and applicable in practical life by outlining the necessary and sufficient conditions. Necessary conditions are those requirements without which effective human development cannot be achieved. When the necessary democratic conditions are combined they may form sufficient conditions for progressive human development. In the present study, the conditions combined are considered as a democratic framework for enhancing the essential components of human development which include economic productivity, equitable distribution of opportunities, and empowerment to make choices and decisions (see UNDP 1995: 12).

This chapter attempts to categorize the democratic conditions that the researcher considers necessary for promoting human development into dimensions according to the aspect highlighted. They include prescriptive, methodological, developmental, opportunities, protective and pragmatic dimensions (also see Chapter 1). Democracy for human development is therefore viewed as a multi-dimensional concept, and the conditions form a six-dimensional theoretical framework that guides the discussions in the following chapters.

The dimensions of democracy are examined to give a gender perspective by considering how they apply to the women's case. Generally, the women's case has shortcomings in all dimensions due to the unequal participation in decision-making, inequitably

distributed opportunities and gender discrimination for example (see literature reviewed in Chapter 2).

The following sections attempt, first of all, to provide a justification for the six dimensions, and then each dimension is discussed separately.

4.1.0. A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SIX DIMENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

An analogy of the main nutrients required for healthy bodies is used in attempts to justify the six dimensions of democracy above. Firstly, to maintain healthy bodies people have to continuously take certain recommended amounts of proteins, carbohydrates, vitamins and mineral salts. Each separate nutrient is necessary but not sufficient in itself for maintaining healthy bodies. Good health can be achieved and maintained only when the recommended amounts of the different essential nutrients combined are taken. Similarly, the researcher argues that there are certain democratic conditions that need to be satisfied to acceptable degrees for equitable human development to be promoted effectively.

Secondly, body nutrients are contained in different foods, for example meats have high protein values and minerals such as iron. This necessitates combining various types of food to obtain balanced diets for maintaining healthy bodies. Similarly, effective human development necessitates combining the various dimensions of democracy in socio-economic, cultural and political affairs.

The six dimensions of 'democracy for human development' are mainly developed from the ideas advanced by UNDP (1993, 1995), Held (1987), Pateman (1970), Barber (1984), Macpherson (1977), Dahl (1971), Barry (1989), Harber (1992) and Kelly (1995)

among other theorists on democracy. The conditions for democracy outlined by Held (see Chapter 2) are used as the main point of reference because they are related more succinctly to the human development issues as discussed in UNDP (1993, 1995).

Held's first democratic condition involves creation of the best circumstances for all people to develop their nature and express diverse personal characteristics. Thus, it contains two relevant issues for human development: individual development and opportunities to express diverse personal capacities and potential abilities. The two factors are examined respectively under developmental and opportunities dimensions. The second democratic condition is protection from arbitrary authority and coercive power. The UNDP (1995) expresses this in terms of protection of citizens' rights under the law and elimination of discrimination and violence. It is therefore referred to as the protective dimension. The third democratic condition is about methods of association which are important for human development in enabling people to make choices, and express their views and opinions. It is therefore called the methodological dimension. Lastly, Held's fourth democratic condition deals with the aspect of expanding economic opportunities that is important for enlarging people's choices, and it is therefore considered as part of the opportunities dimension.

To ensure the human development issues are effected as adequately as possible, additional prescriptive and pragmatic dimensions are considered. The former involves individual democratic participation in making prescriptions for society to enable people to understand clearly the goals and standards in different spheres of life, and the implications for them. The latter condition concerns determining the most pragmatic democratic strategies for pursuing human development in particular contexts.

The importance of the different dimensions is recognized more easily if we imagine situations where they are ignored completely. If we refer back to the analogy of the body nutrients, excluding any of them completely from people's diet may result in malnutrition problems. Excluding protein foods results in kwashiorkor and lack of a mineral such as iron leads to anaemia for instance.

Applying the same line of thought to the six dimensions of democracy above, the following problems are likely to arise.

- Removing absolutely the prescriptive dimension would curtail people's participation in making choices and decisions on societal goals and standards for example, and this negates the key aim of human development. Lack of individual participation in decision-making would be likely to make it difficult for people to understand the rights, duties, responsibilities and obligations that emerge from choices made.
- Removing completely the methodological dimension would imply no kind of method or system at all to show how public affairs are conducted, no procedures for elections, no parties or any clearly defined and legitimate methods of expressing people's views, ideas and opinions.
- Ignoring completely the developmental dimension would disregard the aspect of empowering people by developing qualities and attitudes necessary for making well-reasoned choices in life. It would not matter whether or not people are honest, rational, informed, critical or cooperative, and this would be likely to make it difficult to eliminate all forms of discrimination, and guarantee equal rewards for work among other goals encapsulated by human development. Thus, it would be difficult to adhere to the principle of empowering people by improving their capacities.

- Disregarding completely the opportunities dimension would lead to situations where accessibility to information would be difficult and to cases where opportunities for self-expression, education and other social services are not provided.
- Striking off the protective dimension would take us back to Hobbes's time when he describes life as a struggle to be the fittest, and there would no respect for human rights even life itself. Participation in community affairs would be a privilege, not a human right, and it could be repressed by powerful people.
- Absence of the pragmatic dimension would mean any method considered democratic would be applied anywhere regardless of the prevailing circumstances. Consequently, secret ballot could be instituted without question in places where people are not literate or direct participation in matters of public interest could be applied in cases where people do not speak the same language and therefore cannot communicate.

Absolute removal or disregard of any of the dimensions shows that there would be likely to be adverse effects on human development. Thus, considering the six dimensions of democracy could perhaps progressively enlarge individuals' opportunities to participate in decision-making and implementing resulting policies. This, in turn would be likely to enhance overall social, economic and political development in societies.

Although the above six dimensions emphasize different democratic conditions for sustainable human development, they are interrelated and therefore there are no clear-cut borderlines between the dimensions. The prescriptive and pragmatic dimensions for example in a way provide threads that tie all the dimensions together. From the outset values held by people normally provide a driving force to pursue certain ways of life

with regard to opportunities provided and institutional procedures followed in society, for example. Further, the most pragmatic and acceptable policies, opportunities, and human qualities are sought in the efforts to pursue societal goals.

The following section attempts to analyze the prescriptive dimension, the first of the areas to be considered.

4.2.0. THE PRESCRIPTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The prescriptive dimension mainly involves individuals' active participation in setting goals and standards in society and this is consonant with the human development principle that regards all people as agents and beneficiaries of change. The issues addressed include (i) prescribing societal goals and standards based explicitly or implicitly on principles and components of the human development paradigm, (ii) providing justification for pursuing democracy for human development and (iii) examining the implications of the prescriptive dimension for the case of women.

4.2.1. Prescriptions in society based on the principles of human development

The term 'prescribe' is generally used as a technical term in medical services when doctors give instructions on the type of medicine that should be taken to cure particular diseases. The term has also been used in a philosophical sense in prescriptive ethics. This second use of the term concerns setting guidelines, policies and rules for governing societies. It is more complicated than in the medical context because it involves societal and individual values, which may vary from one person or society to the next.

Prescriptions in issues concerning values are more likely to bring about disagreements than in the medical case. Although prescriptions in the medical context could have high degrees of objectivity there may also be subjectivity to a certain extent especially in dealing with diseases that are not common or the ones whose bacteria or virus have developed resistance to some of the medicine available on the market.

In both the medical and democratic contexts, there are certain conditions for ideal situations with regard to healthy bodies and proper societies. If we imagine a perfect democratic world that is divided into exactly equal parts according to the number of people and where everybody is self-sufficient in all ways, then, effective human development for all people might prevail. In such an ideal situation, all women and men would equitably participate in decision-making and implementing resulting plans of action in various spheres of life. Most societies in the contemporary world are far from achieving this goal as shown in Chapter 2.

It is therefore important to set ideals, goals and standards to serve as guiding principles in pursuing effective human development in societies. Socrates explained the importance of setting ideals in Plato's *Republic* when he was challenged to show whether an ideal state could ever exist. He responded by asserting that "...the realm of ideals is the real world, unchanging and eternal, which can be known by thought. The visible and tangible things commonly called real are only a realm of fleeting appearance, where the ideal is imperfectly manifested in various degrees of approximation" (Plato, trans. Cornford 1941:171).

He went further to show the importance of having ideals by stating that "An ideal is an indispensable value for practice, in that, thought thereby gives to action its right aim. So, instead of proving that the ideal state or man can exist here, it is enough to discover

the least change, within the bounds of possibility, that would bring the actual state nearest to the ideal" (ibid.: 172).

If we apply this argument to the subject under discussion in the present study, it means that developing a concept of democracy for enhancing human development is important for providing guidance in the right direction. It is difficult to achieve an ideal situation, but the researcher similarly argues that efforts need to be made to move as near to it as possible.

In various societies, the goals and standards guiding public and private institutions are stipulated in documents such as constitutions, development plans, manifestos of political parties, mottos, rules and regulations, codes of ethics for professionals and so on. The aims and standards can also be unwritten in normal social environments, for example in rural villages in developing countries and are learnt informally through the socialization process.

The process of determining goals and standards in societies requires value judgements, which are sometimes referred to as normative judgements. Frankena (1967: 230) broadly puts it that value judgements involve determining whether something is right, wrong, just, unjust, good, bad, obligatory, desirable, worthwhile, virtuous, and so on.

Values and value judgements may be applied either technically as in economics or philosophically as in ethics, arts, and politics for example. In the technical sense, quantitative or objective standards for determining the value of something are set. However, there are still elements of subjectivity especially in setting the standards in reference to which such judgements of worthwhileness are made. The philosophical sense of value and value judgements is more complex and more difficult to determine or make because they are largely qualitative.

Frankena (1973) attempts to give a deeper understanding of value judgements by dividing them into two groups: moral and nonmoral judgements. Frankena's moral judgements "...concern actions or kinds of actions, persons or groups of persons, motives, intentions, or traits of character..." (ibid.: 9). Examples of moral judgements or prescriptions could include those related to:

- obligations to care for elderly people and preserve women's rights and other actions related to people's well-being
- traits of character such as cooperativeness, honesty, justice, and trustworthiness.

Frankena classifies all value judgements in all other sorts of things as nonmoral, for instance those that concern paintings and cars.

However, this division is not as unproblematic as it may appear to be because there are some value judgements that could be said to belong to both groups. Value judgements on democracy for instance could belong to both, depending on the perspective from which they are made. There is no definite borderline separating things that we may judge in the moral and the nonmoral sense.

Democracy as both a moral and nonmoral value is exemplified in the following quotation concerning the general political history of the Western world:

Democracy used to be a bad word. Everybody who was anybody knew that democracy in its original sense of the rule by the people or government in accordance with the will of the bulk of the people, would be a bad thing - fatal to individual freedom and to all the graces of civilized living. That was the position taken by pretty nearly all men of intelligence from the earliest historical times down to about a hundred years ago. Then, within fifty years, democracy became a good thing. Its full acceptance into the ranks of respectability was apparent by the time of the First World War, a war which the western allied leaders could proclaim was fought to make the world safe for democracy. Since then, in the last fifty years, democracy has remained a good thing - so much so that everybody claims to have it (Macpherson 1966: 1).

Following Frankena's classification, democracy in this case would fall into both groups, that is, as a system or method of government and as a quality that people claim to possess.

Similarly, the various dimensions of democracy prescribed in the present study have elements of:

- moral values such as appropriate human qualities included in developmental dimension
- nonmoral values such as formal methods and procedures of organizing public affairs included in the methodological dimension.

The next section attempts to discuss the justification for pursuing democracy for human development.

4.2.2. Justification for pursuing democracy orientated towards human development

Various things are prescribed as aims in life, such as pleasure, happiness, knowledge, power (Frankena 1973: 87-88), human development (UNDP 1995) and democracy (Republic of Kenya 1965: 3). Such aims and goals can either be considered as ends in themselves (ultimate goals); or as means of achieving other higher ones. Frankena (1973: 81) refers to the two senses in which democracy or any other thing could be prescribed as 'extrinsic' (a means to higher goals) and 'intrinsic' (an end in itself). He further states that it is possible for one thing to be considered as an intrinsic and as an extrinsic value at different times or in different contexts or by different people. Following Frankena's classification, democracy appears to belong to both groups of values as shown below.

Firstly, Tawney (1964), Held (1987), and Macpherson (1977) among other scholars view democracy as a means of attaining pleasure and happiness. Bentham and Mill also understood democracy in the instrumental sense, basing it on the theory of Utilitarianism (see Chapter 2). Reiterating this notion, Stuart (Mill's son) explicitly prescribes democracy as a means of developing human capacities. He views it as a way of providing opportunities for developing intellect, virtue, practical activity and efficiency (Macpherson 1977: 47-48). This notion, in part, reflects the concept of democracy for human development upheld in the present study (see Chapter 1).

Further, democracy may also be viewed as a means of improving economic development, happiness and pleasure: for instance when people are able to participate equally and freely in deliberating on matters that concern them and in making relevant decisions and choices, the process generally gives them a sense of pleasure and commitment in implementing any resulting policies. The *World Development Report 1997* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1997: 114-119) for example indicates that a recent study on 121 diverse water supply projects in forty-nine countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America found a strong correlation between high levels of beneficiary participation (especially in decision-making) and project success. The report also provides some specific case studies that support this finding for example:

- a Kenyan project which initially failed but later succeeded following active involvement of stakeholders and community members
- a study in Tanzania on active participation in village social organizations which showed close correlation with relatively higher per capita incomes and higher quality schools.¹

¹ See also *World Development Report 1991* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1991: 85) for other similar examples from Malawi (water supply project), Kenya (agricultural project) and

These examples suggest that democratic participation that engenders human development may be prescribed as a means of attaining overall socio-economic, cultural and political development.

Secondly, a democratic situation characterized by equal opportunities for participation, protection under the law, equal rights, equitable access to basic social services among other conditions encapsulated in human development might be considered to be the ultimate goal pursued in given societies. Rousseau (1712-1778) is one of the philosophers who explicitly considered democracy as the ultimate goal (an end in itself) that ought to be pursued. His argument is expressed thus:

...the idea of self-rule is posited as an end in itself; a political order offering opportunities for participation in the arrangement of public affairs and should not just be a state, but rather the formation of a type of society: a society in which the affairs of the state are integrated into the affairs of ordinary citizens (Held 1987:75).

This view is closely related to the goal of enlarging people's opportunities for making choices in life, and this implies that democracy as an ultimate goal could encompass human development.

Thirdly, UNDP (1993: 21) from the human development perspective considers people's democratic participation as:

... both a means and an end [in itself]. Human development stresses the need to invest in human capabilities and then ensure that those capabilities are used for the benefit of all. Greater participation ... helps to maximize the use of human capabilities and is thus a means of increasing levels of social and economic development. But human development is also concerned with personal fulfilment. So, active participation, which allows people to realize their full potential and make their best contribution to society, is also an end in itself.

Having considered the justification for pursuing the prescriptive dimension, the section below discusses its relevance to the women's case.

the Philippines (irrigation project) which further support the idea that beneficiaries' active participation in planning and establishing projects enhances efficiency and productivity.

4.2.3. Women and the prescriptive dimension of democracy

The gradual institutionalization of democracy has resulted in extending the vote to all people including women. Although this is an important step for human development as indicated above, active individual democratic participation in public affairs is still limited for women in countries such as Kenya.

Referring to the Western world, Lewis (1992) and Pateman (1989) for example have indicated that the problem of inequitable participation persists, that it is complicated and that it requires more than just extending the vote. The bone of contention is that the root problem is still not yet resolved. Lewis (*ibid.*: 37) in this connection comments: "Even when feminism has proved successful in ... putting the issue of equality between sexes on the political agenda, as proved the case during the 1970s, equality may be offered on terms that do not address the problems of systemic equality."

In view of human development, extending the vote to women is an important step towards enlarging opportunities for making choices in life. However, factors such as social roles, institutional structures and people's attitudes can hinder effective utilization of such opportunities. In the Kenyan society for example, women are generally expected to be submissive and passive in decision-making activities (see Chapter 2). It is therefore not unusual to find women who cast their votes for candidates chosen by their male relatives.

The situation of women especially in some developing countries calls for institutional and attitudinal changes but these can be achieved only gradually. O'Barr and Firmin-Sellers (1995: 210) express the situation in most African countries as follows:

Women are excluded from policy-making at every stage- local level, national, and international. At the local level, male elders control and disburse development funds received from the government...At the national and

international levels, male bureaucrats gain political capital from managing successful programs. Consequently, African women are rarely in a position to voice their needs and concerns. They are not present to pressure either the international or national donors to place women's issues at the centre of development planning; they are not present to demand changes in land law; they are not present to give input into the design of effective development programs.

This state of affairs contradicts the UNDP's human development objective of enhancing gender equality in decision-making opportunities in politics, industry and families.

Various forums have been organized to prescribe strategies for improving the situation of women as indicated earlier, but effecting the decisions seems to take time. Stromquist's (1997) study shows that most governments failed to implement most of the recommendations in the *Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies* that was published after the 1985 world women's conference. Consequently, more than two thirds of the recommendations were restated in the report of the *Fourth World Conference on Women* that was produced after the 1995 Beijing conference.

These findings show that problems of gender disparities which negate the human development principles, still persist. There is therefore a need for governments' intervention to create democratic conditions that are conducive to this kind of development. Formal education that is organized in a democratic way for instance, could perhaps contribute towards enlarging women's opportunities for decision-making.

4.2.4. Conclusion

Based on the above discussion we can conclude that the prescriptive dimension is necessary for promoting human and overall development progressively. If people are actively involved in prescribing goals and standards for their societies, then they are more likely to be committed to them and understand clearly the implications for them.

However, to ensure equitable participation for all people, formal institutional procedures or methods of organizing societal affairs are necessary, as discussed in the next dimension.

4.3.0. THE METHODOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Societies aiming at engendering human development need systematic methods or procedures that allow free individual participation in decision-making in public and private affairs. This dimension attempts to examine democratic methods to identify those that could perhaps maximize individuals' opportunities for making choices and decisions in life.

Democratic systems are distinguished from aristocratic, oligarchic, or monarchical ones by the great emphasis laid on citizens' participation in governing their societies either directly or indirectly (Schmitter and Karl 1993: 40). Democratic methods have generally been equated with regular elections which are fairly conducted and where votes counted honestly (*ibid.*: 42). Elected leaders could, to a certain extent, ensure that people's views, interests and feelings are considered in decision-making, however this concept of democratic methods curtails active personal involvement for the majority of people.

On the other hand, direct citizens' participation in decision-making at all times would be likely to jeopardize other activities in society, because the participants would also be expected to work in schools, banks, industries, homes and so on. This means there has to be a balance between all the various activities that people in ordinary societies are expected to carry out. As Pateman (1970) and Macpherson (1977) argue, direct and representative democratic methods could be combined in dealing with public matters (see Chapter 2).

In the effort to determine the types of democratic methods that could perhaps maximize human development, the following issues are examined:

- non-party and party democratic methods
- balance of political power and responsibilities
- conditions for enfranchisement
- application of the methodological dimension to the women's case.

4.3.1. Democratic methods: non-party and party systems

Democratic methods are discussed under three main headings: non-party, single party and multi-party systems. A general descriptive definition of political parties is bodies with aggregated interests normally considered necessary for liberal or representative democracy, and which put forward lists of candidates at election times (Ware 1986: 126). From this definition, the method of governing societies involving parties is usually referred to as party democracy (ibid.: 111-112).

Non-party systems

Societies such as the ancient Athenian one adopted a non-party democratic system whereby adult males were expected to represent their wives, servants and children aged below eighteen years (Hansen 1985: 9) or below twenty years (Held 1987: 23). Every household, therefore, could be considered to have had aggregated interests and views but they were not considered political parties.

Aristotle outlined the following features as being characteristic of ancient Greek democracy:

- (a) Election to office by all from among all. (b) Rule of all over each and of each by turns over all. (c) Offices filled by lot, either all or at any rate those not calling for experience or skill. (d) No tenure of office dependent on the possession of a property qualification, or only on the lowest possible. (e) The same man not to hold the same office twice, or only rarely, or a few apart from those connected with warfare. (f) Short terms for all offices or for as many as possible. (g) All to sit in juries, chosen from all and adjudicating on all or most matters, i.e. the most important and supreme, such as those affecting the

constitution, scrutinies, and contracts between individuals. (h) The assembly as the sovereign authority in everything, or at least the most important matters, officials having no sovereign power over any, or over as few as possible...(i) payment for services, in the law-courts, and in the offices, is regular for all...(j) as birth, wealth, and education are the defining marks of oligarchy, so their opposites, low birth, low incomes, and mechanical occupations, are regarded as typical of democracy. (k) No official has perpetual tenure, and if any office remains in being after an early change, it is shorn of its power and its holders selected by the lot from among picked candidates (Held 1987: 19-20).

These procedural requirements are in keeping with maximizing individuals' participation in decision-making in ancient Greece. Scholars such as Bangboye (1978) consider this democratic method as the ideal. Nevertheless, the practice has shortcomings because *'all'* did not literally mean everybody but only adult males.

Further, writers such as Heater (1971: 117) and Allen (1943: 4) argue that a direct democratic method was feasible only because Athens was a small city-state and its economy was supported by free labour from slaves. From the point of view of human development, slavery and excluding certain groups of people from decision-making contradict the equity and empowerment principles. Viewed from this perspective, Athenian democracy may not be considered an ideal method.

Another system that could be classified as 'non-party' is the Ugandan system of government that was adopted in 1986. Affiliation to particular political parties in this system is not a requirement for candidates contesting parliamentary and civic seats. Initially, there were political parties but no competition amongst them during elections; candidates therefore were registered as individuals and not through affiliation to parties. Joseph (1993: 313) considers the system as 'quasi-democratic' because "Musevini (sic) has not yet permitted competitive multiparty elections though he has introduced many ancillary features of a democratic system such as freedom of press, respect for human rights, and an ombudsman."

The system is referred to as the Resistance Council system and Karlstrom (1996: 496) describes it as follows:

The Resistance Council (RC) system was composed at the local level (RC1) of the entire adult population of a given village, which elected nine-member executive committee to run local affairs. Village executives combined as parish (RC2) council executives, and so on up to (RC5) level and the National Resistance Council (NRC; parliament). Candidacies were based on individual merit and repute not ... on affiliation with the suspended political parties. Voting was public, by queuing behind the candidate of one's choice. Positions on each executive were reserved for historically marginalised groups: women and youth.

As Karlstrom (ibid.: 494-500) explains, the non-party philosophy was instituted to prevent divisions amongst people especially between ethnic groupings. However, in reality ethnic socio-political groupings exist from which representatives are chosen. The affirmative action for women and the young people in the system is an important action that could promote equity and empowerment as required in human development.

Single party systems

The single party systems allow only one political party and all citizens are members either automatically or by registration. People can participate as voters or representatives, if they are members and if they satisfy any other set conditions. Single party systems curtail maximum expression of diverse views, opinions and interests by all citizens in civic and national affairs.

This is a problem that faced most African people when their governments changed from multi-party to single party systems. The justification was that unity and cooperation are prerequisites for national development, and thus competition had to be avoided as much as possible (see the Kenyan government *Development Plan 1966-1970*). However, cooperation could have been sought through coalition governments; and this option could have been orientated better towards human development by allowing diverse

views and interests to be expressed for consideration in decision-making in public affairs. Nevertheless, even coalition governments may sometimes simply represent political expediency.

Multi-party systems

The multi-party systems allow aggregation of interests, views, and ways of pursuing common societal goals (Pateman 1970: 8), and they can adopt either parliamentary and coalition governments. In the former, the party with the highest number of elected members of parliament forms the government; while in the latter, the government is formed by members of parliament from different parties.

Multi-party systems are better suited than single party ones to engendering human development because they allow expression of varied views and interests, but they may have some shortcomings. Winning and losing are part and parcel of elections, and therefore there is no guarantee that the candidate with whom one shares certain ideas and interests wins.

There are many people who keep voting for candidates who do not win, and thus they are represented by people whose views and interests do not concur with their own. For the last seven years since Kenya adopted a multi-party system, it has been governed by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party. However, there are people who have been voting for other political parties such as Democratic Party (DP) and Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD-Kenya). Similarly, for almost 18 years (1979-1997), Britain was governed by the Conservative Party and during this period there are people who voted for other parties such as Labour and Liberal Democratic parties. Consequently, people who vote for parties that lose in elections are governed by principles that do not tally with what they may consider best.

A second shortcoming in multi-party systems is faced when ruling parties obtain lower numbers of votes than those of the other parties combined. If there are three political parties in a given country: A, B and C and they get 40%, 28% and 32% of the votes respectively, it means A may form the ruling party and this implies that the ruling party will be representing less than half of the voters. This may not augur well for human development because the views and interests of the majority of citizens may not be adequately considered in formulating policies. This, to some extent, negates the human development principle that requires people to be regarded as agents of change in their societies. Following the above shortcomings, there may be a need to incorporate some form of direct citizens' participation in local affairs as a way of enhancing empowerment for all people.

In some multi-party states, sex, race, ethnicity and age-groups also require consideration in designing appropriate democratic methods. Presently, in most African states, inequalities among races, ethnic and religious groups have been some of the major causes of political and socio-economic instability. Consequently, these factors cannot just be ignored in developing suitable democratic methods for enlarging people's opportunities for making decisions and choices in life effectively. Abdul-Razaq (1988: 587), Ndi (1997) and Glickman (1995) for example, propose fair representation of all ethnic groups in African governments.

The problem with this suggestion would be demand for representation of smaller groups, such as clans and families into which ethnic groups are divided. It would therefore, be necessary to define clearly the concept of ethnic grouping. If the citizens were involved in choosing the definition to be adopted, then they would be likely to understand clearly the justifications provided and the implications for people.

Further, to eliminate progressively different forms of discrimination and violence among people, democratic systems that offer more lasting solutions are necessary. This can be sought through democratic education systems which would be likely to develop people who are more accommodating and tolerant to those who are different from them in one way or the other. Systems that promote interaction between different groupings in public institutions such as schools and churches would be likely to contribute towards eliminating prejudices and stereotypes about different groups of people. This would in turn create societies with people who are more caring, tolerant, and respectful to other human beings regardless of race, religion or ethnic identity. A case in point is the Tanzanian society where the goals of familiness, equality and respect for human dignity are achieved to a high degree (see Mdumulla 1989: 16-24).

Representation according to age groups is also an important factor that requires consideration, Mwita (1998) notes that people below the age of 39 years form only a small proportion of the Kenyan parliament. It might therefore be necessary to structure socio-political systems that allow more young people to participate actively in decision-making activities in public affairs.

In most African societies for instance, age is generally associated with wisdom, accumulated knowledge and experience. It is true there is a lot that the younger generations can learn from the experiences of older ones but the reverse is also possible. So, all age groups ought to be represented in state affairs. To this effect, Ndii (1997) suggests that:

We might...want to explore the possibility of incorporating some aspects of our traditional political institution in the structure of government. We might, for instance, want to consider a three chamber parliament that is, a junior chamber (say age 18-35), a middle chamber (for 35-60/65) from which a prime minister led government would be drawn, and an upper chamber (for elders over 60/65), and perhaps have some members of the upper chamber elected for life.

This suggestion basically emphasizes incorporation of different age groups in governments, which is in keeping with the principles of equity and empowerment. Nevertheless, it has some weaknesses: (i) electing people for life in the upper chamber may result in intolerance to the views and interests of other people, (ii) the restriction of presidency according to age curtail young people's opportunities to participate in top decision-making levels. These two factors do not augur well for human development in terms of equalizing people's rights in different spheres of life.

Democratic governments could also be categorized according to distribution of power and responsibilities as examined below in attempts to show further the interrelationships between democratic methods and human development.

4.3.2. Democracy for human development: methods of sharing power and responsibilities

In democratic systems, power may be distributed directly to the citizens (see ancient Athenian democracy cited earlier) or among political parties or groups of members of parliament in presidential and parliamentary systems. In the latter systems, elected leaders are normally classified into two main political institutions, namely: legislature (parliament or congress) and executive (cabinet). To ensure the smooth running of these two institutions there is normally an independent judiciary in some countries that ensures that the constitutional laws are observed in the implementation of national policies formulated. Also, in some countries trade unions and interest groups may have power, responsibilities, duties and rights to veto any decisions or activities of their governments although they are not necessarily be elected by the general public.

Linz (1993: 109) differentiates the distribution of power in presidential and parliamentary governments as follows:

In presidential systems an executive with considerable constitutional powers - generally including full control of the composition of the cabinet and administration - is directly elected by the people for a fixed term and is independent of parliamentary votes of confidence. He is not only the holder of executive power but also the symbolic head of state and can be removed through elections or by the drastic step of impeachment.

With regard to parliamentary systems, he states that "...the only democratically legitimate institution is parliament ... the government's authority is completely dependent upon parliamentary confidence. Such parliamentary governments are headed by a prime minister."

The main weakness of the presidential governments is that presidents may have too much power. Indeed, in some countries presidents are considered to be above the law either in principle or in reality. Consequently, systems that are considered democratic in theory may prove to be dictatorships in practical life. If too much power is accorded to the top posts, it becomes very difficult for other elected leaders to represent the views and interests of their constituents particularly in controversial issues.

Further, it is possible for politically and economically powerful leaders to stay in office through intimidating the citizens, representatives and people with dissenting views. Thus, they continue occupying public posts not necessarily because of their performance, but through creating fear in people. Appropriate examples of such powerful presidents are the former Zairean President Mobutu Seseko (Schatzberg 1995: 1403-1405), President Mugabe in Zimbabwe (Herbst 1995: 1408-1410), and President Moi in Kenya (Widner 1995: 700-703).

In between parliamentary and presidential governments, there is a wide range of democratic procedures for sharing political power and responsibilities. Some parliamentary systems may have presidents who are elected by direct popular vote but

have less power than prime ministers. There is therefore a continuum of methods in which power and responsibilities could be shared in societies.

To design appropriate systems, it is necessary to examine prevailing conditions in particular contexts such as level of economic development, importance given to ethnic identity, race and religion, means of communication, general level of education and so on. Then, based on the principles of human development, efforts ought to be made to develop systems that equitably enable individuals to make decisions and choices in matters that affect their lives. The systems need to be evaluated constantly and adjusted appropriately to improve the socio-economic conditions progressively, distribute power and responsibilities equitably, and socialize people in ways that enhance active citizens' participation in societal affairs.

Having discussed the different categories of democratic methods, some attention is given to the conditions of enfranchisement below.

Conditions of enfranchisement

The purpose of this section is to point out some factors that could hinder people's empowerment in participating in societal affairs. Participation in democratic systems normally requires people to satisfy certain conditions set in different societies. Historically, the qualifications have been based on age, economic status, level of education, and sex (Schmitter and Karl 1993: 41). Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) for instance, seems to have accepted different combinations of conditions at different times as demonstrated in his works. Macpherson (1977:35) writes that:

...[Bentham] was for a limited franchise, excluding the poor, the uneducated, the dependent and women. In 1809 he advocated a householder franchise, one limited to those paying direct taxes on property. By 1819 he was talking about a virtually universal franchise, excluding only those under age and those unable to read and possibly women....

Currently, in most societies, the qualifications have formally been reduced to the age and citizenship criteria only. However, the democratic system adopted in Kenya continues to exclude informally the poor and those who lack adequate understanding of civic responsibilities from contributing their ideas and opinions on state affairs.

The formal system adopted in Kenyan parliamentary and civic elections curtails citizens' participation due to:

- inability to safeguard against sale of votes, and thus some unscrupulous politicians buy voting cards at exorbitant prices from supporters of opponents (the poor unemployed people are easy targets)
- inability to guarantee that people obtain and renew national identity cards without which they cannot vote
- rigging in elections
- lack of control over the amount of funds that are used in campaigns, and thus candidates of low economic status are disadvantaged
- inability to guarantee security of voters due to hostilities amongst supporters of different candidates
- victimization of citizens who do not vote for leaders who win elections (see Widner 1995; Onyangobbo 1997; *Nation* Team 20th December 1997; *Nation* Reporters 10th December 1997b)

This shows that although economic status and adequate understanding about the importance of the vote are not included formally as criteria for extending the vote, in reality they have an effect on people's ability to contribute their views and ideas in matters of common interest.

The section below briefly examines the notion of citizenship which has some interrelationship with conditions of enfranchisement and it also seems to have some relevance to human development.

Citizenship

Heater's (1990: 182-281) detailed analysis shows that individuals could be viewed as political citizens of their states, as political citizens of the world and as social citizens. In each concept of citizenship there are associated rights, responsibilities, duties or obligations. Political citizenship could be conceived in terms of identity or belongingness to a state or world; emphasis therefore is laid on legal rights, political responsibility and freedom to take part in public affairs.

With regard to political citizenship in the world, the United Nations has been one of the major organizations through which this goal has been pursued. The same goals have been attempted at continental levels through the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union, for instance. These notions of political citizenship are important for human development because they make it possible for people to participate in decision-making in their own countries and internationally.

Social citizenship is defined as:

...the belief that, since all citizens are assumed to be fundamentally equal in status and dignity, none should be so depressed in economic or social conditions as to mock this assumption. Therefore, in return for the loyalty and virtuous civic conduct displayed by the citizen, the state has an obligation to smooth out any gross inequalities by the guarantee of a basic standard of living in terms of income, shelter, food, health and education (ibid.: 267).

This definition is also relevant to human development because it involves equalizing access to basic social services to all people in given states without which people may not be able to participate actively in societal affairs. The above discussion on citizenship

implies that societies aiming at realizing the principles of human development need both to extend the vote to people and to create socio-economic conditions that are conducive to utilizing the vote.

The next section attempts to examine the implications of the methodological dimension for the women's case.

4.3.3. Women and the methodological dimension of democracy for human development

In the contemporary world, women in most societies formally possess the vote when they attain the set ages just as men do. But, there are underlying issues that informally prevent some women from equal participation and they include religion, economic dependence, cultural traditions, division of labour in families, and low literacy levels. These factors adversely affect Kenyan women as shown in Chapter 2, and thus they occupy just small proportions of major policy-making positions in different spheres of life.

In other countries such as Britain, Lewis (1992: 37) claims that women, "...gained the right to vote on the same terms as men before the Second World War (in 1928) [but] they arguably have remained second-class citizens in terms of their political participation and their social entitlements. This has much to do with the distribution of work and authority within families."

The democratic methods adopted in different societies do not necessarily take the women's situation into consideration in terms of distribution of social roles, attitudes towards their capabilities, and the socialization processes that lead some women to perceive themselves negatively. As a consequence, the vote is extended to women but it

may not be utilized to the maximum. This has led to women's continuing general lack of experience and confidence in decision-making in public affairs.

In Pakistan for example, the women's informal disempowerment in 'tribal lands' is even more complicated; Goldenberg's (1997: 2) report provides an extraordinary incident that indicates a high level of discrimination against women. It explains how the traditional Mullahs and Maliks (political power holders) prevented women from voting in the 1997 elections. One local Mullah who apprehends democracy because it threatens his own power, had a private army of 300 people which dispensed instant "justice" (not specified) on people with dissenting views. During the last elections he declared a *fatwa* endorsing a decision by tribal elders to burn down the homes of women who voted. This was intended to create fear in women and thereby stop them from voting. According to the article, the situation was compounded by the fact Pakistani law does not apply to the 'tribal lands' and most of the women are illiterate.

To engender human development, governments need to develop democratic systems that effectively promote equity and empowerment for women. This could perhaps be done by formulating and implementing policies for:

- providing security to enable women to participate in local and national affairs
- educating people to understand the importance of including both women and men in making decisions and public policies
- providing opportunities for acquiring relevant knowledge, skills and experiences in clarifying and justifying standpoints taken in matters of public concern
- allowing two members of parliament, a man and a woman, in every constituency
- addressing women's social and familial problems such as child-care to enable them to participate actively in public affairs.

If such suggestions were considered, then more appropriate democratic systems for promoting human development equitably could probably be designed.

4.3.4. Conclusion

The above discussion shows that institutionalization of systematic democratic methods of conducting public affairs is a prerequisite for effective human development. Democracy from the methodological point of view is broad and complex. There are a vast number of alternative democratic methods of governing societies, and it is difficult to give specific prescriptions for any given society. Consequently, careful critical examination of the prevailing conditions in particular contexts, in relation to equity and empowerment principles in human development is necessary in determining the most appropriate methods. Further, the methods adopted need to be evaluated constantly to adjust them according to relevant societal developments.

For effective democratic participation in practical life, there is a need to develop in people appropriate qualities and attitudes. This condition forms the subject of discussion in the next dimension.

4.4.0. DEVELOPMENTAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Certain behaviours, qualities and attitudes are indispensable in attempting to make substantive progress in realizing human development. To enhance equity, productivity, and empowerment we need to promote qualities such as fairness, honesty, transparency, rationality, courage, ability to make meaningful choices, awareness, high self esteem, cooperativeness, tolerance, and respect for human dignity. These qualities are, we would contend, likely to be developed in democratic societies where active individual participation is upheld.

Hume's examination of human nature provides some insights into natural and socially acquired qualities which are relevant to the present study. According to Hume's work edited by Selby-Bigge (1902), human qualities can be classified into two groups, namely: natural and moral (also referred to as artificial). In his chapter 'Of Liberty and Necessity' (ibid.: 80-103) he asserts that all people have fundamental qualities, which he refers to as 'regular springs' that are natural, universal and constant.

Thus, Hume states that:

It is universally acknowledged that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages, and that human nature remains still the same, in its principles and operations. The same motives always produce the same actions. The same events follow from the same causes. Ambition, avarice, self-love, vanity, friendship, generosity, public spirit: these passions, mixed in various degrees, and distributed through society, have been, from the beginning of the world, and still are, the source of all actions and enterprises, which have ever been observed among mankind (ibid.: 83).

Further, Hume asserts that people have a degree of liberty which he defines as "...power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of the will...." (ibid.: 95). To illustrate this, he notes that a person can choose to remain at rest or move if one is not

ted in chains. For the purposes of the present study, free-will among other natural qualities is considered necessary for human development as explained later.

Besides the natural qualities, Hume (*ibid.*: 169-175) indicates that there are moral or artificial virtues that are developed to enable human beings live in societies. Hume's discussion of moral principles involves examining artificial virtues that people normally acquire. They arise from individual or collective rational reflection due to inconveniences that inevitably follow from the selfishness in human beings, and scanty provision of the resources required to satisfy their needs. Two examples of artificial virtues examined by Hume are benevolence and justice. Hume (*ibid.* 183-204) views justice as the main artificial virtue on which all other virtues and conventions are based, and the researcher also considers it the base on which the principles of human development are grounded.

Moreover, Hume (*ibid.*: 86, 170) asserts that education and custom could play a major role in moulding the human mind from its infancy to form a fixed and established character. This idea is important for the present study in attempting to find ways of developing societies with democratic citizens, which would be likely to be favourable for pursuing the goals encompassed in human development.

The following section tries to show the relevance of the various qualities and virtues to human development. Just as in Hume's work, the qualities are categorized into natural and acquired groups, for the sake of clarity. The researcher views the various qualities and virtues to be complementary in developing democratic societies necessary for promoting human development. The interrelationships between them that make it more possible to pursue human development are therefore pointed out.

4.4.1. Natural qualities necessary for human development

(a) Rationality

Rationality is a natural attribute which enables people to understand facts, situations, values, rights, responsibilities, and emotions in life through logical reasoning. It is necessary for deliberating upon issues before making any decisions and choices in private and public life. Making effective decisions and choices require comprehension and awareness of the complex interrelationships between socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of life. Hence, high levels of rationality need to be developed in societies aiming at engaging people in meaningful decision and policy making.

The level of rationality may differ in different individuals but it generally increases at different rates with age and experiences. Nevertheless, when people reach the age of eighteen years, they are considered to have the ability to make rational choices and decisions in public matters. This general assumption may hinder some under-aged people with high levels of rationality from participating in local and national affairs, and this may be considered contradictory to the empowerment of young people.

The aim of improving people's rationality is generally sought through education and exposure to different experiences and situations in homes, schools, and the community at large. Improvement of people's ability to think more logically would be likely to make them more competent in decision-making.

Nonetheless, there may be the concern that, although people are endowed with rationality, sometimes the real life circumstances may not favour its proper development and application. In some societies, people's lives are governed by emotional beliefs, faiths, superstitions and prejudices instilled in them through the socialization process

and these form the premises and assumptions on which decisions concerning public and private affairs are grounded. Thus, it is possible to reason in what seems to them a logical way but end up with biased decisions. Thus, the validity of logical arguments could be hampered by stereotypes and prejudices about different sexes, ethnic and religious groupings, for example.

Another concern is that people can use logical reasoning for purposes that contradict the principles of equity and empowerment. Take rigging elections as an example: to do it successfully without causing suspicion, careful and logical planning is required. Through rigging, constituents may end up with leaders who may lack competence and experience in handling public affairs. These factors would most likely adversely affect societal growth; politically, socially and economically. Rigging also puts some contestants for public posts in disadvantaged positions, thereby disregarding the equity principle in competing for leadership posts. This indicates that rationality on its own is not adequate for realizing human development, but it has to be guided by moral qualities such as honesty, transparency and critical thinking.

(b) Free-will

Free-will is crucial for making choices and decisions in life; people need to be free psychologically, and thus intimidation in the family, politics and industry needs to be avoided as much as possible. Njoroge (1995: 71) notes that the quality of free-will is used as one of the conditions on which equality of human beings is based. However, even though all human beings are assumed to have free-will, the seriousness of any deliberation in matters of common concern may be determined by factors such as age, conditions under which it is done, and state of health.

In the political context for instance, children may deliberate and make some suggestions regarding community and national affairs (say choosing leaders), but their choices are not recognized constitutionally. Governments and societies generally assume: "Most genuine forms of political participation may not be possible until young adulthood...." (Conover & Searing 1994: 33). Thus, votes are not extended to children below certain ages because societies do not consider them to be fully in control of their free-will to make decisions in public affairs.

However, some people who are considered under-aged for effective exercise of free-will, may be more rational and have more information about given issues under discussion than some older people who are eligible to make decisions about socio-economic and political affairs. In such cases, the younger people would be more likely to exercise their free-will more effectively. Consequently, they could probably make more appropriate decisions on the issues than the older people. A relevant example is where young people who have obtained formal education may have some technical knowledge in certain fields while older ones do not.

For such reasons, any society aiming at making progress towards human development need to increasingly provide more people with opportunities to contribute their ideas and views in decision making in matters that affect them. From the above points we can infer that the exercise of free-will is not enough for pursuing democracy for human development, awareness is also a necessary factor as discussed below.

Effective exercise of freedom of choice could be limited by the socialization processes undergone. Freud in Strachey's edition (1959: 194-199) indicates that societal expectations and norms instilled in people's minds for instance, generally influence the kind of decisions and actions people take. Thus, societies aiming at engendering human

development need to socialize people in ways that enable them to make their own choices and decisions freely. Societies that uphold democratic participation could perhaps socialize people in ways that emphasize individuals' meaningful exercise of free-will, thus recognizing them as agents and beneficiaries of changes in their societies. They would thus be more likely to develop the competence and self-confidence necessary for appropriate decision-making, thereby enhancing chances for the improved productivity and people's empowerment required in human development.

(c) Critical consciousness

Critical consciousness or awareness in matters that affect societies is necessary for any meaningful decision-making. For people to participate effectively in public affairs, they need to be well-informed about the facts and assumptions on issues under discussion to enable them make valid decisions.

Sartre (trans. Barnes, 1943: 12-16) analyzes the concept of consciousness in terms of what does and what does not exist, and its importance to people's freedom. He asserts that such awareness or consciousness enhances individuals' freedom. He also states that we could never reach a point in life where there are no possibilities that are unfulfilled, for whatever state we are in, we can always conceive of things being otherwise. This makes people have the desire to make changes, for instance promoting human development as in the present study.

Societies that allow democratic participation would be likely to promote public awareness about matters that affect citizen's lives, and allow critical consideration for possible changes. Such provisions could perhaps empower people to make decisive suggestions in making decisions and developing schemes and programmes for improving their societies.

As noted above, natural qualities alone may not be adequate for engendering human development effectively, therefore some virtues and attitudes are also considered essential as discussed below.

4.4.2. Acquired virtues and attitudes necessary for human development

Human development can be enhanced or curtailed depending on whether people have the necessary virtues and attitudes. Equity, productivity and empowerment are likely to be realized to high degrees in societies where fairness, tolerance, trustworthiness, transparency and accountability for example prevail in private and public affairs. Plato (trans. Cornford, 1941: 136), Bennaars (1993:8), and Frankena (1973: 63) have associated virtues with the internal order of the soul. Frankena (ibid.) states that:

...dispositions or traits are not wholly innate; they must all be acquired, at least in part, by teaching and practice, or perhaps, by grace. They are also traits of 'character' rather than traits of 'personality' like charm or shyness, and they involve a tendency to do certain kinds of actions in certain kinds of situations, not just to think or feel in certain ways. They are not just abilities or skills, like intelligence or carpentry, which one may have without using.

Following the researcher's view that democratic societies are favourable for human development, Busia's (1967) discussion on the importance of virtues in propagating democracy is relevant here. He states that:

...[Democracy] ultimately rests on the morality and discipline of the citizens. A democracy in the last analysis depends on the character of individual men and women and the moral standards of the community. Rules governing elections may be made; freedom may be provided in the constitutions; and Bills of rights may be passed; they will make arbitrary acts easier to resist publicly, but they will not by themselves secure democracy. There are other rules, which are unwritten, such as honesty, integrity, restraint, and the respect for democratic procedures. We could add an impartial and incorrupt civil service, or the willingness to serve in voluntary organizations, all of which call for moral standards and good behaviour (ibid.: 107).

The virtues above among others are necessary for pursuing the goals of human development in practical life. However, the discussion below begins with justice

because the researcher considers it the most fundamental virtue on which human development is based as noted earlier.

(a) Justice

Justice ideally means treating people the same unless there are reasons that warrant differential treatment. Equal treatment could mean sameness in the provision of education, provision of basic necessities in life in welfare states, or maximum freedom for all people. In the present study, justice is conceived in terms of enlarging people's abilities and opportunities to make choices and decisions in their societies equitably, and thus the researcher considers the virtue directly relevant to equity and empowerment.

In history, differences in sex, race, and religion for example have been used as justifications for discriminatory treatment, and this negates the concept of justice encompassed in human development. To enhance human development, there is need to develop people who are inclined towards practising justice in private and public affairs. Thus, people should be socialized to respect the basic liberties of others, and take into consideration those who are socio-economically or culturally disadvantaged.

Rawls's (1972) theory of justice which has two fundamental principles of equal liberty and differential treatment, is relevant here. He (ibid. 60-61) elaborates the first principle to mean that in just societies people need among other things to respect each other's right to vote, and to allow everybody to exercise their freedom of speech, assembly, thought, and expression, if equal liberty for all is to be realized. The second principle means that just societies need to distribute income, wealth, power and responsibilities equally to all, and any differential treatments are justified if and only if they improve the situation of the least advantaged members of society. Rawls's difference principle is consonant with affirmative action recommended by UNDP (1995) for engendering

human development for people who are disadvantaged in different aspects of life (see Chapter 1).

If people were to act according to the principles of Rawls's theory of justice all the time, then there would be likely to be enlargement of opportunities for everybody to make choices and decisions in private and public affairs. Inclinations to practise justice would particularly promote empowerment and equity for women who are disadvantaged in various aspects of life.

(b) Honesty

In various societal institutions such as the family and the school, discipline, honesty, and accountability for example, are stressed. Honesty is necessary for human development: unless people are truthful then problems of corruption, unfair competition, and opportunism in some societies like Kenya are likely to continue unhindered. Situations where these problems are prevalent negate the principles of equity and empowerment, which in turn are likely to affect adversely people's productivity.

Indeed, the current Speaker in the Kenyan Parliament (*Sunday Nation* Team, 14th February 1999 'Help Curb Corruption - Speaker') for example states: "There was no single case of corruption countrywide in which highly-qualified professionals were not involved...." He comments that there are several banks and financial institutions which were put under Central Bank's statutory management last year and yet they have always been given "a clean bill of health by auditors." Further, he observes that our roads deteriorate so fast soon after their completion, and yet qualified engineers are involved in their construction. Moreover, he said "he was aware of several complaints by members of the public against [some] practising advocates and members of the bench." Thus, if Kenya is to achieve high levels of human development, then concerted efforts

by the school, the family and the community need to made to develop honest citizens and to design and implement an effective system of deterring corruption and exploitation in society.

(d) Trust

To engender human development, cooperation is required and this may only be achievable if people trust each other. Without trust and cooperation, it would be difficult to promote productivity in societies. Take for example unscrupulous politicians who embezzle funds for public projects: it would difficult in some cases to promote the community participation necessary for successful implementation. Further, donor agencies have withdrawn aid because of lack of trust, and some projects have stalled while productivity in others is affected adversely. Kenya provides a case in point where disbursement of foreign aid has been suspended twice in 1990s following mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds among other factors.

The promotion of human development also requires self-confident people who can trust themselves. In cases where people do not trust themselves; they always feel incompetent to carry out various activities without supervision. Such low self-esteem could probably result from other people's negative attitudes or the socialization process undergone. Lack of self-confidence negates the empowerment principle, and this is more likely to be found amongst women than men as indicated in the next section.

(c) Courage

To tackle issues encompassed in human development, courageous and self-confident people who can advance logical arguments in formulating and implementing relevant policies are required. In every society, there are usually cases that require decisions that

obviously have adverse effects on most people, for instance increased taxation, which may nevertheless be necessary for improving basic social services for all people. Most people may not have the courage to discuss such controversial and problematic issues in societies. Nevertheless, for people to have some courage to take firm standpoints, clear knowledge and understanding about the issues at hand and commitment to certain values in society are required (White 1989: 95-96). Thus, the qualities of rationality, inquisitiveness and critical consciousness are necessary to build the necessary courage.

4.4.3. Women and the developmental dimension of democracy for human development

Although all human beings are considered to have similar natural qualities women are sometimes not accorded the same status as that of men. Thus, women's rationality, consciousness and freedom of choice are undermined in different societies (Held 1987: 77-78; 1995: 178). Held notes that this has led to low participation rates for women *vis-à-vis* men in nearly all domains of public sectors in virtually all contemporary societies (also see Chapter 2).

The concern here is that the socialization processes that most women undergo emphasize particular qualities that tend to take pre-eminence over critical-mindedness, awareness and high levels of rationality. Further, some of the qualities stressed for women and which are appropriate for human development such as empathy in caring for others, are not given the same status as critical reflection in political affairs. Some virtues that are specifically emphasized for women in some societies are submissiveness, humility, politeness and loyalty, all of which would be likely to curtail freedom in decision-making. Women normally submit to men's choices and decisions in order to avoid antagonism in families and societies.

Thus, even though women in some societies have the vote, nevertheless decisions in public affairs, leaders and public policies can still be imposed on them by men, and this compromises the goal of equality. This situation denies women chances to gain experience in personal involvement in actual decision-making. They therefore tend to lack self-confidence in participating in public matters. This curtails effective participation in making choices, and in turn has a negative effect on the prospects for human development.

However, the situation of women could be improved progressively if education among other institutions in society were organized in ways that allow both female and male students to participate democratically in school affairs. This idea is examined in the following chapter.

4.4.4. Summary

This section on the developmental dimension has attempted to show the importance of developing some natural qualities that human beings are endowed with and also social virtues that would enable them to work together in pursuing human development. Difficult though it may seem, it is necessary to gradually change some cultural traditions and people's attitudes in some societies in order to accommodate more women in the public sphere of life, and consequently propagate higher levels of human development equitably.

There is need therefore to develop democratic societies which would be likely (i) to promote more equitable participation in both decision-making and implementing resulting policies; and (ii) to develop greater empowerment in people intellectually, psychologically and socially. Collective democratic participation for all people including women would be expected to improve productivity in societies and bring

about better standards of life. This in turn would make it more possible to improve people's opportunities for making choices in life.

The next dimension discusses the opportunities dimension which is also considered necessary for engendering human development.

4.5.0. THE OPPORTUNITIES DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

To attain high levels of human development, opportunities in different aspects of life need to be created constantly, distributed equitably and utilized effectively. Opportunities to make choices and decisions in practical life may be enlarged to the maximum for all people if the abilities to utilize them are developed in accordance with the principles of equity, productivity, sustainability and empowerment. For instance, if people are expected to make appropriate decisions in their local communities, then there is need to develop literacy and to provide opportunities for accessing relevant information. Human development could perhaps be better promoted if people participated democratically in creating opportunities, and if transparency were exercised in distributing and utilizing them.

Opportunities in different spheres of life are interrelated, for example opportunities for acquiring information are necessary for participation in politics, and educational opportunities open avenues for procuring employment. Such opportunities can be used further to promote people's participation in making choices and decisions in their respective institutions. These interrelationships between different aspects of life therefore need to be taken into consideration in attempts to enlarge people's opportunities for making choices in life. Further, different societal institutions are also interrelated, and thus utilization of educational and political opportunities for taking certain positions may be curtailed or enhanced by familial roles. These interrelationships also need to be taken into account to ensure opportunities are created and utilized equitably to improve opportunities for making choices for all people.

This dimension thus attempts to examine:

- various methods of distributing opportunities that could enhance human development
- conditions that enable or constrain effective utilization of opportunities
- the implications of the opportunities dimension for the case of women.

4.5.1. Human development and distribution of opportunities

Opportunities in education, employment and political bodies can be distributed in various ways depending on the ultimate goals pursued in societies. Marx and Engels (1888: 27-29) in *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and Marx in *Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (Bottomore and Rubel, eds. 1956: 243-258) propose the development of classless societies where equality among human beings in political and socio-economic affairs would prevail. Marx suggests that all people need to be given opportunities to develop their talents and potential abilities to the maximum so that individual contributions in society would depend on ability but benefits would be distributed according to needs (ibid.: 258).

Marx argues that people's ability to realize their potential depends on social and economic systems that are adopted in their societies. He criticizes capitalism for dividing people into two groups: the proletariat group consisting of workers who do not get opportunities to develop their talents to the maximum, and the bourgeoisie group which controls most of the economic opportunities and political power for its own benefits. He asserts that situations characterized by such inequalities would make it difficult to achieve any substantive progress towards the ideal democracy.

Marx's ideas have some relevance to human development particularly with regard to the principles of equity and empowerment because he argues for equal opportunities to

improve all people's capabilities and talents to enable them participate in societal affairs. However, the principle of sustainability may be affected negatively: if people contribute differently to benefits accrued in societies (wealth for instance), and then those benefits are distributed according to needs alone; this is likely to discourage personal effort and initiatives. Lack of reward for individuals' personal efforts and initiatives would be likely to affect productivity negatively.

Njoroge's (1995: 93-98) attempt to analyze the concept of 'equality of opportunities' in education shows that different scholars and societies have understood and practised it in at least five different ways:

- same opportunities for everybody regardless of differences between people
- distribution according to need
- distribution according to merits such as intellectual abilities
- equal distribution to all people up to a certain level after which it is done on merit
- distribution according to merit and regionality as in the Kenyan case.

Njoroge (*ibid.*: 132) notes that any choice from the above alternatives is determined by the ultimate goals on which equality in given societies is justified. Thus, if equality is justified as a means of selecting people to play different roles, then the same type of education in content, methods of teaching, and facilities among other things needs to be offered. For the present study, creating, distributing and utilizing opportunities in societies would be governed by the essential components of human development (equity, productivity, sustainability and empowerment).

The Commission of the European Communities (1997b) for example, could be said to take into consideration these human development principles in matters relating to opportunities for all citizens of the member states. With reference to employment, the

European Council in December 1994 declared that "...the promotion of equal opportunities for women and men was a key priority of the European Union and the Member States..." (ibid.: 1). The Commission therefore aims to develop strategies that can enable women to combine salaried jobs and household activities, promote gender balance in decision-making, and enable women to exercise their rights.

The Commission of European Communities (1997b) also considers people's ability to utilize available opportunities, which it refers to as 'mainstreaming'. This concept is defined as, "...the systematic consideration of the differences between the conditions, situations and needs of women and men in all planning, implementing, and evaluation, as applied to Europe, the industrialized countries and the developing countries" (ibid.: 2). To clarify this concept, the example of public transport system is used to explain that women's needs should be taken into account because they use public transport more frequently than men. They usually carry prams and pushchairs for their children. These factors should therefore be considered in order to offer equal opportunities for everybody to utilize the system to the maximum (ibid.).

Nonetheless, it is not enough to provide equal opportunities, requisite conditions have to be satisfied for effective utilization. Under the subject of promoting gender balance in decision-making, the Commission highlights various barriers to political participation such as:

- inadequate formal education
- stereotypes and prejudices about males and females in the socialization process
- situational constraints such as inadequate or unaffordable childcare facilities
- insufficient monetary resources
- suppression of women by treating them as insignificant and ridiculing them

- inappropriate political culture (ibid.: 75-76).

These barriers also affect most African women (see O'Barr and Firmin-Sellers 1995: 203) but to a greater extent as manifested in Kenya (see Chapter 2). Societies aiming at achieving some progress towards high levels of human development need to make efforts to deal with conditions that hinder people from utilizing available opportunities.

The opportunities for self-expression as an example are examined below to show their importance to human development and how they might be enhanced or curtailed.

4.5.2. Human development and utilization of opportunities for self-expression

Opportunities for self-expression may be considered indispensable for human development: people's choices, ideas, and opinions need to be expressed for consideration, and obviously appropriate channels therefore need to be provided. Lindsay's (1935) work is relevant here because he strongly argues for discussion as a fundamental condition for democratic participation. There are various opportunities through which people can express their ideas, views and opinions. They include (i) publishing articles in newspapers, magazines, journals and other periodical materials, (ii) campaigns before elections, (iii) conferences, seminars, and workshops, and (iv) public discussions.

People from different fields and cultures may have different views on certain issues of public concern. Take for example the issue of education: to economists, it should be organized in ways that would bring about the greatest economic benefits. Such people would therefore recommend that all children be given education that would mainly concentrate on developing highly-skilled manpower. To religious people, education should give moral and spiritual development more importance. Such opinions and ideas

should be expressed and be given attention in discussions regarding education in any country before making decisions.

To make well-informed and valid contributions, accessibility to relevant information is necessary. 'Accessibility' to information is conceived here as a way of empowering people to make appropriate choices, and it encompasses both the physical and intellectual factors. The physical aspect involves opportunities to get hold of information and materials available in libraries, government offices, newspapers, journals, computer data bases together with other documentary sources. Intellectual accessibility is concerned with the ability to grasp the meaning and relevance of available information and materials to the issues under consideration. Both types of accessibility are necessary for any meaningful discussion but the latter is more important. The ability to grasp the meaning of available materials requires critical thinking which could be developed in schools, homes and local community activities, for instance.

If we take the example of Kenya, some of the main issues that require public discussion (as highlighted in the 1997 election campaigns) include ways of improving the quality of education and ways of revitalizing the economy. For people to be able to express worthwhile ideas and opinions on these issues, information about teacher training facilities, equipment and materials in schools, ratios of teachers to pupils; and the interrelationships between expenditure in different public and private sectors is necessary. Opportunities need to be provided to enable people to access such information physically and intellectually. Further, a socio-political environment that is conducive to all people's democratic participation needs to be created.

Some of the factors that could affect the accessibility and utilization of information and the creation of appropriate socio-political environment are considered below.

Constraints in physical accessibility to information

One of the constraints in engendering human development is ineffective self-expression which could be attributed at least in part to the increasing international commercialization of information. In developing countries for instance, most materials that provide public information are generally beyond the reach of the common people. According to Branscomb (1994: 3), this has brought about controversial issues concerning ownership of information or knowledge. Ownership of information and knowledge is indicated for instance by copyrights in published materials and patenting of inventions in the scientific and technological field.

Most of the information in high demand is normally accorded great economic value. It is therefore protected and in most cases priced highly. This restricts the opportunities of getting access to such information mainly to those who can afford and are ready to pay the price for it. This would certainly have negative effects by limiting effective utilization of opportunities for self-expression for the low-income people, thereby making it difficult to enlarge their opportunities to make choices and decisions in matters that affect their lives.

Constraints in intellectual accessibility to information

Low levels of literacy hinder intellectual accessibility to information and this disempowers individuals by reducing their ability to make plausible and valid decisions. If democratic participation by all individuals is to be achieved, then various possible opportunities through which information can be accessed through group discussions and

written materials should be exploited. Oral discussions, radio and television programmes would be the most appropriate for people who are not literate while for the literate ones, documentary materials may be utilized for transmitting relevant public information.

In traditional African societies, opportunities for passing on information and knowledge were provided through community meetings, ceremonies, or by word of mouth from one person to another. During ceremonies, information and public opinions were passed through songs as well. Kenyatta (1966: 14) notes that among his people of Kikuyu "...public opinions, expressed in lively songs had tremendous influence, especially where word of mouth served instead of newspapers." This is still common among certain groups in Kenyan communities: for instance those that are generally not in favour of formal education for example the Maasai people, those who are poor and cannot afford formal education, and those who do not get access to schooling for cultural reasons such as early marriages.

Propaganda is another problem related to grasping the meanings of relevant information, and it concerns manipulating people's way of thinking, and the ideas and opinions that they form. This is clearly evident in controversial public matters as normally manifested in different newspapers. For instance, two journalists may write articles on particular important events in very different ways depending on the perspective from which they understand them. Journalists may manipulate their reports to influence some people's thoughts, feelings, opinions and consequent decisions and actions taken on issues under discussion.

Thus, any information and materials obtained on public matters should be analyzed critically in order to distinguish between real issues and propaganda. The process could

for instance involve an examination to ascertain whether various conditions of knowledge outlined by scholars have been satisfied. Quinton (1967: 345-346) for example notes that knowledge has three conditions namely: truth, evidence, and belief.

If the example of Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs) in some African countries which involve liberalizing markets among other conditions is considered: one person may explain it to the public as control of developing countries by developed ones for the latter's economic benefits. From this point of view, liberalization of markets may be perceived as a way of increasing the markets for developed countries, a strategy which may have adverse effects on the sale of commodities produced in developing nations (see for example Makinda 1996: 563-567). Another person may explain it as ways of putting pressure on local industries to 'pull up their socks' and improve the quality of their products and lower prices to compete well with foreign manufacturers. If people who are not critical-minded get one view of the issue, this would most likely influence their feelings, thoughts and decisions accordingly. This example also shows the importance of developing critical thinking and inquisitiveness in people as pre-conditions for utilizing opportunities for self-expression effectively.

A third problem could also arise from complicated analysis and correlating available information, for instance into coded forms. Private and public information can be analyzed and presented in coded forms by using various computer programmes. Normally, analysis and presentation of information in an orderly way make it more valuable. This may have an implication for human development in that, such information could improve people's ability to form valid and correlated ideas and opinions on important societal matters.

However, this is not always the case, sometimes analysis of information or data may make it too complex for use by most ordinary people. To make sense out of some analyzed information may require specialized training. This ironically limits utilization of such information for the people who may have no such training. Thus, to utilize such information meaningfully, opportunities for developing the required skills should also be provided. As noted by the Commission of the European Communities (1997b), it is one thing for opportunities to be provided and it is another for people to actually make use of them effectively and to the maximum. Both aspects have to be addressed to ensure some progress is made towards promoting human development.

Socio-political environment

To promote self-expression, a conducive democratic socio-political environment needs to be created. Not all people who have opportunities to get access to information or relevant materials express their ideas or opinions about particular public matters. Some people may fear or be unwilling to take responsibility for consequences emanating from decisions and choices on matters of public interest. Hence, they may have useful ideas and opinions but refrain from divulging them especially if the issues are controversial. Thus, victimization for expressing divergent views and opinions ought to be avoided.

The second hindrance to self-expression likely to be experienced is that people who have more opportunities to get hold of information and knowledge about socio-economic and political affairs may tend to dominate discussions. This disempowers other people by denying them opportunities to express any ideas and opinions they may have formed from their own experiences. The problem is exacerbated when people develop the attitude that having opportunities to acquire information and materials on public matters is commensurate with the ability to make the best decisions. This could

make some people develop low opinions about themselves in relation to those they consider to be more informed. This kind of attitude is detrimental to effective contribution in decision-making activities. There is a need therefore to ensure opportunities for expressing individual views and opinions are shared equitably, and all people are encouraged to contribute actively in making decisions and policies in their respective institutions or communities.

The next section examines the implications of the opportunities dimension for the women's case.

4.5.3. Women and the opportunities dimension of democracy for human development

According to the *Report of the UK Delegation to the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women 4-15 September 1995*, (Department for Education and Employment (DFEE) n.d: 22-23), most women in the world experience some form of discrimination in the distribution of opportunities in education, the economic sector, politics, and health for instance, but the degree differs from country to country. Most of the time, discrimination has been against women, but there have also been instances of positive discrimination. This is evidenced by offers for employment, educational opportunities and scholarships addressed to women that appear sometimes in newspapers and handbooks for grants and funding.

One of the major causes leading to continued discrimination against women has generally been the socialization process. The majority of women develop attitudes that make them accept the division of roles in public and private sectors, and this influences the way they perceive available opportunities. Generally, gender roles determine the choice of opportunities and the ability to utilize them to the maximum. Childcare is

usually considered a female job and in some cases it curtails women from utilizing available employment and educational opportunities.

As Grammatikou (1991) points out, it is not enough to legislate for equal opportunities for all people in society: appropriate attitudes orientated towards maximum utilization of available opportunities have to be developed especially in women. However, changing people's attitudes may be difficult and would be likely to take time but it is very important in ensuring available opportunities are equitably distributed and utilized to the maximum by all people in society.

Secondly, inequalities in acquiring information has led to the notion that men are more knowledgeable, courageous, and confident than women. Thus, they are considered to be in better positions to make decisions in society. All people including women need to be encouraged to take more active part in contributing ideas in policy and decision making in both public and private affairs.

Generally, more women than men especially in developing countries are likely to suffer the problems related to inability to utilize opportunities for self-expression because of:

- low literacy levels (see Nzomo 1988 in Chapter 2)
- lack of funds to purchase materials that have information on public affairs (ibid.)
- lack of time to read any available materials (see a comparison between a woman's day and a man's day in table 4.1. below).

Table 4.1. A woman's day and a man's day in an African family that grows cash crops and produces its own food

A woman's day	A man's day
rises first	
kindles the fire	
breast-feeds the baby	
fixes breakfast/eats	rises when breakfast is ready
washes and dresses the children	eats
walks 1 km to fetch water	
walks 1 km home	walks 1 Km to field
gives the livestock food and water	
washes cooking utensils, etc.	works in the field
walks 1 Km to fetch water	
walks 1 Km home	
washes clothing	walks 1 Km home (sic)
breast-feed the baby	
walks 1 Km to field with food for husband	
walks 1 Km back home	eats when wife arrives with food
walks 1 Km to her field	
weeds field	works in the field
breast-feeds the baby	
gathers firewood on the way home	
walks 1 Km home	walks 1 Km home
pounds maize	rests
walks 1 Km to fetch water	
walks 1 Km home	
kindles fire	
prepares meal/eats	eats
breast-feeds the baby	walks to village to visit other men
puts house in order	goes to bed
goes to bed last	

Source: UNFPA (1995: 23)

For the Kenyan case, Mburugu (1995: 161) notes that women work for about 16 hours daily and in most cases they have heavier workloads as compared to men. According to the analysis in the most recent *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1998: 53), in rural areas of developing countries "...women's work burden is significantly larger than men's - 35% more in Kenya..." (this means the ratio of men's to women's hours of work in Kenya is 100:135).

Due to the above factors among others, women's ability to form and express informed ideas and opinions about public matters that are adequately supported with relevant data and strong enough to influence necessary decisions is reduced. This has negative implications for their ability to utilize opportunities for self-expression to the maximum.

Real life experiences also need to be recognized and acknowledged as an important source of information and knowledge. For illustration we could take an example of developing countries where tapped water is not available: women are the ones who in most cases fetch water for household use and may have relevant information necessary for solving prevailing water problems. Thomas-Slayter (1992) (see Chapter 2) provides a relevant Kenyan example where water problems are caused by irrigation and scooping sand for business purposes, and yet the affected women feel incapable of utilizing available opportunities to express their problem. If human development is to be engendered for all people, then women's real life experiences should be sought and incorporated as an important source of information or knowledge for making decisions in communities. Women should be actively involved in the efforts to improve the quality of life, and thus be treated as agents and beneficiaries of change in their societies.

4.5.4. Conclusion

Different types of opportunities are necessary for promoting human development and they are interrelated. Democratic participation by all women and men needs to be encouraged in creating opportunities, which in turn need to be distributed openly so as to enhance the goals of human development. If any opportunities created cooperatively are distributed equitably and they actually improve the quality of life, then most people would be likely to be encouraged to participate actively. Consequently, equity,

empowerment and productivity would probably be promoted as the human development paradigm suggests.

Some opportunities for educational, socio-economic and political development may be considered to be part of basic requirements in life, and thus they need to be provided and be protected as human rights. The protective dimension is examined next in attempts to show the relevance of such rights to human development.

4.6.0. THE PROTECTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Human development can be engendered if citizens' rights are clearly stipulated and preserved in families, educational institutions, workplaces and other societal institutions. Masolo (1988: 24) states that democratic systems encompass respect for human dignity and rights among other factors. Thus, if such systems are instituted they would be likely to enable people enjoy equal rights and equal treatment before the law. Individuals' participation in stipulating and protecting human rights could perhaps create awareness and encourage people including women to seek redress when their rights are violated, and thereby reduce discrimination and violence in societies. Such participation could perhaps enable people to understand that they are entitled to their rights but they also have a duty and responsibility to protect other people's rights.

The protection of human rights in practical life involves enacting laws, ratifying conventions, and the establishment of commissions and law courts by governments. Although all these measures are important, ideally human development may be promoted more effectively by developing appropriate attitudes and qualities orientated towards protecting each other's rights. This would be likely to reduce the expenditure on policing people to prevent violation of human rights and breaking other laws. By reducing unfairness, discrimination or violence, people would be empowered to participate more effectively in different spheres of life.

Societies aiming at attaining high levels of human development need to educate citizens to preserve human rights through reason, cooperation, empathy and care for each other. This is a reiteration of article 26(2) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. It states that:

Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (United Nations 1948: 6).

This dimension attempts to examine the importance of preserving human rights to human development, and afterwards the implications for the women's case are discussed.

4.6.1. Human development and protection of human rights

The writings of theorists such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632-1704), national constitutions, and some international documents provide insights into human rights. In the contemporary world, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) is accepted almost worldwide as a reference document that stipulates fundamental human rights, although Mikaelson (1980: 8) for example notes that it is not legally binding. Hobbes's and Locke's views are examined next to provided some understanding of the interrelationship between the protective dimension and human development. Thereafter, some works on human rights in African states are examined in relation to human development.

(a) Thomas Hobbes's ideas of natural rights and how they could be protected

Hobbes in *Leviathan* (Macpherson's edition 1968: 183-228) examines the subject 'Of Man' and the natural condition of mankind and he asserts that human rights include self-preservation, liberty and property ownership. He also states that people's judgement and reason are the most important requirements in preserving human life: for instance he writes "Whatsoever you require that others should do to you, that do ye to them" (ibid.: 190). If this idea was put into practice all the time, then it would be likely to

enhance human development greatly because people would treat each other more fairly, and discrimination and violence would be likely to be reduced.

Nevertheless, the socio-economic and political situation during Hobbes's time militated against effective protection of people's rights. Hobbes describes the state of nature of his time as follows:

- there is no common authority to enforce rules and restrain the behaviour of any person
- all people are equal, everybody governs himself, and hence does whatever he likes and possesses, uses and enjoys all that can be obtained
- there is constant struggle for survival leading to life that is 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short' and all people are vulnerable because even the weak can kill the strong ones in the struggle to survive.

Consequently, he argued that it was necessary to establish an absolute, powerful authority as a method of enforcing the law so as to grant protection and enable people enjoy their rights. State interference would however be limited in trade, commerce and family.

Excluding these aspects could easily lead to violation of human rights of the most vulnerable people in society, that is low-income groups and women because they are easily exploited in these areas. In trade and industry, especially in cases where there is some degree of monopoly, people are likely to be exploited. According to Hobbes's argument, the government would not have the mandate to prevent violation of people's rights in terms of exploitation of labour. There would be nothing like minimum wages or price controls even in cases of monopoly. In families, violation of women's and

children's rights could go unchecked and this could be detrimental to the enhancement of equity and empowerment required in human development.

Hobbes's ideas give some insights into two methods of preserving human rights: by establishing governments with absolute authority and by encouraging citizens through reasoning and self-control to refrain from violating each other's rights. His ideas also led to further discussions of human rights by writers such as Locke.

(b) John Locke's ideas about promotion and protection of human rights

Locke's work *The Second Treatise on Civil Government* (see Penniman (ed.) 1947: 76-202) also examines human rights, and unlike Hobbes he views the state of nature as being characterized by perfect freedom. Consequently, he states that in such circumstances people would be able to order their actions, dispose of their possessions and relate to others within the bounds of the law of nature. People would therefore not depend upon the will of others but they would have equal power and jurisdiction. Secondly, he asserts that the state of nature has a law that governs it. To clarify this statement he explains that:

...reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions; for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker; all the servants of one sovereign Master, sent into the world by His order and about His business; they are His property, whose workmanship they are made to last during His, not one another's pleasure (ibid.: 78).

Locke, just like Hobbes, gives prominence to use of reason as a means of preserving human rights but also notes that not all people would exercise it to maximize preservation of human rights. Consequently, they both considered governments necessary for preventing violation of people's right to freedom, security and peace in society.

Unlike Hobbes, Locke (*ibid.*: 123-124) indicates that the establishment of governments would not signal the transfer of all subjects' rights to the state but the whole process would be dependent on the states' adherence to their essential purposes. Locke's ideas therefore could be said to be more orientated towards democratic participation in stipulating and preserving human rights. If preservation of human rights were based on reason, fairness and empathy, societies would be likely to promote human development.

The following discussion now focuses on ideas about human rights in African societies.

4.6.2. Human rights in some African societies

Discussions on human rights in African societies (see for example Ocitti 1973, Kenyatta 1966, Abdul-Razaq 1988 and Salamba 1990) show that: first, African traditional societies socialized all people to respect and protect each other's life. Consequently, communal efforts were made to ensure provision of food and shelter (at least) for all people. Abdul-Razaq (1988: 34) notes that in the pre-colonial African societies, human rights generally included protection of life, justice, freedom of thought, speech, conscience, beliefs, and association. The realization of the rights related to individual freedom is subject to discussion because people were socialized to conform to certain ways of life in terms of beliefs, ways of thinking and modes of association, for instance.

The protection of the right to life was made possible through the extended family system which manifests an informal kind of social welfare system that has persisted up to the present day but to a lesser extent. According to Ocitti (1973: 92), cooperation, love and sympathy for fellow human beings were reflected in all forms of human relations and activities. However, it has largely been an intra-community rather than inter-community social welfare arrangement. This is evidenced by the inter-tribal fighting and raids

(Kenyatta 1966: 20-21) which have persisted in some regions up to today, and this contradicts the principle of protecting all people's rights.

Second, Abdul-Razaq indicates that some African states combine both constitutional and international conventions in protecting human rights. In states such as Kenya, customary laws are also applied in some cases (see for example Gordon 1995 in Chapter 2). Reference to both customary and constitutional laws makes it difficult to have a clear-cut borderline for human rights because different ethnic groups differ in their customs and traditions. In some cases, the customary laws contradict with those provided in the constitution and this has seen lengthy court cases especially those related to divorce and property inheritance by widows. Abdul-Razaq (1988: 586) identifies other main obstacles to protecting human rights in most African countries such as ethnicism, racism, militarism and apartheid (before 1992) in South Africa. These factors hinder promotion of equal citizens' rights and this reduces some people's ability to make choices in life.

Thirdly, Abdul-Razaq (1988), Salamba (1990), and Iyasere (1989) point out that constitutions and international documents are not adequate for protecting all the rights people are entitled to. As Salamba (1990: 60) rightly puts it, it is one thing to guarantee fundamental rights in an international or any other formal document and another thing to realize them in daily life. Democratic participation therefore needs to be promoted in stipulating people's rights and encouraging them to preserve each other's rights through reason, empathy, and care for each other. This measure would be likely to enhance peace and security in African societies, and in turn make people's participation in development matters more feasible.

The former president of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere provides a good example of a leader who sought protection of human rights amongst citizens through education by developing cooperation, reason and empathy. This was clearly manifested in his philosophy of 'Ujamaa' which emphasizes brotherhood (and sisterhood) (Mdumulla 1989: 16).

Awareness and understanding are crucial requirements in enhancing people's ability to deal effectively with matters relating to preservation of human rights and to redressing cases where they are violated. Salamba (1990: 59) reiterates the recommendation in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* about teaching and educating people about their rights. He states that the African Commission, for instance, is vested with the power to protect human rights and could therefore provide means of educating people in the OAU member states about their rights and the systems for redressing any grievances. This suggestion is important and would be likely to bring about great progress towards promoting people's ability to address human rights matters, but there is also a need to develop dispositions and attitudes that prevent violation.

The importance of awareness of human rights could however be downplayed in some African societies where the idea of duty is considered paramount in relation to individual rights. Abdul-Razaq (1988: 524) notes that the *African Charter on Human and People's Rights* lays more emphasis on duties than on international and regional rights. Salamba (1990: 4), in a similar vein asserts that individual rights in African societies are realized through the community and therefore, they are inseparable from the idea of duty.

The notion of rights as expressed by the above two scholars may seem to conflict with Wringer's (1992: 34) assertions that in a liberal democracy decent, active and responsible

citizens stand up for their rights, and that if the rights are not defended, then people can easily lose them.

Neither rights nor duties should be overemphasized at the expense of the other; putting too much emphasis on duty could easily lead to exploitation in the workplace for example. Over-stressing rights, on the other hand, could result in overburdening the society unnecessarily: for example where people engage fecklessly in dangerous games because medical services are fully catered for in national health services.

To strike a balance between duties and rights in societies, human development principles could serve as points of reference. Misusing basic social services has negative implications for productivity, and exploiting other people contradicts the principles of equity and empowerment. These therefore need to be guarded against.

The next section examines the implications of the protective dimension for women.

4.6.3. Women and the protective dimension of democracy for human development

The issue of women's rights has been given a lot of importance in the last 25 years (see section on United Nations and women's participation in Chapter 2). The *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly is the principal international document on women's rights. The convention was opened for signature, ratification and accession in 1980 and entered into force in 1981 (United Nations 1985: 1). According to the UNDP (1995: 103) forty-three countries have ratified the convention with reservations, six have signed without ratification, and forty-one have not signed. This implies that in total, ninety member states have not accepted legal equality between women and men.

The reservations for signing and ratifying the convention are based on customs, traditions, and perhaps religious laws.

Although women's rights are considered as an international affair there are notable differences in conception between the western and non-western countries as indicated by Ali (1991: 34). She states that:

The concept of human rights that comes across in the international human rights instruments is based on the notion of atomized individuals possessed of certain inalienable rights in nature, whereas, those in the non-western world are based on the premise that the individual is not viewed as autonomous and possessor of rights above the society. The divergence in view points is particularly widened when the issue is on the context of women's human rights.

Although the aspect of communality is emphasized in non-western countries (ibid.: 34; Salamba 1990: 4; Iyasere 1989: 2, Ocitti 1973: 92), there are still certain individual women's rights that are given importance in theory as indicated by the increasing number of countries that have ratified related international documents. At the beginning of 1993, the South African government after the official end of apartheid signed some United Nations conventions on women (see Sadie and Aardt 1995: 81, *Financial Mail*: 23rd December 1994).

The main concern however is that even though most countries are signatories of formal documents relating to women's rights, there is no guarantee of full protection in practical life. In the Islamic religion for instance, the interpretations of the Koran by the imams seem to be a major hindrance in promoting and protecting women's rights in Muslim states. Ali (1991) attempts to analyze CEDAW and its acceptability and implementation in the Muslim states. She notes that the fundamentalist Muslim states like Iran have totally rejected the convention as being incompatible with Sharia (Islamic Law), and others have accepted it only in part.

Ali (1991: 72) asserts that:

...international human rights law can be a point of reference when attempting to articulate specific demands. [Muslim women's] first and important step...remains the 'liberation of hearts and minds' from centuries of male-dominated indoctrination, persistently advocating women's inherent inferiority. Only by 'lifting the veil of ignorance' regarding their position in Islam; Muslim women can initiate their struggle for empowerment (sic).

Ali has not made any suggestions as to how this could be achieved. This current study suggests that education could perhaps be used as a means of achieving this objective among others in attempts to realize the human development paradigm.

Some cultural traditions also are major deterrents in promoting and protecting women's rights as shown in Kenya (see Nzomo 1993, 1993a and Mbote 1995 in Chapter 2; Omosa 1995) and in Tanzania (see Tenga and Peter 1996) among other African societies. African women have been denied inheritance of property either through maternal or paternal lines. In fact, they are considered part of the husband's or father's property as evidenced in statements such as 'women do not need property of their own, we take care of them like we take care of our cows' (ibid.: 154). This situation hinders women from realizing the goals of human development.

Politically, some steps have been taken to improve the plight of women, but they vary across societies. The *Financial Mail* (23rd December 1994: 14) for example reports that Nelson Mandela, the president of South Africa has declared that he wants his party's national executive committee to be 50% female. Also, a third quota was reserved for women on the African National Congress's (ANC) list, which has resulted in a dramatic rise in the proportion of women in parliament and provincial legislatures. This is an attempt to break the tradition whereby women's freedom to participate in decision-making in public affairs was generally denied, and thereby to improve women's power to make choices in life.

A less effective stance taken by the Kenyan government at the time of independence was the simple extension of the vote to both men and women who had attained the age of eighteen. This is viewed as political equality of all citizens although studies in Chapter 2 show some discrepancies between theory and practice. To protect human rights for both women and men in theory and practice, appropriate policies need to be formulated and implemented through active participation of all people. This would be in keeping with the principles of equity and empowerment in human development.

To facilitate maximum participation in societies, methods that guarantee protection of women's rights in principle and practice need to be sought through developing a high level of rationality, awareness, empathy, justice and appropriate attitudes.

4.6.4. Conclusion

The above discussion shows that established governments, enacting laws and ratifying international documents are of great importance in protecting human rights. To achieve maximum progress in enhancing equal rights, democratic participation by both women and men in stipulating and preserving them may help ameliorate the women's situation. Further, efforts need to be made to develop humane, empathetic, knowledgeable and rational citizens who would be likely to be more inclined towards preserving human rights.

To develop and sustain these qualities and positive attitudes among people may be more difficult than stipulating human rights and formulating protective procedures. But the development of appropriate human qualities and attitudes may be the most effective method of protecting each other's rights. The various institutions in society including education could be used to make human rights issues more clear in theory and more practicable.

The next and last dimension tries to examine contextual differences that may need to be considered in developing pragmatic democratic strategies for engendering human development for all women and men.

4.7.0. THE PRAGMATIC DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Societies differ in natural resources, economic development, culture and historical backgrounds; and thus prevailing conditions need to be taken into consideration in designing pragmatic democratic strategies for engendering human development. According to Procter (ed.) (1995: 1108), the term 'pragmatic' means "...solving problems in a way which suits the present conditions rather than obeying fixed theories, ideas and rules." Makinda's (1996: 557) discussion seems to apply this definition when he states: "Indeed, whereas the principles of democracy are universal, their expression and practice cannot be transplanted wholesale from one community to another."

If we take the issue of literacy in elections as an example, in Britain, official poll cards are sent to eligible voters with some information on how to vote whether in person or by proxy or through the post. This method is suitable because most British people are literate and the means of communication is efficient enough to ensure that the voters get the information in time. This method may not be pragmatic in most developing countries for example in Kenya because many people especially women are not literate. Also, the means of communication are neither adequate nor distributed evenly. Due to low literacy rates, voting by use of ballot papers in such countries may not be the most pragmatic way of expressing the views and opinions of most people. Thus, certain strategies may promote equity and citizens' ability to participate in certain societies but they may not necessarily do so in others.

The prevailing circumstances relevant to democracy orientated towards human development in three selected regions are compared and contrasted below to show the importance of adopting suitable strategies depending on existing circumstances. The

regions analyzed are: (i) the European Union which has made great efforts to enhance liberal democracy in western Europe, (ii) Eastern and Central Europe which has had communist experiences for several decades, and (iii) Sub-Saharan Africa which has numerous ethnic groups and has experienced very severe civil wars in various countries.

4.7.1. European Union

The European Union provides an appropriate case where liberal democratic strategies have enthusiastically been embraced as the most pragmatic across the countries in the region. The implementation and promotion of democratic ideals in political, socio-economic and educational sectors are prerequisites for membership. As indicated in most documentary materials published by the European Commission (see for example European Commission, February 1994), these pre-conditions are viewed in terms of regular, free and fair elections in multiparty governments; liberalizing markets; and distributing opportunities for instance in education and employment equitably. According to the European Commission, the European Union aims at safeguarding peace and promoting economic and social progress. These aims are consonant with the components of human development paradigm particularly equity, empowerment and productivity.

To make the greatest progress towards peace and socio-economic development, it is necessary to take into consideration all the conditions discussed in the various dimensions of democracy, some of which are already included in the pre-conditions for membership in the European Union. For instance, every citizen has the right to travel, work and live (European Commission July 1994: 33; June 1996: 6-7) and study anywhere in any member country without restrictions. The freedom of movement across the member countries has been made easier by introducing European Union

passports. The European Monetary Union which is expected to be fully operational in the near future is a further attempt to enhance integration between member countries and maximize socio-economic development.

Evans (1981: 231-232) examines European citizenship and concludes that all the bodies established to enforce the European community law can work only if the citizens and member states have the appropriate attitude. Students' exchange programmes in educational institutions are adopted as pragmatic strategies to integrate and promote cooperation among citizens of the member states. Such programmes allow interaction between learners and teachers from different member countries which would be likely to eliminate or reduce stereotypes and prejudices about different nationalities, and thereby create positive attitudes and harmony between people. This could be viewed as a way of enabling the citizens to work together democratically, thereby making it more possible to pursue the goals of human development.

4.7.2. Eastern and Central Europe

The Eastern and Central European countries are in a transition period from communist to democratic governments, and some of them have been devastated by civil wars. Any democratic strategies formulated need to take such factors into consideration and detailed programmes need to be designed to enable as many people as possible to make effective contributions in governing their respective societies.

Dunn (1992) discusses the situation of Eastern and Central Europe since 1989 and he notes that communist attitudes and other human qualities are difficult to change and thus the democratization process may take time before significant progress is made. He states that "...the question of how to deal with the old communist elite and those who served it is one of the most contentious issues in the region today. Many former

communist leaders have retained the pre-revolutionary positions of influence and consequently still enjoy a relatively privileged existence" (ibid.: 3).

Pitha (1996: 750) also acknowledges the difficulties of developing new citizenship in this region because of the strong negative attitudes in people towards the state, selfish and careless use of public property, distrust amongst people, lack of freedom of conscience and expression, and a low quality workforce. There is a need to create positive attitudes towards more participatory systems of policy-making in public affairs that favour human development; education could perhaps be used as one of the means of pursuing this goal.

4.7.3. Sub-Saharan Africa

Various documentary sources such as Republic of Kenya (1965), Mohiddin (1981) and Bamgboye (1978) indicate that the philosophy of 'African Socialism' which is based on social equality is generally viewed as more pragmatic for African societies than liberal democracy. Nonetheless, recent changes such as re-introducing multipartyism and liberalizing markets are orientated towards liberal democracy. In this region, ethnic identity and cultural traditions are accorded importance, and thus they need to be taken into consideration when formulating pragmatic strategies for pursuing democracy.

Karlstrom's study (1996: 485-492) mainly focusing on democracy among the Baganda people in Uganda shows that the informants identified the concept with freedom from oppression, freedom of speech, justice, equity, civility and hierarchy. Hierarchy is viewed in terms of equitable sharing of power where no person or clan is given privilege or precedence. These features are in line with the principles of human development, but there may however be discrepancies between theory and practice.

The formation of political parties has not been considered pragmatic either by the current President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (Makinda 1996: 557) or by the Baganda people (Karlstrom 1996: 494). Political parties have been associated with division amongst people, fighting for power, greediness, excluding citizens in politics, and inhibiting communication and discussion (ibid.: 494-496). Even though Karlstrom's study shows that the Baganda people strongly dislike anything to do with political parties, this could however be what their politicians and society in general have instilled in them. After so many years of authoritarian governments and civil wars, anything that is likely to bring divisions between people is bound to be rejected without serious deliberation.

According to Karlstrom's article, the non-party democratic system seems to have taken root in Uganda as was manifested in the recent 1996 presidential elections. Although Ugandans seem to favour this democratic method because it works in enhancing peace and development in their country, the US government considers it undemocratic as reported by the American Ambassador in Kampala (Southwick 1997).

Initially, the Ugandan elections were conducted through a process similar to the one that was used in traditional African societies starting from the family to the tribal level, and voting was conducted by queuing behind candidates (ibid.: 496, also see non-party systems under the methodological dimension in Chapter 4). Interestingly, the queuing system adopted in Kenya in 1988 elections was heavily criticized and it brought about hostility among people leading to its withdrawal. Thus, what works in one context may not necessarily be applicable in other situations.

Makinda (1996) offers further insights by examining the constraints that three African countries (Kenya, Angola and Rwanda) have experienced in attempts to implement

liberal forms of democracy. The author notes that in general, "The major impediments to multi-party democracy in Africa include the inappropriateness of western ideas and practices, the inexperience of leaders in running multi-party systems, and the general political, economic and social conditions" (ibid.: 567). These problems have been compounded by Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in African states (ibid.: 563-567). He goes further to note that implementing SAPs as required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank has led to faster economic growth in some African states but not in others.

In countries where the SAPs have not worked, they have also resulted in adverse effects on the political and socio-economic conditions. For example, poor economic growth and the increasing gap between the rich and the poor have led to high drop out rates in schools, unsatisfactory health facilities and services, and high levels of unemployment. This situation reduces the ability of some citizens to make choices in different aspects of life.

Makinda (ibid.: 569-571) notes that unscrupulous leaders capitalize on this pathetic situation to create divisions along ethnic and religious lines to prevent people from aggregating their interests and views, thereby enabling themselves to maintain political power. They use the jobless and desperate people to form gangs for terrorising opponents in multi-party politics or fighting in ethnic clashes. The results contradict all the conditions discussed in the different dimensions as expressed by rigging elections, exploitation amongst people, insecurity, lack of trust, unfair distribution of opportunities, corruption and nepotism among other problems. These factors make it difficult for people to enhance human development.

The circumstantial differences that prevail across regions need to be taken into consideration in any attempts to design pragmatic democratic methods. If the conditions discussed in the various dimensions are examined in relation to the prevailing circumstances, then it is likely that workable strategies for enhancing the goals of human development in different societies would be produced. However, the strategies would require constant evaluation and appropriate adjustments in order to cater for societal changes.

The next section examines the implications of the pragmatic dimension for women.

4.7.4. Women and the pragmatic dimension of democracy for human development

The key concepts emphasized in discussing the pragmatic dimension are contextualization and flexibility, and they are both important in enhancing women's abilities to make choices in different aspects of life. There are factors that affect women specifically as demonstrated in the analyses of the different dimensions, for instance the historical general gender stereotype that women belong to the weaker sex. Such stereotypes have led to discrimination against women in various spheres in life. To redress this situation, pragmatic strategies probably with an aspect of affirmative action may need to be formulated to enable them to participate actively and equitably in societal affairs.

In politics for example, the *World Development Report 1997* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1997: 112) states that a 1980s study on some European democracies shows that women's parliamentary representation and voter turnout are higher in systems based on proportional representation than in winner-take-all systems. Further, where women are more represented, issues that affect them

specifically such as maternity leave, child care and flexibility in retirement systems are addressed better. Based on these findings, human development that takes into consideration gender equality would seem to require electoral systems with some type of proportional representation as a means of promoting equitable distribution of opportunities for making choices in societies.

Contextualization is important for women because it enables adoption of different strategies combining various methods for different groups in order to ensure the interests of as many people as possible are catered for. Strategies that combine different democratic methods (direct and representative for instance) and varied opportunities in socio-economic, political and cultural affairs would promote the goals of human development for different groups of women in society according to their levels of formal education, type of occupation and so on.

4.7.5. Summary

Democracy for engendering human development in the present study is viewed as a multi-dimensional concept. Based on the discussion in the various dimensions, the following factors would be likely to engender sustainable human development that is orientated towards gender equality:

- individuals' active involvement in setting societal goals and standards in different institutions and communities
- multi-party systems with proportional representation
- developing people who are rational, informed, critical-minded, empathetic, just, honest, self-confident and tolerant
- creating and distributing opportunities in different aspects of life equitably and developing the abilities to utilize them

- involving all people in stipulating and protecting human rights
- developing pragmatic democratic strategies that take into account circumstantial differences.

Policy-makers in education, industry, politics and other institutions in society might find the six dimensions useful as a form of framework in formulating policies for promoting human development for both women and men. Any progress made in effecting any of the conditions would be likely to be a step towards enlarging people's abilities and opportunities for making choices and decisions in matters that affect their lives.

The discussion in this chapter also suggests that education has some interrelationships with:

- developing rational, critical and morally upright people
- enabling people to utilize some formal methods of expressing, clarifying and justifying their positions, interests and views in matters that shape their lives
- enhancing the ability to utilize opportunities for decision-making in industry and politics among other institutions
- creating awareness and understanding of about human rights and systems of redressing cases of violation.

However, contextual differences need to be considered (for example age of the learners and extent of gender-stereotypes and prejudices) in order to formulate pragmatic programmes.

The next chapter attempts to examine the development of democracy in Kenya to show the extent to which the above conditions might be said to have been addressed, and to identify possible shortfalls that have hindered attaining high levels of human development.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN AND KENYA

5.0.0. INTRODUCTION

Generally, the development of democracy in Kenyan history may not be said to have addressed satisfactorily all the researcher's conditions for human development highlighted at the end of Chapter 4. This is manifested for instance by the persisting gender inequalities shown in the foregoing chapters. This chapter attempts to examine the development of democracy for human development during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods in order to show the extent to which the various dimensions may be said to have been incorporated. Further, the chapter aims to identify which areas might need greater consideration in the Kenyan context.

However, before focusing on Kenya some selected countries that have influenced its socio-economic, political and educational changes that are relevant to the development of democracy are examined. The countries selected for examination are: Greece, England, France and the United States. The researcher bases the selection of these countries on factors such as: the origin of the term 'democracy', significant contributions to the development of democracy in general, and influence on the development of democracy in Kenya through colonialism and foreign aid for example.

The following sections focus on European countries starting with Greece and reasons for choosing each of the countries are given. For each country, the women's case is examined to show any discrepancies between their experiences and the general trends in the development of democracy for engendering human development.

5.1.0. GREECE

Greece is examined in the present study because it is generally considered the cradle, paradigm, or birthplace of democracy (Sealey 1987: 91; Proimakis 1950: 12; Catephores and Zis 1967: 3). Although democracy is said to have originated in Greece, it did not survive for long after 5th Century B.C. It "...disappeared with the Greek and Roman Civilization; [and] when it reappeared it was in representative form" (McLean 1986: 140). The following discussion on Greece shows the original and modern meanings of democracy, and how education has been related to the advancement of democracy for human development.

5.1.1. Democracy in Greece since fifth century B.C.

According to Stockton (1990: 1) the term 'democracy' comes from the ancient Greek word '*demokratia*' which was coined from '*demos*' (meaning people) and '*kratos*' (meaning rule or power). He also notes that:

... the first occurrence of the word in surviving Greek literature is in Herodotus' *History* ... which he was writing during the third quarter of the fifth century. It was perhaps coined in the period following the reforms of the last decade of the sixth, which later won fame for Cleisthenes as the man who gave the Athenians their democracy....(ibid.).

There seems to be a disagreement as to the exact time the term was formulated because according to Sealey (1987: 102), the term *demokratos* was "doubtless" coined about the middle of the fifth century. However, he agrees that the word was first attested in the writing of Herodotus.

During the 5th century B.C. Greece was made up of several city-states and each one of them was independent (James 1956: 4). *Demokratos* emerged and was strongly upheld in the formerly oligarchic Athenian state. That could be the reason why many writers

have referred to the theory and practice of democracy in Greece as Athenian democracy or *demokratos* where reference is made to ancient times.

The concept of *demokratos* was mainly applied to the political context but it was not accepted in all states in Greece. Sparta for example was conservative and did not consider democracy worthwhile at all, and it therefore maintained an oligarchic government. Forrest (1966: 12) notes that Sparta "...boasted that her oligarchic constitution had remained unchanged through ten generations; a stable oligarchy then, is better than fickle, reckless democracy." Sealey (1987: 96) also asserts that democracy in ancient Greece was considered to have meant different things often in a tendentious manner. But, on the other hand, James (1956: 3) argues that democracy or equality of men was the basis of Greek civilization. These views indicate some disagreements relating to the notion of Athenian democracy.

From the point of view of the democratic framework developed in the present study for engendering human development, ancient Athenian society may be said to have promoted the various dimensions but for adult men only (also see discussion on the non-party Athenian system in Chapter 4). Encouraging direct individual participation and providing opportunities for adult men to rule and to be ruled would be likely to have enhanced the **prescriptive and opportunities dimensions**. Further, their potential abilities in decision-making would be likely to have been developed through direct participation (also see Pateman's (1970) views on participatory democracy in Chapter 2).

To ensure that the system was pragmatic, certain measures were taken such as:

- limiting the period and the number of times individuals could hold offices, for example the presidential office could be held for one day only

- paying people for performing political and judicial functions to ensure lack of funds did not hinder participation (see Forrest 1966, Jones 1957, Bonner 1933, Heater 1971).

The main shortfall of Athenian democracy from the point of view of human development for all people is that it excluded all women, children under the age of eighteen and it allowed keeping slaves. The interests of those excluded were represented by the adult male citizens because they were the only ones who had the right to take part personally in the government (Plato, trans. Cornford, 1941: 273; Forrest 1966: 16; Hansen 1985: 9). This manifests unequal political rights and inequitable participation in societal affairs in the Athenian society, and therefore the system did not promote the various dimensions of democracy for human development for **all** people. The groups of people who were excluded were not treated as agents of socio-economic and political changes and growth in their society as required by the principles of human development.

Over the sweep of the years from the 5th century B.C. to the later part of the twentieth century there were few periods when democracy could flourish in Greece because of various invasions and dictatorial governments. It was not until the Second World War that democracy eventually started regaining stability and when it did, it was no longer direct in nature but representative. This probably stemmed from size of the population, membership in various international bodies, and the external influence of the neighbouring countries, for instance.

Today, Greece is a member of the United Nations and the European Community which is now referred to as the European Union. Both of these bodies aim at propagating

democratic ideals among other things. With respect to the European community (EC) it has been asserted that:

[It]...played a key role in consolidating democracy in southern Europe. In Greece, Spain and Portugal, the establishment of democracy was seen as necessary to secure the economic benefits of EC membership, while community membership was in turn seen as a guarantee of the stability of democracy. In 1981 Greece became a full member of the Community and five years later Spain and Portugal did as well (Huntington 1993a: 5).

The European Union has limited its membership to stable and functioning democracies of which Greece is one (Przeworski *et al.* 1995: 9).

Education may be said to have been considered crucial for enhancing democracy for human development in both ancient and modern Greece. In the ancient times (Held 1987: 18), "Through independence, status, education, art, religion, and above all, participation in the common life of the city, the individual could fulfil his 'material powers' and the *telos* (goal or objective) of the common good."

The formal system of education for boys included reading, writing, poetry, music, physical training and sometimes swimming. This education was not thought of as a means of acquiring a technical skill or a livelihood but as a means of developing worthy citizenship. It was aimed at training the intellect, passions and body (Plato, trans. Cornford 1941: 65). The kind of education that was offered to men was a very important factor in the Athenian democratic system of government because it was relevant to decision-making in the political and socio-economic affairs of the city-state. Informal education was also considered important, thus the Athenians "on the whole prided themselves on a 'free and open' political life in which citizens could develop and realize their capacities and skills" (Held 1987: 18). This is an indication that informal education through participation was also closely related to and geared towards attaining knowledge and skills necessary for promoting a democratic situation.

Modern Greece now being a member of both the European Union and the United Nations, in principle (through international agreements) accords education an important role in enhancing democracy for human development.

The next section tries to examine Greek women's experiences from the point of view of democracy for human development.

5.1.2. Women and democracy in Greece

Women were treated differently from men in political and socio-economic affairs in ancient Greece . They were generally not given opportunities to show their capabilities in decision-making in any public affairs. Socrates, according to Plato's *Republic* showed concern about the discrimination, and he argued that everybody including women should be given equal opportunities. As expressed in Plato's *Republic*, Socrates's views on the life of the guardians (rulers) are as follows:

The common life of guardians it now appears, involves that men and women shall receive the same kind of education and share equally in all public duties: women with the right natural gifts are not to be debarred by difference of sex from fulfilling the highest functions. So when the best guardians are selected for training as rulers, the choice may fall upon a woman. At Athens,...women lived in seclusion and took no part in politics... (Plato, trans. Cornford, 1941: 141).

Plato like his teacher, Socrates, was quite critical about the women's situation in Athens. In his *Republic* he draws up a model of a community where rulers (guardians) would have no private families or marriage. This was expected to make women equal to men in rights and duties. Subsequently, women would enjoy equal opportunities of training and education, and would be able to participate equally in the political life of the society (ibid.: 152).

In the ancient times, Greek women were also subjected to serious restrictions in socio-economic affairs. "A woman was prohibited from making a contract where the object at stake was worth more than a *medimnos* of barley...." (Sealey 1987: 9). Zinserling (1972: 24) mentions the same issue but also gives the value of 55 pounds of barley as equal to half a *medimnos*. Women also had to have guardians or masters who could be their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons or the closest male relatives. They were generally regarded as children who never grew up and therefore they were not capable of making any serious decisions.

Consequently, women were expected to play passive roles in society (Sealey 1987: 9-12). Moreover, Sealey (*ibid.*: 11) notes that "... the law was not wholly consistent in treating women as permanent children ... Therefore, if they committed offences, then they could be tried in public courts." Although the incapability of women to make decisions is taken as if it were a natural deficiency, the problem was most likely a result of lack of experience and negative attitudes towards women not only in society in general, but also among women themselves.

This overall attitude limited women's awareness about economic, political and social affairs. The ancient Athenian society was highly discriminative against women in almost all aspects of life, and this negates the democratic conditions considered necessary for promoting human development. Before the law for instance:

Normally a woman in Athens had no legal rights at all. Never in all her life did a woman succeed in attaining personal freedom, since the authority of the master of the house not only extended to the entire property ... of the family, but included all persons of the household and thus the wife (Zinserling 1972: 24)

As concerns education, Greek women received only informal education related to household duties. If they learnt how to read and write or play musical instruments, it

was not done according to a recognised system of education. This made women be considered intellectually and morally inferior to men. Plato noted that the difference between men and women was circumstantial rather than natural. Unfortunately, formal education was denied to most Athenian women and this seems to negate the principles of equity and empowerment in the human development paradigm.

In the attempt to justify the differential treatment, Dover (1982: 33) points out that the ideals of Athenian democracy should not be dismissed outright because of excluding women, children and slaves from making political decisions. He claims that, "Greeks were not acquainted with any society which admitted men and women on equal terms to deliberations affecting the community, or with any society which did not use slaves" (ibid.). Nevertheless, this stance hindered women's opportunities and development of abilities to make choices in matters that affected their lives.

Twenty-five centuries later, the emergence of democracy in the twentieth century in Greece did not occur in Athens alone but in the whole of the country. Greece's membership in international bodies that strongly stress democratic ideals has had an effect on the way women are treated. First of all, the vote has been extended to women and they can now take part in the highest decision-making institutions. Secondly, their educational opportunities for self-development have also been expanded. However, although there is legislation for full equality of status and opportunity for both women and men, in practice there are still some disparities (see for example Kantartzi 1999 and Grammatikou 1991).

5.2.0. ENGLAND

England is chosen in discussing the historical background of democracy for human development for the following reasons: firstly, it has upheld liberal democracy for a long

period of time (see characteristics of liberal democracy provided by Ball and Dagger (1995) and Steyn (1995) in Chapter 2); secondly, it colonized and introduced literacy and multiparty democracy in several African countries including Kenya when most of them gained their political independence. Moreover, England has continued to influence Kenya a great deal in political, cultural and economic aspects of life for example through foreign aid, trade, and education and training.

Democracy in England has undergone various development stages which are marked by strong emphasis laid on different interpretations at different times. With time the application of democracy in England has broadened because of clearer understanding of the interrelationship between the political, social and economic aspects of life as Rowbotham (1986) for example has shown. This section briefly discusses some democratic developments in general and the importance given to education, after which the women's case in particular is examined.

5.2.1. Democracy for human development in England

England just like other Western societies strongly upholds liberal democracy, and it has adopted a parliamentary system¹ (as shown later Kenya adopted this form of government at the time it gained political independence). Democracy in England has a relatively shorter history compared to Greece, and it is organized through political parties and therefore it is representative in nature. The term '*democracy*' came into use in the English language in the sixteenth century from the French word '*democratie*' which in turn originated from the Greek word '*demokratie*' (Held 1987: 2).

¹ See **methodological dimension** in Chapter 4 for distinction between parliamentary and presidential governments.

From the point of view of the democratic framework applied in the present study, the demand for the establishment of democracy in England can be said to have been influenced greatly by the ideas advanced by Hobbes (1588-1679) and Locke (1632-1704) (see the **protective dimension** in Chapter 4). These two philosophers argued for equal political and economic rights for all people. As Scott puts it:

Locke had taught that men were born, and must remain, free and equal, and that they possessed certain fundamental rights which no government might legitimately take away. This conception was charged with significance for the history of the English-speaking world, but it also received a classic elaboration in France (Scott 1966: 21).

Also, the Levellers established a movement agitating for the same ideas between 1645-1649. According to Macpherson (1962: 136), they wanted a representative government whereby more citizens than just the upper class chose leaders. The monarchy and rich landed minority formed the upper class and were generally viewed as the natural leaders of society (Wright 1970: 10). The Levellers demanded the franchise for all men except servants and alms-takers (who included all wage workers and all those on poor relief).

At the time the Levellers started their movement, ordinary English people were expected to be submissive, to respect traditions and the status quo (Wootton 1992:77), and this may be considered to have hindered the enhancement of the **prescriptive and developmental dimensions**. Active participation in setting societal goals and standards, and developing critical-minded people may have been hindered further by the stratifying of English society into upper, middle and lower classes. This kind of stratification was characteristic of most European countries and it depended on birth. Normally, people were automatically members of the classes to which their parents belonged and generally, there was little social mobility between classes. Education was usually offered to the upper class people who consequently gained more intellectual,

political and economic power over the other classes. Education and birth were used to determine who could participate in governing the society.

Since the enfranchised group consisted mainly of the upper class only a very small proportion of adults (males) had the vote. The government was consequently formed by people from this class only, and this made it possible to formulate policies favourable to the upper class and sometimes oppressive to the middle and lower classes. Wootton provides examples of oppressive practices by stating that:

...the government had largely been successful in carrying out the pre-publication censorship of the press until 1642. In most constituencies only 10 per cent of the adult males had the vote, and no one had a right to legal representation when charged with a criminal offence: lawyers were only entitled to intervene if what was in question was an issue not of fact, but of law.... (ibid.: 71).

Such practices made equalizing rights for all people difficult to achieve. Differentiation in political participation was not only according to class but also according to gender. Although education was considered important for extending suffrage even among the upper class people, it was however used to deny suffrage to women in the same class. Women (with very few exceptions) received education that was considered relevant for domestic work while men were offered education that was considered relevant for decision-making in public matters. This caused inequalities not only between classes but between men and women as well.

Faced with educational, political and socio-economic inequalities between classes and between women and men, the Levellers demanded such rights as provision of education, the vote, legal representation, freedom of conscience, freedom of debate and equality before the law, which had been denied to the middle and lower classes. The Levellers also demanded a written constitution in order to protect the citizens' rights against the state.

Towards the end of 1648 some people in the Levellers movement who were calling themselves 'True Levellers' or 'Diggers' wanted equality not only in politics but also in terms of property (Wootton 1992: 73; Tansey 1995: 81). The movement however collapsed the following year before the idea could grow. Macpherson (1962: 158) and Wootton (1992: 73) consider the Levellers as the first democrats in English political theory. From the point of view of the present study, they may also be said to have pursued democracy for human development particularly the **prescriptive and protective dimensions** because they sought to enlarge people's participation in societal affairs and to find ways of protecting citizens' rights by demanding a constitution. Moreover, the demand for equitable redistribution of property may imply demand for enlarged opportunities for people's socio-economic development.

By the eighteenth century, political participation in England was still quite limited: the monarchy appointed ministers and exerted a major influence on policy. The other group that participated in political affairs was the landed minority. Education and wealth continued to be considered important qualifications in determining who could take part in making decisions concerning societal affairs.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the middle classes started agitating for change in the socio-economic and political systems in England. They were also opposed to the aristocracy, and therefore they attacked patronage and landed privilege. They were eager to see principles of open competition and the enforcement of a free market respectively applied in politics and socio-economic spheres of life. The demands of the middle classes could be associated with the changes that were taking place at the time, for example the industrial revolution which generally raised economic growth rapidly and made communication much easier. This revolution brought about

the rural to urban migration of working class people to take jobs in industries where they continued to be oppressed, for instance by working for long hours.

During the same period in France, the French revolution began in 1789. This revolution involved demonstrations by people of the lower classes against the socio-economic and political systems in France and it is said to have given a stimulus to the forces for reform: its effects were felt not only in France but in Britain as well (Conacher 1971: 4). Critical examination of the socio-economic and political problems that prevailed in the eighteenth century led British philosophers like Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and James Mill (1773-1836) to formulate the Utilitarian theory to guide human behaviour. Bentham's theory of Utilitarianism stresses the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people as indicated in Chapter 2. Although Wright (1970: 24) and Macpherson (1977: 24-34) state that his contribution made him to be considered the founder of the liberal tradition, Wootton (1992: 71) and Macpherson (1962: 158) consider the Levellers before him the first modern democrats and the first to seek to construct a liberal state.

Bentham applied his Utilitarian theory to government and other institutions, and wrote a plan for parliamentary reform. It was readily grasped by the middle classes because they favoured political reform that would strengthen their religious, commercial and political interests (Wright 1970: 24).² James Mill supported the theory of Utilitarianism and sought to make its application in politics more clear.

Applying the Utilitarian theory to government had some implications for the provision of education. To promote the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, education was required so as to enlighten people on how to exercise their democratic

² Also see Macpherson's (1977) discussion on protective dimension of democracy

rights for the greatest common good. As noted in Chapter 2, John Stuart (Mill's son) noted that people who were educated were accorded leading political positions in society. He generally emphasised the importance of education as a key factor in enhancing liberty and emancipation (Held 1987:101), thus demonstrating the importance of education for democracy.

During the nineteenth century the British government's response to people's demands may be said to have enhanced democracy for human development by involving more people in participating in societal affairs. There were three Reform Acts which were put in force in 1832, 1867 and 1884, and they increased the number of voters tremendously thereby making the political system more representative.

Pulzer (1975: 31) differentiates the impacts of the three Acts as follows:

Before 1832 the qualification for the vote in the boroughs had been corporate: because it was, in theory, the community that was represented, the franchise could, and did, vary from one community to next. After 1832 [the vote] was individualistic, and all demands ... were for greater concessions in the direction of individualism. With the second Reform Act of 1867 all householders and all lodgers paying more than £10 in rent, were enfranchised in the boroughs. The third Reform Act of 1884 extended the same qualification to the county constituencies.

According to Read (1979: 150), these Reform Acts were important milestones in the emergence of parliamentary democracy in Britain. Conacher (1971: 75) considers the second Act to have had the greatest effect of all and he describes it as "one of the decisive events, perhaps the decisive event, in modern English history. It was the Act that transformed England into a democracy, not only a respectable form of government ... but also, in the opinion of most men, the only natural and proper form of government." It enabled working men to vote for the first time (also see Stearns 1975: 200, Pugh 1982: 5).

These changes in the political system still excluded some people from participating in societal affairs. The justification given for including only some people was that they were:

...considered fit by reason of their independence, their material stake in society, their education and political knowledge to exercise the parliamentary franchise with beneficial effects upon political life. Men usually absorbed in the daily struggle for existence were unlikely to develop the capacity for political judgement, still less the opportunity to exercise it freely (ibid.: 3).

Generally, lower class people had neither formal education nor the required amount of wealth, and they were therefore cut off from political affairs. However, Stearns (1975: 204) notes:

By about 1870 this situation began to change rapidly. Governments [in Europe] developed a great concern for the education of the citizens, as part of the growing consciousness of the importance of the masses. If the masses were to vote and serve in the armies, they would have to be educated...Middle-class politicians supported educational improvements actively, and the middle class had increasing political influence in this period.

The urban lower classes also pressed for the extension of public education (ibid.). In 1870 the British government passed an Education Act which made provisions for full-time elementary education for working class children, thus improving educational opportunities for most people. In practice, efforts were made to provide universal primary education which was eventually made free and compulsory in 1891 (ibid.). As a result, mass education raised the literacy level to 95 per cent and this made the promotion of democracy more viable. The expansion in education was not only important for political reasons but also for economic ones. Industrialization required people who would be able to read and write as well as do some calculations.

Education for the masses created new interests and activities related to societal affairs even in the lower classes. As more English people gained literacy and knowledge of socio-economic and political affairs, the suffrage was extended to bigger proportions of

the adult population. In 1928, the vote was extended to all adult citizens including women. Kelly (1995: 55) asserts that "...one of the most effective devices available to us for the maintenance and development of democracy is a properly democratic system of education". Education is considered essential in ensuring that individuals acquire certain levels of awareness, understanding and openness of mind which are necessary for effective participation in developing, protecting and maintaining a democratic style of social and political life (ibid.: xvii).

The 1944 Education Act in England provided further conditions conducive to enhancing democracy for human development. It states that secondary education would be provided for all citizens according to age, ability and aptitude (Thompson 1972: 10). By the time voting rights were extended to individuals at the age of twenty-one (later eighteen) years, they had gone through primary and secondary education. Thus, people would be expected to have the ability to read and understand materials on political and socio-economic issues, and make valid decisions in public affairs.

The end of the second World War in 1945 saw the establishment of the United Nations (UN), a major international organization which clearly fosters democratic ideals (Held 1993: 41; Parekh 1993: 174). England registered as a permanent member country in the UN Security Council, and thus it is expected to follow the UN's governing principles. In 1948 the United Nations endorsed the *Declaration of Human Rights*, which clearly spells out the aims that should be pursued by all member countries. Equality of treatment in political and socio-economic affairs is a major concern (United Nations 1948).

Education is viewed as one of the means of achieving the democratic objectives outlined in the declaration. In 1946 UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization) was formed to ensure that citizens' right to education in all member countries was satisfied. The idea of enhancing democracy through provision of educational opportunity to all citizens was understood in different ways in different countries and at different times. In England, from 1944 onwards all people have had access to secondary education opportunities. Initially, people were allocated to either Grammar or Technical or Secondary Modern schools on the basis of the competitive examination taken at the age of eleven. This was referred to as a tripartite system of education. This development was aimed at improving equal opportunities for all children.

The concept of equal educational opportunity changed in the 1960s and comprehensive schools were introduced. In these schools, various talents, abilities and potentialities were considered to have equal worth, and opportunities for developing them were offered in the same institutions. Again, the aim here was to promote opportunities by recognizing different kinds of talents and capabilities with which different people are endowed. These methods of improving equal educational opportunities for all people may be viewed as a means of enhancing the **opportunities dimension** of democracy.

Nevertheless, even though educational opportunities expanded greatly in England as shown above, according to Harber (1992) and Carr and Hartnett (1996) the organization at the classroom and institutional levels has had authoritarian features, thus hindering propagation of the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy. Harber in his Chapter 'Schools as Authoritarian Political Organisations' notes that until 1980s British schools were characterized by among other features:

- powerful headteachers who domineer over teachers, parents and pupils
- conditioning of pupils

- limited pupil participation in decision-making in school affairs
- didactic teaching methods

This kind of education tended to produce passive and uncritical people. Downes (1994: 220) in explaining his own personal experiences as a head teacher offers a relevant example that shows a high degree of authoritarianism in British schools. His discussion shows:

There is no formal structure for allowing pupils to participate in decision-making process related to LFM [Local Financial Management]. However, I do from time to time take the opportunity to explain to them aspects of the school's finance and have attempted to get them understand that whatever we collectively save by not wasting light and heat comes back to them in better facilities.

With regard to teachers, Wringle (1984: 70) and Harber (1992: 5) for example, indicate that they are usually consulted but their views are not necessarily taken into consideration when final decisions are made. Harber strongly argues for democratization in schools which allows active and meaningful participation by all people involved, including learners.

Harber however notes that in the 1980s some changes towards democratizing learning have taken place for example:

- involving pupils more actively in their own learning by laying greater emphasis on analyzing, interpreting, and doing research
- rapid growth of social education that encourages pupils' participation in discussing societal issues such drugs, citizenship, being a consumer, parenthood and so on.

However, the 1988 UK National Curriculum has reduced the power and opportunities for teachers, parents and teachers associations (PTAs), and students' organizations to discuss and to make decisions on the content and implementation of the curriculum (Harber 1992: 36, Kelly 1995: 122-145). From the point of view of democracy for

human development, expansion of educational opportunities needs to be coupled with enhancing pupils' participation in making choices and decisions in school and classroom affairs. This would be likely to improve people's abilities and opportunities to make choices in life and to enable them to participate as agents of change and growth in their societies.

The next section briefly examines the women's case and their education in relation to the development of democracy for human development.

5.2.2. Women and democracy in England

The generalized discussion above may not exactly reflect women's experiences because they have persistently been discriminated against in various ways thereby curtailing human development for them . Efforts to redress the situation are evidenced by women's movements to fight specifically for their rights and the struggle has continued to date.

From the time the Levellers started demanding the right to vote in 1645, women were never included. Their political interests were supposed to be represented by the heads of their households. As Wootton (1992: 75) puts it: "The Levellers' prime objective was to secure a vote for every household - living in servants (nearly all young and unmarried) were in their eyes comparable to women and children, whose political interests were represented by the head of the household." This practice reduced women's opportunities to make choices and decisions, and it may also imply that they were not recognized as agents of change in their societies.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century it was generally accepted that a woman's place is at home, taking care of the needs of her children and husband. Consequently, it

was not necessary to give them the vote regardless of their economic status or educational qualifications (Wright 1970: 106; Benn 1981: xiii). Women in the lower classes like everybody else in those groups received little or no formal education at all. In the middle and upper classes, education was provided according to gender depending on the societal roles each of them played. Women's education emphasized domestic activities and this adversely affected their ability to participate in public affairs.

During the eighteenth century, people like Mary Wollstonecraft began to demand equal rights for women. She saw education as necessary for rational participation of women in matters of public interest and consequently started demanding equality in education for both sexes as manifested in her *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1992 edition). Some of the main points she has made in this work are:

- that the faculties of reason and conscience are universal human characteristics
- that these faculties were being suppressed in women because of the inferior content of their education and their socio-economic subservience to men.

These two factors are said to have prevented women from acting as the fully rational beings that they had the potential to be. She has indicated that when women receive a careful education they become "brimful of sensibility", more prudent, and more useful members of society among other things (Wollstonecraft 1992: 160). This argument is orientated towards promoting the **developmental and prescriptive dimensions** of democracy for women's human development.

The question of votes for women was also raised by John Stuart Mill in 1869 in *The Subjection of Women*. However, the male dominated society continued to stress the importance of family care provided by women. The situation did not change even after the third Reform Act in 1884. At this time, the parliament was more willing to

enfranchise uneducated and unpropertied males than to give votes to the educated and propertied middle class women. Some of the reasons given were that females are too emotional and delicate to participate in politics; that giving them the vote would introduce dissension in families and prompt neglect of domestic duties; that politics were too turbulent and dirty a business for the “gentler sex” (Wright 1970: 106-7); that women were deficient in the intellectual qualities appropriate for politics; that they lacked independence; and that their energy was devoted to the vital task of child birth (Pugh 1982: 4).

However, there were also other hidden reasons for the massive resistance to women’s suffrage. Firstly, women out-numbered men. This led to the following argument: “If they [women] have the votes on the same terms as men, they would be able to force ‘feminine’ legislation, including far-reaching social reform and more important, strict temperance legislation and laws which would make sexual vices illegal as well as immoral” (ibid.). Secondly, there was a desire to preserve male dominance and keep women docile and dependent on men (ibid.). Kenyan women still experience this problem as shown in Chapter 2.

By 1914 no English women at all had been allowed parliamentary suffrage in spite of the fact that some had attained high levels of education. Nevertheless, many contemporaries believed that the political system was sufficiently responsive to the wishes of the people with regard to democratic practice (Read 1979: ix). The term ‘people’ implicitly meant men and therefore women continued fighting and demanding suffrage. Lewis denigratingly writes that they not only bit and scratched and kicked but some died for this cause until they achieved their goal. In 1918 women aged above 30

years and men aged above 21 years gained the right to vote and in 1928 it was extended to all women and men at the age of 21 (Lewis 1992: 37, Pulzer 1975: 31).

However, the extension of the vote to women was not attributed to their demand for it. Allen (1943: 28) demonstrates this by writing that "When at last the battle was won, the concession was made with the maximum of the British illogicality not as a matter of right (which Mill had proclaimed it to be in 1861) but as a Good Conduct Prize for loyal behaviour during the war."

The vote was seen as a spring board for all other reforms that women wanted to achieve. Since they got suffrage, they have continued to demand other democratic rights (see Rowbotham 1986 reviewed in Chapter 2). The government has formally put various Acts in force in an effort to eliminate discrimination against women as exemplified by the 1944 Education Act, the 1970 Equal Pay Act (which was effected in 1975), and the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act (Lewis 1992: 117-118). However, women have continued to experience inequalities in some aspects, and consequently their ability to go up the socio-economic and political ladder in some cases has somewhat been impeded up to today. In 1994 for example women in the UK held 7 per cent of the parliamentary seats and 9 per cent ministerial posts (UNDP 1995: 60). The *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1997: 41646) indicates that in the current UK parliament 18.2 per cent (120 out of 659) of the members are women as compared with 9.5 per cent (62 out of 651) in the last one. "This dramatic rise was chiefly attributed to the Labour policy (albeit short-lived) of producing all-female shortlists for the selection of candidates in winnable seats" (ibid.). Also, the percentage of women ministers rose to 22.7 per cent (5 out of 22 ministers) (ibid.), up from 9 per cent in the previous government (UNDP 1995: 60). This may be considered to be in line with the principle of affirmative action

encompassed in the UNDP's human development paradigm for people who are in disadvantaged positions in socio-economic and political affairs.

5.3.0. FRANCE

France just like England is a multiparty democracy, but it has adopted a presidential system that is unitary in nature (Kesselman 1995). Drewry (1995: 1302) defines a unitary state as a system where the executive and legislative powers are centrally concentrated and not shared to any substantial extent with institutions below the national level.

France has been found relevant to the current study because its 1789 and 1848 revolutions influenced development of democracy not only in that country but in others as well. Fontana puts it thus: "Our contemporary constitutions, electoral practices, courts, and laws in Europe as in the new democracies of Africa, Latin America and Asia, are largely based upon ideas set forth by the rebellious deputies of 1789...."(Fontana 1992: 121). In both revolutions the middle and lower classes demanded equality in education, social justice, and respect for human dignity, all of which are encompassed in the present study's concept of 'democracy for human development'. Before the revolutions, Kesselman (1995: 497) writes that for several centuries France had struggles arising from divisions over the meaning and practice of democracy.

However, France has also been influenced by other countries. In the 1980s, the largely unitary government decentralized its power to local and regional governments. Kesselman (1995: 498) states that "[b]ecause of soaring tax burdens, economic recession, changes in political culture and France's linkage to the international system, there has been a marked shift from state regulation towards private initiative."

This section tries to trace the development of democracy in France from 1789 to date because it is within this period that democratic values have markedly been given a lot of attention. Democracy and education have been closely related and they have been demanded simultaneously during this period as shown in the discussion below. The achievements however have not been at the same rate for both men and women. The women's case is examined to show any discrepancies with the general trend in the development of democracy for human development and related changes in the provision of education.

5.3.1. Democracy in France since 1789

Before the French revolution, France was ruled by the monarchy and it was believed that the king was chosen by God and received his authority from God alone. His rule therefore, was not controlled by popular consent and it was not shared with anybody or any institution (Fontana 1992: 114). The government was not representative and this made it easy for the monarchy to control all aspects of life be it political, social or economic without any challenge. Education was not provided to most of the citizens and it was generally distributed according to socio-economic class which was determined by birth (just as in the case of England). Different classes of people received different types of education which were tailored to maintain the status quo. This situation limited the masses' awareness of other political systems which could be adopted and it hampered the development of their potential ability to participate in societal affairs.

This undemocratic situation eventually resulted in the development of liberal ideas by a few educated people who were greatly influenced by John Locke's ideas and arguments of individual freedom, equality and natural rights (as cited earlier). Scott (1966: 21)

asserts that Locke's ideas "... took root in French soil and blossomed like a native plant." The liberals sensitized the masses about their natural inalienable rights that were being violated and this led to the revolution which began in 1789. The lower and middle class people in France demanded such rights as the vote, provision of education for all citizens, competitive free markets, and freedom of choice in religion. In terms of the present study, these demands imply the French lower and middle class people were seeking the establishment of democracy that could engender human development.

Kesselman (1995: 497) notes that since the 1789 revolution France has had several regimes including five republics, two monarchies, two empires, and one authoritarian regime which collaborated with the Nazi occupation during the Second World War. He goes further to state that until 1980s there was nearly universal agreement in France on the desirability of a unitary state. Thus, the state has had a central role in controlling political, socio-economic and cultural affairs.

Following the revolution, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* was adopted by the National Assembly and its principles have continued to influence the political history of the Western world. The document proclaims:

... the individual rights of personal liberty, political equality, security of property, legal guarantees and liberty of thought, not as the specific entitlement of the French citizens but as the 'natural and imprescriptible' rights of mankind at large. According to it all individuals in all countries at all times must be free to do anything they chose to, provided it did not cause direct injury to anyone else. All citizens had the right to profess any opinion or religion of their choice and to feel their property was secure. Nobody could be accused, arrested, imprisoned or killed by the political authority without evidence or without a regular trial (Fontana 1992: 115).

Another development occurred in 1791 when religion was liberalized and a decree was established for full liberty of worship. This change may be considered a further step towards enhancing democracy for human development.

The constitution of the same year formalized the improved opportunities for making choices by guaranteeing all French people the right to exercise the religion of their choice freely (Scott 1966: 30). Further, the constitution allowed electoral franchise for almost all males, based on a low tax. Franchise based on property qualification was formalized but the amount specified kept changing until after the 1848 revolution when universal adult male suffrage was introduced (Fontana 1992: 119; Maeir 1992: 132; Irving 1973: 21; Levy 1943: 32; Stearns 1975: 200).

These were steps towards putting into practice the democratic principles in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, which could be said to have improved French people's opportunities for making choices and decisions in matters that affected their lives. However, women, vagrants, beggars and domestic servants who were too dependent on their masters were all automatically excluded from political participation.

Before the revolution, the church was very closely associated with politics. It had the mandate to control education, and it mainly emphasized the protection of the young against corruption by society rather than upon preparation for a productive and participatory role within it (Hayward 1983: 206). People who showed any opposition to the church and were opposed to the kind of education that was offered were considered to be against the government as well. Education largely encouraged loyalty rather than rational, critical and active participation in societal affairs. It was therefore, in that form, a hindrance to the development of democracy for human development.

The liberal dissenters advocated secular schooling instead of catholic education. When religion was liberalized, education was secularized. The liberals did not only want it to be secularized but also to be made accessible to more people. Hayward (ibid.: 213) asserts that this development in "... democratization of the educational system [was]

mainly due to pressure by the lower-middle class to gain access to the institutions that have been the preserve of the church-going upper-middle class.”

He goes on to indicate that competitive examinations were subsequently used in providing opportunities in education. In principle, this made it possible for people to get education regardless of their class and religious affiliation but in practice access was hindered by inability to pay for it. Although inequalities persisted, provision of education according to merit was considered as a way of enhancing democracy while provision of the same by birth was considered undemocratic.

In the eighteenth century, French society was characterized by educational inequalities, social injustices and abuse of political and religious power propagated by the monarchical regime. The masses therefore wanted a government that was more protective and concerned about their rights and one they could control themselves. Consequently, as Fontana puts it:

The ideal of ‘direct democracy’-*democratie pure* ... was very prominent in the context of 1789 and continued to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In absence of more accessible historical examples of democratic governments, the French revolutionaries found their inspiration in the models of the Greek city-state (the polis) and the Roman republic - perpetuated within the western political tradition by historians of classical antiquity and republican writers (Fontana 1992: 112).

Fontana has summed up the changes that took place immediately after the revolution as:

...the advent of a new age of law, rights and justice, of a modern society founded upon liberty and equality of its citizens ...what we might see, more clearly as a process of rapid democratization, the sudden extension of political power and political rights to large sections of the population previously excluded from these (ibid.: 107).

Although direct democracy was favoured in France immediately after the revolution, this political system was not viable for various reasons which include lack of or little

education for the masses, France's geographical size, and a large population. A representative government therefore had to be established.

During the nineteenth century democracy was sought as a joint commitment to liberty and equality in France but more emphasis was laid on the former (Hayward 1991; 150). The development of democracy in France which strongly upheld individualistic and liberal ideology was in reality thwarted by the social and economic situation at the time. Einaudi and Goguel (1969: 124) put it thus:

The worker was free, but alone and defenceless. Individualist liberalism, developing across enormous technological progress, provoked both the concentration of economic power in the hands of a new aristocracy and the misery of a more and more numerous proletariat ... A flagrant contradiction on the human scene: a citizen in the political scene, the worker remained in his working life a simple subject, subject to a power in which he had no share.

These political and economic contradictions may be said to have hindered democracy for human development from growing.

However, in 1882 (thirty-four years after the second revolution), free elementary education was introduced and religious instruction in schools was abolished (Irving 1973: 21). This was mainly aimed at reducing educational inequality of access according to social class. Waterman (1969: 31) states that "One of the great integrating forces of industrial society is education". It has generally been found to be crucial for effective participation of citizens in societal life whether political or socio-economic and its broadened provision has seen the evolvement of a more democratic society (ibid.: 33).

In France like other Western societies, education and democracy have mainly been interrelated in terms of equal distribution of opportunities. Just as in politics and socio-economic aspects, France has had a centralized curriculum and today education is

accessible to all people (Halls 1985). Scott (1966: 11) expresses it thus: "The concept of republican democracy, insofar as western countries are concerned, [it] has found its fullest expression in France."

According to Waterman (1969: 33), education is viewed as a means of increasing tolerance to heterodoxy, encouraging support for civil liberties and rights, reducing authoritarianism and prejudice, increasing the sense of political effectiveness and rates of participation, and generally shaping a political being who corresponds closely to the model of a liberal, democratic, informed participant. This implies that education can address the conditions discussed in the different dimensions of democracy for human development in the present study. This concept of education also reflects the expectations of the UN where France is also one of the permanent member countries in the Security Council. This organization, as noted earlier, embraces democracy and strongly advocates education as a means of pursuing associated ideals.

The next section briefly discusses the stages women have followed in demanding promotion of democratic conditions in order to improve their own lives.

5.3.2. Women and democracy in France

Women's experiences in the advancement of democracy in France shows some differences: for instance the process has taken them longer. As in the English case, the notion of French women's nature and their societal roles have severally been used to justify unequal treatment in socio-economic and political affairs. Since the 1789 revolution women have continuously fought for equality and freedom, but they have generally continued to occupy subordinate positions in society. In France, a lot of effort has been made to provide equal opportunities for all people but there still seems to be inequality of educational outcomes according to gender. This could be due to women

obtaining less education or pursuing courses in less prestigious fields than men. Educational inequality has generally affected their political, social and economic development.

As Duchen (1994: 33) indicates, the main explanation that was given for this situation initially was that women belong to an emotional, a weaker and a less rational class. Some writers of the enlightenment period considered them as incapable of abstract knowledge which was a preserve for men. This view of women was used to justify the position that they were only good enough at home where decision making was limited. This was one of the reasons for withholding the vote for women. However, it is also noted that there was a fear that if women were enfranchised, they would massively vote for the parties that were associated with the church.

After the 1789 revolution, the right to vote was extended only to some men who satisfied certain set qualifications. Some philosophers of the time like Condorcet (1743-94) "...were in favour of extending the voting rights to women, but in the end it was agreed that public opinion would be too prejudiced against it" (Fontana 1992: 119). Some women also made efforts to demand their rights and they produced pamphlets to publicise their ideas (Rendall 1985: 42-55). Generally the demands were that they be provided with education, that they be considered adults at the age of 21, that political liberty and equality be common for both sexes, and that divorce be permitted (ibid.: 48).

During the nineteenth century there was not much change in regard to their position in political and social life. The "... worlds of men and women were separated, this separation was based on the growing division between the home and the place of work. Again there was a long tradition of European thought which excluded women from education and participation in politics" (ibid.: 3). This situation curtailed progress

towards enhancing women's abilities and opportunities for democratic participation in matters that affected their lives.

In the twentieth century, women were granted their right to vote and to hold public offices after the Second World War. It took them almost a century to obtain suffrage after all adult males were granted the same. Women had to prove they were as worthy of equal rights as men. Just as in England, they were not enfranchised on the basis of having the same inalienable rights as men but as a reward for their resistance activities during the war. Another reason was, "By the end of the second World War, France was lagging behind other Western nations in its support for women's suffrage, and granting women the right to vote was no more than a measure to correct this anomaly..."(Duchen 1994: 33).

The French government extended the vote to women in 1944. In the 1980s women started occupying top ministerial posts in France (Howard 1990: 3). In 1994 women held six per cent of the parliamentary seats and seven per cent ministerial posts (UNDP 1995: 60, also see Karl 1995: 91 and United Nations 1995: 171-175).

Formal education is a prerequisite for holding such positions in the government, thus formal education for women is an important element in developing democracy for human development. Even though the French government has put a lot of effort into promoting democracy especially through education, inequalities in participation between women and men seem to persist with regard to decision-making in societal affairs. This manifests that there are other factors that need to be addressed in order for women to participate more actively in societal affairs, for example developing more positive attitudes and understanding of the importance of their contributions in decision-making.

Greece, England and France have adopted multiparty systems, but there have been certain differences in the practical application in distribution of power among political institutions. For instance, France has had more centralized presidential headed governments that centrally control socio-economic and political affairs, while England has adopted parliamentary governments with ruling political parties headed by prime ministers and emphasis is laid on individualism. Democracy for human development for the women's case has lagged behind in these countries. Further, education and democratic participation have been interrelated in these countries.

Having discussed democratic and educational changes related to human development in some European countries separately, attention is now focused on America, precisely the United States.

5.4.0. AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES

The United States of America (USA) is chosen for this discussion because it is one of the countries that influences political and socio-economic policies in developing countries such as Kenya. This may be done through international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). The USA is among the five permanent member states in the United Nations Security Council. This position accords it the power of veto over any UN resolutions affecting national and international policies of the member countries.

5.4.1. Democracy for human development in the United States of America

Democracy for human development in America could be said to have been pursued right from the time European people migrated towards the west to escape from political and religious oppression in the seventeenth century. Hence, historically America has been described as a land of freedom for migrants from Europe. These migrants were later colonized by the British government until the later part of the eighteenth century when

they fought the War of Independence. Since then equality and freedom have been key demands in American society as indicated in the *Declaration of Independence* and the consequent black people's civil rights and women's liberation movements.

The USA currently upholds liberal democracy and it has adopted a federal system. Drewry (1995: 1303) defines federalism as a system with constitutionally entrenched divisions of powers, shared between central and state or provincial governments. America like France had a revolution before democracy could be institutionalized. The American and French revolutions occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century and hence they are considered to have constituted part of the 'age of democratic revolution' in the eighteenth century (Maeir 1992: 147). These two revolutions resulted in strong commitment to the advancement of democracy in both countries.

The *Declaration of Independence* which was written in 1776 (ibid.: 377) states that all men are created free and equal. This implied that the hereditary monarchy and aristocratic hierarchies according to birth that were inherited from England, had to be eliminated. A constitution was drafted to guide political and socio-economic practices and its application was meant to ensure that all people are treated equally.

At the time the '*Declaration of Independence*' was produced, democracy in the USA was mainly stressed in the political sphere, which could be explained by the fact that the country had just gained its independence from the British government. Democracy was generally understood in terms of self-government which was effected by giving people the freedom to elect their own leaders through voting. Each person's vote carried and still carries an equal weight and the majority principle is applied in voting for representatives.

The representative type of government was made necessary by virtue of the size of population and the vast geographical area. Voting was and continues to be considered the most appropriate method of selecting the people who represent and govern the country. The ideals of equality and freedom in government have respectively been viewed in terms of the 'One man, one vote' rule and provision of opportunities to choose among contesting candidates for example.

Initially, discriminatory conditions were set and they included education, age, race, gender, and property qualification. Only the people who satisfied the set conditions were allowed to vote and this disempowered large proportions of the population. Democracy for human development for most people was therefore hindered. The excluded groups were all black people, all women, all whites below the age of twenty-one years and all those who did not have the required amount of property.

Later on, the property qualification was withdrawn, thereby enfranchising larger proportions of the white males. This development was justified as follows: "... if they [white men] were to be conscripted into mass armies it became harder to deny them the franchise" (ibid.: 13). The voting rights gave people the power to determine who would govern the country, and thus the ability to read and write, and to understand the constitution were considered necessary conditions (ibid.: 132).

Democracy was therefore conceived as having representative government whereby the mandate to conduct political affairs was given by the citizens through voting. Political rights enabled citizens to select representative governments and to get rid of them during election times if they did not live up to their expectations. The governments chosen are normally expected to pursue the goals they articulate before elections. The voters use the goals of different people or parties to determine for whom they cast their vote.

The above criteria for voting were applied up to the second half of the nineteenth century after which there was a civil war. The American civil war was aimed at enhancing democracy by extending the right to vote to the black people among other demands such as abolition of slavery. Slavery contradicted equality and freedom for all people as spelt out clearly in the *Declaration of Independence*. Abolition of slavery was therefore a belated action in the development of democracy for human development for all people in the USA. It ought to have been abolished immediately after the 'Declaration of Independence' if the term 'men' was understood to mean all human beings.

Although abolishing slavery was a major step in the development of democracy for human development, this did not automatically mean equal rights applied to both Whites and Blacks. Further attempts were made to suppress the black people's freedom by setting additional voting conditions for them. These conditions concerned length of residence in a given place that normally ranged from 6 months to 2 years and passing some literacy tests. All eligible people also had to have the ability to read and understand the constitution, as noted above. These conditions were set deliberately in order to exclude the Blacks from voting because they were generally known to move from place to place while searching for jobs. Consequently, it was difficult for them to satisfy the first condition. The second condition was enough to exclude almost all Blacks from voting because most of them did not have any formal education. Indeed, Spencer (1995: 388) states that before the civil war "Blacks were almost all illiterate, for in the slave states everyone even a slave's master, was forbidden to teach a slave how to read and write. Slaves known to have the ability to read and write were sold, segregated from other slaves, whipped or branded." Excluding the black people and native Americans from the pre-civil war government in USA indicates some shortcomings in

developing democracy for engendering human development for all people. As shown later, in Kenya the Africans were also excluded from voting during the early part of the colonial period.

With time the conditions of franchise in the USA were adjusted in stages to include most people except some minority groups, lunatics, criminals, and people under the age of twenty-one years (Riker 1953: 51). Each successive increase of the franchise enlarged people's opportunities for making choices and decisions, and thus making different groups of people more free and equal in their political power.

The development of democracy, as Cochrane (1986) indicates has increasingly emphasized direct participation in decision-making at the local level, that is in community affairs and working places. Thus, citizens' involvement in deliberating and making policies in social and economic matters in community affairs, normally referred to as participatory democracy, is a very common phenomenon in the USA in the present day. It is also sometimes referred to as community politics, and its implementation has resulted to a certain extent in the decentralisation of power. The concept of participatory democracy is "... built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another" (Pateman 1970: 42).

At the local level there are opportunities for maximum participation in decision making about things that directly affect individuals' lives. This development in democracy has led to the formation of trade unions for instance, whereby employees are able to influence decisions that affect their welfare at work. Participatory democracy makes it more possible to consider unique personal situations and provides educational benefits for the people involved. This view of democracy is orientated towards the **prescriptive dimension**.

Dewey (1916) argues that the education system needs to be diversified in order to cater for various talents and potential abilities as a way of freeing people's minds to participate not only in political affairs but also in socio-economic ones. This concurs with his concept of democracy as "... freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness - the emancipation of mind as an individual organ to do its own work" (Dewey 1941: 62), and this is in keeping with the **developmental dimension** of democracy.

Both formal and informal education have been found necessary for participatory democracy whereby active participation in rational decision-making is emphasized. Direct participation enables individuals to develop appropriate attitudes and psychological qualities that improve their effectiveness in decision making. Pateman (ibid.: 42-43) expresses it as follows:

The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is an... educative one, educative in the widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures...Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it, the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so.

Having considered the development of democratic conditions in the USA in general, the next section tries to show any discrepancies in the women's case.

5.4.2. Women and democracy in the USA

Women in the USA as in most countries in the world have tended to lag behind in matters concerning democracy for human development. First of all, enfranchisement for women was resisted for a long time. The grounds for this stand were quite similar to those offered in France and England and they included interference with their domestic vocation and a high degree of dependence on men which could not allow effective democratic participation (Maier 1992: 132).

However, in 1848 some women who were critical about this situation held a convention in Seneca Falls, and it was followed by many others in attempts to show that democracy was not for men only but for all people. This meant that women were also entitled to participate actively in political, social and economic affairs of their country. They based their argument on the *Declaration of Independence* and they strongly emphasized that all men and women are created equal and free (Rendall 1985: 300-302). This meant that the conditions of American democracy should include: firstly, extension of suffrage for women just like men and secondly, elevation of women's status from the subordinate position to the same level as men in all spheres of life whether political, religious, educational or economic.

The American political system seems to have had some inconsistencies relating to education and democratic participation: on the one hand, lack of formal education was one of the factors that was used to prevent black people from participating in societal affairs in American democracy as mentioned earlier. On the other hand, educated women were not allowed to participate in societal affairs although they qualified academically. They were discriminated against on the basis of sex. The political system automatically excluded women and black people from participating in political affairs because they were considered crucial in handling domestic affairs and providing cheap labour. Educated women therefore did not automatically get the vote right from the beginning and it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that some of them were allowed to vote in some states (Riker 1953: 48). Almost one and half centuries after the 1776 *Declaration of Independence*, women were eventually permitted to vote in national elections in 1920 (Watson and Fitzgerald 1978: 7, Karl 1995: 88-92).

The social, economic, marital and political position of women in the USA has greatly changed in the twentieth century. Since the time women were enfranchised, a lot of improvements have taken place in the expansion of educational opportunities, and participation in politics and employment for instance. An amendment was made in the American Constitution to emphasize that women are of equal value with men. They can now hold social and political positions that were earlier on exclusively for men.

In spite of these positive changes in American women's situation, the following observation has been made; "On a continuum from effective to limited participation, modern liberal democracies lie, for many working class, females and non-white citizens, at the latter end" (Held 1987: 259). In the women's case, this claim evidently holds at the state and federal levels in the USA. In 1994 women constituted ten per cent of the members of parliament and fifteen per cent of the ministers (UNDP 1995: 60). However, at the local level, it may not necessarily be the same.

5.5.0. DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: KEY ELEMENTS

From the foregoing discussion, it can be seen that England, France and the USA have pursued democracy oriented towards engendering human development for centuries. For instance, the three countries have adopted representative multiparty democracy, but in practice there are differences in the systems considered pragmatic. England has a parliamentary government and a monarchy, France has a unitary system, and the USA has a federal government.

The three countries have made great achievements in promoting democracy for enhancing human development. The foregoing historical account however shows there

have been limitations in terms of age, gender, race, level of literacy, and economic status for instance. The limitations at different times in different countries have resulted in curtailing the enhancement of the present study's six dimensions of democracy for human development as summarized below:

- the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy has at certain times been curtailed for women in all the countries already examined, black people and native American peoples in the USA, and lower classes in the European countries by hindering active participation in decision-making
- the **methodological dimension** of democracy has been limited by unproportional representation (numerically at least) according to gender, class and, particularly in the USA according to race
- the **developmental dimension** of democracy that addresses development of high degrees of rationality, critical-mindedness and self-confidence has been hampered by exploitative, oppressive and authoritarian conditions particularly for women in the various countries considered above, black people and natives in the USA, and lower classes in the European countries
- the **opportunities dimension** of democracy has been hindered by inequitable distribution of political, educational and economic opportunities to all people
- the **protective dimension** of democracy has been hampered by unequal political and socio-economic rights for upper and lower classes in European countries, blacks and whites in the USA, women and men in all the countries discussed, thereby resulting in exploitation and oppression
- the **pragmatic dimension** of democracy has been impeded by adopting strategies that do not take into consideration circumstances such as sex-stereotypes and gender roles thereby leading to continued unequal participation in different spheres of life.

With time, these shortcomings have been redressed or reduced to a great extent by formulating, modifying and implementing appropriate policies.

Kenya has also experienced similar shortfalls in its history. The following discussion therefore attempts to examine the extent to which the various dimensions of democracy for human development might be said to have been addressed in general and particularly for Kenyan women.

5.6.0. KENYA

5.6.1. Democracy and human development in traditional Kenyan societies

Various writings such as Ake (1993), Kenyatta (1938), Republic of Kenya (1965), Karlstrom (1996), and Beetham (1995) for example argue that traditional African societies were organized democratically. However, Simiyu (1988), argues to the contrary asserting that most of those societies were authoritative, but there were rudiments of democratic practices in some of them.

First, the arguments that traditional African societies were organized democratically are considered. In general, Ake (1993: 72) argues:

Traditional African political systems were infused with democratic values. They were invariably patrimonial, and consciousness was communal; everything was everybody's business, engendering a strong emphasis on participation. Standards of accountability were even stricter than in Western societies. Chiefs were answerable for ...[all] their own actions....

In a similar line of argument, *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya* (Republic of Kenya 1965:3) makes the following generalization: "In the traditional African society, an individual needed only to be a mature member of it to participate fully and equally in political affairs."

Accountability, and free and equal participation in both decision-making and implementing consequent plans of action are essential factors in engendering democracy for human development. However, Ake's assertion that 'everything was everybody's business' does not state explicitly whether or not this included decision-making activities. It is possible to emphasize participation without giving people opportunities to make choices. This could particularly be possible taking into account that in most African societies age is closely correlated with wisdom and experience. Thus, young people were expected to conform with the views and opinions of older people without question. This negates the democratic condition that requires involving all people in making choices and decisions as discussed under the **prescriptive dimension**.

Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya (1938: 186) asserts that among his Gikuyu people "The ... system of government prior to the advent of the Europeans was based on true democratic principles." He bases his argument on the idea that all adults of the society were free and equally full members, socially and politically; and that married women were given the same status and respect as their husbands.

Kenyatta's (ibid. 189) assertion that the Gikuyu government was chosen and not imposed on people implies some degree of freedom to make choices in society. However, the government was chosen from members of the community who had reached the age of eldership after retiring from warriorhood, that was after the age of about 40 years. The government was representative because the members were chosen from different villages. Each Gikuyu government remained in office between 30 and 40 years after which a younger generation would take over (Kenyatta 1938: 189). This arrangement excluded large proportions of this community from decision-making at the community level.

However, Kenyatta states that every section of the community played some part in the government, and this was made possible by organizing people into units ranging from the family to the nation which comprised the whole population. The units were run as representative governments (this system has similarities with the Ugandan RC system discussed in Chapter 4 under the **methodological dimension**). Husbands represented the family units: this condition seems to contradict the assertion that married women were accorded the same status and respect, and it curtailed women's participation in decision-making activities.

Senior elders represented the villages, and among them community representatives were chosen. Age as noted earlier was generally associated with wisdom, thus "Amongst these elders the one most advanced in age and wisdom was elected as a judge and president...." Kenyatta (*ibid.*: 194). The selection of senior elders was done at the meetings of the national council.

Education in Kenyan traditional life was mainly informal, and it was considered important for preparing people for the various stages of life. Parents took the responsibility of educating their children until they reached the stage of tribal education. As people advanced up the social and political ladder they were offered education that was relevant to each stage, either individually or collectively. The prerogative to participate actively in politics and legal procedures of the society was attained when one had at least one circumcised child. This stage involved administration of law and justice in the Gikuyu society (*ibid.*: 108). The education that was considered relevant for these responsibilities had to be obtained from senior elders and also one had to undergo certain ceremonies. This shows that education was considered important for participation in political and social affairs.

Generally, people were expected to learn through listening, imitating, and participating. The only time when people had a kind of formal education was immediately before and after circumcision when they were secluded for certain periods of time and were taught the various things that were expected of them after initiation into adulthood. This kind of education does not seem to encourage young people to consider critically the kind of society they might have envisioned, and this does not augur well for the **developmental dimension** of democracy in the present study.

In the economic sector, Kenyatta (1938: 20-69) indicates that property was vested in kinship and it was passed on from one generation to next through male children. This system of inheritance may be considered discriminatory to the female children, and it might have limited their opportunities for economic growth as individuals. Nevertheless, Kenyatta notes that property did not belong to individuals but to clans which formed the Kikuyu community.

Efforts and initiatives by individuals and groups were encouraged to enable people acquire more wealth in terms of land and livestock. Thus, informal education was offered on how to utilize property productively. This may be considered to be in keeping with the **opportunities dimension** because distributing land and other forms of property enabled people to engage in economic activities.

Some arguments for authoritarianism or rudiments of democratic practices in the traditional African societies are considered below. Simiyu's (1988) standpoint that these societies were largely authoritarian and that some had a few elements of democratic practices only is based on the following criteria: (i) access to property, (ii) participation in decision-making, (iii) role recruitment and (iv) rule adjudication (or dispute settlement).

In general, he classifies traditional African governments into decentralized and centralized groups. The former had some elements of democratic practices, they involved representation of clans and families in decision-making, and consensus was used as a way of legitimizing choices, decisions and policies made. Among the decentralized governments considered are: Malinke (western Sudan), Gusii (western Kenya), Kikuyu (central Kenya) and Arusha Maasai (Tanzania). Among these societies, Simiyu argues there was a degree of equality of opportunity in role recruitment but among age-sets only. Among the Kikuyu for example, Simiyu puts it thus: "... the selection of a leader on the basis of personal merit ... could be considered as a case of giving people equal opportunity to rise up in the social and political ranks. This could sound democratic" (ibid. 64, also see Kenyatta 1938).

However, he goes on to indicate that this concept of equal opportunity was exercised only at the level of age-group, and thus such leaders helped to settle disputes within their groups and in the local community. They were never consulted by council elders in making decisions at the tribal level, and their power to make decisions in matters that affected the whole community was very limited. The age-set system among the Maasai people as analyzed by Simiyu shows a lot of similarities with the Kikuyu, where equality was generally among people of the same group. Simiyu (ibid.: 68) states that the only element of democracy that prevailed among the Maasai like the Kikuyu was that age-group spokesmen were chosen according to merit. From the point of view of the democratic framework applied in the present study (see Chapter 4), limiting people to age-group affairs may be considered to have had negative implications for enhancing the **prescriptive dimension** to the maximum.

The centralized group of traditional African governments according to Simiyu were generally authoritarian. He includes monarchical governments in Rundi society (Burundi) and Nkore society; military governments in Songhay society (central and western Sudan), and the three-tier caste system in Mali (one ruling caste and two were excluded from decision-making). These governments curtailed people's ability to make choices and decisions in societal affairs.

From the above discussions, it can be seen that traditional African communities including some Kenyan examples had some shortfalls in developing the **prescriptive, developmental and opportunities dimensions** which this current study considers necessary for engendering human development. Participation in decision-making in public affairs was limited and development of critical minds was not encouraged; instead people were taught what was expected of them in their communities. Also, unequal distribution of property may have curtailed women's opportunities for economic productivity.

5.6.2. Democracy and human development in Kenya during the colonial period

Colonialism in Kenya brought some changes in the traditional social, educational, religious, economic and political systems, some of which could be said to have enhanced while others curtailed development of democratic conditions for engendering human development as discussed in Chapter 4. As Anderson (1970: 1) notes, the European type of school for example, was assumed by both colonialists and Africans to be one of the key factors to economic and political progress. Thus, if opportunities in formal education were equitably distributed to all people, then they might have enhanced human development for all races and both genders.

Anderson (ibid.: 2) further states that colonialism or trusteeship were justified by the need to prepare the technologically underdeveloped African people to face the conditions of the modern world. This view was upheld by the League of Nations formed after the First World War, and the advanced nations were mandated to help improve the well-being of the backward nations as in the cases of Tanganyika (presently Tanzania) under British government and Rwanda and Urundi (now Burundi) under Belgian government (see the Report on *Education in East Africa*, African Education Commission 1925: 169).

The League of Nations generally urged the need to prepare Africans (both men and women) for active participation in political and socio-economic aspects of modern life, and commitment to this goal was expressed in various official documents such as the 1925 report on *Education in East Africa*. It emphasized the need for greater cooperation between the colonizing governments and missions in providing education that is relevant to Africans' needs. The 1923 British government *Devonshire White Paper* stressed the paramountcy of African interests over those of the immigrant European settlers and the Asians (see Sifuna 1990: 126, Anderson 1970: 59, and Sheffield 1973: 16). The 1948 *Education for Citizenship in Africa* made further recommendations for preparing the colonized people for democratic participation and economic development in their countries.

The recommendations in these reports are in keeping with enhancing democracy and human development because they could promote the colonized people's ability to make more choices in their lives. However, Sheffield (1973), Anderson (1970) and Sifuna (1990) show that there were some discrepancies between such recommendations and some colonial administrators' policies and practices in some countries such as Kenya.

Sifuna (ibid.: 127) indeed states: "African paramountcy remained theoretical well into the 1950s".

Sheffield (1973: 5) and Sifuna (1990: 111) show that the British government's primary goal of assuming responsibility for Uganda, Kenya (then known as the East African Protectorate) and Zanzibar in the 1890s was to keep the line of communication to Uganda and the Kenyan coast open for commercial purposes. A railway line was therefore constructed from Kisumu to Mombasa to provide a link between Lake Victoria and the Kenyan coast. Kenya's status was later changed from a protectorate to a British colony in 1920 (Sifuna 1990: 126).

However, the report *Education in East Africa* (African Education Commission 1925: 101) acknowledges: "Governmental and social custom throughout the world has too frequently interpreted 'trusteeship' as the right to control and to exploit rather than duty to develop." In colonies such as Kenya where this happened to some extent, it might have reduced further the already limited opportunities for Kenyans to make choices in different aspects of life (also see London Group on African Affairs 1936: 2, 4-8).

Some local colonial administrators' policies and practices in political, economic and educational sectors (particularly during the early part of the colonial period) in Kenya seem to contradict some of the researcher's dimensions of democracy for human development, and they include:

- unfair distribution of land resources whereby one-fifth of Kenya's agricultural land with high potential for successful cultivation was apportioned to the settlers who formed less than one per cent of the Kenyan population which led to the losing of traditional lands by some ethnic communities (Sheffield 1973: 6, Sifuna 1990: 112)

- imposing a hut tax on Africans as a way of forcing them to work for wages on settlers' farms (ibid.: 112, Sheffield 1973: 7)
- forbidding Africans from growing cash crops (coffee and tea), and thus the only alternative means of raising money for taxes was by working for Europeans (ibid.)
- excluding Africans from participating in decision-making activities in public affairs (for instance after the Foreign Office transferred control of Kenyan territory to the Colonial Office in 1905 an appointive legislative council was established, numerous local associations formed and a settlers' Parliament; all for Europeans (ibid.)
- treating the African as a child who was not to be allowed to decide what is best for him (sic) and that it was the duty of European administrators to educate him (sic) whatever his (sic) inclinations (ibid.: 18)
- denying Africans appropriate educational opportunities based on the prejudiced notions that generally the African mind has reached the stage of sense perception, that the imaginations and the emotions are highly developed but development of reasoning capacities must be slow (Anderson 1970: 40)
- unequal educational opportunities based on the notion that handwork which was considered useful elsewhere in training of mentally defective children was the most useful training which the African could receive in his present condition since it required continual contact with material processes (ibid.)
- denying Africans equal educational opportunities in quality and quantity which was expressed by the educational expenditure for European pupils that was five times higher than that of the Africans (Sheffield 1973: 22, also see table 5.1. and 5.2. below)
- unequal payments for work according to race: in the 1940's Africans and Asians in the civil service were paid three-fifths the salary of European officers of the same

level; and in the 1950s European teachers with two years training beyond school certificate were placed on higher levels than African teachers with four years training beyond School certificate and who held Makerere Diplomas (Anderson 1970: 45-46, see also table 5.3. below)

Table 5.1. Educational expenditure according to race in 1924

	Proportions of population in numbers and percentages		Total Expenditure according to race	Expenditure per child ³
Europeans	10,000	0.393%	£24,000.00	£12.00
Indians	36,000*	1.414%	£11,675.00	£2.00
Arabs			£2,325.00	not specified
Africans	2,500,000	98.193%	£37,000.00	practically negligible
Total	2,546,000	100%	£75,000.00	

*Total number of Indians and Arabs

Source of information: Report on *Education in East Africa* (African Education Commission 1925: 101, 118)

Table 5.2. 1926 Education department expenditure by race

Race	Pupils in State and State-aided schools	Expenditure in US Dollars	Expenditure per pupil
African and Arabs	6,948	232,293.00	33.4
Asian	1,900	70,329.00	37
European	776	140,041	180.5
Total	9,624	442,663.00	46

Source of information: Sheffield (1973: 22)⁴

Table 5.3. 1919 Education department budget

Director (European)	£500.00
Head Clerk (African)	£32.00
Assistant Clerk (Indian)	£72.00
Assistant Clerk (African)	£32.00
Total	636.00

Source of information: Sheffield 1973: 17⁵

³ According to Sifuna (1990: 135), the expenditure was roughly 20 cents per African child and 40 shillings per European child

⁴ Cited from Kenya Education Department (1930), *Annual Report*, (Nairobi: Government Printers 1931: 9-10)

⁵ Cited from the 1919 *Report of the Education Commissions of the East African Protectorate*

From the point of view of the researcher's democratic framework, the above factors imply unequal rights, exclusion from decision-making, and unequal opportunities which contradict the **protective, prescriptive and opportunities dimensions**.

The above notwithstanding, Sheffield (1973), Anderson (1970) and Sifuna (1990) show that from the 1920s there were socio-economic, political and educational changes that were orientated towards improving participation of Kenyans in decision-making, for instance associations for Africans similar to those of the settlers were permitted. However, the government did not encourage political participation by Africans on the national political level. Sheffield (1973), Anderson (1970) and Sifuna (1990) have discussed the political, economic and educational changes in Kenya during the colonial period and some of those related to the present study are highlighted below:

(i) Some examples of political changes in Kenya

- 1924 • the Native Authority Ordinance was amended to allow establishment of local native councils in the reserves; the representatives were chosen by Africans but they had to be approved by district officers
- 1947 • a policy was formulated for establishing more efficient, representative and modern systems of local government
- 1944-1952 • Africans were nominated as representatives in the Legislative Council by the governor
- 1954 • Lyttleton Constitution allowed Africans to be elected as members of the Legislative Council
- 1958 • Lennox-Boyd Constitution increased African representation in both legislative and executive bodies

- 1960 • Two political parties were formed: Kenya National African Union (KANU) and Kenya National Democratic Union (KADU)

(ii) Some examples of economic changes

From 1870s • Britain campaigned strongly against slave trade

- 1954 • the Swynnerton plan gave equal farming rights: it lifted the ban that prohibited Africans from growing cash crops

(iii) Some examples of educational changes

1925 • after the Phelps-Stokes report, the government decided to work through the missions to provide education that was more oriented towards improving agriculture, health, native industries for African people

1920s • the government developed a strategy of training teachers for village schools

1931 • School area committees were established and local native council members were represented and this stimulated African participation in education

1938-1939 • enrolment in elementary and primary education expanded rapidly but the quality was low, and secondary education expanded slowly

From 1940s • there was rapid expansion of secondary and higher education opportunities particularly because of the United Nations' democratization principles.

After the World War II, the United Nations (formed in 1945) started agitating for the institution of democracy all over the world. There was also growing pressure from the African nationalist movements for self-government in Kenya, and their failure to achieve economic and political reforms for greater Africans' participation in decision-

making led to the 'Mau Mau rebellion' which began in 1952 (Sheffield 1973: 55-56). The demands of the nationalist movements were supported by the adoption of the UN principles which meant that self government was to be established in the colonized countries. This was expected to enhance indigenous Africans' participation in making and implementing policies in societal affairs. Nevertheless, the colonial governments required the Africans to show their commitment to liberal democratic ideals including multipartyism before they could be granted political independence (Macpherson 1966: 2, Heater 1971: 149). As Silveira (1976: 30) clearly points out, "The competitive multiparty system in the countries of Africa south of Sahara ... is the immediate and logical consequence of the Franco-African community or of the British-style self government." In Kenya for instance, there were two political parties prior to attainment of political independence (Potholm 1979: 171-173).

Nevertheless, Sheffield (1973: 57) and Widner (1995: 700-703) indicate that the parties were tribe-related: KANU represented a coalition of Kenya's two largest tribes (the Kikuyu and the Luo) while KADU was formed primarily as a reaction against the domination of these two tribes to represent the minority ones. This tribal division led to lengthy debates on whether to adopt a parliamentary or a federal government; the former type was favoured by the majority KANU party.

During the colonial period, literacy was considered a necessary condition for political participation and only a small percentage of the Africans got access to formal education. Consequently, this excluded a big proportion of Africans from participating in governmental affairs. In the Kenyan case, Mair (1961: 53) notes: "According to the rules of the elections of 1961 ... everyone did not have the vote, but the qualifications for voting were the same for everyone. A voter had to be able to read and write in his

(sic) own language, or be more than 40 years old, or be in a responsible post, or earn £75 a year” (as shown earlier similar criteria were applied in England and USA in the nineteenth century). Similarly, in Sierra Leone voting rights before independence were extended only to those who could read and write (ibid.: 20). The demand by the colonial governments to satisfy the above conditions meant that, although race was no longer used as a discriminating factor in extending suffrage in principle, most Africans were still excluded from political participation in reality.

From the above discussion, the Kenyan political, socio-economic and educational situation in Kenya during the colonial period also falls short of the conditions discussed in the democratic framework for engendering human development. The limited participation in decision-making particularly for Africans, inequitable distribution of educational and economic opportunities, and criteria for voting that excluded large proportions of the population could be said to have curtailed the promotion of the **prescriptive, opportunities and pragmatic dimensions.**

5.6.3. Democracy and human development in post-colonial Kenya

When Kenya and other African states gained their independence in the 1960s, they adopted the ideology of ‘*African Socialism*’. According to *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya* (Republic of Kenya 1965: 3), this ideology is based on two African traditions, namely; political democracy and mutual social responsibility. Democracy then was mainly understood as universal suffrage regardless of race, tribe, sex or religion (Pinkney 1993: 45).

From the two concepts of ‘political democracy’ and ‘mutual social responsibility’, the following ultimate objectives were formulated for the African societies: political equality, social justice, respect for human dignity, freedom from want, disease and

exploitation, equal opportunities, and high and growing per capita incomes that would be equitably distributed (ibid.: 1-4). In principle, these objectives are in keeping with human development, but in practice the works reviewed in Chapter 2 show these objectives are far from being attained, particularly for Kenyan women.

Education in Kenya has been viewed as a means of achieving the above societal objectives. The post-independence Kenyan educational objectives which are stipulated in the first Education Report immediately after gaining self-government are closely related to the general societal ones cited above. They include: (i) elimination of discrimination, (ii) national unity, (iii) fostering respect for human personality, (iv) promoting social equality and removing divisions of races, tribes and religion, and (v) promoting social obligation and responsibility (Republic of Kenya 1964: 25, also see Sessional paper No. 6 - Republic of Kenya 1988: 7).

This indicates that education is viewed as a means of realizing the goals of '*African Socialism*'.

Further, the political systems in Kenya and other African states such as Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi for example were changed from multiparty to single party democracy in the early 1960s as a way of strengthening national unity which was considered crucial for development. According to Eshiwani (1990: 3), during the colonial period racial and ethnic differences were manipulated to keep various communities apart under the principle of "divide and rule". He notes that segregation and differentiation for example reinforced racial and ethnic prejudices and they ensured dominance of Europeans over other racial groups.

The tribal-based political parties might therefore have been viewed as strengthening the divisions among the various communities. African leaders emphasised that "...the

circumstantial party tactics and the wasting of Assembly's time in academic discussions were a major obstacle to the exercise of power and to the solution of the problems of national integration" (Silveira 1976: 31, Busia 1967: 3). In Kenya, the late President Kenyatta emphasized that "...the single most important attribute to the nation's past and future stability and progress is national unity" (Republic of Kenya 1976: 3). The *Kenya Official Handbook* (Republic of Kenya 1983: 44) states that for one year after the country gained its political Independence, multi-party politics continued to be:

...dominated by KANU fighting for a unitary form of government and KADU for a quasi-federal form of government. The battle ended in December 1964 when KADU dissolved itself voluntarily and joined KANU. By this time the KANU government had proved that it respected the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual and would not destroy the sound economic basis of the young nation.

Consequently, the method of pursuing the democratic values was changed from a largely competitive (multipartyism) to a seemingly more cooperative (single party) mode probably as a matter of political expediency. Competition however continued amongst candidates in various constituencies during elections but cooperation was emphasized in government. The educational objectives above also indicate commitment to promote national unity *inter alia* (Republic of Kenya 1964: 25, Eshiwani 1990).

Wiseman (1997) nevertheless views single party systems ostensibly as forms of authoritarianism in post-colonial African governments. From the point of view of democracy for human development in the present study also, single party systems curtail people's opportunities to make divergent choices and decisions (see the **methodological dimension** in Chapter 4).

Single party governments which had eventually developed into dictatorships are now in the process of being eliminated albeit with a lot of resistance in some cases such as Kenya. Widner (1995), Pinkney (1993) and Wiseman (1997) indicate that growing

internal pressure from opposition groups and external pressure effected through withdrawal of foreign aid have played major roles in the transition process. The establishment and sustenance of multiparty governments and implementation of the economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were considered compulsory conditions for any disbursement of foreign aid by international donor agencies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).⁶

In the *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1991: 38563), the report on Kenya under the sub-heading 'Strained Foreign Relations' states: "On Nov. 27 a meeting of Western donor countries held in Paris under the World Bank auspices deferred for six months a decision on 1992 aid [to Kenya], stating that they expected Moi's government to open up the political system and to end human rights abuses and high level corruption."

The next publication of the *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1991: 38661) in the article 'Kenya Moves to Multi-party Democracy - Cabinet Changes' reports that:

A special conference of the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) on Dec. 3 unanimously endorsed a proposal made by President Daniel arap Moi to repeal Section 2A of the Constitution, which stipulated that KANU was the only legal political party. Enabling legislation was passed by the National Assembly on Dec. 10 and on Dec. 20 the amended Constitution recognizing the multiparty system came into effect."

During the same month, the article 'IMF Loan Delayed' reports: "on Dec. 23 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced that it was delaying disbursement of ... the second instalment under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), pending further discussion with the [Kenyan] government about the economic performance targets" (ibid.: 38662). Again, in 1995 "The Paris Club of Kenya's Creditor Countries, meeting in Paris on July 24, made it clear that further assistance to Kenya was dependent on greater political and economic progress" (*Keesing's Record of*

⁶ As indicated in Chapter 2, Wiseman (1997) explains the external pressure on 'dictatorships' to adopt multipartyism as one of the impacts of the end of Cold War.

World Events 1995: 40635). Furthermore, bilateral aid by individual countries including Germany, the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries was suspended.

Before the 1997 elections, the Kenyan Constitution was amended to allow the President (elected by the public) to form either parliamentary or coalition governments modelled against the systems adopted in UK and USA (Shimoli 1997).

The resulting political changes that are taking place in Kenya and some of the other developing countries have led to increased efforts to offer non-formal civic education by the church, political parties (mainly during campaigns) and some NGOs. Seminars and rallies have been organized to educate the masses about the importance of having the vote. However, little success has been achieved in Kenya because such initiatives have not been actively encouraged at national level. Joseph (1993: 315) has noted that "When governments grow highly intransigent, as was once the case in Zaire and is now the case in Kenya, religious organizations have kept up the pressure with well-publicized sermons and pastoral letters."

The Kenyan government however does indicate that education is considered important for pursuing democratic ideals (see the Educational Report for the 1990s and beyond - Republic of Kenya 1988: 8). It states that national philosophy should be translated into educational philosophy which is realised through an education and training system. The system is therefore expected to develop an egalitarian society by availing equal educational opportunities to every Kenyan regardless of race, sex, or creed. In principle, Kenyan education and training ought to create awareness of cultural, social, economic and political values and to develop an individual who is committed to the goals of Kenyan society. To achieve the general national goals, the education offered is therefore geared towards:

- preparing and equipping young people with knowledge, skills and expertise to enable them to play an effective role in society
- providing opportunities for the full development of talents and personality
- promoting social justice and morality
- creating awareness of social and political obligations and responsibilities
- enhancing national unity (ibid.: 10-11).

In Kenya and other African countries, Bennaars (1993: 67) notes that schooling tends to emphasize almost exclusively the cognitive aspect of education which concerns transmission of knowledge and acquisition of technical and professional skills. The mode of examination is competitive and is normally used for identifying and selecting qualified people to take the few jobs available in societies. Critical thought is generally overshadowed. Bennaars asserts that the outcome of this education is a labour force that is compliant and subordinate, rather than critical-minded democratic citizens (ibid.: 109-110). Thus, people's ability to develop qualities and attitudes that empower them to participate actively and effectively in making choices and decisions is reduced and this has negative implications for the **developmental dimension** of democracy for human development.

Gender inequalities and authoritarianism in Kenyan education as shown in Chapter 2 negate the UNDP's goals of promoting equality and empowering people to be agents of change and growth in their societies. Thus, if the various dimensions of democracy for human development were considered by the Kenyan government in formulating and implementing policies, then equitable distribution of educational opportunities and pupils' participation in school affairs could perhaps be enhanced.

The next section now focuses on the women's case. The purpose is to show the extent to which the democratic framework for engendering human development may be said to have been effected in the practical life of Kenyan women since pre-colonial times, and to highlight any discrepancies with the general trend.

5.6.4. Development of democracy for human development and Kenyan women

The development of democracy for Kenyan women since pre-colonial times also manifests shortfalls when considered in relation to the researcher's six dimensions of democracy for human development, as discussed below. There are disagreements among scholars as to whether or not women participated democratically in traditional societies. Kenyatta (1938), O'Barr and Firmin-Sellers (1995), and Okonjo (1976) indicate that African women participated equally with men in decision-making activities. On the other hand, Simiyu (1988), Phelps-Stokes Fund (abridged, with an introduction by Lewis 1962: Chapter 6) and African Education Commission (1925), argue that women were excluded from decision-making.

Kenyatta (1938: 189) indicates that married Gikuyu men and women were accorded the same social status and respect in society. Just as men, women had 'advisory councils' for making decision on matters that specifically affected them (*ibid.*: 111). O'Barr & Firmin-Sellers (1995: 191) similarly state: "Prior to the systematic penetration of European colonial systems, African women had a much broader role in decision making than they did under colonialism, or than they have had since independence." They further assert that traditionally women had their own groups for conducting affairs that were relevant to them in areas like marketing, farming and age-group activities. These groups and social roles of women were regarded as parallel rather than subordinate to those of men (*ibid.*: 193).

Shaw (1995) concurs with this view and she states that in her reanalysis of colonial ethnographies, Kikuyu women emerge as powerful political players. The discussion indicates "Women were crucial in turning land and its products into political resources. In their own councils, women could act independently of men and held sway over some men, but much of the women's power came from the authoritative control over the production and distribution of food and beer" (ibid.: 29). Men on the other hand were in control of livestock farming.

Kenyatta (1938) notes that gender roles in the Kikuyu community and families are generally equally distributed. He points out that in rearing children parents took almost an equal responsibility: from the time children were weaned girls were mainly trained by their mothers and boys by their fathers. Accordingly, both women and men were involved in child rearing but in a sex-stereotyped way. The older people in families and community played some part but similarly according to gender. This arrangement enabled everybody to receive education that was relevant to the roles one was expected to play in the society.

Shaw however notes that there are disagreements among writers about the status of Kikuyu women's traditional councils. Kenyatta (1938) and Okonjo (1976) argue for parallelism of women's and men's councils in African traditional societies in general. But Okonjo (1976: 47) goes on to state that among the Igbo in mid-western Nigeria "...the male *obi* [leader] ... in theory was acknowledged head of the whole community but ... in practice was concerned more with the male section of the community, and the female *omu* [leader] ... in theory was acknowledged mother of the whole community but ... in practice was charged with concern for the female section." Following this, Shaw

(1995) asserts that African women's decisions were binding on women only while men's decisions bound the whole group.

Simiyu, on the other hand states that women in Kenyan communities were excluded from judicial and political processes. Phelps-Stokes Fund (1962: 206) and African Education Commission (1925: 348) state that customarily girls were arbitrarily disposed in marriage for a price arranged in their childhood, that they took the heavy burden of fieldwork, that disability and subservience were imposed on them in social life, and that they lacked opportunity for self-expression.

In contrast to this view, O'Barr & Firmin-Sellers (1995: 189-195), Cammack *et al.* (1993: 211-213) and Okonjo (1976) assert that the introduction of Western culture in Africa had detrimental effects on the importance given to women's roles and their respect as human beings with equal worth in society. In the Western culture, gender relations and responsibilities at the time restricted women from public roles, and the governing positions were exclusively for men. Legally, ownership of private property was for men only. Moreover, men's participation appears to have been encouraged more than that of women in the Western formal education introduced in Kenya (see table 5.4. and 5.5.). These Western cultural practices are therefore considered to have had negative effects on African women's traditional political, socio-economic and educational status.

Table 5.4. Attendance in Kenyan schools by race and gender (1938)

Gender	European	Indian	Goan	Arab	African
Government schools					
Boys	699	3,383	a	787	477
Girls	461	859	a	117	230
Non-governmental schools					
Boys	401	1,772	410	22	120,211
Girls	556	2,516	449	5	33,842

a: Included in Indian figures

Source of information: Sifuna (1990: 141)

From the above figures, of all the Africans attending school women constituted 22 per cent only.

Table 5.5. Growth of secondary school education (1940-1963)

Year	Type of Secondary School			African School Certificate Candidates ⁷	
	Government Schools		Aided schools	Boys	Girls
1940	0		2	11	0
1945	0		4	17	0
1950	5		6	61	0
1955	8		9	245	7
1960		33*		900	85
1963		82*		1292	199

*From 1960 all schools were classified as aided
Source of information: Anderson (1970: 46)

From the above figures, at the time of independence in 1963 women constituted only 13.3 per cent of all the African candidates for school certificate examinations.

Furthermore, women's education was mainly training in domestic skills. A combination of the above political and socio-economic developments in the African context is considered by some writers above to have changed the status of women from that of equality with men to a subordinate one. This affected democracy for African women because it reduced their opportunities to participate in making decisions relating to both private and societal affairs.

In the 1960s, Kenyan women as in other African societies achieved suffrage when political independence was attained (see Karl 1995: 88-92). However, Oduol, W. (1995: 86) states:

The participation of women in political and decision-making positions in Kenya remains minimal despite the resolutions of the UN decade conference of Nairobi in 1985 and the Abuja Declaration of 1989 to increase women's participation in these spheres. This situation persists despite the fact that

⁷ According to Anderson (1970: 46), the African population was nearly nine million.

Kenya has ratified most of the human rights conventions, the most prominent being the 1979 convention of the elimination of discrimination against women.

In the current Kenyan government there is no woman minister and only one woman out of 42 assistant ministers (*Nation Reporter* 18th February 1998f). Altogether, there are now 8 women out 222 MPs (210 elected and 12 nominated) including the recently nominated blind woman in one of the opposition parties (see *Nation Reporter* 19th January 1998c, *Nation Reporter* 22nd January 1998d, Sekoh-Ochieng 1998). . Of the 8 women MPs, 3 out of 210 are elected and 5 out of 12 are nominated.

Education is identified as an important factor that is necessary for empowering women to participate on an equal basis with men in political, economic and social sectors. (Oduol, W. 1995: 92; Mugenda 1995: 55). Hence, education for women is an important tool for the advancement of democracy for human development in Kenya. This view indicates a need for Kenya government's intervention to develop the various democratic conditions in education, politics and industry, which would be likely to engender human development for women.

In summary, democracy has been a very popular concept in Africa since the 1960s because that is when most of formerly colonized countries attained their political independence. The above discussion also shows disagreements among writers about whether or not democracy was practised during the pre-colonial period. This is mainly because traditions and customs in various communities differed and thus examination of democracy in each traditional African community as a unique case is necessary to prevent flawed generalizations. Similarly, the experiences of women and men with regard to pursuance of democratic values also generally show some differences. Thus, each gender should be studied separately to avoid misrepresentation of either group.

5.7.0 CONCLUSION

This historical account shows that Kenya has made important steps for enhancing democracy for human development such as extending the vote to all people from the age of eighteen years and expanding economic and educational opportunities, however there is still a great deal to be done. Kenya has been influenced by the Western world and indeed the current government combines elements of parliamentary and presidential governments which are respectively adopted in the UK and the USA.

Formal education is today recognised as a prerequisite for effective establishment and development of democracy. This view is strongly upheld by the UN whose main aim is to enhance democracy in the world and in turn improve justice, peace and development. Nevertheless, emphasis in Kenyan education is primarily laid on developing manpower knowledge and skills, and education for democratic participation is not given due attention. The case of Kenyan women in general is worsened by early marriages and lack of fees among other reasons, and this has contributed to lower participation in decision-making in societal affairs.

The researcher considers both availability of educational opportunities and democratic participation in the education process necessary for developing knowledge, skills, qualities and attitudes for sustainable human development. Thus, Kenyan women's low participation in decision-making in socio-economic and political affairs could probably be attributed to both inequitable distribution of opportunities and lack of appropriate programmes for developing people who are inclined towards democratic participation.

The next chapter therefore attempts to examine how education could perhaps be used in Kenyan society to enhance the various dimensions of democracy discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE FOR KENYAN WOMEN

6.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how education could be used to redress the shortfalls in the Kenyan society in the various dimensions of democracy for human development. If high degrees of equity, empowerment and productivity for both women and men are to be attained, then the current education needs to be re-examined.

The researcher broadly conceives the interrelationship between democracy and education, and human development as the teaching and learning that incorporates the various dimensions discussed in Chapter 4. Consequently, the multi-dimensional democratic concept needs to be incorporated in organizing Kenyan education at all levels. As shown below, this objective could perhaps be achieved in at least two ways:

- a) *directly* through developing appropriate forms of knowledge, skills, and qualities
- b) *less directly* through the hidden curriculum.

Bottery (1990a: 97-98) identifies four different categories of hidden curriculum: manipulative, informal, forgotten and unrecognized types. The manipulative type concerns educational effects resulting from organizing classrooms following similar institutional procedures to those employed in factories for instance. It is thus a means of preparing young people to adapt to certain systems which are used in other institutions or organizations. The informal type involves organizing formal timetables or classes to enhance development of certain qualities such as self-confidence and cooperativeness. The forgotten type involves development that results from following certain traditions in

carrying out certain tasks and behaving in certain ways without due consideration for the initial reasons for doing so. Lastly, the unrecognized hidden curriculum involves developing qualities and attitudes that were not intended in the first place, and to use Bottery's example, children may develop a sense of responsibility in collecting registers and books although this is done purely for administrative purposes. The manipulative and informal hidden curricula are of more concern in the current study than the others because democracy for human development requires that people make decisions and take actions consciously and also justify them clearly, for instance by considering the implications for individuals and the entire society.

The following sections attempt to discuss in greater details how Kenyan education may be used to enhance each of the various dimensions of democracy for human development, beginning with the **prescriptive** one. The case of women is given special consideration under the **pragmatic dimension** in highlighting the importance of considering their circumstantial differences.

6.1.0. EDUCATION AND THE PRESCRIPTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The interrelationship between the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy and education comprises of both theoretical and practical aspects. The *theoretical part* may be viewed as empowering young people by developing knowledge and understanding about human development issues and about democratic citizenship and culture. This may be said to be effected to some extent through subjects or programmes such as education for citizenship, personal, social and moral education, values education, political education, civic education, ethics and religious education. In Kenya, history and government, and social education and ethics may be considered as examples of subjects that cover issues

relating to participation in decision-making, and to obligations and responsibilities in schools and society in general (See the 1992 *Kenya Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six*).

These examples of terms and titles given to modules, subjects or topics dealing with values, human qualities and civic cultures come from different societies but they may essentially address similar issues. For instance, Robb's (1994: 34-47) attempt to distinguish between values education and citizenship education shows that the two may be concerned about the same things. The former nevertheless is more to do with values themselves rather than the factual evidence stressed in the latter. He concludes that values education is at the heart of citizenship education.

Citizenship education could help to develop knowledge and understanding about the concepts of the various types of democratic ways of life for example the social and liberal types. Young people need to understand their general underlying principles and their implications for human and overall development. Opportunities therefore need to be provided for them to discuss critically arguments by various writers on such approaches and possible combinations, and their application to education, the labour market and other sectors (see for example Tooley 1996, 1997; Plant and Barry 1990; and Ranson 1997: 158-170, 180-184). Such discussions would probably enable learners to critically examine Kenyan national ideology in relation to different democratic approaches and to point out any discrepancies in principle and in practice. This, in turn, would possibly help them to clarify the conflicting standpoints regarding public affairs which were revealed by Harber's 1989 study (see Chapter 2).

Clarifications about social and liberal democracy among other similar systems would be likely to enable learners to understand their advantages and disadvantages and their

implications for people's rights, duties and responsibilities. The children would also be likely to be able to consider more efficiently the relevance of the systems to general school organization, to curricula and extra-curricula activities, and to the prevailing school rules and regulations.

The 'Dutch Centre for Civic Education' is a relevant example that appears to enhance the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy for learners: the centre has a long experience with the so-called interactive projects, where the accent lies not so much on the transfer of knowledge as on learning by doing (Veldhuis 1996: 770). The rationale of these interactive projects is to involve students in making decisions in cases where there are conflicting interests. Thus, they have to deliberate on the various projects and alternatives courses of action and then weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each before making any decisions. The projects motivate the students because they deal with real life experiences which help them understand their own interests and their own personal situations better (ibid.).

In these Dutch educational projects, the local councils allocate money to groups of about 60 secondary school students to compete in choosing a community facility or service for which they prepare a detailed budget. The best choices are determined through voting and they are actually implemented (ibid.: 770-771). This programme has been adopted in some schools in other countries such as Estonia, Germany and Lithuania (ibid.: 777) and it mainly requires positive attitudes towards the students' capabilities for making decisions in public affairs. Kenya also could perhaps benefit by considering the Dutch government's ideas and practices in promoting democratic participation for young people through education.

The *practical aspect* of the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy could be viewed as the actual planning stage where pupils participate in making rational and informed decisions in school matters that affect them. It involves applying the democratic theory they have learnt to real life activities such as making decisions in classrooms and schools, and implementing resulting policies, rules and regulations. Such involvement could probably enable pupils to develop into effective agents and informed beneficiaries of growth and development in their institutions.

From the point of view of the present study, if Kenyan education is to be utilized as a means of attaining high standards of democracy, then all people including pupils need to be given some opportunities to make decisions and choices on matters that affect them. The decisions and choices made need to be implemented in practical educational activities so as to make all people involved be more careful in their deliberation (also see Bottery 1990b: 242).

Cross (1987: 7) rightly indicates that in schools for instance, everything from individual classroom management, lesson planning, to curriculum policy and general school organization involves value judgements. On the basis of value judgements made, decisions and actions are taken. Cross (*ibid.*: 5-14) further states that the stages in a planning or an evaluating process explicitly include:

- identifying and clarifying the values and principles under consideration
- gathering and using information
- identifying alternative courses of action
- lastly choosing and acting.

He also identifies the complementary implicit processes associated with the various stages and they include:

- considering people's feelings, beliefs, and views
- seeking guidance
- self-evaluation
- communication
- cooperation.

These steps are necessary not only at the initial planning stage of decision or policy-making but also in evaluation throughout the implementation process. If people followed these steps they would be likely to make more informed decisions and choices after careful consideration of the effects on individuals, school communities and the entire society. Adherence to certain set procedures would be likely to prevent ineffective plans made merely according to people's whims.

Involving as many people as possible would act as a check and balance to reduce the possibility of overlooking things that are considered important by different people in given educational institutions. The process of implementing the resulting decisions requires constant evaluation to ensure maximum progress is made, and to create further opportunities for improving learners' capabilities to make choices and decisions in life, and thereby engender their human development.

Bottery (1990b: 241) rightly notes that unless pupils are actively involved in making decisions, judgements, and choices to enable them clarify, defend, and develop their own personal values, then there can be no education for democracy. Thus, if pupils understand the human development goals and the implications for their lives, it may be easier to develop commitment and obligation towards achieving them in real life. If they are given opportunities to choose and apply the different approaches (theoretically and practically) in organizing school clubs or societies, students' councils and some

classroom activities, then they may be likely to gain the experience and knowledge necessary for active decision-making in their educational institutions and later in life.

The following section examines methods of expressing views and opinions in decision-making activities in educational institutions.

6.2.0. EDUCATION AND THE METHODOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Some of the ways in which education can enhance the **methodological dimension** of democracy for human development is by developing democratic procedures for:

- electing students' leaders (which would involve campaigning in order for candidates to say exactly what they would do for their school or classes if they were elected)
- voting that ensures proportional representation according to gender and classes for example in organizing class and school affairs
- sharing power, duties and responsibilities equitably
- organizing competitions in debates and drama on topical issues that concern the school and society.

From the point of view of the present study, there is a need to develop systems that ensure that both girls and boys are involved actively in school affairs. They need therefore to learn various ways of dealing with issues of common concern. For instance they could develop relevant knowledge and understanding of voting procedures and improve their potential capabilities of writing articles on topical issues for school bulletins and news magazines. Some studies reviewed in Chapter 2 indicate that Kenyan education is largely authoritarian in nature, and thus consideration needs to be given to developing procedures that ensure young people participate freely. Such a stance could perhaps engender human development for learners by giving them relevant experience and by enabling them to be more conversant with various procedures for making contributions in decision-making.

Although the present study's concept of democracy for human development emphasizes personal participation by all people, there are some views of democracy that may negate

it as a matter of expediency. Wringle (1984: 65) for instance indicates that democracy in schools may be conceived from two distinctive perspectives:

[i] At one extreme, democracy has been urged as a reason for giving pupils more say in the content of their education and the running of schools.¹ [ii] At the other, it may be used as an argument for making schools more 'accountable' to the government and thereby to the voters and taxpayers, that is, as an argument for greater centralisation and control.²

The first assertion may imply that students would be allowed to elect their own leaders while the second one may indicate that headteachers would select the students' leaders whom they consider to be accountable. The problem with these assertions appears to be that the two issues of active participation and accountability are taken as being mutually exclusive which is not necessarily the case. Both of them are essential for enhancing democracy for human development for young people.

The arguments for appointing leaders and bestowing on them a lot of power have negative implications for other pupils in that they are denied opportunities to develop accountability for their actions and decisions, and to gain knowledge and experience in making important educational decisions concerning their lives. Moreover, the idea denies them the chance to develop appropriate attitudes and qualities through active democratic participation in positions of responsibility.

Attempts should therefore be made gradually to change this kind of negative view of learners and eliminate apathy. Opportunities for making choices and decisions and discussing divergent views and ideas need to be made available. If education systems are to be used as a means of engendering human development for all people, then formalized systems for promoting self-expression are necessary. The systems should be

¹ See also Davies (1997) and Harber (1992).

² See also Fidler (1997: 316-325), Mitter (1997: 293), Harber (1997: 180) and Downes (1994: 218).

designed in ways that encourage people to consider critically the issues at hand and to justify their choices and decisions.

The following discussion tries to examine ways in which Kenyan learners may develop appropriate knowledge and understanding about different democratic system, and also gain some experience in employing them to enhance their human development. Some writings on democratic school systems and accounts of practical experiences are briefly discussed below in an attempt to find ways in which the Kenyan education system could perhaps be modified to achieve this goal.

6.2.1. Arguments for democratic school systems and their relevance to human development in Kenya

The discussion in Chapter 4 shows that direct participation and multi-party systems with proportional representation might be the most applicable for engendering human development equitably. Davies (1997), Bottery (1990b), Harber (1992), Kelly (1995), and Edwards and Fogelman (1991: 17-34) among other writers strongly argue for active participation in decision-making by all people, and a lot of emphasis is laid on the young people. The general justification in these works is that children need to gain experience through participation if they are expected to develop into active democratic citizens. However, appropriate guidance and not deliberate manipulation by older people should be offered to the learners whenever necessary.

From the point of view of democracy for human development, the Kenyan government could probably reduce authoritarianism in schools by formulating and implementing policies that facilitate establishment of elective students' organizations, clubs or councils that allow active discussions on matters of concern to students. Implementation of such a suggestion would be likely to enable young people to

understand and utilize various channels of expressing, discussing and justifying their positions in matters of interest to them.

Davies (1997: 304-315) argues for an education system that incorporates elections and equitable distribution of power among teachers and students. From the point of view of the present study, such a system would be likely to be useful for young people in Kenya because it focuses on some of the issues discussed under the **methodological dimension** of democracy for human development in Chapter 4.

Davies's argument centres on non-party school systems (which she refers to as leaderless schools). She bases these school systems on four principles namely: legitimacy, accountability, human rights, and competence. Accordingly, the proposed leaderless schools would have a number of interwoven groupings of teachers and pupils for dealing with different issues such as formal curriculum, pastoral care and the physical maintenance of schools. The groupings would then have elected posts for students and teachers, but Davies states that some permanent posts could be created, for example, those of bursar and marketing manager.

The writer notes that the disadvantage with such systems would be the impossibility of change before a set term elapses even though people may feel they are not adequately represented or consulted. To deal with such a problem, rules could be agreed upon to allow elections to be organized before set terms end if certain percentages of the people give votes of no confidence in particular leaders.

Secondly, she notes that there could be a possibility of the same people being re-elected continuously if they perform excellently. For this reason, she suggests that there should be ways of ensuring young people are incorporated into the school administrative system by allowing set percentages of leadership posts for them: this suggestion is in

line with affirmative action in the human development paradigm. A similar stance could also be taken to prevent marginalization of certain groups such as minorities and women by having proportional representation of as many people as possible in the institution.

If the classroom level is considered, there are certain teaching methods and ways of conducting class activities that are democratic (Harber 1992: 36). Edwards and Fogelman (1990: 22) indicate that tutorials are democratic in nature because they involve group discussions. Another method that may allow active participation among students and teachers is presenting seminar papers. These methods enhance dialogue, debate, questioning, and critical thought (Kelly 1995: 112-113). If the ideas in the above discussion are considered for the Kenyan situation they would be likely to contribute towards enhancing democratic participation in schools.

6.2.2. Experiences in implementing democratic school systems and their relevance to human development in Kenya

Some schools in Britain (Harber 1992: 25-26, Downes 1994: 220) and in Holland (Harber 1992: 25-26; Veldhuis 1996: 769-778) provide practical examples where ideas similar to those of Davies have been implemented following the general procedures applied in national politics. Thus, school parliaments have been established by electing two representatives from every class. Based on the classifications of democratic methods discussed in Chapter 4, individual classes could be viewed as constituencies in non-party systems or parties in multiparty educational institutions. The parliament meets every month to discuss matters of concern to the school. One headteacher in the Dutch schools pointed out that this school system:

- gives political lessons to children by them learning how to formulate political demands
- enables children to gain experience in making careful and deliberative choices of representatives who can express their views adequately
- enables the learners to think in terms of public interest
- makes children more willing to abide by the rules they contributed to making.

The system therefore has positive implications for the pupils' human development. If the Kenyan education system borrowed and modified such ideas and implementation processes to suit its circumstances, then probably the number of school strikes and riots which are a common phenomena could be reduced (see *Nation* Correspondent, 16th November 1998e and the article "When Class Bullying Turns Truly Sinister" - *Sunday Nation* 9th November 1997).

Campos and Menezes (1996: 352-353) offer a third example of a Portuguese school where students are actively involved in formulating rules and regulations for practical experience in their programme 'Education for Citizenship'. Nicaragua offers a fourth example where great efforts are being made to change from dictatorship to democracy by promoting active participation through students' councils in secondary schools among other strategies (Garcia 1996).

Notwithstanding the above practical examples of enhancing learners' democratic participation, Andrews (quoted in Davies 1997: 310) indicates however that a certain school's attempt to establish a multiparty democratic structure with constituencies and staff voting during meetings resulted in a culture of opposition rather than consensus. To counter this problem, direct participation was adopted in resolving educational matters within small groups that were directly affected by particular issues, thus making

people be more responsible, accountable and careful in deliberating on educational affairs.

This could imply that establishing democratic systems in schools also requires among other factors clear understanding of what they entail and tolerance of other people's views. The following section therefore attempts to explore how education could possibly be used to develop appropriate qualities and attitudes for a democratic way of life which is orientated towards enhancing human development.

6.3.0. EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENTAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Education can promote participatory democracy for human development if it enables people to develop the qualities and attitudes discussed in the **developmental dimension** of democracy in Chapter 4. Brennan (1981: 114) and Lynch and Smalley (1991: 93) indicate that concerted efforts need to be made by the family, the school, the church and the mass media to develop democratic citizens. In a similar line of argument, Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania (Brennan 1981: 5) states that people have to be educated in the democratic process for them to be able to take up power and responsibility in society.

In most contemporary societies, there seems to be widespread apathy, ignorance (Kelly 1995: 170), corruption, lack of interest in school affairs, and discipline problems. In Kenya, public speeches by the President of Kenya (Openda and PPS 1997, Githongo 1997) highlight negative attitudes and tendencies such as selfishness, dishonesty, intolerance, greed, corruption and violence as being some of the factors that have led to social, economic, and political crises. Such attitudes and tendencies have led to the prevailing social problems in Kenya that include ethnic clashes, sexual harassment, lynching of suspects by the public and so on, all of which are detrimental to human and overall development.

In Kenyan schools, there are discipline problems such as bullying, strikes and so on. Moreover, the current education system does not seem to develop adequately the qualities of democratic citizenship. In specific subjects such as the Kenyan 'Social Education and Ethics', Wamahiu (1990) and Bennaars (1990) show that it does not adequately emphasize critical thinking and ability to make choices freely which are

crucial for democratic citizens. The subject was recommended by the 1976 *Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies* (Republic of Kenya 1976: 5-9) due to the prevailing social problems such as corruption, tribalism and nepotism.

Bennaars (1990) attempts to give a deeper understanding of the subject by analyzing it under two separate parts: social education and social ethics. He defines social education as "...an inter-subjective process whereby an individual learns to be a social person, that is a reflexive and responsible person in society" (ibid.: 17). He goes further to state that social education involves conscious participation by the individual person and thus, dialogue is indispensable. As concerns social ethics, Bennaars views it as critical examination of moral standards in a given society (ibid.: 19). Based on the above definitions of social education and ethics, he concludes that the syllabus followed and methods used in teaching the subject are in need of re-consideration (ibid.: 20-22). Due to the seeming inadequacy of Kenyan education to develop some of the necessary qualities of democratic citizens (especially for girls), projects such as the Pied Crow (Osler 1993) have been established to help improve the curriculum (see Chapter 2).

This dimension argues that if democratic qualities and attitudes were emphasized in educational institutions, then it is most likely that they would probably be exhibited in other societal organizations. Eventually, this could perhaps have positive effects on the entire society in promoting democracy for human development. The discussion below tries to examine how education and special programmes or courses might be organized to promote democratic citizenship.

6.3.1. Developing active democratic citizenship in learners and its importance to human development

To develop active democratic citizens through education the following factors among others may need to be considered:

- the general status of children, teachers and parents in terms of character
- relevant knowledge or misinformation about democracy already acquired before joining schools
- school culture
- curriculum
- teaching and learning process
- availability of role models

(a) The general status of children, teachers and parents in terms of character and knowledge already acquired

Levels of human development may be maximized if people are educated formally to develop manpower skills and knowledge and to apply them rationally and fairly to improve human development for all citizens in their societies. White (1982: 121-139) and Peters (1977: 3-21) examine the concept of 'an educated person' and there are very close similarities with the qualities and attitudes discussed in the **developmental dimension** of democracy in Chapter 4. Some of the qualities are also discussed in works related to personal, social and moral education (see Bottery 1990a: 30-32, White J. 1989: 7-10, Leicester 1989: 87, McNiff 1985: 13-15 and Franks 1991: 41).

Before children start attending school they develop certain qualities and form their initial attitudes according to their experiences in personal and social life at home

(Department of Education and Science (DES) 1989: 1). Thus, if parents are authoritarian and children are not given opportunities to understand why rules and regulations are enforced, then they are likely to be submissive and inclined towards obedience without questioning. Conversely, if parents are able to guide children to develop independent critical thinking, then children are likely to start to develop the qualities and attitudes of democratic human beings. It is therefore important for teachers to consider the kind of children who use their schools. This would probably help in choosing for example administrative procedures, and teaching materials and methods, that are most suitable for developing them into formally educated democratic citizens. Such citizens would be likely to be inclined towards utilizing opportunities for making informed, fair, and critically examined decisions and choices. This is particularly important for empowering girls as explained later under the **pragmatic dimension** of democracy.

Although formal education mainly concentrates on the young people's development, some attention also needs to be directed to parents and teachers. Most parents and teachers normally hold authoritative positions in society and families by virtue of age and range of experiences in life. As a result, some of them domineer over young people in almost all aspects of life. It is more difficult to develop democratic qualities and attitudes in adults because the process might require reconsideration of already established ways of life and firmly ingrained beliefs. Parents and teachers nevertheless ought to be active democratic people if they are expected to contribute towards enhancing the same qualities in the children. Seminars and workshops would probably help parents and teachers to improve their knowledge and skills for guiding children to develop socially, morally and politically into democratic citizens.

(b) School culture

School culture includes physical, social, moral and political aspects such as the way classes are conducted, assessment procedures, discipline and control (Morrison 1987: 194-198), the streaming or non-streaming of classes, and sharing of power, duties and responsibilities. With regard to the social and moral aspects, Morrison (*ibid.*: 198), Bennaars (1993: 68-69) and Bottery (1990a: 30) note that educational institutions should provide an environment that gives emotional security through constant care and concern for young people. A caring environment would help them develop the self esteem which is necessary for democratic citizens. Self-confident people are more likely to advance, defend and clarify their arguments in discussions than those who are not. Thus, teachers and parents have the responsibility to give guidance and facilitate development of the relevant qualities.

The relationship between teachers and parents also has an effect on the kind of citizens into which young people develop. If the two groups to whom children generally look for guidance, are cooperative and actively involved in the school organization, then similar qualities are likely to develop in learners especially through the hidden curriculum. On the other hand, hostility and authoritarianism among teachers and parents would not augur well for the development of qualities such as tolerance, cooperation and critical thinking in children.

Kenyan school administration does not encourage learners to contribute their ideas and suggestions about school organization (see Sifuna 1997, 1997a and Abagi 1997, 1997a in Chapter 2). Bottery (1990b: 238-239; 1992: 153-156) provides some arguments used for justifying a culture where pupils are denied active participation in making decisions concerning their schools. The arguments are based on:

- (i) limited physical power
- (ii) non-contribution in monetary terms
- (iii) limited rationality
- (iv) apathy

The first argument concerns the greater and intimidating physical power possessed by adults as compared to children, even though in some cases the reverse is also true especially with reference to learners in upper classes. On the basis of lesser physical strength, pupils are denied active participation in school decision-making. This argument has negative implications for women as well. The second argument is about the financial contribution necessary for running schools; children may not contribute financially and therefore they are not accorded the right to determine the way schools are managed. Although this argument may be applied in developed countries, in developing ones such as Kenya that mainly rely on agriculture, children are actively involved in growing cash crops (see UN 1995³: 117-118, UNDP 1995: 92, *Development Plan 1994-1996* - Republic of Kenya 1994: 208, and *Nation Reporter* 1998p - "End Hypocrisy over Child-labour" in a new weekly report on Kenyan politics⁴). Thus, Kenyan children contribute towards raising funds for their expenses including education, but some of them eventually drop out of school because of this work.

It may also be worth mentioning that the argument based on financial contributions may have a negative implication for the poor parents in society because if it is extended further, it would mean that the more one contributes towards school funds, the greater the power to have a say in the school organization. Thus, the freedom of expression for

³ United Nations (1995: 117-118) provides a general statistical analysis on child labour in different regions in the world; Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rate (about 20 per cent) of working children (10-14 years).

⁴ See *Daily Nation* (1998p), <http://www.nationaudio.com/kenyapolitics/analysis/politics/index.html>

the relatively poor people would be curtailed, and this would be detrimental to the development of democracy for human development.

With regard to the first two arguments, Bottery (1992: 153-154) rightly states that there are no ethical grounds for supporting them. They both have negative implications for developing respect for human dignity, improving pupils' capabilities and empowering them to participate actively in school organization.

The latter two arguments are based on more realistic and fundamental grounds which may result from the socio-cultural and political environment. They involve qualities and attitudes that could hinder or enhance effective participation in contributing useful ideas and suggestions for school programmes, rules and regulations. Low level of ability and lack of interest in decision-making could partly be attributed to lack of experience owing to non-involvement and negative attitudes towards the capabilities of young people. Thus, unlike the first two arguments, the latter two cannot be eliminated easily by changing procedures followed in handling educational matters. Concerted efforts and commitment are necessary for developing a high level of rationality, positive self-perception, and positive attitudes towards the capabilities of other people. Thus, school cultures that are conducive to learners' participation ought to be established in Kenyan schools in order to empower them to contribute towards improving their institutions effectively.

Elliott and Faupel (1997: 21-28) demonstrate that children have potential capabilities for solving school problems such as bullying, which is also a serious problem in Kenya. In the study, the pupils aged between 8-12 years identified solutions which are categorized into six as listed below:

- whole school approach or project to stop bullying

- changing the dynamics of the group or class involved by splitting the group of bullies
- punishment
- changing the bullies' attitude
- victim's action (for example hitting back)
- counselling victims by teachers.

Such potential capabilities in children need to be improved through developing appropriate knowledge, skills and experience. On the basis of such studies schools may need to be made more democratic by giving all groups of people including pupils the opportunities to participate actively in making decisions at least in some classroom affairs. However, as noted earlier, guidance is required especially for the young ones.

(c) Curriculum

Ideally, the subjects and content offered in the curriculum should be determined by the kind of citizens required in societies. The development of economically vibrant people is emphasized in most societies and thus creativity and rationality are given a lot of importance. Lynch and Smalley (1991: 92-103) assert that Citizenship Education should include:

- teaching conventional subjects such as history and geography
- teaching less common subjects or topics like personal, social and moral education
- developing respect for other people
- developing and exercising skills necessary for full participation in democratic societies
- encouraging active voluntary participation.⁵

⁵ See also British National Curriculum Council (NCC) (1990), Lynch and Smalley 1991, Wringe (1992).

From the point of view of the present study, all people need to be treated as agents and beneficiaries of changes in their lives. Hence, all people including pupils need to be encouraged to participate in careful, deliberative choice of subjects or topical issues or educational activities for example. Nevertheless, some discussions on developing curricula suggest that learners could perhaps participate, while others seem to exclude them.

On the one hand, the Nicaraguan 'Education for Citizenship and Reconciliation' programme for example seems to have excluded students in developing the curriculum.

As Garcia (1996: 759) reports:

The framework for the curriculum was prepared by a group of personalities [not specified] drawn from Nicaraguan society, representing all political and ideological sections of the country (left, centre and right). It was first submitted to the teachers in Nicaragua's secondary schools for their comments, which were subsequently incorporated in the final document.

This example indicates that teachers also were excluded at the initial stages, which could hinder clear understanding of the justification of including or excluding certain topics and certain educational activities.

The human development paradigm suggests that people need to be regarded as determinants and beneficiaries of their institutional and societal growth and development. Viewed from this perspective, it may be advisable to solicit views from different groups of people with an aim of producing more valid programmes that would be likely to be widely acceptable. If curriculum development were viewed as an ongoing process, then perhaps it would eventually give opportunities to most people (probably including students in upper classes) to make suggestions for consideration. In fact UNDP (1993: 1) states that people's participation in matters that shape their lives is "...a process, not an event."

The Nicaraguan programme might have been enriched and probably made more acceptable to the majority of people through combining methods of gathering information such as use of questionnaires designed for different groups of people, public discussions, and interviews. The methods chosen need to be suitable for the contexts in question, for example guided open discussions could be used for the pupils.

From the point of view of the present study, Kelly (1995) rightly argues for a shift from regarding curriculum as:

...no more than a body of knowledge, a list of subjects and of subject syllabuses to be transmitted to the pupils, towards seeing it in terms of the processes of individual development, a device for promoting the growth of autonomy and for offering that empowerment which...a democratic society must be centrally concerned to support (Kelly 1995: 147).

Curriculum content may require constant evaluation in order to make adjustments to maximize human development for all people. If students were involved (with guidance where necessary) in critical evaluation of their curriculum, they would be likely to develop the critical thinking, knowledge and experience necessary for empowering them to make choices and decisions in educational and other societal affairs. Osler's (1993) study for example (see Chapter 2) demonstrates that Kenyan pupils could make some contributions to improve their curriculum.

In Kenya however the curriculum for primary and secondary education is normally centrally designed by the Kenya Institute of Education (K.I.E.) (Republic of Kenya 1988: 99-101). Thus, parents and schoolchildren are thus totally excluded from making contributions. Curriculum development is supposed to go through about seven stages involving different groups of people such as teachers, teacher educators, university lecturers, professors, and the Kenya Union of Teachers. Nonetheless, the various stages

are not always followed. As Eshiwani (1993: 155) indicates, the K.I.E. co-ordinator of curriculum programmes once noted:

Kenya, like many other developing countries, is in a hurry. She is changing rapidly, socially, economically, and therefore she cannot afford to wait for 'long highly accurate studies before KIE starts educational innovation.' In any case some of the curriculum changes that have taken place have either been through ministerial orders or through a snap political decision. Such decisions have led to by-passing various stages in curriculum development.

This comment was made in 1985, the same year when the Kenyan 8-4-4 education system was introduced. Over the years a lot of public dissatisfaction has been demonstrated through the mass media, and criticisms have been raised about the education system especially with regard to the number of subjects taken, expenditure, and quality of education. Due to the problems experienced since the system was implemented, the World Bank (*Daily Nation* 3rd November 1997g) has provided a proposal referred to as 'Strengthening Primary and Secondary Education' (STEPS) for consideration by the Kenyan government.

Following the World Bank's proposal, Waihenya (1998) reports that a World Bank funded 'Curriculum Review Project' has been launched by the Kenyan Minister of Education to find out the views and opinions of various stakeholders and the findings will be applied in overhauling the Kenyan 8-4-4 education system. The Minister of Education has appointed an Education Review Committee comprising experts from the K.I.E., the Ministry of Education, and the Kenya National Examinations Council to collect data from different stakeholders including:

- pupils
- parents
- teachers
- professionals

- political parties
- representatives of trade unions, churches and so on
- Federation of Kenya employers
- Kenya National Chamber of Commerce
- general public.

The Committee has been visiting different provinces (8 in total) since April 1998, and it is expected to sample 16 out of 65 districts⁶, and in each to visit six primary and six secondary schools.

The project aims to investigate people's view and opinions about:

- the weaknesses of the current primary and secondary school curricula and possible solutions that are relevant to market needs
- ways of matching curriculum and labour market
- reducing the number of subjects from seven to four in primary education
- reducing the current eight subjects to five at the secondary education level
- phasing out the current national examinations
- rationalizing and harmonizing Kenyan, Tanzanian and Ugandan education and certification to ease cross-border mobility in view of the on-going rebuilding of the East African Cooperation.

The Kenyan curriculum project will hopefully in reality consider people's views and opinions to produce more acceptable and valid curricula. To empower Kenyan people including learners to be effective agents of educational growth and development, then they also need to be involved in the implementation and evaluation processes as well.

⁶ Provinces and districts are governmental administrative units in Kenya (see *Nation* Correspondents 29th August 1998).

(d) Teaching and learning process

Osler (1993) found that Kenyan pupils indicated that they require methods of distinguishing between propaganda and real issues in public affairs (see Chapter 2). The teaching and learning process in Kenyan schools therefore needs to provide opportunities for developing the habit of searching thoroughly for information and the skills for critical analysis. A relevant example could be searching for and analyzing different ways in which issues of public concern have been dealt with through the mass media by different people. Thus, it would be crucial to encourage people from a young age to listen to news broadcasts and to read documentary materials such as books, newspapers, magazines and other periodicals that discuss topical issues. Other methods of gathering information that could be applied include interviewing, surveying, questionnaires, and discussions in seminars, workshops and conferences. However, choice of materials and methods of gathering information need to be suitable for the ages involved in particular cases. The process of analyzing data collected would be likely to enable learners develop relevant skills that could help to distinguish real issues from propaganda, and thus empower them to make appropriate decisions and choices for individual and societal development.

Furthermore, efforts need to be made to develop the ability to communicate with others effectively and efficiently in discussing findings. People may be said to be empowered only if they are able to explain clearly their basis for taking or criticizing particular standpoints on any issues of concern in schools or society in general. Effective communication skills are thus necessary for enabling young people to utilize opportunities for collective decision-making.

(e) Availability of role models

Teachers and other staff need to provide guidance and act as facilitators and role models in developing children into educated democratic citizens, and girls might need special attention as shown later. Davies (1997: 314) and White (1982: 148) assert that teachers must be models of the educated people into which they aim to develop children. They ought therefore to accept criticisms if they are justified and appreciate any knowledge that the learners may possess through experiences outside the school. White (ibid.: 142) emphatically states: “[teachers] too must be morally autonomous agents, doing what they do because they think, on reflection, that it is right and not only because someone in authority has told them to do it. The school, like any other place of work, must be a participatory democracy, at least among the staff....”

The Kenyan educational situation falls far short of this requirement (see Sifuna 1997, 1997a and Abagi 1997, 1997a in Chapter 2). Thus, democratic participation for Kenyan teachers needs to be promoted for them to be effective role models in developing pupils' potential capabilities to decisively influence changes and developments in their schools and in society at large.

Further, it is worth noting that students could also provide role models for each other, especially those who hold leadership positions. One way of enhancing learning from role models could be organizing 'question times' whereby teachers, parents and students could be interviewed to find out why they do things in certain ways. The discussions in such interviews would ensure that students emulate role models with clear understanding and justification for doing so.

The above discussion has attempted to analyze different ways in which formal education could be used to develop democratic citizens who would be likely to contribute their

views and ideas in making choices and decisions in societal and school affairs. Most educational activities can be used to provide opportunities for developing appropriate knowledge, skills, behaviours and attitudes necessary for promoting democracy and human development, if schools for example:

- provide emotional security
- encourage critical discussions
- encourage learners to search for information on topical educational issues
- give learners opportunities to say what they expect from the educational process.

The next section tries to examine how the **opportunities dimension** of democracy for human development might be promoted in and through education.

6.4.0. EDUCATION AND THE OPPORTUNITIES DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Educational opportunities are important for developing the effective democratic societies considered necessary in the present study for engendering human and overall development. Education for example enables acquisition of knowledge and skills required to utilize other opportunities in industry, politics, professional sports and so on. Limited educational opportunities especially in developing countries therefore prevent effective utilization of others, which may in turn make it difficult to achieve high levels of human development. Women are generally disadvantaged with regard to inequitable distribution of opportunities in different aspects of life including education. Such inequalities lower women's ability to participate in political and socio-economic affairs, which has a negative effect on their human development. This current piece of research suggests that if the **opportunities dimension** of democracy for human development were enhanced in education, it could contribute towards redressing this situation.

The most likely thing that comes to mind when 'education', and 'opportunities' are related to 'democracy' is the idea of equality or equitable distribution of available educational opportunities. First of all, 'education' and 'opportunities' may be interrelated in at least four different ways:

- (i) opportunities for education
- (ii) opportunities in education
- (iii) education about opportunities
- (iv) education (training) for specific opportunities.

These interrelationships are applied below in trying to explore how the **opportunities dimension** of democracy could perhaps be enhanced through education.

Howe (1992: 457) and Mbiti (1981: 25) for instance view 'equality of educational opportunities' in terms of distribution, and they indicate the concept may not always be clear because there could be many facets to it. Moreover, the discussion below shows that enhancing the **opportunities dimension** of democracy for human development involves more than the issue of distribution alone. The following discussion begins with examining how availability of educational opportunities might engender democracy for human development.

6.4.1. Democracy for human development and opportunities for education

'Opportunities for education' may be viewed in terms of facilities and services provided to enable people to acquire some form of knowledge, skills and experiences. The goal of providing 'education for all by the year 2000' was declared in the world conference of national leaders, international agencies, professional bodies and non-governmental organizations that was held in March 1990 in Jomtien (Thailand). Governments committed themselves to develop literacy and numeracy for all people in the world by the year 2000.

Mbiti (1981: 25) and Halls (1985: 18-37) for example define democratization of education in terms of equality in distributing available opportunities. 'Equality of educational opportunities' in an ideal situation would mean provision of all sorts of chances for academic, social, moral and political development of all people in society. In real life it may be difficult to achieve such situations but different societies have made and continue to make efforts to advance as close to it as possible.

Njoroge (1995: 129-191) asserts that the meaning of 'equality of educational opportunities' adopted in particular contexts is determined by the ultimate value in society, and in the present study it is taken to be attaining high levels of human

development for all people including women. Equal distribution of educational opportunities could therefore be viewed in terms of diversified systems where people's talents, interests and potential abilities are taken into consideration in providing facilities and services. This position demands enormous financial expenditure, and thus it could be pursued gradually so as to realize the principles of empowerment, equity and productivity as suggested in the human development paradigm. Some examples of diversified opportunities for developing potential abilities, talents and interests are the British comprehensive education system introduced in the 1960s and the Kenyan 8-4-4 education system (currently under review as shown earlier).

However, Kenya has not and may not achieve the goals of providing education for all by the year 2000. In fact, the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 134) states: "Overall, there has been a worrying decline in enrolment at all levels [of education]." The *Daily Nation* (13th May 1997c) reports a decline in primary school enrolment from 95 per cent in 1989 to 79 per cent in 1996, and the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (1997: 134) indicates in 1995, it was 76 per cent. The Kenyan government therefore needs to formulate strategies that encourage people to enrol and retain their children in schools in order to empower them by improving their literacy and their manpower and decision-making skills.

The next section tries to examine the kind of educational opportunities which might contribute towards engendering human development in Kenya.

6.4.2. Democracy for human development and opportunities in education

'Opportunities in education' could be taken to mean chances or situations provided in education systems to gain experience, learn or acquire certain qualities and skills. The aims and objectives in schools, colleges and universities normally indicate the kind of

opportunities offered (see for example the 1988 Kenyan government's Sessional paper No. 6). Schools could for example offer opportunities to:

- learn professional skills such as teaching, computing and business management
- develop certain desirable qualities such as critical-mindedness, self-confident, honesty and so on
- develop certain talents and potential abilities
- pursue certain interests in sports.

However, although opportunities in education are generally viewed positively, they may sometimes be utilized to indoctrinate and manipulate people to acquire certain attitudes, qualities and ways of thinking which may be unsuitable for democratic ways of life. Illich (1973) for example views formal traditional education as a way of limiting people's opportunities to explore their interests and needs, and therefore he advances arguments for deschooling societies.

It is therefore important to note that it is one thing to have opportunities to join educational institutions and it is another to be provided with chances to develop specified skills, qualities and attitudes, for instance those that are appropriate for democratic citizenship. Thus, it is possible to distribute educational opportunities equally to all people but as Harber (1992: 5-7) indicates, the teaching process could largely be authoritarian and involving high degrees of indoctrination. Hence, it is possible to have equally or fairly distributed educational opportunities but they may not necessarily enable learners to develop the knowledge, skills, qualities and attitudes needed for making decisions and choices effectively. For instance, Kenya has adopted a regional quota system of selecting secondary school students as a means of promoting equality of educational opportunities between provinces and districts (see the *Report of*

the Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond - Republic of Kenya 1988: 29). Nevertheless, the educational process itself as noted earlier is authoritarian in nature.

Educational opportunities that are orientated towards enhancing democracy for human development need to emphasize active individual participation in different aspects of school life so as to improve the capabilities to make rational decisions, to communicate effectively, and to utilize acquired technical and vocational skills for example. Such opportunities would prepare young people as agents of growth and development in their institutions, in local communities and in industry later in life. Howe (1992: 460) refers to relationships between educational and employment opportunities as the opportunity chain. Opportunities in education for acquiring skills and knowledge could therefore eventually enable people to get employment, and to utilize decision-making opportunities in their workplaces and in other societal institutions. Education could therefore provide important experiences necessary for the democratic way of life which include: self-expression, deeper understanding on societal values, contributing clearly thought out ideas and suggestions in school affairs, and holding positions that demand responsibility and accountability (See also Carr and Hartnett 1996: 192, Morgan 1977:1).

6.4.3. Democracy for human development and education about opportunities

People need to be made aware of available opportunities otherwise the provisions may be more or less meaningless. Howe (1992: 460) refers to situations where people lack awareness of potential opportunities or are hindered from utilizing them as 'bare' opportunity. From the point of view of the present study, such deterrents hamper

people's empowerment to make decisions and choices in life leading to low levels of human development. This situation would most probably be ameliorated if people were made aware not only of the available socio-economic, political and educational opportunities but also of ways of identifying, investigating and developing potential ones.

'Education about opportunities' is therefore necessary for promoting people's active participation in different aspects of life by creating awareness and clear understanding about ways and means of advancing academic achievements, pursuing certain careers, and participating in public affairs to mention only a few examples. This could be done through career guidance and enhancing people's techniques of maintaining, improving and creating opportunities for themselves and others in different aspects of life so as to diversify choices.

Ndawi (ibid.: 125) indeed states: "The education we provide will need to be varied and be relevant just in case all we achieve is raising the level of frustration of those who go through our education systems." This assertion concurs with Howe's argument (1992: 460) that education should enable students to take up available opportunities in society and use them to create others. In African countries including Kenya, Ndawi (1997: 125) notes that the education being provided presently does not address the needs of people adequately. This situation calls for careful reconsideration of the education offered in order to develop people's abilities to identify, create and utilize opportunities in business, agriculture, politics and sports for example.

To promote democracy for human development, entrepreneurship education could perhaps enable people to develop skills necessary for creating self-employment and expanding vocational education opportunities, for example. Creativity and innovative

skills need to be encouraged and developed, and thus governments, non-governmental organizations and where possible individuals need to provide required facilities, services, expertise and funds for instance. This could perhaps help in reducing corruption in distributing and utilizing the limited opportunities available in Kenya. The scarcity of employment opportunities and educational scholarships has led to bribery, nepotism and sexual exploitation (in the case of women) in distributing them. To maximize democracy for human development, people need to be made aware of the available and potential opportunities; and there should be openness, accountability and equal treatment in distributing them.

6.4.4. Education for participatory democracy for human development

From the point of view of the present study, educational opportunities would probably engender human and overall development if they were equitably distributed and organized in ways that promote democratic participation. 'Education for democratic participation' seems to presuppose all the other relationships between 'education' and 'opportunities' discussed above. For example, it requires awareness and provision of specific facilities and services within education systems depending on the knowledge and skills to be developed. Training opportunities for specific professional jobs, political posts and civic responsibilities are important in attempting to develop effective democratic systems. The basic skills of reading, writing, logical reasoning, numeracy and communication are crucial for effective participation in offering well-grounded suggestions and views in educational and community matters.

Next, the **protective dimension** of democracy is considered to explore how education could be used to promote it.

6.5.0. EDUCATION AND THE PROTECTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Some of the studies reviewed in Chapter 2 show that Kenya falls short of guaranteeing equal rights in different aspects of life to some of its citizens particularly women (see for example Gordon 1995, Nzomo 1993, Mbote 1995, Odaga and Heneveld 1995). The researcher considers education to be crucial in ameliorating the human rights situation so as to engender human development in Kenyan society.

Ray and Tarrow (1987), Rideout (1987), Bottery (1987; 1990b), Shafer (1987), Magendzo (1994), White (1983) and Kelly (1995: 105-108) among other writers provide some insights into the interrelationships between education and human rights. In general, some of the important issues addressed that are relevant to the present study include:

- rights of particular groups of people such as children, teachers and parents
- formal documents stipulating people's entitlements and freedoms in society
- developing appropriate qualities and attitudes for preserving human rights such as cooperation, rationality, and identifying oneself positively as part of humanity
- readiness to take responsibility in respecting and protecting each other's rights.

The following discussion therefore attempts to explore how Kenyan education may be used to create awareness about human rights and improve their preservation based on the discussion in the **protective dimension** of democracy in Chapter 4. The discussion begins with provision of education which has to be a human right from the point of view of the present study.

6.5.1. Education as a human right and its relevance to democracy for human development

Kenya is a member of the United Nations and it has ratified various UN agreements recommended as governing principles for formulating and implementing public policies. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* article 26(1) for instance states: "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit." This is reiterated in various other UN and regional human rights documents for instance the 1959 *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*, principle 7; the 1960 UNESCO *Convention against Discrimination in Education*, article 4; and the 1981 OAU *African Charter of Human and People's Rights*, article 9 (Humphrey 1987: 235-258). Similar declarations are also found in the Kenyan government's development plans and the ruling party (KANU) manifestos (as shown in Chapter 7).

The argument for education as a human right in societies pursuing high standards of democracy for human development is generally based on the idea of promoting effective participation in decision-making and development orientated activities (Kelly 1995: 105, Morgan 1977:1). Education is therefore a necessity and should be a right for all people to enable them to acquire relevant knowledge, skills, qualities and attitudes required for improving their potential capabilities to participate in societal affairs.

Nonetheless, the enthusiasm in declaring or ratifying education as a human right at the international, regional and national levels is not always followed by action of the same magnitude. This is especially evident in the developing countries. Some of the reasons

that have led to this discrepancy according Kelly (1995: 106) are “[p]olicies of ‘self-help’ and independence, an unwillingness to interfere with individual freedom, a desire to keep public expenditure to the minimum, [and] even a fear that to educate the masses beyond a certain level is to invite social unrest...” Others include wars, inaccessibility of educational facilities and services due to long distances, and socio-cultural traditions which particularly affect girls in Kenya and other African countries.

Some of above reasons may hinder people’s ability to make choices and decisions in life if they cannot afford to pay for educational facilities and services available in the market. Thus, people may in principle be given freedom to make choices, but in reality it is almost meaningless because the available opportunities may be out of their reach. This could in turn exclude some people from active participation in the public sphere in reality even if not in principle. This situation negates the notion of democracy for human development in the present study which requires all people to be actively and effectively involved in both decision-making and implementing resulting policies.

Also, the issue of fearing to develop educated, critical and informed citizens contradicts the aims of raising the standards of democracy and human development. Authoritarian governments may fear and suppress educated opposition groups because they are more likely to articulate their views more effectively. Such suppression conflicts with the equity and empowerment principles in the human development paradigm that regards people as agents and beneficiaries of growth and development in their societies. Nonetheless, the historical experiences discussed in Chapter 5 including the French revolution and the Kenyan ‘Mau Mau rebellion’ during the colonial period demonstrate that the opposite is also likely to be true. Although lack of political freedom seems to

have been the key demand in these historical events, educational inequalities were viewed as being part of the problem.

The Kenyan government's declaration of primary education as 'universal and free' (see Ministry of Education - Kenya 1987: 26) is in line with the principles of equity, empowerment and productivity, and it calls for enormous government responsibility to collect taxes, establish educational institutions and organize equitable distribution of created opportunities. The governments in most developed countries have been able to raise enough funds through taxation to provide elementary education for all their citizens. The case is quite different in most developing countries but the average literacy rates vary between countries as shown in the table below.

Table 6.1. Countries with GNP per capita 240-280 US dollars and their illiteracy levels (Kenya included)

Country	GNP per capita (US Dollars)- 1995	Adult illiteracy (%) 1995	Female illiteracy rate	Male illiteracy rate
Vietnam	240	6	9	4
Guinea-Bissau	250	45	58	32
Haiti	250	55	58	52
Mali	250	69	77	61
Nigeria	260	43	53	33
Cambodia	270	35	47	20
Kenya	280	22	30	14

Source of information: *World Development Report* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1997: 214-215, 226-227)

According to the *World Development Report* (ibid.), with the exception of Vietnam all countries with a lower GNP per capita than Kenya⁷ have higher levels of illiteracy. Generally, the female illiteracy rates are higher than for males and in Kenya the female to male ratio is 2:1. This means 66 per cent of the illiterate people are women.

⁷ Kenya in position 22 from the country with the lowest GNP per capita.

High illiteracy rates hamper participatory democracy and they may be attributed to limited funding, high dropout rates, inadequate reading materials, shortage of schools, poor health among other factors (see Rideout 1987: 20-35, Brock and Cammish 1994 & 1997a, Mugenda 1995). Although limited funding may lead to problems such as shortage of qualified personnel, inadequate equipment and facilities, the UNDP (1995: 32) citing Sri Lanka, China and Zimbabwe states that with strong political commitment high literacy rates particularly for women can be achieved even with low levels of economic development (see table 6.2. below). This is also manifested by the 1997 *World Development Report* (see table 6.3. below).

Table 6.2. Gross national product (GNP) and female literacy rates

	GNP per capita (US Dollars 1992)	Female literacy rate
Poorer countries		
China	480	70
Sri Lanka	560	86
Zimbabwe	580	78
Richer countries		
Gabon	4,220	48
Saudi Arabia	7,780	46

Source of information: UNDP (1995: 32)

Table 6.3. Countries with 21-22% illiteracy levels

Country	GNP per capita (US Dollars)- 1995	Adult illiteracy (%) 1995	Female illiteracy rate	Male illiteracy rate
Kenya	280	22	30	14
Zambia	400	22	29	14
Kuwait	17,390	21	25	18
United Arab Emirates	17,400	21	20	21

Source of information: *World Development Report* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1997 : 214-215, 226-227)

Among the countries whose illiteracy levels range from 21-22 per cent, Kenya has the lowest GNP per capita. The Islamic Middle East countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates in the tables above are rich oil producers, and thus they have a high GNP per capita. Nonetheless, they still have the problem of illiteracy and it affects a higher proportion of women than men. Al-Hariri's (1987) discussion on Saudi Arabia indicates that the Quran encourages female education but it does insist on keeping women in a position that ensures stable family life. She further asserts that there has been rapid development of female education since the 1960s as directed by the General Presidency for Girls' Education. This manifests that appropriate policies are crucial for improving equality of educational opportunities.

The Vietnamese example and statistical analysis in table 6.2. provide further evidence for the importance of appropriate policies, which can be interpreted to mean that even with limited funds the Kenyan government can still reduce the illiteracy level especially for women. As the *World Education Report 1995* (UNESCO 1995: 78) rightly states: "Progress towards equality of opportunity for women ... reinforces the capacity of education to strengthen respect for human rights."

In the 1970s, the Kenyan government gradually declared primary education free for all children as follows:

- 1971: tuition fees were abolished in the arid (unproductive) districts
- 1973: education was declared free in standards (classes) four and five
- 1974: school fees were abolished from Standards one to four
- 1979: the policy was extended to standard six
- 1980: primary education was declared free for all seven classes⁸

⁸ In 1980, Kenya had a 7-4-2-3 educational structure.

- 1985: the policy was extended to the newly created standard eight⁹ (see the *Development Plan 1989-1993 - Republic of Kenya* 1989: 216, Sifuna 1990: 171-175, Njoroge 1995: 160).

However, Sifuna (1990: 174) notes that the abolition of fees was not coupled with strategies for replacing that source of educational funding. As a consequence, school committees introduced payment of building fees for every child in the efforts to provide the necessary facilities and equipment. In the mid 1980s fees were formalized under the 'cost-sharing' policy in education, health and other social services and facilities following the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Parents and local communities are therefore expected to provide necessary physical facilities and learning materials such as classrooms, laboratories, workshops, textbooks and exercise books, while the government subsidizes by providing qualified teachers and other personnel (see Sifuna 1997a: 67, Bogonko 1992: 229, *National Development Plan 1994-1996 - Republic of Kenya* 1989: 213, *National Development Plan 1994-1996 - Republic of Kenya* 1994: 223-247).

Ostensibly, payment of fees could be used by parents who are not in favour of formal schooling for women as a reason for denying their daughters the right to education. This is mainly possible because of the opportunity cost of formal education in terms of domestic and agricultural labour that girls provide. Therefore, although education has to be a human right (from the point of the present study), a significant proportion of Kenyan women have had no formal schooling (see table 6.1. above). Currently, the Kenyan government may not effectively follow up cases where girls are denied education for socio-cultural and familial economic reasons. Thus, if education (at least at primary level) were declared completely free and compulsory, then parents who do

⁹ In 1985, the current 8-4-4 education was introduced as noted elsewhere in the present study.

not take their children (especially girls) to school could probably be followed up more easily.

It may be worth mentioning that governments in developing countries might also require fairer foreign aid policies to enable them provide basic education (at least) for all their citizens. Lindsay (1994: 6-7) notes that governments in developing countries are constantly preoccupied with the debt crisis so that fiscal allocations cannot provide various basic social services adequately, and this includes education. The current Kenyan president has urged the international development agencies and world powers to help resolve this problem. He states "...for each unit of assistance Africa obtains from the developed world, it pays three units in return" (ibid.: 7).

Moreover, Nzomo (1993: 69) asserts that the 1980s and 1990s SAPs "...emphasize economic liberalization; deregulation of prices ... large scale privatization of public enterprise; and cutbacks in government expenditure on social services [such as education and health] and employment."¹⁰ She goes further to show that the SAPs have had negative implications for the development of democracy for women (ibid.: 69-72). Makinda (1996: 572-573) reiterates the adverse effects of the SAPs on development of democracy in Kenya as a whole. Further, Sifuna (1997a: 69) indicates that the SAPs have contributed to the deterioration of the quality of Kenyan education.

The economic problem has nevertheless been compounded by mismanagement and corruption in utilizing the available funds (Rideout 1987: 27-29), which may be interpreted to mean that Kenyan government lacks a strong commitment to enhance people's opportunities in education and other aspects of life. The SAPs and embezzlement of public funds have had negative implications for women: Nzomo

¹⁰ See also *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 153).

(1993: 70) for instance notes that some mothers deliver their babies at home despite the life-threatening complications, and others have resorted to traditional medical herbs due to the high cost of drugs. Most Kenyan women are therefore more worried about ways and means of meeting the basic survival needs and this negatively affects girls' education because they end up being withdrawn from school to take care of domestic chores. Indeed, Mugenda (1995: 52) points out that the SAPs have negated the efforts made to close the gap between male and female education. The Kenyan government therefore needs to curb mismanagement of public resources and institute policies for improving people's socio-economic status which might in turn help in realizing the human right to education. If these measures were effected, people would be likely to be more empowered to participate in societal growth and development.

The next section attempts to examine how knowledge and understanding on human rights could perhaps be developed.

6.5.2. Education about human rights and its relevance to democracy for human development

Education about human rights mainly concerns creating awareness and developing clear understanding on (i) the contents of formal human rights documents, (ii) the application of human rights to different groups of people such as children, women, teachers and parents, and (iii) the methods of redressing cases where rights are violated. Shafer (1987: 191) rightly asserts that it is only when people comprehend their rights that they can demand their entitlements, protect those of other people and take up cases whenever rights are violated. Wringe (1992: 34) indeed states that if rights are not defended or demanded, people can easily lose them and they even deserve to do so. This assertion may be interpreted to mean that people can enhance equality of rights only if they as

holders understand, exercise, and protect them. There is a need therefore to develop adequate knowledge about human rights in learners and urge them to preserve these rights in their schools and communities.

If human rights education formed part of the curriculum offered, then most probably it would enhance awareness and develop understanding on the subject. Human rights education could be a separate subject, a module on its own or could be included as part of moral education, social and civic education, or education for citizenship (see Magendzo 1994, Shafer 1987: 193, NCC 1990: 3-6). Whichever position is taken, constant evaluation is necessary for making appropriate adjustments. Human development may be engendered better if human rights education is approached from a critical perspective. This approach could perhaps make young people understand that preservation of rights demands that people take the duty and responsibility to protect each other's freedoms and entitlements. Reducing ignorance about human rights would be likely to make people refrain from breaking laws and interfering with other people's opportunities in different aspects of life.

Further, human rights education might be more effective if simplification and applicability to real life situations were considered. If we take the example of discrimination, it can occur in community life, in workplaces, and in classroom situations. It may happen according to sex, religious affiliation, socio-economic background or ethnic grouping for instance. The illustrations or demonstrations used in explaining human rights should be relevant to the learners' experiences. For instance, instead of talking of discrimination in the workplace to children in younger classes, it would be more relevant to discuss issues of distributing storybooks, balls or choosing playmates. The content can be adjusted and pupils' participation increased as they go

up the educational ladder. A situation where people understand their rights and protect them would be likely to promote people's participation and thereby make it more possible to realize democracy for human development in different aspects of life.

In the attempts to engender human development, Kenya could perhaps benefit from considering Benin's ideas and experiences in its efforts to revive democracy through education for peace, democracy, solidarity, and understanding among local communities and among nations (see *World Education Report 1995* - UNESCO 1995: 80). The process includes teaching of human rights and democracy, which has been pursued through:

- introducing the basic concepts of children's rights, human rights and democracy as part of the social education syllabus in primary schools
- organizing seminars and workshops on the strategies of civic instruction at all teaching levels
- preparing a plan of action for the promotion of human rights
- establishing a specialist technical commission to be responsible for civic instruction
- introducing radio and television programme on human rights for students and the entire population (ibid.).

The next section tries to examine the importance of emphasizing preservation of human rights in educational institutions.

6.5.3. Protecting human rights in educational institutions and its relevance to democracy for human development

If human rights were exercised and protected in educational institutions, then there would be likely to be positive educative implications for the learners. For instance, if

teachers emphasized protection of rights and acted accordingly, they could provide useful role models for young children. There is a need to stress to children that preserving and protecting human rights is the responsibility of all people in all societal institutions. Any knowledge, experience, qualities, and attitudes developed in the theory and practice of preserving human rights in one institution would be likely to be relevant in others. If people learnt to protect each other's rights and thus reduce various forms of discrimination and intimidation, then they would be better empowered to choose and utilize various opportunities in socio-economic and political aspects of life.

Behaviours that contradict the exercise of human rights ought to be avoided in educational institutions at all costs and they include bullying, ridiculing, and intimidation. Probably, if young people are urged to preserve human rights in school and classroom activities, it would enable them to understand more clearly that rights have corresponding individual responsibilities and duties to respect and protect other people's freedoms and their entitlements.

The above discussion has tried to show the various ways in which the **protective dimension** of democracy could be enhanced through formal education. It suggests that creating awareness, developing relevant qualities and attitudes towards taking responsibility and actually exercising human rights in educational institutions are important in realizing equality of rights among people as the human development paradigm requires.

Having discussed the interrelationship between education and democracy for human development in general in the foregoing sections, the researcher now endeavours to explore pragmatic strategies for engendering Kenyan women's human development.

The discussion in the following sections thus takes into consideration the prevailing gender inequalities in Kenyan society.

6.6.0. EDUCATION AND THE PRAGMATIC DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR KENYAN WOMEN'S HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Kenyan women are disadvantaged politically and socio-economically as indicated in the foregoing chapters and they may therefore require special consideration in formulating pragmatic democratic strategies for engendering their human development. The persisting grounds on which women are discriminated against especially in decision-making activities are currently under question partly as a result of improved girls' educational performance in Kenya (see for example Kimemia 1997). However, gender disparities still persist at all levels of education.

Human development for all Kenyan people including women may be engendered if the causes of the persisting gender disparities are considered in formulating strategies for addressing them. The following discussion endeavours to explore how the different dimensions of democracy for human development could perhaps be incorporated in the Kenyan education system to reduce the gender inequalities, and thereby enhance women's human development.

6.6.1. Kenyan schoolgirls' participatory democracy for human development

Girls' participatory democracy may not be achieved easily in societies such as Kenya where discriminatory socio-cultural traditions, prejudices and gender stereotypes persist (see Chapter 2 and 5). The following discussion tries to explore ways of overcoming these problems in attempts to promote girls' opportunities and abilities for making choices and decisions.

Girls' empowerment and democratic participation would be likely to be promoted if explicit policies were formulated and implemented to promote clear understanding on human development and feasible modes of realizing it in practical life. Firstly, educational institutions ought to provide models of situations where active female participation in handling matters of concern to schools and society in general is encouraged. Girls' and boys' contributions in school discussions need to be disaggregated in order to identify what positions are favoured by each group and justifications given for them. Recommendations and suggestions made for the betterment of schools need to consider the views of each group and they could be reported in school magazines for example. Such steps would probably simultaneously encourage girls to participate more actively, and enable boys to develop more appropriate attitudes towards girls' involvement in decision-making activities. This goal may be attained more effectively if the Kenyan government includes 'education for democracy' or 'democratic citizenship with a gender perspective' in the school curriculum.

Secondly, girls' democratic participation may be promoted by formulating and implementing programmes that emphasize gender-sensitive teaching and learning materials. Thirdly, participatory democracy for girls (especially those in upper classes) may be attained by instituting a gender equality policy in students' representation in students' councils, clubs and other similar bodies (at least numerically). Equitable representation would be likely to enable girls to participate actively in setting standards, rules and regulations that take into consideration their particular situations. For instance, girls may suffer sexual harassment, bullying by boys or male teachers, and negative attitudes towards their capabilities. Such problems are more likely to be highlighted and appropriate regulations made to curb them if girls are included in

decision-making bodies in schools. This strategy would be likely to contribute towards reducing violation of girls' rights, creating a positive self-image in girls and also provide useful experiences for future civic responsibilities.

Nevertheless, the above suggestions may need to be implemented gradually. The article "Cultural Capacity Building and Closing the Gender Gap" (Brock and Cammish 1997: 118-126) provides some insights into possible constraints in girls' participation in education in general, which are also relevant to the present study. The argument refers to societies' ability to absorb attitudinal and organizational changes as 'cultural capacity', which is precisely defined as the extent to which and the rate at which societies are capable of absorbing cultural change. In relation to formal education, the argument states:

Any attempt to enforce girls' participation in education in regions where the traditional role of women and girls is crucial to family and community survival would be to go beyond the cultural capacity of that society, at that time, to accommodate it. It would not only fail, but could also damage the culture and its capacity for future change (ibid.: 121).

For the present study, this idea suggests that the process of promoting democracy for women's human development in Kenya where gender stereotypes and prejudices prevail needs to be gradual.

Formal education may be useful in building the cultural capacity for women's democratic participation if gender and democracy for human development in the family, the school and the community are included in subjects or topics that deal with citizenship. Critical discussions on such issues could take a lead in changing the attitudes towards women and girls in educational institutions gradually and eventually in other societal institutions. Such a step would be likely to increase the cultural capacity of educational institutions, and in turn improve women's opportunities for active

participation at both decision-making and policy implementation and evaluation levels. Improving women's opportunities could probably empower them to be effective agents and beneficiaries of growth and development in educational, socio-economic and political sectors. They would also gain experience, improve their decision-making capabilities, and develop self-confidence, all of which are necessary for redressing gender discriminatory stereotypes and prejudices.

6.6.2 Democratic school systems and empowerment for Kenyan girls

Various studies reviewed in Chapter 2 indicate that political education is inadequate in Kenyan schools (see Harber 1989, Osler 1993, Sifuna 1997, 1997a, and Abagi 1997, 1997a). Kenyan educational institutions could enhance empowerment for all people, if official procedures that spell out modes of expressing and disaggregating girls' and boys' views, interests and opinions were formulated and implemented. The resulting systems would further need to distribute power, responsibilities and duties equitably to both girls and boys. Equitable representation (at least numerically) might be achieved through affirmative action in students' or pupils' elections because Kenyan girls are generally socio-culturally disadvantaged in decision-making matters. But it would also be necessary to prepare people (especially girls) adequately for the available positions in order to counteract some effects of the socialization processes that may hinder their ability to contribute and benefit from educational changes and developments.

Direct participation however needs to be emphasized so as to enable all learners involved including girls to gain personal experience in communicating their thoughts, ideas and feelings and in discussing them critically. In cases where direct participation may not be possible then indirect involvement, for example questionnaires, could sometimes be used to determine the most favourable courses of action.

Elliott and Faupel (1997: 24-27) quoted earlier provide some further insights showing that separating girls and boys could enhance girls' participation in seeking solutions to school problems. The study demonstrates gender differences in the kind of solutions that were identified. As the authors explains:

...girls produced a larger range of responses than boys. It seemed that the boys needed to appear more 'macho' to their peers and were concerned that their solutions were in keeping with the 'macho' image. They thus focused on a narrower range of solutions and avoided any which appeared less macho. Girls on the other hand, appeared to consider both the macho and a wider range of solutions (ibid.: 24).

This finding could suggest that in certain circumstances where people undergo different socialization processes according to gender it would be more pragmatic to separate them in decision-making activities. Whole group discussions may then need to follow to examine which of the suggested courses of action may be the most applicable or needs to be given priority. Such processes would regard both girls and boys as agents and beneficiaries of progress in their educational institutions. Also, they would be likely to develop knowledge and skills, and gain experience in problem-solving activities, and they would therefore be empowered to participate better in decision-making.

The gender-related procedures chosen require constant evaluation to ensure that they are effective and to determine when measures such as separation of learners according to gender and affirmative action are no longer justifiable. Secondly, evaluation would help in making necessary adjustments if there are any significant changes in particular educational institutions, for example increased use of modern technology such as computer programmes which can easily analyze and correlate data gathered on institutional matters by use of questionnaires.

6.6.3. Education for developing democratic qualities and attitudes in Kenyan girls to enhance their human development

Formal education could be used to develop in Kenyan women and girls high levels of rationality, critical consciousness, self-esteem and cooperation among other qualities of democratic citizenship. Nonetheless, due to the general dichotomy of qualities and attitudes in socialization processes (for instance submissiveness and inferiority complexes for girls and machismo and superiority complexes for boys), both separation and integration may need to be applied so as to gradually eradicate acquired gender stereotypes and prejudices. Studies on single-sex and co-educational schools or streams in Kenya and Nigeria among other countries show that separation of students according to sex could improve the academic performance of girls especially in science subjects (Odaga and Heneveld 1995: 32; Masiga 1995: 139; Lee and Lockheed 1990). Further, Elliott and Faupel's (1997) study quoted above indicates separation could enhance girls' participation in solving problems experienced in schools. These findings suggest that separation may enable girls to develop self-confidence, decision-making skills and experience, and efficacy in communication among other qualities. Thus, it may be worthwhile to consider separation according to gender in some educational activities in attempts to develop democratic qualities and attitudes in Kenyan girls.

Intriguingly, Lee and Lockheed (1990) found that single-sex secondary schools lowered Nigerian boys' performance. They state that "[i]n Nigeria, boys benefit by sharing their school experiences with females, while females are benefited by excluding males" (ibid.: 229). This study strengthens the basis for the argument that separating and integrating girls and boys in school activities alternatively could probably improve participation of both sexes in dealing with educational issues. However, efforts ought to

be made to eliminate gender stereotypes and prejudices so as to get rid of domineering attitudes in boys and submissive attitudes in girls, and thereby make it more possible to enhance participatory democracy for all people.

If we consider the Kenyan case, a majority of educational institutions at various levels are co-educational. At the primary school level, most Kenyan schools except a few boarding ones are co-educational. At the university level, none of them is single-sex. Most of the single-sex schools are found at the secondary school level, but still the majority are co-educational. According to Eshiwani (1993: 68), out of 2393 secondary schools in Kenya, 455 are for boys only, 404 for girls only, and 1534 are co-educational.

Thus, if the findings of the above studies are applied to the Kenyan educational institutions, it would seem necessary sometimes to separate girls and boys in co-educational institutions when carrying out academic and decision-making activities. But for the single-sex institutions, there is need to find ways and means of mixing girls and boys sometimes through inter-school debates, drama or joint community activities.

Another aspect through which appropriate attitudes and qualities in girls might be enhanced is by providing female roles models. Proportional representation in positions of power and responsibility in educational institutions according to gender would be likely to have positive effects on girls' self-perception. Lie and Malik (1994: 206), Marland (1983: 50-56) and Göttelmann-Duret and Hogan (1996) indicate that women are generally under-represented in most societies in terms of numbers or ratios in leading decision-making positions. Shortage of role models could be detrimental to the promotion of the **developmental dimension** of democracy for young girls' human development, and therefore appropriate strategies for redressing gender inequalities in school leadership may be necessary.

In Kenya, the shortage of female role models in educational, political and socio-economic spheres of life is prevalent (Hughes and Mwiria 1989: 191, Omosa 1995: 71, Masiga 1995: 143, Mugenda 1995: 54). For instance women constitute 7 per cent only out of all primary school headteachers (*Daily Nation* 18th June 1997d). The Minister for Education (ibid.) and the above authors generally agree that availability of role models is likely to raise the degree of girls' motivation for high achievement and high self-expectation. This would perhaps in turn raise girls' interest and motivation to participate in educational and other societal affairs, and thus there is a need to formulate and implement appropriate schemes to redress the prevailing gender disparities.

The Kenyan government's *National Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 255) acknowledges the shortage of role models for girls. The government therefore indicates that it endeavours to provide appropriate role models and to initiate the gradual removal of all stereotyping of gender roles in educational materials and textbooks among other things.¹¹ Nevertheless, no specific policy details have been provided to show exactly how it would be done.

Masiga (1995) examines the above Kenyan government's resolutions, and she rightly proposes affirmative action according to gender in the education sector, that is in training, employment and promotion. Sutherland (1994) focusing on the United Kingdom, and Göttelmann-Duret and Hogan (1996: 561) on South Africa, Botswana, Uganda and Malawi also indicate there is a need to redress the prevailing gender inequalities by distributing positions of responsibility in educational institutions equitably.

¹¹ See also Wamahu (1990), Obura (1991) and Osler (1993: 170) for discussions on gender-stereotyped textbooks which exclude women, portray them as holding jobs of low status or doing domestic work.

From the point of view of democracy for human development, the present study supports affirmative action in education particularly at the decision-making positions so as to provide role models for girls and to enable them to develop positive self-perception. Furthermore, it strongly emphasizes that the qualities and attitudes necessary for democratic ways of life need to be developed strongly in women to empower them by improving their potential capabilities so as to ensure sustainable human development. Formal education can provide a means of developing the required qualities and attitudes if appropriate gender-sensitive policies for curriculum development and gender-sensitive teaching processes are applied. Such policies could probably help to develop skills for critical analysis, logical reasoning, effective communication, and moral uprightness among other qualities in both girls and boys. Educational institutions also need to provide both girls and boys with opportunities to apply in everyday life the qualities acquired.

6.6.4. Education and the opportunities dimension of democracy for Kenyan girls' human development

The persisting gender inequalities in Kenyan education (see Chapter 2 and 5 and the 1997 *World Development Report*) may be considered detrimental to the enhancement of the **opportunities dimension** of democracy for girls' human development. The *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 137) for instance states that 35 per cent of the girls and 55 per cent of the boys enrolled for primary education complete the course.¹² The government thus needs to formulate strategies and policies to address the factors that contribute to such high dropout rates for girls, if a high level of human development for all Kenyan people are to be attained.

¹² The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (see pp. 70-71) indicates a greater difference in completion rates: 34-35% for girls and 70% for boys.

Efforts made by other governments and non-governmental organizations to eliminate some of the educational problems experienced by women could offer some useful ideas for Kenya. The non-governmental organization 'Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee' (BRAC) provides an appropriate practical and pragmatic example for the present study. BRAC's programmes are geared towards improving standards of life for poor people including women without social and economic support. The organization bases its programmes on the principles which are relevant to democracy for human development and they include:

- providing basic education for all people
- maximizing cooperation and consensus among citizens.

In the BRAC programmes (BRAC 1989), people are organized into groups of 30-70 and they work cooperatively to achieve self-reliance and eliminate exploitation. This organization enables poor women among other groups to participate actively in addressing issues of public concern and set standards for their community in weekly meetings. They are involved for example in formulating rules and regulations necessary for maintaining discipline and conserving available resources. Some education is offered to:

- sensitize people about critical issues and problems in their lives
- develop basic numeracy and literacy skills
- make people aware of their hidden potential
- create ambition for better life
- develop ideas for self-help and mutual aid.

The above principles and objectives are relevant to the present study because they involve promotion of people's participation in decision-making and implementing

policies for ameliorating their lives, which is in line with the principles of human development.

The education provided by BRAC is categorized into two types: 'functional' for adults and 'non-formal' for children. The functional education takes 3½ months mainly through active and open participation in guided discussions. The non-formal education is organized in such a way that teaching and learning takes place during the times of the day when children's help is least needed by the parents (thus, it has some similarities with part-time education).

Each school has a village committee chosen from parents, teachers, community leaders and one BRAC representative. The committee constantly evaluates the best times of the day to conduct classes according to seasons and work schedules. Thus, there are disruptions in schools especially during the busy farming seasons but on the other hand, the opportunity cost of formal education is greatly reduced. Education is thus provided without downplaying the means through which basic survival needs are sought, for instance by balancing time for working in the farms for food production and time for education (also see Brock and Cammish's (1997) argument for 'cultural capacity building' cited earlier).

All the teachers have had 9-10 years of schooling and 70% are women. They undergo short intensive training courses for about 12 days followed by refresher courses every month. In 1988 the drop out rate of pupils was less than 2%. In the same year 85% of the pupils who completed the 'non-formal' education programme were admitted to higher classes in the formal education system. Kenya could perhaps benefit from these ideas and experiences and try to develop and implement similar programmes

particularly for developing the potential capabilities and talents in teenage mothers who drop out of school.

Further, the Kenyan government might also need to reconsider the idea of providing family life education to reduce the problems of teenage pregnancy and thereby reduce one factor in gender disparities in education. Mgendi (1997) and *Nation Correspondents et al.* (19th September 1997) indicate that the 1997 Sessional paper No. 1 on family life education was prepared for discussion in Parliament. However, owing to pressure mainly from the church, the President of Kenya announced that the paper would be shelved because it was viewed as a threat to the family structure in Kenyan society and it was considered to be oriented towards Western cultures and practices.

The Catholic Church has been at the forefront in opposing the introduction of family life education in Kenyan schools. The main reason is that the population control methods usually referred to as 'artificial contraception' have been highlighted. The Catholic Church upholds the natural methods of family planning. Contrary to the position held by the Catholic Church which seems to withhold information from school children, the current study argues for developing informed citizens. Thus, schools can provide a useful means of creating necessary awareness and understanding for making rational and informed decisions on such matters of concern.

Gender disparities in Kenyan education are also caused by lack of fees and this affects girls more because boys' education is given preference in most communities (see Mugenda 1995 reviewed in Chapter 2, Omosa 1995: 71-72). The Kenyan government therefore needs to develop strategies for getting funds for bursaries to cater for needy children focusing mainly on girls in order to reduce gender disparities. Furthermore, the

government should find ways of providing compulsory free basic education for all children. Such a stance could perhaps raise the retention rates for girls in schools.

6.6.5. Education and democracy for promoting protection of Kenyan girls' rights

If Kenya is to achieve democracy for human development for all people including women, then it needs to provide education as a human right in order to develop skills required for socio-economic and political development. Wronka (1994: 263) classifies rights into positive and negative groups, which are similar to Barry's (1989) claim and liberty rights respectively. Positive rights are those entitlements that governments should provide, for instance social benefits for basic survival for all citizens, and negative ones are those individual liberties that governments should ensure are not encroached upon unnecessarily by itself and other people in society.

'Education as a women's right' could be understood as a positive or negative right depending on the context in which it is applied. The expenditure for education per year in developing countries for example, may not be adequate to provide elementary education for all school going children. Thus, some people may take their own initiative to seek education for their children by themselves while others may engage in other activities depending on their interests and priorities. Such situations would require protection of negative rights according to the above classification, which would involve preventing interference in private schools by other people in society.

Some Kenyan girls may not be able to pursue their own interests in education because of socio-cultural traditions and this negates the principles of equity, empowerment and productivity. Indeed, in Kenya and Zambia among other African societies, girls are viewed as sources of family income obtained through payment of bride price (Odaga

and Heneveld 1995: 19). In Kenya, early marriage has contributed to gender inequalities in education (Mugenda 1995: 50, Mbiti 1981: 29). Girls are sometimes withdrawn from school and married off to old wealthy men against their wishes. The government is therefore expected to provide education for girls both as a positive right by providing the necessary fees, and as a negative right by protecting them from forced withdrawal from school.

Moreover, the government needs to formulate policies for protecting girls' rights in societal institutions including schools. Nzomo (1993: 68), Odaga and Heneveld (1995: 34) and Omosa (1995: 67) provide two outstanding examples of incidents where gross violation of girls' rights actually occurred in some Kenyan schools. The first incident occurred in July 1991 in St. Kizito secondary school where over seventy girls were raped, nineteen killed and many others injured by their fellow male students. The second one happened in 1992 where several girls were raped in Hawinga girls' school. Such occurrences could lead parents to withdraw girls from schools and the girls may lack social and emotional security and thus develop negative self-image. Such outcomes may in turn hinder girls from active participation in their school and local communities.

The problem of girls' low social and emotional security and low self-esteem in Kenya may be compounded by cases where female teachers are bullied and assaulted by male teachers. Masiga (1995) supports the policy of posting primary school teachers back to their home districts. She argues: "Women teachers are safer with relatives than strangers until such a time that the Kenyan public will be sensitized against violence towards women and respect for the rights of women" (ibid.: 141). From the point of view of education for democracy and human development, such a policy may be

considered inappropriate because it provides a negative hidden curriculum for the young people especially girls. The policy seems to imply that female teachers cannot be protected adequately by the law from sexual harassment. Furthermore, it would curtail female teachers' freedom to live and work in any part of Kenya.

All learners (with particular emphasis on the boys) need to be sensitized about human rights through curricular and extra-curricular activities and how they relate to human and overall development for all people. Issues that relate to sexual harassment and bullying need to be discussed and dealt with exhaustively in order to reduce and eventually eradicate the prevailing violation of Kenyan women's rights.

6.7.0. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, 'democracy' and 'education' combined may greatly contribute towards engendering human development for all people including women. Education could play a role in ensuring that the theory and practice of democracy for engendering human development are clearly understood. And democracy in education could ensure equal rights and opportunities, and equitable participation in decision-making and implementing resulting policies and programmes for all people. Thus, 'democracy and education' combined would most likely enhance active participation in decision-making in educational and other societal affairs, thereby empowering people to be effective change agents and beneficiaries of societal developments.

Although democracy for human development can be enhanced through different educational activities, Kenya does not seem to have utilized them fully as clearly evidenced by women's everyday experiences. There is a need therefore to examine the existing Kenyan government policies relating to the foregoing discussions on democracy for human development, education and women. Further, there is a need to show the

extent to which the policies match with the reality in Kenyan society. These tasks are attempted in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

POST-INDEPENDENCE KENYAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE FOR WOMEN

7.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 entitled *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*, the *Constitution of Kenya*, the *KANU Manifesto*, national development plans, educational reports and Acts, and information handbooks among other public documents express the Kenyan government's commitment to address human development issues, to promote democracy and to expand socio-economic, educational and political opportunities for all people. The first three documents stipulate the Kenyan government's national development goals on which economic, political and social policies are constructed in the various post-independence development plans (see for example Republic of Kenya 1966: vii, 1969: iii, 1997: 1).

The 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 for instance states that the main societal goals are rapid economic growth and social progress for all citizens (both women and men). As shown below, the ultimate objectives formulated for achieving these goals in Kenyan society (Republic of Kenya 1965: 1-2) may be said to manifest commitment to realize the different components of the human development paradigm outlined in Chapter 1:

- political equality, freedom of conscience and freedom from want, disease and exploitation manifest the *empowerment and equity* components
- social justice and equal opportunities express the *equity* component

- a high and growing per capita income, and which is equitably distributed indicates the *productivity* component.

The Constitution and the KANU Manifesto have been amended to enhance political and socio-economic development for all people, but there are some changes that seem to contradict democracy for human development as understood in the present study. For instance, in early 1980s "...the Governing Council of KANU proposed an amendment to the constitution to make Kenya a *de jure* one-party state. Parliament duly obliged and Kenya [formerly *de facto* one party state] **officially** became a one-party state in July 1982" (see *Kenya Official Handbook- Republic of Kenya 1983: 44*). The discussion in Chapter 4 suggests that people would be likely to be empowered better through among other factors a multi-party democratic system with proportional representation.

The Kenyan national development goals are articulated in other policy documents, such as:

- *District Focus Strategy for Rural Development*
- *1986 Sessional paper No. 1 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth*
- *1988 Sessional paper No. 6 on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond*
- *Social Dimensions of Development: An Approach to Human Centred Development and Alleviation of Poverty* (See *National Development Plan 1997-2001 - Republic of Kenya 1997: Chapter 1 and 6*)
- the 1998 draft *National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable Development*.

The proposed gender-sensitive policies in the draft *National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable Development* (which are directly relevant to the present study) seek to address "...the social and legal status of women, education and training, health,

agriculture, food security, industrial development, labour force participation and employment, environment and political participation.” Just like the objectives of ‘African socialism’ the following policies (among others) in the draft policy document may be considered as means of enhancing different components of the human development as follows:

- affirmative action to ensure women constitute at least a third of parliamentarians, commissions and any other forum may promote *equity* and *empowerment*
- considering foreign husbands married to Kenyan women and their children as citizens and eliminating prevailing discrimination against them may improve *equity*
- according legal rights over property acquired during marriage to wives may improve *equity* and *productivity*.

Different Kenyan government policies may be said to interrelate ‘education’ and the different dimensions of democracy for human development either explicitly or implicitly. The enhancement of gender equality through education for instance which is a crucial issue in this current study is given some attention particularly in the last two national development plans. Some policies however do not match with the practices in real life, or there are delays in implementation, or there is low achievement of goals set. Consequently, some policies are restated in different development plans but without critical evaluation of the extent to which goals are achieved within the specified periods, and without providing specific reasons for the shortfalls. The *National Development Plan 1997-2001* unlike the previous ones includes implementation matrices for the goals set for the Plan period: they highlight the objectives and policies; strategies and measures; the government agencies responsible for coordinating the implementation of the objectives and policies; and the time frame. Such matrices (see Republic of Kenya 1997: 219-254) are likely to make it easier to evaluate the goals set for the Plan period.

This chapter in part I attempts to examine the extent to which the various dimensions of democracy for human development may be said to be incorporated in various post-independence Kenyan government principles, policies and statements in general and in education. In part II it attempts to compare and contrast the policies and related statements with real life experiences in general and in the case of women in particular.

PART I

7.1.0. POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE PRESCRIPTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.1.1. Policies and Statements on People's Democratic Participation

The **prescriptive dimension** of democracy for human development, the first to be considered, may be said to be incorporated in the ideology of 'African Socialism' which encapsulates **political democracy** and **mutual social responsibility** (see the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 and subsequent Kenyan government development plans). "Political democracy implies that each member of the society is equal in his (sic) political rights and that no individual or group will be permitted to exert undue influence on the policies of the State" (Republic of Kenya 1965: 3). Thus, political equality and freedom to participate in public affairs are among the ultimate objectives of Kenyan society. 'African Socialism' is therefore said to rest on "full, equal and unfettered democracy" (ibid.: 4).

The concept of **mutual social responsibility** implies that members of Kenyan society work together with the full knowledge and understanding that if society prospers, its

members share the benefits accrued and that society cannot prosper without the full participation and cooperation of all its members (ibid.).

The *Development Plan 1966-1970* (Republic of Kenya 1966: 56) re-emphasizes people's involvement at every step and to an increasing extent in the economic development of the nation. The government further states that a strategy for economic development must be assessed in terms of citizens' participation in economic activity, the improvement of their talents and abilities and equitable distribution of the benefits, among other more common indicators of progress such as per capita income and balance of payments. Political democracy and mutual social responsibility are therefore viewed as means of enhancing socio-economic and political development.

The concept of 'African socialism' thus encompasses people's participation in development affairs as suggested in the present study's **prescriptive dimension** of democracy for human development. Moreover, the Kenyan government states explicitly in the *Development Plan 1994-1996* that its:

... main concern and focus for 1994-1996 is best expressed by the extended concept of sustainable human development introduced by the United Nations Development Programme as development *of* the people *for* the people and *by* the people. It rightly ... puts people at the centre of the development process (Republic of Kenya 1994: 41).

The Plan indicates that the government seeks to realize human development through:

- giving people more opportunities to participate and contribute to development planning and implementation of projects in local communities
- investing in human capabilities through education, health services and developing skilled manpower so as to promote productivity and creativity

- distributing benefits of economic development widely and equitably (ibid., also see the ultimate objectives of 'African socialism' above and the components of the human development paradigm in Chapter 1).

Other post-independence policies reiterate similar human development objectives. For instance, the *Development Plan 1979-1983* (see Republic of Kenya 1994: 275-276, 1997: 74) states that districts would be made into centres of rural development so as to increase public participation at all stages of decision-making, project planning and implementation, and to increase employment opportunities. This government objective saw the introduction of the '*District Focus Strategy for Rural Development*' (DFSRD) in 1983. Consequently, districts operate (in principle) as central units for spearheading social and economic progress for the people in their geographical region. The district executive committees assisted by various district development sub-committees (which are said to include women as shown later) coordinate the planning for development projects.

The *District Focus Strategy for Rural Development* seems to reiterate the themes: 'rural development' in the *Development Plan 1970-1974* (Republic of Kenya 1969) and 'participation for progress' in the *Development Plan 1989-1993* (Republic of Kenya 1989). Both Plans emphasize full participation by the entire Kenyan population and equitable distribution of resulting benefits. Thus, participation by the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private sector and individuals in enhancing political and socio-economic development is required (see Republic of Kenya 1969: Chapter 6, Republic of Kenya 1989: Chapter 2). In the political aspect, the ruling party Manifesto (for example KANU 1997: 13) states that the government believes in

democratic principles which it takes to mean "... the widest possible participation of ... people in the political process at all levels."

The Kenyan government upholds the ideology of 'African Socialism' and the various post-independence policies and statements indicate that democracy is interpreted as people's active participation in socio-economic and political development. Indeed, the government states that Kenyan people are the principal agents and beneficiaries of development (*Development Plan 1989-1993* - Republic of Kenya 1989: 261).

The next section attempts to outline the Kenyan government policies and statements that suggest democratic participation should be enhanced in and through education.

7.1.2. Educational Policies and Statements Relating to People's Democratic Participation

The *Development Plan 1966-1970* asserts that "...equality of political rights for all mature citizens is clear enough but the nature of mutual social responsibility is perhaps less easily comprehended" (Republic of Kenya 1966: viii). The Plan later states that "[w]idespread literacy opens up many avenues of mass communication as an effective means of keeping people well informed on national, African and world problems, as well as local affairs. An informed citizenry is necessary if a democratic African socialist state is to develop" (ibid.: 305).

Further, the *Sessional paper No. 6 on Educational and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond* (Republic of Kenya 1988: 6) states that 'African Socialism' among other concepts should be made integral parts of national education and training programmes. This implies that young people need to be provided with opportunities to

enable them understand and apply 'political democracy' and 'mutual social responsibility'.

The ruling party in its *KANU Manifesto 1997* also states that:

[It] recognizes that for people to participate effectively in the political process, they need to be fully aware of their rights and obligations as well as the policies of their government. KANU will therefore, design and implement programmes to educate Kenyans on all these matters. In particular KANU will make sure that people understand and appreciate the need to take part in voting as part of their nation-building efforts. The policies of the KANU government will continue to be based on the principles of an informed democracy...." (KANU 1997: 14).

The next section highlights policies and statements relating to women's democratic participation.

7.1.3. Policies and Statements Relating to Women's Democratic Participation in General and in Education

The Kenyan government emphasizes participation in socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of life in both decision-making and implementation of policies by all people including women. For instance the government (Women's Bureau 1991: 1-2) established the Women's Bureau¹ in 1976 following the 1975 Mexico conference held to mark the International Women's Year. The Bureau's main responsibility is to uplift the status of Kenyan women and to increase their involvement in national development. It was mandated by the government to:

- formulate policies affecting gender issues and women's overall integration in society
- coordinate and harmonize women's activities performed by government ministries and NGOs

¹ The Kenyan Women's Bureau is under the Department of Social Services in the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage and Culture and Social Services (formerly Ministry of Culture and Social Services only) (Women's Bureau 1991).

- collect and analyze data and information on gender issues as well as coordinate, monitor and evaluate women's projects (ibid.).

The Bureau "...has participated in establishing Women Development Committees in all districts. These committees function as sub-committees of the [District Development Committees] DDCs to make sure that women's concerns are reflected in the districts' overall development work" (Women's Bureau 1991: 3).

Further, Kenya is signatory to international United Nations policies that emphasize equalization of women's active participation in promoting peace and development such as :

- the *Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* (NFLS)²
- the *Beijing Platform of Action* (see *Economic Survey 1998 - Republic of Kenya 1998: 209, Mwakisha 1998*)

The Women's Bureau (questionably from the point of view of the present study) states that through itself "... Kenya has implemented agreements and adhered to obligations that emanate from such conferences" (ibid.).

The Development Plans for 1989-1993 (Republic of Kenya 1989: 202), 1994-1996 (Republic of Kenya 1994: 253) and 1997-2001 (Republic of Kenya 1997: 134) indeed acknowledge that gender inequalities persist in Kenyan society but they indicate there has been considerable improvement since independence. The government therefore states that it will continue to its endeavour to improve gender equity through expanding educational opportunities and participation in the public sector. *The Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 178, 253-254) states that the government would

² Kenya hosted the third World Women's Conference in 1985 that produced the NFLS.

create more opportunities for women to participate in development and decision-making at the local and national levels by:

- establishing and strengthening women's desks in key sectors including education, health, planning, agriculture and so on
- sensitizing policy-makers and planners towards utilizing gender disaggregated data in the planning process
- launching the 'Gender and Development Policy' document to be used as a guide for project planning and implementation to improve women's participation in various sectors.

The *KANU Manifesto 1997* (KANU 1997: 52) and the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 134) further state that the government will continue to empower women to ensure that they play a greater role in nation-building and in politics through education and training. The Plan states: "... the persistent gender imbalances (sic) in governance and decision-making is not due to overt gender discrimination but is the consequence of historical differences in access to education. Government policies to eliminate gender imbalance at all levels of education will be the key to the elimination of gender biases throughout society" (ibid.).

The examples of policies and statements above manifest that the Kenyan government (at least in theory) is committed to promoting active participation in both decision-making and implementing resulting policies for all people including women as the **prescriptive dimension** of democracy for human development suggests. However, there are mismatches between policies and everyday life particularly for women as will be shown later in part II.

The next section tries to examine the extent to which issues discussed in the **methodological dimension** of democracy are incorporated in Kenyan government policies and statements.

7.2.0. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE METHODOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.2.1. Policies and Statements Relating to the Democratic System of Organizing Public Affairs

The Kenyan government indicates that in both single and multi-party systems, divergent views amongst people have been and continued to be tolerated. The Sessional paper No. 10 states that “[i]n African socialism every .. mature citizen can belong to **the** party [KANU] without restriction or discrimination; and **the** party will entertain and accommodate different points of view”³ (Republic of Kenya 1965: 4). Further, it states that the criteria for political participation are mature age and Kenyan citizenship and that economic status and race among other conditions would not be used to restrict people from expressing their views and ideas.

The *Constitution of Kenya* (1998 edition) section 1A states: “The Republic of Kenya shall be a multiparty democratic state.” The government in its manifesto states that it believes in democratic multipartyism and it is firmly committed to political pluralism and that it will ensure every Kenyan exercises his or her freedom of choice through the ballot box (KANU 1997: 15-16).

³ Kenya was then a single party state; it changed from a multi-party one in December 1964 (see Republic of Kenya 1983: 44)

The Constitution in section 43 states: "... a person shall be qualified to be registered as a voter in elections to the National Assembly and in elections of a President if, and not be qualified unless, he (sic) is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of eighteen years...." However, such a person may be disqualified if, among other conditions, declared to be of unsound mind, declared to be bankrupt, or detained in lawful custody. Also, non-citizens may qualify to be voters if they reside in Kenya for specified periods of time.

More conditions are required for members of the National Assembly as section 34 indicates, for example candidates have to have attained the age of twenty-one years and have to be nominated by any registered political party. The criteria for other public positions such as the presidency, judges, and ministers are also provided in different sections of the Constitution.

The next section examines how far the issues discussed in the **methodological dimension** of democracy for human development have been incorporated in Kenyan education in principle.

7.2.2. Educational Policies and Provisions for Developing People's Understanding and Application of Formal Democratic Procedures

The *Constitution of Kenya* section 42A (d) gives the Electoral Commission the responsibility of promoting voter education. The Electoral Commission Chairman (Sekoh-Ochieng and Gachamba 30th April 1998) in a conference on 'Democracy, Governance and Business' said his organization "... will enter into discussions with the Ministry of Education to identify areas where voter education can be promoted using physical and human resources at their disposal. He said the commission will design and

execute projects that will [have] impact on voters through drama, radio, school programmes, seminars and *barazas* [public meetings].”

The secondary school curriculum in history and government for example covers among other topics:

- administrative structures of the Kenyan government
- national political parties (origin, constitution, policies and so on)
- central government’s bodies (the legislature, the executive and the judiciary)
- local government (functions, responsibilities and relationship with the central government) (see for example *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six- Republic of Kenya 1992: 25-31*).

The social education and ethics syllabus further includes topics such as the roles and functions of schools and the responsibilities accorded to different positions in school administration and management including student’ bodies and prefects. The objectives do not however make any mention of democracy although it may be implied in the various topics (*ibid.*: 39).

The next section highlights schemes for enabling women express themselves.

7.2.3. Policies and Provisions Relating to Democratic Procedures for Expressing Women’s Views and Interests

The Kenyan Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) which was established in 1952 provides elective leadership positions for women at the national level. The government through the Women’s Bureau encourages establishment of more women’s groups in different parts of the country to enable them express their views and interests,

and participate in socio-economic development (see Women's Bureau 1991, *Development Plan 1994-1996* - Republic of Kenya 1994: 257).

Next, policies and statements relating to development of democratic citizenship in Kenyan people are highlighted.

7.3.0. POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENTAL DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.3.1. Educational Policies and Statements Relating to the Development of Democratic Qualities and Attitudes in Kenyans

In general, the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 states that promoting respect for human dignity, freedom of conscience and a sense of mutual social responsibility for socio-economic development are among the ultimate objectives of the Kenyan society. Further, the Kenyan government states that the national educational objectives include:

- fostering national unity
- preparing and equipping the young people with knowledge, skills and expertise to enable them contribute towards national development
- developing talents and potential abilities to the maximum
- promoting social justice and commitment to social obligations and responsibilities
- fostering positive attitudes and consciousness towards other nations
- developing a sense of self-reliance and self-determination (see for example Sessional paper No. 6-Republic of Kenya 1988: 7; *Development Plan 1989-1993*- Republic of

Kenya 1989: 210-211, *Development Plan 1994-1996*- Republic of Kenya 1994: 215-216).

Furthermore, the *Education in Kenya: Information Handbook* states: "... the general objective of primary education ... is to prepare all the children who go through the course to participate more fully in the social, political and spiritual well-being of the nation" (Ministry of Education - Kenya 1987: 25). The specific objectives of primary education include:

- imparting literacy and numeracy skills
- developing self-expression
- developing a measure of logical thought and critical judgement
- developing awareness and understanding of the environment
- developing the whole person including the physical, mental, and spiritual capacities
- enabling young people to appreciate and respect the dignity of labour
- developing positive attitudes and values towards society (Sessional paper No. 6 - Republic of Kenya 1988: 12).

These objectives cover some of the qualities and attitudes discussed in the **developmental dimension** of democracy for human development.

The objectives of higher levels of education are also orientated towards developing individuals to be effective agents of development in Kenya (see Sessional paper No. 6 - *ibid.*: 14-35). For instance secondary education should provide for intellectual, moral and spiritual development and lay a firm foundation for further education. The various acquired virtues and attitudes discussed under the **developmental dimension** of democracy for human development are covered in social education and ethics (see *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six* - Republic of Kenya 1992). The objectives

of vocational education are orientated towards developing technical, industrial and entrepreneurship knowledge, skills and attitudes for socio-economic development.

However, the critical mindedness and inquisitiveness which are crucial for democratic citizenship seem not to be emphasized as shown particularly by the national educational objectives above.

In the following section, government policies and statements relating to developing democratic citizenship in women are considered.

7.3.2. Policies and Statements Relating to the Development of Democratic Qualities and Attitudes in Women

The Kenyan government in the development plans for 1994-1996 (Republic of Kenya 1994: 253-259) and 1997-2001 (Republic of Kenya 1997: Chapter 6) proposes to reduce the prevailing gender disparities by among other strategies:

- removing gender-stereotyped textbooks and other materials gradually
- providing appropriate role models for girls
- promoting gender sensitivity in curriculum development
- enhancing the role of women in curriculum development and educational counselling.

From the present study's point of view, if these objectives were realized, they would be likely to contribute towards building the positive self-image in girls which is necessary for developing them into active participants in influencing decisions in their schools and society at large.

7.4.0. POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE OPPORTUNITIES DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.4.1. General Policies and Statements Relating to Political and Socio-economic Opportunities

The Sessional paper No. 10 (Republic of Kenya 1965: 4) states that the government has an obligation to ensure equal opportunities to its citizens, to eliminate exploitation and discrimination, and to provide needed social services such as education, medical care and social security.⁴ Further, it states that equality of opportunity is guaranteed for all citizens as a matter of right (ibid.: 28). Nevertheless, the *Development Plan 1966-1970* (Republic of Kenya 1966: vii) omits the gender aspect in re-emphasizing the government's objective of providing equal opportunities without discrimination.

The next section focuses on policies relating to educational opportunities.

7.4.2. Policies and Statements Relating to Opportunities in education and their relevance to Other Sectors

The various development plans, KANU manifestos and Sessional papers indicate that since the time of independence the Kenyan government has committed itself: first, to expand educational opportunities at all levels for all citizens and to distribute them equitably. Nonetheless, the Sessional paper No. 10 (Republic of Kenya 1988: 39-41) indicates that at the time of independence, education was viewed as a principal means of developing skilled manpower in Kenyan citizens to redress the racial imbalances in various sectors of the economy. Secondary education level was therefore given

⁴ See also *Development Plan 1966-1970* (Republic of Kenya 1966: 57-62)

prominence. The government has emphasized its objective to provide universal free primary education and to expand opportunities at the secondary and tertiary levels throughout the post-independence period to ensure that all people participate fully in socio-economic development (See Republic of Kenya 1965: 40, Republic of Kenya 1966: 305, Republic of Kenya 1969: 450, Republic of Kenya 1989: 20, KANU 1997: 22, Republic of Kenya 1997: 133).

In the *Development Plan 1989-1993*, the Kenyan government stresses the importance of formal education and training opportunities in enhancing development. This is expressed as follows:

... the ultimate goal of development is the improvement of the welfare of the individual, the family and the community at large. Man (sic) is the principal agent of change and the main beneficiary of development. However, to contribute effectively to the development process, man (sic) has to be provided with the opportunities to gain knowledge, skills, and other relevant resources ... Government has hitherto placed considerable emphasis on formal education and training ... and literacy programmes throughout the country (Republic of Kenya 1989: 261).

In the current development plan, the government states that it will endeavour to increase educational opportunities by:

- seeking partnership with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious organizations, parents and teachers associations (PTAs) and other stakeholders in financing education
- raising primary education expenditure from 57 per cent to 67 per cent of the Ministry of Education's recurrent budget and focusing mainly on providing books and other essential supplies, and bursaries for needy students (Republic of Kenya 1997: 137).

Second, the Kenyan government commits itself to improve the relevance of education in order to meet the manpower needs of the country. For instance the *Development Plan 1970-1974* (Republic of Kenya 1969: 451) indicates that the government planned to:

- institute more practical-oriented course-work in secondary schools and give priority to science subjects in upper classes
- give priority to science and science related faculties at the university level.

Under 'Development of Entrepreneurship and Management Training' in the *Development Plan 1989-1993* (Republic of Kenya 1989: 223) and 'Education and National Development' in the Sessional paper No. 6 (Republic of Kenya 1988: 8-9), the Kenyan government states that it will:

- provide relevant training opportunities to enable people to create self-employment
- correct disparities in distribution.

The government considers these goals important for enhancing people's participation in the development process. Further, the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 138) states that the government will reform the current 8-4-4 school curriculum and focus particularly on education which is orientated towards the science and practical skills that are required in the labour market.

Third, the Kenyan government commits itself to enhance the quality of education by improving teachers' qualifications, instruction materials, supervisory schemes, and providing library services for teachers (*Development Plan 1970-1974*- Republic of Kenya 1969: 451-456). It further sets out to provide adequate reading materials and to allow more time to cover the curriculum content (Sessional paper No. 6- Republic of Kenya 1988: 13, *National Development Plan 1997-2001*- Republic of Kenya 1997: 132).

The next section attempts to outline government policies and statements relating to women's opportunities.

7.4.3. Policies and Statements Relating to Women's Opportunities in Political, Socio-economic and Educational Sectors

In the *Development Plan 1989-1993*, the Kenyan government acknowledges gender inequalities in the distribution of opportunities in different aspects of life and attributes them to colonialism. This argument states:

... colonial subjugation and its attendant Victorian attitudes towards women both as workers and as partners in life eroded women's [traditional] economic and social status. Kenya has been working toward the restoration of women to their active role, not only in the development of the economy but also in the ownership and control of wealth arising from economic production. Women's quality of life, as measured by such indicators as education, health, urbanization, employment and incomes, has improved considerably since independence (Republic of Kenya 1989: 27-28).

Consequently, the government states among other things that it "...will continue in its endeavour to ensure that women are increasingly and productively employed in all sectors of the economy. This goal will largely be pursued through expansion of education and other opportunities for women with the aim of increasing their participation in the formal sectors..." (ibid.: 202).

Nevertheless, in the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 135), the government indicates that in general there has been a decline in enrolment, low completion rates, inadequate teaching of sciences and technical subjects, limited public funds and limited opportunities particularly at the higher levels of education. It also states that these problems affect girls more, for example "... girls' schools are relatively less well endowed with respect to science teaching facilities and this leads to lower female representation at post-secondary technical and science education institutions"

(ibid.). The government therefore plans to resolve the gender inequalities by increasing girls' participation at all levels of education (ibid.: 137).

The government acknowledges that expanding both educational and employment opportunities are necessary for promoting people's quality of life. It therefore states that more employment opportunities will be created particularly through providing conditions that are conducive to creating self-employment. The government states that it will take certain measures to facilitate a greater and more productive role for women in the labour force, some of which are relevant to the present study's **opportunities dimension** of democracy. It states among other things that:

- the office of the Attorney General will spearhead enactment and enforcement of laws that remove barriers to women's economic participation
- it will give more support to the informal sector taking the gender aspect into consideration
- the Ministry of Culture and Social Services in liaison with NGOs and donor agencies will develop and implement mechanisms to empower women especially those heading households with the view of expanding their access to credit
- it will improve the plight of young girls who are forced to leave school to take care of their families
- various ministries will make efforts to develop and introduce modern and affordable time saving devices and improve infrastructure to reduce the time women spend on unpaid family work (see *Development Plan 1994-1996* - Republic of Kenya 1994: 207, *National Development Plan 1997-2001* - Republic of Kenya 1997: 147).

Next, government policies and statements regarding human rights are highlighted below.

7.5.0. POLICIES AND STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE PROTECTIVE DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.5.1. General Policies and Statements on Human Rights

The *Constitution of Kenya* (1998 edition), the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10, and the 1948 *United Nations Declaration on Human Rights* are examples of documents that relate to the Kenyan people's freedoms and entitlements. The *Constitution of Kenya* in Chapter 5 spells out the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, which include:

- protection of right to life
- protection of right to personal property
- protection from slavery and forced labour
- protection from inhuman treatment
- protection from deprivation of property
- provisions to secure protection of law
- protection of freedom of conscience
- protection of freedom of expression
- protection of freedom of assembly and association
- protection of freedom of movement
- protection from discrimination on grounds of race, political opinions, colour or sex and so on.

However, although section 82(1) states that "... no law shall make any provision that is discriminatory either of itself or in its effect", sub-sections 4, 5 and 8 make some exemptions for example with respect to non-citizens, adoption, marriage, divorce,

burial, devolution of property on death or other matters of personal law, customary law and persons with disabilities. Reference to customary laws has in some cases resulted in discriminatory treatment against women as shown by Gordon (1995) in “Gender, Ethnicity and Class in Kenya: ‘Burying Otieno” and Mbote (1995) in “The Legal Status of Women in Kenya” (see Chapter 2). There is therefore a need to amend the Constitution to ensure women do not continue to be disempowered and treated unequally on the basis of customary laws.

7.5.2. Educational Policies and Statements Concerning Human Rights

The *Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 218) states: “Primary education provides the basis for further life-long learning and offers the best long-term strategy for eliminating illiteracy ... This makes it a basic human right for all.” The development plan for 1997-2001 (Republic of Kenya 1997: 133) further states: “One of the Government’s guiding philosophies for education is the concern that every Kenyan has the inalienable right, no matter his or her socio-economic status, to basic education” (also see KANU 1997: 22, Sessional paper No. 6- Republic of Kenya 1988: 12). The government indicates that it will continue pursuing primary education for all through the ‘cost-sharing’ policy (Republic of Kenya 1997: 135-136).

Moreover, the Kenyan government indicates commitment to develop awareness and understanding on people’s rights. The *Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 252) states that the current democratization process and rapid development in Kenya can only succeed if a clear information/communication policy is adopted. The policy should be one that informs people about the available alternatives in different issues of public concern, so that citizens know their rights, obligations and opportunities in socio-economic and political spheres of life. Consequently, the government states

that it intends among other things to formulate and enact an effective coherent information/communication policy as a tool for mobilizing the public towards active participation in key economic activities.

The following section considers policies and statements relating to women's rights.

7.5.3. Kenyan Government's Policies and Statements Relating to Women's Rights in General and in Education

The Kenyan government is signatory to international policies that focus on women's rights in different aspects of life particularly the United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW). The government in its Manifesto states that it will in particular "consolidate and harmonize laws and customary practice to secure the rights of women to land ownership and inheritance" (KANU 1997: 52).

Next, policies and statements on pragmatic strategies for enhancing development in Kenya are outlined.

7.6.0. STRATEGIES AND PROGRAMMES RELATING TO THE PRAGMATIC DIMENSION OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

7.6.1. Some Socio-economic and Educational Strategies for Promoting Development in Kenya

The Kenyan government *District Focus Strategy for Rural Development* may be interpreted as a pragmatic way of enhancing the human development principle which

considers people as agents and beneficiaries of growth and development in their local communities, districts and so on. It may therefore be viewed as a means of empowering people and improving their capabilities to contribute to socio-economic development.

The *Social Dimensions of Development Programme* (SDD) and the *regional quota system of selecting students* who are admitted to public secondary schools may be considered as forms of affirmative action for equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. The SDD programme has been designed by the Government with the participation of major donors, stakeholders such as NGOs, the private sector and beneficiaries to redress the worsening poverty among the low-income people as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) (Republic of Kenya 1997: 153).

The report of the presidential working party on *Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond* (Republic of Kenya 1988: 29) and the *Education in Kenya: Information Handbook* (Republic of Kenya 1987: 35) state that the regional quota system of selecting students ensures that the best students in every district have some opportunities in national schools in proportion to the population of students. The national schools among other Kenyan institutions that have the best facilities, equipment and personnel are normally referred to as 'centres of excellence'. The policy for selecting students to be admitted to these schools is designed to facilitate interaction between students from different ethnic communities as well. The Kenyan national schools are therefore viewed as a means of fostering national unity.

From the point of view of the present study, the distribution of educational opportunities in national schools is a form of affirmative action because the entry marks vary according to the performance of individual districts some of which have very limited

educational resources and facilities, particularly in the unproductive arid and semi-arid areas.

Further, the above report (Republic of Kenya 1988: 29) indicates that the policy for selecting students for provincial schools requires that 85 per cent of students are selected from the district in which a particular school is located, and 15 per cent from the rest of the districts in the province in which the school is situated. For the district schools which are mostly day-schools, all students are normally selected from the district in which a particular school is situated. The government considers these policies for selecting students applied in provincial and district schools as pragmatic ways of encouraging communities to build and maintain schools in their localities.

The government has also shown commitment to promote the girls' education by allocating funds for bursaries. The Minister for Education and Human Resources Development (*Nation* Correspondent 6th June 1998b) stated that a special bursary fund has been set up for poor but bright girls and a gender section has been established at the Ministry's headquarters. "The unit is part of government's efforts towards finding solutions to the problems that make more girls than boys drop out of school." Further, due to girls' lower performance in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examinations, the required marks for girls to enter secondary schools are normally lower than for boys. This may be viewed as a form of affirmative action for Kenyan girls who are generally disadvantaged socio-culturally (see the principles of the UNDP's human development paradigm in Chapter 1).

Having considered various policies and statements related to the different dimensions of democracy for human development in general and in the case of women in particular, part II below examines the situation in day to day life.

PART II

7.7.0. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND STATEMENTS ON DEMOCRACY, EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S ISSUES VERSUS REALITY IN KENYAN SOCIETY

This second part attempts to show the extent to which the above Kenyan government's policies and statements match with the real life situation in general and in the case of women.

7.7.1. Democratic participation in Kenya

(a) Participation in socio-economic and political sphere

Although the government states that people are free and have the right to participate actively in decision-making in public affairs at all levels, this in reality has not been guaranteed. This situation hinders people in some cases from participating as the agents and beneficiaries of societal advancement that they ought to be. Reports in the mass media show that progress in democratic participation amongst Kenyan people continues to be hampered by factors such as:

- authoritarianism amongst leaders and harassment by police in public meetings particularly those organized by opposition political parties (see for example *Keesing's Record of World Events* 1997: 41720 'Kenya: Killing of Pro-democracy Protesters, *Keesing's Record of World Events* 1997: 41578 'Protest by Foreign Envoys', and *Keesing's Record of World Events* 1997: 41762 'Further Deterioration of Political Situation')

- government's demand for loyalty from both leaders and citizens before development projects can be established in their particular areas (see *Nation* Correspondent 27th January 1999g 'MPs Accuse Government of Bias in Project Implementation')
- persisting gender inequalities in decision-making (see *Nation* Reporter 19th January 1998c, "Electoral Body Given 14 Days to Effect Gender Balance in Parliament").

These factors negate the principles of the human development paradigm as shown below by some related incidents in Kenya in the recent past.

In spite of the fact that Kenya is on record as having some successful participatory community projects (see *World Development Report* - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1991:85, 1997: 114-119 quoted earlier), there have been various mass media reports in the recent past which indicate that Kenyan people and their leaders are sometimes not consulted about development matters that affect their lives. For instance, several mass media reports⁵ show that public land (demarcated for research purposes and forests reserved as water catchment areas) have been allocated to private developers without the knowledge of Kenyan citizens and some of their leaders. This has led to protests by opposition leaders and environmentalists. Such actions deny people opportunities to participate in deliberating on development issues and making decisions with clear understanding of their implications for the sustainability of resources in Kenya.

Further reports indicate there have also been confrontations between government officials and rice and sugarcane farmers. The rice farmers are resisting coercion to sell their products to a government agency (National Irrigation Board - NIB). The farmers argue that Kenya has now liberalized its markets and therefore they should be allowed

⁵ See for example *Nation* Reporter (16th January 1999b) 'AG Petitioned Over Karura', Kihuria (11th January 1999) '[Kofi] Annan Protests Karura Beatings', Muiruri (9th January 1999) 'MPs, Maathai Beaten at Forest'

the freedom and opportunity to negotiate with any willing buyers about collection, marketing and modes of payment for their products (see for example *Nation Reporter* (14th January 1999a) 'Trouble Over Rice Escalates').

The confrontations have resulted not only in the sacking of the entire board and top management by the Minister of Agriculture but they also left two farmers shot dead by the police and others critically injured. "Announcing the change, the Minister admitted that the outgoing board and top management of the NIB had not been accessible to the farmers" (see *Nation Team* 15th January 1999 'Agriculture Minister Sacks the Rice Board').

Consultation between the farmers and the newly appointed committee headed by the Deputy Director of Agriculture (see *Sunday Nation* 17th January 1999 'Rice Farmers Agree on Storage') shows that some agreements were reached: the farmers agreed to deliver their product to prevent spoilage as further discussions continue about how the produce will be marketed and the mode of payment. From the perspective of democracy for human development, such consultations leading to some agreements may provide further support to the view that involving beneficiaries in matters that concern them may not only empower them but also may improve efficiency and productivity.

Sugarcane farmers (see *Nation* correspondent 9th January 1999f 'Pakistani Expats Beaten') also seem not to have been consulted when the government contracted a foreign company to manage a sugar factory that owes them money for produce already delivered. According to the Managing Director of the factory "...the expatriates had been contracted to rehabilitate and manage the factory for only three years during which they undertook to pay arrears due to the farmers. They had also undertaken to provide technical training to the workers and ensure none lost a job."

The government's action culminated in protests against the takeover plan whereby farmers physically forced the expatriates out of the sugar factory offices. The farmers argue that the expatriates are taking jobs which Kenyans are capable of doing, and moreover engaging expatriates is not cost-effective in terms of high salaries and allowances paid.

Such incidents contradict the government policies and statements outlined in Part I indicating that citizens would be involved at every stage of the development process in various aspects of life. From the point of view of the present study, such occurrences hamper the realization of the components of human development for instance:

- all these incidents seem to disempower people by hindering participation in decision-making
- the sugarcane and rice farmers' non-involvement in decision-making appears likely to reduce productivity due to the disagreements about collection and marketing of agricultural products
- the sugarcane factory problem may probably curtail equity by denying job opportunities to Kenyans in their own country
- allocating the reserved public land to private developers is likely to hamper agricultural research and reducing the country's water catchment areas, thereby jeopardizing the sustainability of national resources.

The next section considers the extent to which democratic participation may be said to be promoted in and through formal education.

(b) Education and democratic participation

Educational development in Kenya has also in some cases been effected through presidential and ministerial directives without critical and careful deliberation by various stakeholders (see Eshiwani 1993: 155; and Sifuna 1997, 1997a; Abagi 1997, 1997a in Chapter 2). Indeed, Sifuna (1997: 66) rightly notes that the announcement of policies in such directives often comes with a great deal of political pressure and public drama that does not allow for debate and opposition.

In the teaching and learning process, the *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six* (Republic of Kenya 1992: 30) shows that history and government includes the origin and development of the national philosophies below:

- ‘Harambee’ primarily means pulling resources together and working as teams to establish community projects
- ‘Nyayo’ philosophy mainly emphasizes peace, love and unity
- ‘African Socialism’ emphasizes political democracy and mutual social responsibility as noted earlier.

However, the related specific objectives merely indicate that at the end of the topic the learner should be able to:

- explain the origin and development of national philosophies
- discuss the contribution of the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 to development planning.

These objectives show neither any specific indication as to how the learners would be enabled to put theory into practice in their educational activities, nor any indication of critical analysis as to what the ideology implies for the learners’ own lives in their schools and communities.

Furthermore, the syllabus includes the '*District Focus Strategy for Rural Development*' (DFSRD) which may imply that learners would be enabled to develop some knowledge and understanding about development planning and implementation of policies at the district levels. The specific objective nonetheless merely states that "... the learner should be able to discuss Kenya's strategies for economic development" (ibid.). Since the DFSRD in principle aims at involving beneficiaries in different districts at all stages of development, the objectives fall short of providing examples of simplified research orientated procedures that students may follow in attempts to make valid and informed decisions in matters of common concern.

The next section now tries to examine the women's case to show how far they may be said to participate in democratic decision-making in everyday life in Kenya.

(c) Women and democratic participation

Although the government states that no group of people will exert undue pressure on the policies of the state, Kenyan women generally hold only a small proportion of decision-making positions (see table 7.1. below).

Table 7.1. Proportions of women in selected high-ranking decision-making positions

Decision-making Position	women		Men	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Ministers	0	0	26	100%
Assistant Ministers	1	2.38%	41	97.62%
Provincial Commissioners (PCs)	0	0	8	100%
District Commissioners (DCs)	2	3.08%	63	96.92%
Vice-Chancellors (Public Universities)	0	0	5	100%
Deputy Vice-Chancellors (Public Universities)	2	40%	3	60%
Current Education Review Commission ⁶	1	4.76%	20 ⁷	95.24%

Sources of information: *Nation Reporter* (19th January 1998c), *Nation Reporter* (22nd January 1998d), *Nation Reporter* (18th February 1998f), *Nation Reporter* (22nd October 1998m), *Nation Team* (6th February 1998), Sekoh-Ochieng (22nd November 1998), Obondo and Oketch (27th July 1998), Abagi (30th May 1998), Mwakisha (20th September 1998).

Notwithstanding such disparities, the Director of Information (*Nation Reporter* 22nd October 1998m) asserts that "...there is no discrimination against women in Kenya. There are two DCs and ...we have had a woman cabinet minister." To put these assertions into context, the women DCs are only 2 out of 65 (see table above) and the woman minister is the only one since Kenya gained its political independence in 1963. This notion that there is no discrimination against women in Kenya was also manifested by members of Parliament when they rejected the 'affirmative action motion' (see Chapter 2). Clearly, this situation indicates a need to develop sensitivity to gender equity in decision-making in both contemporary and future policy-makers in order to enhance equitable human and overall development in Kenya.

⁶ See also the Kenyan Curriculum Review project in the developmental dimension of democracy for human development in Chapter 6.

⁷ Abagi (30th May 1998) indicates that the Education Review Commission has 21 members but Obondo and Oketch (27th July 1998) seem to suggest that they are 20 by stating that: "That only one woman - the deputy Vice-chancellor of the University of Nairobi, Prof. Florida Karani - was appointed to the 19-member commission amounts to discrimination."

Moreover, the Kenyan national women's group 'Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization' (MYWO) which provides women with opportunities for decision-making seems to lack complete autonomy. The Organization deals with women's development projects, but Nzomo (1993: 64; 1993a: 134-140) rightly states that it is controlled by the male-dominated ruling party. The Organization was indeed merged with the ruling party in 1984 and it was therefore referred to as KANU-MYWO for some time (Oduol, W. 1995: 89). The lack of autonomy of this women's organization is expressed thus:

In fact, the original idea of merging MYWO with the ruling party was not taken by women but men leaders in the ruling party. Since then, women have become mere pawns in a political game that is aimed at benefiting the male player... Women in Kenya are in danger of becoming appendages of men, with their fate determined by men with little or no reference to women (*Weekly Review* 1989: 1).

In the light of the human development paradigm, this situation undermines the capability of women to be agents and beneficiaries of socio-economic and political development through planning and establishing projects. It also disempowers women by hindering them from decisively influencing decisions based on considerations of their roles in families and communities.

From the point of view of the present study, enhancing participatory democracy in schools for both girls and boys would be likely to enhance gender-sensitivity and to prepare young people to take up decision-making positions in future in workplaces, district development committees and sub-committees, local and central governments, and parents and teachers associations (PTAs) among other bodies in Kenyan society.

The following section now tries to examine the extent to which the criteria and procedures set for democratic participation are adhered to in daily life in Kenyan society.

7.7.2. Formal democratic system in Kenya

(a) Democratic system in national politics

The criteria for political participation in the Constitution as shown in part I do not include possession of valid national identity cards (ID). Nevertheless, lack of valid national IDs which are sometimes not issued or renewed on time hinder people from participating in elections at the local and national levels (see for example *Nation Reporter* 4th June 1998h). Further, the *Weekly Review* (1997) and *Reporter* (8th January 1998a) rightly indicate that huge amounts of money are required for registration to contest political posts and for campaigns, even though in principle the 1965 Sessional paper No. 10 indicates that economic status is not to be used to discriminate against people. In effect, economic status may hinder some people with appropriate leadership qualities from active participation in decision-making in public affairs. Lack of finances is indeed one of the factors to which women's dismal performance in the 1997 parliamentary and civic elections were attributed (see *Weekly Review* 1997 and *Nation Reporter* 8th January 1998a). The current Kenyan political system therefore may not in reality guarantee fair competition for public positions.

Indeed, Kimemia and Sekoh-Ochieng's (1998) report "How We Bought Votes, by Sajjad" states that the Nominated MP Rashid Sajjad admitted he spent a total of Kshs. 17 million to fund elections in the Kenyan coast region. Asked by Justice Akilano Akiwumi (Chairman of the Commission inquiring into tribal clashes) what the money was used for, he said it was used among other things to "[b]uy votes, feast people, pay school fees and give some to elders to take to their families."

Such activities involving bribing voters disempower other contestants with lower economic status because the unscrupulous candidates target mainly poor people who

live below the poverty level. A significant proportion of the Kenyan population is poor: as reported in the *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 151) "...the 1992 Welfare Monitoring and Evaluation Survey (WMES) [found] the level of absolute poverty in rural areas was 46.4 per cent while in the urban areas the rate was 29.3 per cent". According to the most recent *Human Development Report* (UNPD 1998: 147), overall 37 per cent of the Kenyan population lives below the poverty line.

Poor people may find it difficult to resist immediate monetary gains for their votes during elections. The Kenyan election system therefore needs to be reconsidered so as to close up loopholes that make it possible for unscrupulous candidates not only to disempower poor voters and other contestants but also to create inequalities in competitions for political leadership.

The following section examines the extent to which formal education may be said to prepare young Kenyans to understand and utilize the political system to express their views, interests and ideas effectively.

(b) Democratic systems in Kenyan educational institutions

The Kenyan government policies on educational administration and management do not appear to have stipulated a system through which learners' views and concerns can be incorporated in decision-making in their respective institutions. Policies and statements relating to procedures for allowing students' self-expression are lacking in major government educational policy documents such as:

- the *Education Act: Chapter 211* (Republic of Kenya 1980)
- the *Teachers Service Commission Act: Chapter 212* (Republic of Kenya 1968)

- the *Sessional Paper No. 6 on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond* (Republic of Kenya 1988)
- *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997)
- the *Education in Kenya: Information Handbook* (Republic of Kenya 1987).

Nevertheless, students' organizations are generally established in universities, national polytechnics and other post-secondary and university institutions (see *Nation Reporter* 3rd August 1998i "Campaign on to Halt Rate of Varsity Dropout"). The leaders of such organizations are elected and the process normally involves campaigns. The university students are sometimes able to decisively influence changes in their institutions through their organizations (but sometimes through confrontation see for example- *Nation Correspondent* 3rd August 1998j '600 Egerton University Students Boycott Classes' and *Economic Review*⁸ (30th March - 5th April 1998) 'Public Universities: Same Old Story'). The system therefore does not in reality always guarantee students' opportunities to freely and openly discuss their concerns due to harassment and intimidation of students' leaders. Indeed, there are several students' leaders who have been expelled from university, imprisoned and some murdered under mysterious circumstances. A case in point is the student leader who was killed by an explosion in his university study bedroom. The *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1997: 41483) reports that "Despite protests from foreign diplomats, human rights organizations and opposition groups, the police said that they did not regard Muruli's death as murder. Angry students accused the police of direct involvement in his death." The incident triggered students' protests leading to the closure of the university indefinitely (also see Kigotho 1997).

⁸see <http://www.africaonline.co.ke/AfricaOnline/ereview.html>

At the secondary school level, various reports on strikes suggest that students should have a say in matters that shape their lives. For instance Odalo (1998) reports that in a secondary school heads' meeting held to find ways of curbing strikes, the Eastern Provincial Director of Education suggested "... the heads [should] cultivate good relations and be open to stakeholders. He called for flexible administration styles. Heads should encourage criticism through open sessions, students' councils, suggestion boxes....", among other recommendations. The report also indicates that the head teachers felt that the *Education Act* should be revised to empower boards of governors and themselves to make viable decisions.

Further, *Nation* Correspondent (15th June 1998c) reports that the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education blamed secondary school head teachers for contributing towards the high number of strikes. He asked the "head teachers to listen whenever students raised complaints in order to avoid strikes."

Such reports may suggest there is a need to develop an official democratic system whereby students can freely express their views and concerns in their educational institutions. From the point of view of the present study, a participatory democratic school system in Kenya would be likely not only to enable students (both girls and boys) to express themselves so as to reduce the number of school strikes but it would also be likely to develop knowledge, skills and experience necessary for utilizing the democratic systems at local and national levels later in life.

The next section tries to examine the extent to which Kenyan women are enabled to contribute in decisively influencing decisions in Kenyan society.

(c) Women and democratic systems in Kenya

The Kenyan government financially supports and encourages the establishment of women's groups as means of enabling them to express their views and interests in development activities. For instance, the *Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 257) indicates that the 1991 women's groups census showed they were 23,614 in number with total of 968,941 members. According to the *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 208), the Women's Bureau indicates that by 1997 the number of registered women's groups had grown to 85,205 with 3,096,102 members.

Further, after the last 1997 general elections, the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) government established a Ministry of Women and Youth's Affairs to ensure women's and children's issues are given more attention (*Nation Reporter* 14th January 1998b 'Kenya's Fifth Cabinet is Sworn In'). Intriguingly, slightly more than a month later the Ministry was dissolved in a cabinet reshuffle (see *Nation Reporter* 18th February 1998f 'Reshuffled Cabinet Fraught with Duplications').

Furthermore, there have been delays in instituting policies relating to women's democratic participation. The *Development Plan 1994-1996* (Republic of Kenya 1994: 254) indicates that the "...draft Gender and Development Policy Document would become operational during the Plan period to guide project planning and implementation in ... various key sectors." The document was not launched until August 1998 as indicated in Chapter 1. Mwakisha's (1998) report states that the Permanent Secretary (Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage and Social Services) who launched the document indicated "... the preparation for the policy document started way back in 1989." The writer rightly notes that this shows that the government lacks a strong commitment to pursue it or it was not considered a priority. Such delays

in improving the Kenyan women's participation in different aspects of life leads to continued slow progress in their human development.

The proposal for affirmative action in the draft *National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable Development* (see part I) seems to have influenced the re-examination of the Constitution Review Commission Act: women are now officially guaranteed a minimum of 8 out of 25 positions in the Kenyan Constitutional Review Commission (see *Nation Reporter* 31st October 1998n 'Women Guaranteed 8 Posts in Review Team' and *Daily Nation* 31st October 1998c 'Highlights of the Constitution Review Commission Act').

Previous public policies need to be modified or new ones formulated in order to harmonize them with those proposed in the draft *National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable Development*. The Chairperson of the Electoral Commission (*Nation Reporter* 23rd January 1998e) for example, when asked by the Kenya Chapter of the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) to effect gender equality in Parliament, stated "...he was powerless in ensuring gender equality among nominated MPs in the [current] Parliament. He said under the current law, political parties had sweeping powers to decide who to nominate provided such nominee is qualified by law." Thus, party nomination procedures need to be modified to reflect among other policies affirmative action to promote women's participation.

Following the above suggestion, the Kenyan education system also needs not only to establish participatory democratic system that involves learners but also to institute affirmative action in co-educational institutions to ensure gender equity in dealing with educational affairs (also see Masiga 1995- Chapter 2).

Next, the researcher examines the extent to which Kenyan education may be said to promote development of democratic citizenship in day to day life in schools, colleges and universities.

7.7.3. Development of democratic qualities and attitudes in Kenyan young people

The Kenyan national educational objectives indicate that some of the qualities and attitudes required for democratic citizenship should be developed (see **developmental dimension** of democracy in Chapter 4 and 6). Nonetheless, the specific objectives of particular subjects and topics in the *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six* (Republic of Kenya 1992) for example do not seem to encourage critical mindedness and inquisitiveness. Most of the objectives require students to explain, identify, describe, appreciate, define, state, list, compare, analyze, and discuss issues in different topics, but they do not emphasize critical analysis of the status quo.

These objectives do not state clearly or show how children are to be developed into effective, democratic and gender-sensitive agents and beneficiaries of growth and development in Kenyan society. Further, they do not show any indication as to the kind of practical experiences the learners would be provided with to empower them by developing their potential decision-making capabilities.

For instance, in 'social education and ethics' the syllabus covers various acquired social virtues such as justice, honesty, responsibility, tolerance to pluralism in cultural, social, economic and political affairs, empathy and so on. Most of the objectives of the different topics require the learners to be able only to 'identity', 'describe', 'explain' and 'appreciate' different issues. They do not appear to encourage critical analysis of such virtues say in contemporary leaders, police, teachers, or students themselves (see

Secondary Education syllabus: Volume Six, Republic of Kenya 1992: 37-45; and Bennaars 1990 and Wamahiu 1990- Chapter 6).

Consequently, although the Kenyan government in principle aims to pursue human development as discussed by UNDP, its current education system may not develop democratic qualities and attitudes in children adequately, and this would be likely to hamper its achievement to a high degree. Thus, the on-going curriculum review project in Kenyan education (see Chapter 6) may probably need to consider ways of empowering young people by developing their potential capabilities for democratic participation through providing appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences.

7.7.4. Distribution and creation of opportunities in Kenya

Although the government states that equality of opportunity is a matter of right, the available figures in various Kenyan government documents indicate varied degrees of gender disparity in education at all levels and in employment. Enrolment in pre-primary schools in 1997 was 1,064,053: girls represented 49.2% and boys 50.8% (*Economic Survey 1998* -Republic of Kenya 1998: 198). At this level, gender parity in enrolment is almost achieved, but the overall participation rate for the children below 6 years of age is only about 35%. The government has planned to increase it to 50% within the period 1997-2001 (see *National Development Plan 1997-2001*- Republic of Kenya 1997: 137).

At the primary school level, gender parity in enrolment is also close to being achieved (see table 2 below and its corresponding bar chart).

Table 7.2. Primary school enrolment according to standard and gender (in thousands): 1994-1997

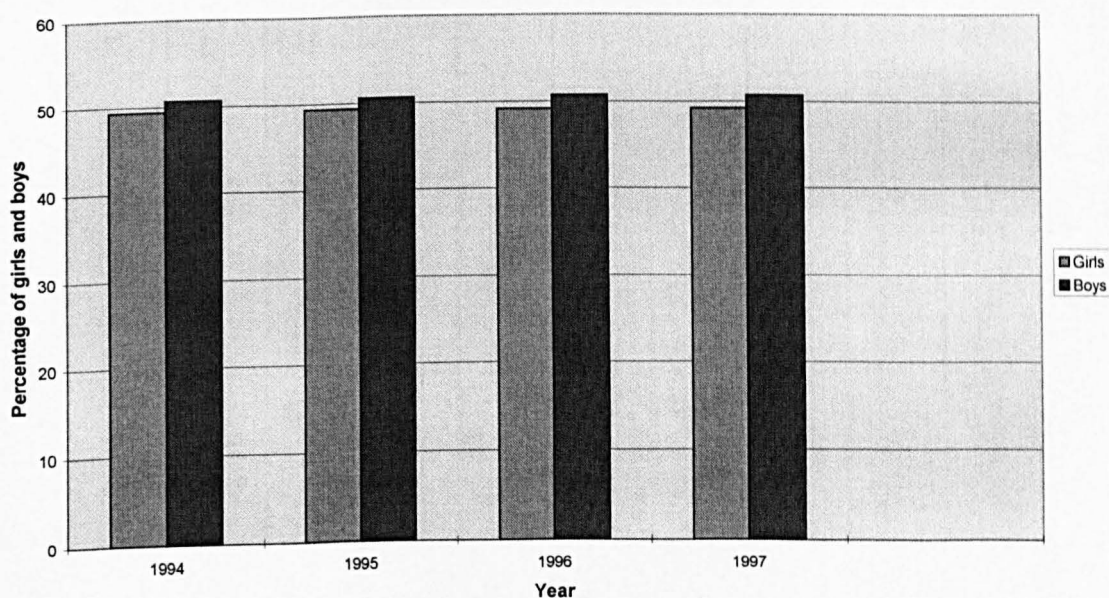
											000s	
Year	Gender	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Total	Grand Total	
1994	Boys	491.0	424.5	387.7	379.3	330.0	294.3	295.5	212.5	2814.8	5556.8	
										50.66%		
	Girls	463.4	399.8	378.7	374.9	337.0	296.7	301.2	190.3	2742.0		
										49.34%		
1995	Boys	492.1	426.8	392.3	368.1	329.2	292.0	290.2	211.6	2802.3		5536.4
										50.62%		
	Girls	459.9	405.8	373.3	366.2	334.0	300.4	300.5	194.0	2734.1		
										49.38%		
1996	Boys	494.2	437.4	397.0	372.9	330.9	297.5	296.2	217.3	2843.4	5597.7	
										50.80%		
	Girls	463.9	414.9	374.7	364.2	330.8	307.0	299.8	199.0	2754.3		
										49.20%		
1997*	Boys	498.2	442.9	402.1	379.5	331.7	304.1	301.2	220.5	2880.2		5677.3
										50.73%		
	Girls	468.2	421.1	370.4	372.4	334.6	312.4	310.9	207.1	2797.1		
										49.27%		

* Provisional

Std: Standard (Class)

Source of information: *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 199).

Figure 7.1. Primary School Enrolment in Kenya: 1994-1997



Notwithstanding the relatively low gender disparity at this level *vis-à-vis* higher ones, the Minister for Education and Human Resource Development (Waihenya 1998a, Kiganya 1998) when launching the *State of the World's Children* report stated that the government was concerned about the declining gross primary school enrolment. It declined from 95 per cent in 1989 to 76 per cent in 1996 but it rose to 84 per cent in 1997 (also see the *National Development Plan 1997-2001*- Republic of Kenya 1997: 134). Thus, there is a significant proportion of children who have not been enrolled in primary schools in the recent years. This situation is compounded by the fact that less than 50 per cent of children enrolled in Std. 1 complete the primary education course. "Of the pupils entering Std. 1, only 77 per cent of boys and 80 per cent of girls enter Std. 4 while only 55 per cent of boys and 35 per cent of girls enter Std. 8" (ibid. 137).

At the secondary school level, gender disparity in enrolment seems to decrease gradually over the years as table 7.3. and the corresponding bar chart below show.

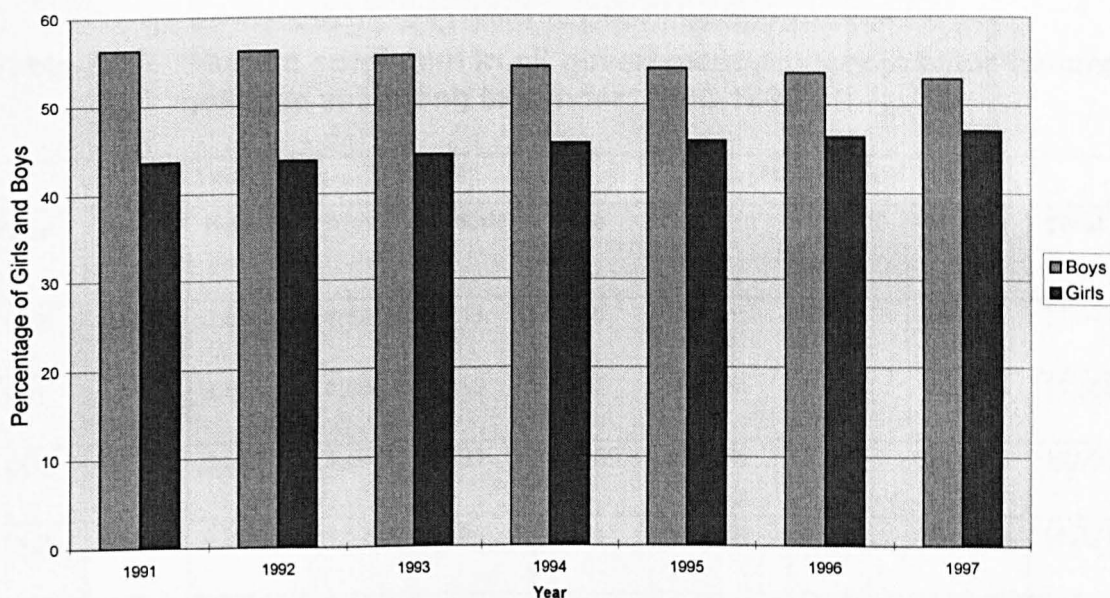
Table 7.3. Enrolment in secondary schools according to form and gender: 1991-1997

Year	Gender	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Total	Grand total
1991	Boys	95,511	89,181	82,749	78,347	345,788	614,161
	Boys %					56.30%	
	Girls	76,126	70,651	64,139	57,457	268,373	
	Girls %					43.70%	
1992	Boys	97,267	91,209	84,429	80,467	353,372	629,062
	Boys %					56.17%	
	Girls	78,081	72,774	66,189	58,646	275,690	
	Girls %					43.83%	
1993	Boys	81,543	73,125	72,647	67,881	295,196	531,342
	Boys %					55.56%	
	Girls	69,560	61,158	55,467	49,961	236,146	
	Girls %					44.44%	
1994	Boys	90,774	87,993	79,067	78,605	336,439	619,839
	Boys %					54.28%	
	Girls	78,140	76,549	66,328	62,383	283,400	
	Girls %					45.72%	
1995	Boys	96,360	88,737	82,623	74,087	341,807	632,388
	Boys %					54.05%	
	Girls	83,650	75,961	69,876	61,094	290,581	
	Girls %					45.95%	
1996	Boys	97,394	93,526	83,902	78,104	352,926	658,253
	Boys %					53.62%	
	Girls	85,917	81,444	71,924	66,042	305,327	
	Girls %					46.38%	
1997*	Boys	98,487	95,539	89,365	80,457	363,848	687,625
	Boys %					52.93%	
	Girls	88,614	86,856	79,496	68,659	323,625	
	Girls %					47.07%	

* Provisional

Sources of information: *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 199) and *Statistical Abstract 1995* (Republic of Kenya 1995: 228)

Figure 7.2. Secondary School Enrolment in Kenya: 1991-1997



The *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 134) nevertheless indicates that in 1995 for example, only 27 per cent of the secondary school age population (14-17 years) were enrolled at that level.

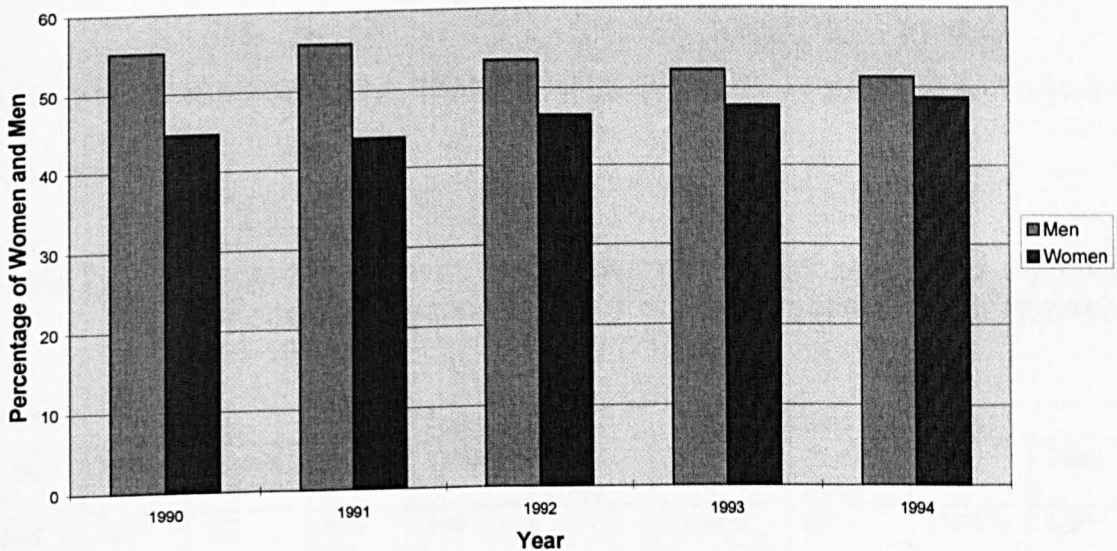
The enrolment rates at post-secondary levels of education are much lower as shown by participation in primary and secondary teacher training colleges and universities. Moreover, the proportion of women decreases as one moves from one educational level to a higher one, although there has been improvements over the years towards gender parity at individual levels (see tables and bar charts below).

Table 7.4. Student enrolment in all government primary teacher training colleges according to gender: 1990-1994

Year	1st Year		2nd Year		Total (1st and 2nd Years)				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male (No.)	%	Female (No.)	%	Total
1990	4,809	3,890	4,621	3,753	9,430	55.23%	7,643	44.77%	17,073
1991	5,002	3,846	4,806	3,850	9,808	56.03%	7,696	43.97%	17,504
1992	4,471	3,529	5,698	5,294	10,169	53.54%	8,823	46.46%	18,992
1993	4,051	4,077	4,527	3,766	8,578	52.24%	7,843	47.76%	16,421
1994	4,422	3,966	4,018	4,055	8,388	51.27%	8,021	48.73%	16,461

Source of information: *Statistical Abstract 1995* (Republic of Kenya 1995: 231)

Figure 7.3. Enrolment in Primary Teacher Training Colleges: 1990-1994



The proportion of women enrolled for primary school teacher training has increased gradually as the above table shows.

The table below further shows that in total the proportion of women in the 1997/98 academic year reached 49.24% (provisionally). Nevertheless, out of the two grades of Kenyan primary school teachers (Primary 1 - P1 and Primary 2 - P2, (the latter being a lower grade), the female students form the majority (67.23%) of those on the lower grade.

Table 7.5. Student enrolment in all government primary teacher training colleges according to gender: 1997/98*

Certification	1st Year		2nd Year		Total				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male (No.)	%	Female (No.)	%	Total
Primary 1 (P1)	4,445	4,179	4,686	4,450	9,131	51.41%	8,629	48.59%	17,760
Primary 2 (P2)	104	201	108	234	212	32.77%	435	67.23%	647
Total	4,549	4,380	4,794	4,684	9,343	50.76%	9,064	49.24%	18,407

* Provisional

Source of information: *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 202)

At the Secondary school teacher training level the disparities are greater as shown by the table below.

Table 7.6. Student enrolment in all government science 1 and diploma (secondary) teacher training colleges according to gender: 1990-1994

Year	1st Year		2nd Year		Total (1st and 2nd Years)				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male (No.)	%	Female (No.)	%	Total
1991	833	362	864	300	1697	71.94%	662	28.06%	2,359
1992	321	201	469	284	790	61.96%	485	38.04%	
1993	No figures provided								
1994	316	158	312	188	628	64.48%	346	35.52%	974

Source of information: *Statistical Abstract 1995* (Republic of Kenya 1995: 231)

Similarly, gender disparities in different public universities and university colleges are high as shown below by the enrolment in 1997/98 in the table below.

Table 7.7. Student enrolment in all five public universities in 1997/98 academic year

University	First Year Females (%)	Total Females %	Total Males %	Total
Nairobi University	27.2%	25.9%	74.1%	15,400
Moi University	32.4%	27.5%	72.5%	4,810
Maseno University College	37.2%	33.8%	66.2%	2,809
Kenyatta University	43.2%	38.8%	61.2%	9,461
JKUAT	*	15.0%	85.0%	3,005
Egerton University	*	29.2%	70.8%	8,056
Grand Total	*	29.2%	70.8%	43,591

JKUAT: Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology

* Figures not provided

Source of information: *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 202-203).

The university level also manifests lack of adequate opportunities for qualified students. The transition rate from secondary education to university education in public institutions is about 7 per cent only (*National Development Plan 1997-2001*- Republic of Kenya 1997: 134). In 1997 for example, Waihenya's (1997) report 'Thousands Miss University Entry' states that the Joint Admissions Board (for all public universities) announced that more than 70 per cent of the students who qualified for university admission in 1996 missed places. Out of 28,119 students who met the required standards only 8,173 were admitted into the five public universities leaving 19,946 without places.

The low transition rates from one level of Kenyan education to a higher one have led to problems of unemployment. The *National Development Plan 1997-2001* (Republic of Kenya 1997: 146) states that:

[On average] out of 450,000 pupils who complete primary school each year, only 150,000 proceed to secondary schools while Youth Polytechnics cater for

barely 40,000. As a result, the majority of the youth remain unskilled, and this inhibits their opportunities for gainful employment in either formal or informal sectors.

Consequently, the Kenyan government's goal of offering entrepreneurship and vocational-orientated education to young people to enable them to create self-employment is watered down by inadequate opportunities.

The following tables 8-10 and the corresponding bar charts show further gender disparities even in the distribution of employment opportunities.

Table 7.8. Wage employment (in thousands) by industry and gender: 1996-1997

000s

INDUSTRY	1996					1997*				
	Males		Females		Total	Males		Females		Total
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
Agriculture and forestry	226.4	75%	76.6	25%	303.0	230.0	75%	75.6	25%	305.6
Mining and Quarrying	3.5	73%	1.3	27%	4.8	3.7	74%	1.3	26%	5.0
Manufacturing	176.7	84%	33.8	16%	210.5	179.5	84%	35.0	16%	214.5
Electricity and water	19.3	83%	4.0	17%	23.3	19.3	82%	4.1	18%	23.4
Building and construction	72.5	92%	6.3	8%	78.8	74.7	91%	5.2	9%	79.9
Trade, Restaurants and hotels	106.8	75%	36.4	25%	143.2	108.8	73%	39.4	27%	148.2
Transport and communications	68.5	79%	17.7	21%	86.2	68.4	80%	17.4	20%	85.8
Finance, insurance and real estate and business services	60.3	74%	20.7	26%	81.0	61.9	74%	21.3	26%	83.2
Community, social and personal services										
Public administration	108.1	63%	64.7	37%	172.8	105.0	62%	63.6	38%	168.6
Education services	173.6	61%	110.6	39%	284.2	175.5	60%	117.4	40%	292.9
Domestic services	56.4	59%	38.9	41%	95.3	59.4	60%	39.4	40%	98.8
Other services	85.4	63%	50.3	37%	135.7	87.8	62%	53.7	38%	141.5
Total	1,157.5	72%	461.3	28%	1,618.8	1,174.0	71%	473.4	29%	1647.4
Out of the Total: Regular	961.6	72%	372.5	28%	1334.1	964.3	73%	382.3	27%	1346.6
Casual	195.9	69%	88.8	31%	284.7	209.7	70%	91.1	30%	300.8

* Provisional

Source of information: *Economic Survey 1998* (Republic of Kenya 1998: 59).

This table shows that in 1996 the proportion of women in wage employment was only 28 per cent, and in 1997 it increased to 29 per cent. However, when regular and casual

workers are disaggregated, women constitute a slightly higher proportion of the latter group.

Table 9 below shows the distribution of wage employment (excluding casual workers) according to income and gender.

Table 7.9. Distribution of wage employment by gender and income groups (in Kshs.): 1990-1994

Year	Gender	Under Kshs. 1,000	Kshs. 1000-1,499	Kshs. 1,500-1,999	Kshs. 2,000-2,999	Kshs. 3,000 and over	Total according to gender
1990	Male	288,810	243,246	170,555	189,611	212,421	1,104,643 = 78.38%
	Female	84,567	79,756	46,619	46,137	47,636	304,715 = 21.62%
1991	Male	265,849	246,250	182,202	195,729	226,691	1,116,721 = 77.45%
	Female	89,739	86,676	49,806	47,545	51,285	325,051= 22.55%
1992	Male	62,831	148,839	187,444	234,969	490,223	1,124,306 = 76.9%
	Female	16,523	38,298	53,442	82,621	146,895	337,779= 23.1%
1993	Male	136,474	175,300	158,186	216,188	448,686	1,134,834 = 77.0%
	Female	36,259	45,572	45,565	76,801	135,835	340,032= 23.0%

Source of information: *Statistical Abstract 1995* (Republic of Kenya 1995: 315).

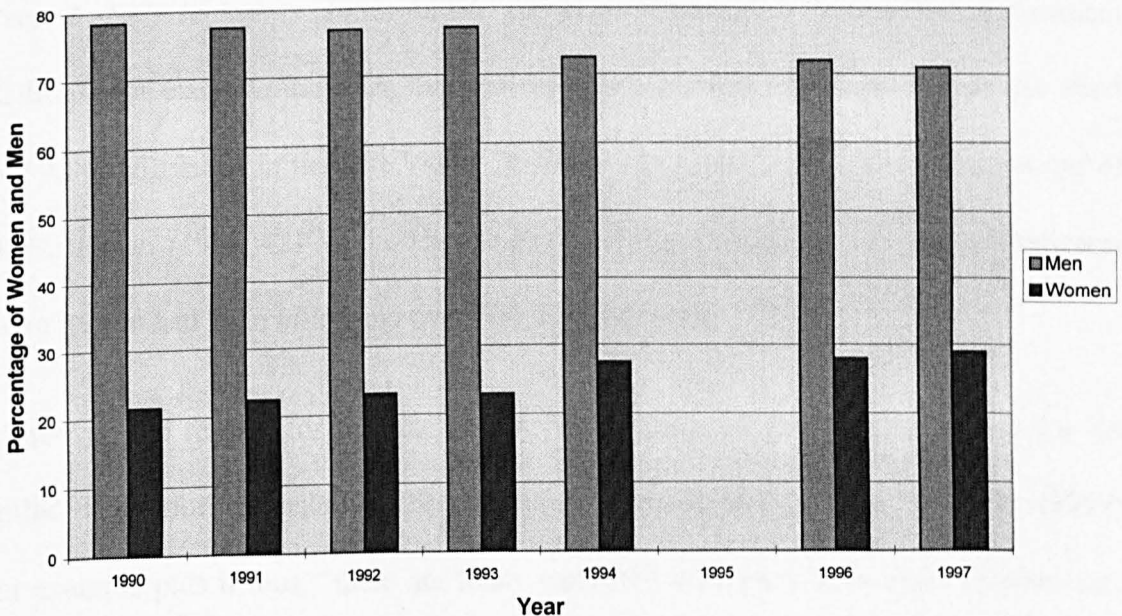
The analysis for 1994 below includes more income groups as shown in table 7.10.

Table 7.10. Distribution of wage employment by gender and income groups (in Kenya Shillings -Kshs.) for 1994

Income groups (monthly payment in Kshs)	Male	Cumulative percentage	Female	Cumulative percentage	Total
<2000	3,754	0.39%	1,962	0.54%	5,716
2000-3999	9,809	1.42%	4,535	1.79%	14,344
4000-5999	31,027	4.68%	9,380	4.38%	40,407
6000-7999	87,719	13.87%	53,509	19.14%	141,228
8000-14,999	226,511	37.63%	86,262	42.94%	312,773
15,000-19,999	213,592	60.02%	83,930	66.10%	297,522
20,000-24,999	186,900	79.62%	77,937	87.60%	264,837
25,000-29,999	157,532	96.14%	36,777	97.74%	194,309
>30,000	36,813	100%	8,181	100%	44,994
Total	953,657= 72.46%		362,473= 27.54%		1,316,130

Source of information: *Statistical Abstract 1995* (Republic of Kenya 1995: 315).

Figure 7.4.: Distribution of Wage Employment in Kenya: 1990-1997



From the point of the present study, the persisting gender disparities need to be redressed, and increasingly more opportunities need to be created at different levels of education and in the labour market so as to enhance equitable human development for all people.

Further, opportunities provided need to promote democratic participation and development of appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences for enhancing the various essential components in the human development paradigm.

The following section considers the extent to which the preservation of human rights as discussed in the **protective dimension** of democracy for human development may be said to have been effected in Kenya society.

7.7.5. Human rights in Kenya

(a) Preservation and equality of rights for all people in Kenya

In spite of the Kenyan government's commitment in the Constitution to protect people's rights, in reality there are cases that show discrepancies as exemplified by loss of life and property in ethnic clashes and pro-democracy demonstrations. The *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1998: 42050) report on 'Opposition Protest Over Communal Killings' for example indicates that violent ethnic clashes left about 100 people dead and 2,000 displaced in the Rift Valley Province. In a later report, *Keesing's Record of World Events* (1998: 42176) on 'Human Rights Groups Warning of Civil War' indicates more people had been killed and over 300,000 displaced.

Moreover, the respect for the rule of law has deteriorated greatly even among the 'so called' law enforcers including the police and advocates and justices. Githongo (1997) for example puts it thus, "there are many situations where corruption has become very ordinary - bribing a traffic cop, for instance. Indeed as a result of this, there is need to treat corruption in Kenya with creativity since in many spheres of our society, corruption seems to define relationships." Such incidents show a need to develop people who are

inclined towards preserving human rights for each other, enhancing respect for the rule of law, and seeking redress for cases where rights are violated.

The next section tries to examine how far the current Kenyan education system may be said to be suited to contribute towards meeting this need.

(b) Education and human rights in Kenya

If we take the example of primary education for all people as a human right, the reality manifests a mismatch with the government's commitment and agreement to pursue education for all by the year 2000. The situation is worsened by the declining enrolment and high drop out rates as noted earlier. There is a need for people (through their representatives) to strongly and collectively urge the government to find ways of addressing the problem.

Another shortfall is that the teaching and learning process seems not to give adequate coverage on the Bill of Rights and the obligations of Kenyan citizens (see the *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six*- Republic of Kenya 1992: 25, 40). In history and government, the specific objective states that "the learner should be able to 'spell out' his (sic) rights and obligations as a citizen of Kenya." In social education and ethics under the topic 'human dignity' basic human rights are covered. The specific objective states that the learner should be able to explain the basic human rights and their limitations. These objectives seem to lack emphasis on the practical aspect on how the learners might be encouraged to apply them in daily life in schools and communities at large, or ways of seeking redress in case human rights are violated. For instance, the objectives do not explicitly include critical examination of the status quo (in issues

relating to bullying and sexual abuse in schools, workplaces, homes and other societal institutions) in the light of the constitutional rights and freedoms.

In the following section, the researcher endeavours to consider the mismatches between Kenyan women's rights and freedoms in principle and in practical life.

(c) Women's rights in practical life in Kenya

The Kenyan women's experiences manifest some discrepancies between the principles and reality of human rights, for example freedom to travel abroad: women have to seek consent from their fathers or husbands before their visa applications can be processed (see *Nation Correspondent* 15th March 1996; *Nation Reporter* 25th May 1998g).

Secondly, women have to seek consent from their fathers or husbands to vie for public posts in spite of the fact that that the Constitution accords freedom of association to all people without discrimination. The current Kitui Central MP Charity Ngilu (*Nation Reporter* 25th May 1998g) says "...she was shocked to learn that she had to take her husband to party offices for him to say he had allowed her to run for presidency."

Further, some mass media reports show that violence against women in families and violation of girls' right to basic education have been on the increase. Socio-cultural traditions (early marriages for instance), teenage pregnancy and lack of fees have persistently hampered girls' education (see for example *Sunday Nation Correspondent* 1st November 1998 'Call Made for Girls' Centre'; Oluoch 23rd June 1998 'Teenage Pregnancies Top 11,700'; *Sunday Nation Reporter* 22nd November 1998 'Traditions Blamed for Poor Girls' Education'). The Minister for Information and Broadcasting (ibid.) rightly states that educating girls and women is a major tool for empowering

them to widen their participation in production, income generation, decision-making, improving family health and so on.

The Kenyan government in conjunction with UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) (see Kihuria 13th July 1998 'Boost for Basic Education') have developed a programme for 1999-2003 to:

... improve girls' participation in schools and enhance the education for all (EFA) goals. The objective will be to narrow gender gaps in access, participation, performance, transition and completion rates in primary and secondary schools ... Specifically, the programme seeks to increase girls' enrolment from a national average of 85.5 per cent to 95 per cent for primary and from 21.1 to 30 per cent for secondary by 2003.

The Kenyan government further needs to formulate ways of eradicating legal inequalities for example by outlawing discriminative customary laws on property ownership which may discourage girls from pursuing high levels of education, and to devise effective ways of guarding against violation of women's and girls' rights. Strategies such as developing knowledge and understanding of human rights and their implications for human and overall development and instituting penalties that effectively deter people from violating women's rights could perhaps be considered.

The next section endeavours to examine the various pragmatic strategies adopted by the Kenyan government in socio-economic and educational sectors to see how far they match with the principles and the components of human development.

7.7.6. Pragmatic Strategies for Socio-economic and Educational Development

(a) District Focus Strategy for Rural Development

The *District Focus Strategy for Rural Development* (DFSRD) as a system of treating people as agents and beneficiaries of socio-economic development in particular geographical regions might be fair if all the areas were equally endowed with human and non-human resources. In Kenya, different areas vary greatly in terms of natural resources, social amenities, climate and so on. From the point of view of equitable human development, the poor unproductive arid and semi-arid areas require government's intervention through providing extra financial resources, expertise, and special consideration in empowering people to utilize available resources in such areas. Thus, the principle of considering people as both agents and beneficiaries of growth and development needs to be coupled with affirmative action in the disadvantaged areas which have relatively fewer resources.

(b) Regional quota System of Selecting Secondary school Students

The *regional quota system of selecting secondary school students* to be admitted into national schools may be a form of affirmative action, but it may frustrate some students in highly performing districts. For instance, two pupils in district A may obtain the highest marks say 670 and 650 out of 700 in seven subjects, and a third pupil may obtain say 600 as the highest mark in district B. If the two districts have an allocation of one place each in the national schools, the pupils with 670 and 600 marks get admission. The pupil with 650 marks from district A is left out for consideration in provincial schools and this may frustrate the efforts of affected children.

The policies for selecting students for provincial and district schools are in keeping with the DFSRD: they are meant to encourage parents and local communities to establish and maintain educational institutions in their areas. The pupils from areas with few resources may tend to be disadvantaged because their parents and local communities may not adequately provide the required facilities, equipment, workshops, laboratories and so on. From the present study's perspective, the policies seem to contradict the principles of equal rights and equal opportunities for empowerment through improving people's potential capabilities to the maximum. The government therefore needs to find ways of expanding high quality educational opportunities in all areas in Kenya and at all levels.

(c) Strategies for Improving Women's Participation in Socio-economic and Educational sectors

In some communities, the number of women who have been able to acquire land ownership through cooperative women's groups has been on the increase (Gordon 1995: 908; Mackenzie 1990). However, these achievements have in some cases been resisted by men.

Mackenzie's (ibid.: 609-643) study found that some women in Murang'a District in Kenya have attained economic independence through land and property ownership through cooperative women's groups. Nevertheless, the study (ibid.: 636) also found that women's purchase of land "... instigated bitter dispute within the households, as husbands perceived it as a threat to their authority through a wife's ownership of property." Male resistance makes it difficult for some women to join such progressive and cooperative groups. Uncooperative husbands could for instance withhold family income and maintain strict control over women's activities to prevent involvement in

self-help groups completely. Such actions in turn prevent women from participating in matters of common concern and curtail transmission of information and acquisition of experience in handling public matters. Since women's groups are officially recognized as means of improving women's participation in community affairs and expressing their interests and needs, the government needs to devise ways of redressing cases where women are prevented from active involvement.

In education, the policy of lowering entry marks to secondary schools for girls may lead them to develop low self-esteem. The girls' poorer performance in national examinations may for instance be due to taking on more domestic duties and responsibilities than boys or teachers' lesser attention due to prejudices and stereotypes about girls' intellectual capabilities, and not necessarily lower intellectual abilities. Inferiority complexes may however adversely affect the girls' ability to develop their potential, which in turn may have a negative effect on women's empowerment and productivity in society. The government therefore needs to pursue its commitment to develop and introduce women to labour saving equipment as a way of freeing schoolgirls from domestic chores, and to improve teacher training by promoting gender sensitivity in the teaching and learning processes.

7.8.0. CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion shows that the Kenyan government in theory upholds the principles of the human development paradigm. From the point of view of the present study however, the practice manifests shortcomings in addressing the various issues discussed in the six dimensions of democracy for human development. The examination of the women's real life experiences generally shows their situation

requires special consideration both in the formulation and implementation of policies in order to improve gender equality in various aspects of life, particularly education.

Based on the findings of the present study, the following chapter attempts to make some recommendations as to how the current situation of democracy in Kenya could perhaps be improved so as to engender human development equitably for both women and men.

CHAPTER 8

RECAPITULATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The present study has, it is hoped, made some contributions worth consideration by policy-makers, educationists and other researchers in the efforts to formulate a country strategy for human and overall development for Kenya that is comprehensive (see UNDP 1993: 20) and sensitive to gender equality (UNDP 1995: 12). The researcher focuses on participatory democracy and appropriate education as factors that would be likely to engender equity, productivity, empowerment and sustainability of resources as recommended in the UNDP human development paradigm. Thus, attempts are made to find ways of redressing the currently deteriorating human development situation in Kenya (UNDP *Human Development Report*- see Redfern 10th September 1998 'Gap between World's Rich and Poor Grows', *Nation Reporter* 15th September 1998/ 'Kenyans to Die Younger', and *Daily Nation* 30th September 1998b '[UNDP] Report Paints Bleak Picture'). The gender aspect in this present piece of research focuses on the case of women.

This last chapter attempts to summarize the foregoing discussions, highlight the findings relating to the different dimensions of democracy for human development, and indicate conclusions and some recommendations for the Kenyan situation. The researcher then attempts to give a self-critique on the perception of the research problem, research methodology adopted, the scope of the study and practical limitations.

8.1.0. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT STUDY'S SIX DIMENSIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRAMEWORK FOR ENGENDERING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

The literature review in Chapter 2 tries to develop a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between democratic participation and education, and to show how the two could be used to address human development issues. Kenya is described as being only partially democratic because of the high degree of authoritarianism amongst leaders (see for example Potter 1997, Wiseman 1997, Pinkney 1993), and this hampers people's participation at all stages of societal development. Further, Kenya lacks clearly defined educational programmes for preparing young people to participate effectively in democratic decision-making in planning, and in implementing and evaluating policies and projects (see Harber 1989, Osler 1993, Sifuna 1997, 1997a, Abagi 1997, 1997a). These shortcomings may impede realization of the 1990s UNDP's international goal of maximizing people's capabilities and opportunities for making choices in life (UNDP *Human Development Report* 1990-1998).

Furthermore, the literature reviewed shows varying degrees of gender inequalities in political, socio-economic and educational aspects of life in almost all societies in the world (see for example UNDP 1995, UN 1995, Karl 1995 and UN 1992). These gender disparities particularly in Kenya are discussed by Nzomo (1993, 1993a), Mugenda (1995), Omosa (1995), and Makenzie (1995) among other writers.

The shortcomings highlighted in the existing literature in political, socio-economic and educational spheres of life in Kenya among other countries need to be addressed if human development is to be engendered. In this current piece of research, the shortcomings are perceived to emanate from:

- ineffective implementation of some sound policies
- formulation of some policies that are insufficient
- inadequate evaluation in the policy implementation process

The researcher therefore attempts to pursue the UNDP (1993: 20) recommendation of developing a framework consisting of criteria for guiding planning, implementing and evaluating policies in the efforts to redress the prevailing shortcomings that hamper effective and equitable human development for all people. The study is approached from a qualitative perspective and it involves conceptual and critical analyses based on past and current documentary information as discussed in Chapter 3.

Based on the discussions in *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1993, 1995), Held (1987), Pateman (1970), Macpherson (1977), Barber (1984) and Barry (1989) among other works, Chapter 4 outlines and analyzes the six dimensions of democracy, which the researcher considers essential for a theoretical framework geared towards engendering human development. They include **prescriptive, methodological, developmental, opportunities, protective and pragmatic dimensions**, and thus democracy for human development is conceived to be a multi-dimensional concept. Under each dimension some attention is paid to the prevailing gender disparities and particularly the case of Kenyan women.

The study attempts to show the importance of each dimension of democracy for human development by drawing analogies between effective democratic participation and a healthy human body; and between the various dimensions that the researcher considers essential and the nutrients required to develop and maintain good health. A further analogy is drawn between the defects that are likely to occur if any of the main body nutrients is removed from a person's diet completely and the shortfalls in equity,

empowerment, productivity and sustainability that are likely to result from ignoring any one of the dimensions completely.

8.2.0. FINDINGS OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON KENYAN SOCIETY IN GENERAL AND WOMEN IN PARTICULAR BASED ON THE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The **prescriptive dimension** is about active individual participation in deliberating and making decisions. Its promotion would be likely to enhance political equality and to empower people by enabling them to develop knowledge and understanding of among other factors:

- what alternative courses of action may be available for dealing with the issues or projects under consideration
- why specific choices and decisions are made
- how any goals set are to be pursued
- what standards are aimed at
- what the implications are for individual rights, duties and responsibilities.

The present study as discussed in Chapter 6 considers formal education as one of the institutions through which such knowledge, understanding and experience in decision-making can be developed. Thus, subjects, programmes or modules related to participatory democracy and human development could perhaps be offered in Kenyan schools. In order to provide relevant experience and to develop required skills, schools need to encourage opportunities for decision-making on educational issues in classrooms and in students' councils or clubs. Further, they need to share resulting duties and responsibilities equitably between girls and boys.

The discussions in Chapter 5 and 7 found some mismatches between principles and the reality of people's participation in decision-making. The Kenyan government in the colonial and post-colonial periods shows some commitment to enhancing people's participation in decision-making in various aspects in principle but the reality manifests a high degree of authoritarianism and inequitable participation in decision-making between women and men.

The current situation is compounded by inadequate preparation of young people for democratic participation as manifested by the objectives set for syllabus topics such as the *District Focus Strategy for Rural Development* which suggest development of knowledge and understanding of project planning, implementation and evaluation. The objectives lack the aspect of critical examination of the status quo and the application of the knowledge developed to learners' own lives in their institutions and local communities. Furthermore, the high rate of strikes and riots in Kenyan schools, colleges and universities indicate lack of opportunities for democratic participation for the young people.

The **methodological dimension** of democracy for human development which primarily focuses on systematic and formalized criteria and procedures for expressing people's views, ideas and interests has been addressed since the colonial period although in reality there have been certain restricting factors. Mair (1961) and the *Constitution of Kenya* (1998 edition) for example show that voting criteria have been reduced from earlier requirements such as ability to read and write in one's own language, or be more than 40 years old. Nevertheless, the reality in contemporary Kenyan society shows some shortfalls such as rigging and the requirement for husbands' consent before married women can vie for political posts.

Education for voters is the responsibility of the Kenyan Electoral Commission but the reality shows the issue has not been addressed. The formal education system could however be used to develop the necessary knowledge, understanding and experience in future voters and decision-makers by instituting systems that encourage young people to make critically thought out choices and to express their views and interests in matters that affect them (see the Dutch and British schools examples quoted under the **methodological dimension** in Chapter 6). Procedures for equitable representation according to gender would be necessary in the Kenyan education system due to the prevailing disparities, and this could be done through affirmative action in distributing decision-making positions.

The present study found that the main Kenyan government educational policies do not include procedures or methods stipulated for learners to express their feelings, ideas and interests in educational institutions (see for example the *Education Act: Chapter 211*, the *Teachers Service Commission Act: Chapter 212*, and the 1988 *Sessional Paper No. 6 on Education and Manpower Training in the Next Decade and Beyond*).

The **developmental dimension** of democracy for human development which encompasses development of rational, knowledgeable, critical and morally upright people is hampered by stereotypes and prejudices about differences in race and gender, and about the capabilities of young people in Kenyan society. Past studies show that the Kenyan education system has tended to propagate stereotypes and prejudices particularly about women through materials that portray them as being submissive and mainly preoccupied with domestic activities. The pictures in the *Education in Kenya: Information Handbook* for example show girls taking cooking lessons (Ministry of Education - Kenya 1987: 27) and boys in industrial and technical education classes

(ibid.: 47-48). Moreover, the development of a positive self-image in girls may be hindered by shortage of female role models, which could wrongly be taken to mean that women have lower capabilities than men in general. These factors could hinder the development of the various qualities and attitudes needed for democratic citizenship.

The present study found that in theory the Kenyan government indicates commitment to redress the issues of gender stereotypes and prejudices, but in reality the objectives stated for different topics in the *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six* (Republic of Kenya 1992) for example fall short of encouraging development of critical minds in young people. Also, a high degree of gender disparity still persists in decision-making positions in all public institutions including educational ones.

The **opportunities dimension** of democracy for human development concerns creation and distribution of opportunities, and making people aware about their availability in the political, socio-economic and education aspects of life. Howe (1992) and Ndawi (1997) among other writers state that educational opportunities should be made available to enable people to participate effectively and efficiently in other aspects of life. They argue that education should provide knowledge, skills and experience to help people acquire other opportunities such as employment.

The Kenyan government in theory manifests commitment to create and distribute opportunities equitably to all citizens. Nevertheless, enhancing the **opportunities dimension** of democracy for human development is hampered by:

- inadequate critical consideration of some government policies by various stakeholders before implementation
- lack of pilot studies in the implementation process as in the case of 8-4-4 education
- limited funds

- shortage of reading materials and so on.

The situation is made worse by the varied degrees of gender disparities in the enrolment and retention rates in education, and by inequitable distribution of employment opportunities.

Eshiwani (1993), Hughes and Mwiria (1989) and Mugenda (1995) for example clearly show that the issues dealt with in the **opportunities dimension** have not been addressed adequately in Kenya, particularly in the case of women. Various government reports such the *Statistical Abstract 1995*, *Development 1994-1996*, *National Development Plan 1997-2001*, *Economic Survey 1998* show that progress has been made towards gender parity in enrolment in primary, secondary and primary teacher training colleges. However, there are great disparities in the retention rates for girls (about 35%) and boys (about 55%) at the primary school level for example. Further, in the enrolment rates at higher levels of education and in employment there are high levels of gender disparity.

The **protective dimension** which addresses the issues of providing education among other human rights and freedoms is considered the fifth necessary condition for democracy orientated towards engendering human development. The present study found that in principle, the Kenyan government through the Constitution, development plans and sessional papers shows commitment to addressing these issues. The reality however manifests some shortcomings, for instance educational opportunities at different levels are not adequate for the school-going population as shown Chapter 7, and thus the right to education is not guaranteed. Moreover, other human rights have commonly been violated even in educational institutions through bullying, sexual harassment, withdrawing girls from school, and forced early marriage.

This piece of research found that the coverage in the objectives for various topics related to human rights (see 1992 *Secondary Education Syllabus: Volume Six*) seems to be inadequate particularly in enabling children to be critical of the *status quo* in Kenyan society. The development of young people preserving the rights of each other may also be hampered by shortage of appropriate role models due to high levels of corruption that prevail in different sectors of Kenyan society.

The examination of the **pragmatic dimension** of democracy which encompasses the consideration of viability of policies and decisions made for particular contexts in enhancing human development in Kenyan society also shows mismatches between theory and practice. The current piece of research found that there are various factors that affect the promotion of the **pragmatic dimension** such as delays in formulation and implementation of policies such as the *National Policy for Gender and Sustainable Development*, or *ad hoc* implementation as in the 8-4-4 education system (currently under review).

Furthermore, some policies considered pragmatic by Kenyan government promote certain aspects of the human development paradigm and hamper others, for instance the admission policy for national schools and lower girls' entry marks for secondary schools may be considered as forms of affirmative action. The latter policy for example may nevertheless be wrongly interpreted to mean girls' capabilities are inferior to those of boys.

8.3.0. CONCLUSION

The present study shows that to engender human development in Kenya for all people particularly women, it is necessary and it is possible to:

- enhance active individuals' democratic participation in decision-making and implementing policies
- develop and institute democratic structures and procedures that promote equitable expression of people's interests, views and ideas
- develop democratic qualities and attitudes
- improve creation and fair distribution of opportunities in political, socio-economic and educational aspects of life
- promote preservation of human rights for all people
- develop and implement pragmatic strategies that take into consideration different circumstances in different contexts

The present study has found that the Kenyan government shows commitment to address these issues but there are certain shortfalls in reality because:

- some policies are not explicitly defined or are inadequate in themselves
- in practice there have been cases of delays in implementation and lack of appropriate evaluation.

Such shortcomings in policies and in practice hamper attainment of high levels of equitable human development.

There is therefore a need for the Kenyan government to develop a well-defined national strategy consisting of clearly stated guiding principles for promoting equity, empowerment, productivity and sustainability of resources (see human development paradigm in Chapter 1). If the foregoing discussions and findings are considered, the researcher in the present study hopes they will contribute some useful insights in developing a national strategy for enhancing human development in Kenya for both women and men. Further, the researcher hopes the study will also provide ideas worth

consideration as to how democracy for human development could probably be promoted in education and through education.

8.4.0. RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study shows that democracy for human development in Kenya and particularly for women is in need of a greater consideration. Based on the findings and conclusions in the present study, the researcher believes the following suggestions (if considered) could perhaps orientate the current Kenyan policies and practices towards promoting democracy for human development:

- Public policies need to be pragmatic, the implementation and evaluation need to reflect the principles and the essential components encompassed in the human development paradigm.
- The policy makers in the Ministry of Education (Kenya) with the collaboration of educators, parents and other stakeholders need to consider the introduction of a subject or a programme on 'education for democracy' or 'education for democratic citizenship', as part of the school curriculum. The issue of gender and democracy for human development ought to be highlighted so that the implications for both women and men can be examined thoroughly. Such a programme would be likely to promote knowledge and understanding of human development principles and their essential components, their importance to overall development and how active democratic participation may help to pursue them.
- Educational policy-makers may need to consider formulating and implementing policies that emphasize the practice of democracy for human development by all groups of people involved in education. For instance, policies that ensure equitable

numerical representation of both girls and boys in decision-making activities in students' organizations or councils, and curricula and extra-curricula activities need to be encouraged.

- In places where stereotypes and prejudices about the different genders affect girls' performance negatively, then the Ministry of Education (Kenya) may need to formulate policies that facilitate separation of female and male students by establishing more single-sex schools or single-sex streams in mixed schools or grouping learners according to gender in different classroom activities.
- The government needs to design and implement policies that encourage and that ensure financial assistance for scholars and educators to produce appropriate teaching and learning materials so as to gradually get rid of textbooks and other materials containing gender-stereotyped and biased information that are currently in use in Kenyan schools.
- The government may need to consider enacting laws that carry heavy penalties for those who make schoolgirls pregnant or withdraw them from schools to be married off without their consent and when they are under the age of eighteen. Further, programmes for teenage mothers need to be designed and implemented to enable them continue with their education. This would be likely to lower the drop out rate for girls, to reduce female illiteracy rates, and to enhance women's empowerment and perhaps productivity as well.
- The Kenyan government needs to harmonize previous policies and legislation with those in the 1998 draft *National Policy on Gender Equity for Sustainable*

Development in order to reduce gender disparities in different aspects of life effectively.

- The Government may further need to consider designing and implementing programmes for sensitizing people about the importance of gender equality to human and overall development. Such programmes could perhaps be effected through mass media for instance radio and television, through seminars, conferences and workshops for contemporary decision-makers, and through formal education for future decision-makers.
- Policy-makers need to consider the circumstances in particular contexts in order for plans, projects and programmes to be pragmatic. The implementation and evaluation processes need to reflect the principles and the essential components encompassed in the human development paradigm.

Recommendations such as those above might be useful in developing democracy for human development not only for Kenya but also other countries with similar historical backgrounds, socio-cultural traditions, low economic development and high levels of gender disparities. Effective promotion of the different dimensions of democracy for all people requires collaboration between governments, non-governmental organizations, and female and male citizens in the respective countries.

The next section attempts to provide an overall critical look on the present study.

8.5.0. RESEARCHER'S SELF-CRITIQUE

(a) Problem perception and definition

The slow and currently declining human development levels in Kenya (see UNDP *Human Development Report- Redfern 1998*) may be perceived and defined from different angles for example in terms of:

- inappropriate or inadequate government policies on democracy, education and human development issues, ineffective implementation and inadequate evaluation (as in the present study)
- international donor-recipient relations for instance technical cooperation's high cost in Africa (see for example UNDP 1993: 20)
- inadequate application of Christian religious teachings in everyday life (see for example Wachege 1992 - in Chapter 2).

Furthermore, sociologists, historians and scholars in other disciplines may perceive the research problem differently. The researcher is therefore aware that the democratic conditions for engendering human development may be classified differently and may be labelled differently. This current study's classification of six dimensions of democracy for human development is not final, and is therefore subject to improvement.

(b) Research design

Variation in the perception and definition of the research problem in turn leads to adoption of different research designs that emphasize certain aspects in different disciplines for example quantitative and qualitative analyses. The present study is approached mainly from a qualitative perspective. Although the researcher has tried as far as possible to analyze the ideas, views and facts in the already existing literature objectively, there may still be a degree of subjectivity or overlooking of issues that may be considered important by other researchers. It is therefore crucial to disseminate the

findings, conclusions and recommendations for further discussions with other people (for example researchers, educationists and educators) interested in democracy, education and human development.

(c) Scope and analysis of literature covered

The researcher acknowledges that the ideas and views developed in different sources of information when analyzed from different perspectives may lead to varied conclusions. Consequently, the selective analysis in the present study applying the six dimensions of democracy for human development only has not exhausted the wealth of ideas and views that can be developed from the information in the sources utilized. The findings, conclusions and recommendations in the present study therefore can be improved and expanded by other researchers or the researcher herself in future (when more funds are available).

(d) Practical limitations

The researcher is limited to sources of information published in English, and therefore the wealth of ideas and views on democracy, education and human development published in other languages have not been utilized. The findings, conclusions and recommendations in the current study can therefore be improved by multi-lingual scholars who are interested in this area of interest.

The above mentioned limitations indicate that the present study is not conclusive in itself, and therefore the researcher hopes they will give an impetus to other researchers to examine further the problem addressed. If findings, conclusions and recommendations on democracy, education and human development made from different perspectives are considered, then policy and decision makers are likely to develop a valid national strategy for engendering human development for Kenya.

APPENDIX

Table 9.I. Examples of methods of data collection

Method of data collection	Instruments of data collection¹	Some factors that are taken into consideration
Questionnaire	questionnaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • quantitative data are required • large target population² • target population is dispersed • large categorical data are required
Interviews (in person or by telephone)	interview schedule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • information needed is in-depth rather than broad • small target population³ • need to incorporate views of key people in the area of study • elaboration is required • the respondents cannot read or write (questionnaires are therefore not appropriate) • reason to believe questionnaires will not be returned
Participant observation	observation schedule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • data in natural settings are required • need to understand the setting and unique relationships between people in the target population
Non-participant observation	observation schedule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • experimentation is required
Standardized tests	scaled tests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • highly objective data for making comparisons are required
Focus groups discussions	leader guide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rich description to portray underlying attitudes • believe that group synergy is necessary to uncover underlying feelings
Content analysis	researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • systematic description of the contents in documents such as word counts is required • evaluation of bias, prejudices or propaganda in printed materials is necessary
Documentary analysis	researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • detailed analyses of societal values are required • interpretation of research findings with respect to national, educational and individual goals is required

Sources of information: Anderson and Arsenault (1998), Cohen and Manion (1994), Wiersma (1986), Verma and Beard (1981)

¹ See samples of questionnaire (Brock and Cammish 1997a: 14-19, Anderson and Arsenault 1998: 237-241), and interview protocol or schedule and leader guide (ibid.: 243-247).

² According to Anderson and Arsenault (1998: 169), questionnaires should be used when the target population is greater than 200 people.

³ Interviews can be used when the target population is about 50 people (ibid.).

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