

SOCIAL ECONOMICS, POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

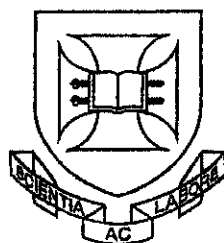
Working Paper No. 19

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June 2001



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

ISSN 1442-8563
**WORKING PAPERS ON
SOCIAL ECONOMICS, POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT
(WORKING PAPER)**

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WORKING PAPERS IN THE SERIES, *Social Economics, Policy and Development* are published by the Department of Economics, University of Queensland, 4072, Australia. They are designed to provide an initial outlet for papers resulting from research funded by the Australian Research Council in relation to the project 'Asset Poor Women in Development', Chief Investigator: C.A. Tisdell and Partner Investigators: Associate Professor K.C. Roy and Associate Professor S. Harrison. However this series will also provide an outlet for papers on related topics. Views expressed in these working papers are those of their authors and not necessarily of any of the organisations associated with the Project. They should not be reproduced in whole or in part without the written permission of the Project Leader. It is planned to publish contributions to this series over the next few years.

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GLOBALISATION, INSTITUTIONS AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN AFRICA: KENYA'S EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

In male dominated societies like Kenya, men's superior status leading to power over women and control of valued resources, is supported by laws and policies that spell out and legitimise men's privileged and dominant status and is justified by religious, traditional, moral, and/or pseudo-scientific ideologies and beliefs. Such mechanisms and beliefs help perpetuate gender inequality even in the face of structural changes that ought to diminish, if not completely undermine the strength of its operation. Institutionalised gender inequality limits women's participation in institutions and this reinforces their lack of empowerment. Women are unable to take advantage of the opening up of new markets and competition because they lack property rights; especially land rights that they can use as collateral for borrowing loans.

Globalisation creates new options; new avenues for trade in goods, as well as opportunities for capital investment and the allocation of resources. It creates an environment that allows many women to achieve greater personal autonomy but in an increasingly unequal and risky environment. Globalisation intensifies some of the existing inequalities and insecurities to which women are subject, but for educated, professional women, it opens up new opportunities. Globalisation restricts the freedom of action of national governments to provide subsidies especially on such social services as health and education especially for the marginalised groups of people like women and children. Most women found in the informal sector and in small-scale business cannot compete with goods from trans-national corporations leading to loss of livelihood and increased unemployment. Reforms in the areas of macroeconomic policy, deregulation, and privatisation have not been matched by deeper reforms of political institutions, bureaucracies, judiciaries, and social safety nets. Without an internal strategy of institutional reform, Kenyan women will

continue to be marginalised even in the face of globalisation. In this paper we show that both domestic institutions and the society act as deterrents to the empowerment of women. Globalisation has been implemented without corresponding reforms in institutions thus enhancing the marginalisation of women and lack of empowerment.

INTRODUCTION

Male domination, perceived as embedded in cultural norms and institutions, characterises intra-household power relations and resource allocation patterns. Institutional mechanisms and sets of beliefs play crucial roles in keeping "undesirable" changes invisible and thus, in maintaining the sex stratification system intact. Gender empowerment has been recognised as a key improvement and empowerment of the women in developing countries. Developing the ability to organise and influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order nationally and internationally can enhance women's empowerment. However, institutional factors act as deterrents to women's empowerment not only in Kenya but also in many developing countries. Women tend to suffer from these institutional impediments more than men, and among women, rural women suffer more than urban women. In this paper we show that both domestic institutions and the society act as deterrents to the empowerment of women. Although globalisation has opened opportunities for the educated and professional women it has intensified the existing inequalities and insecurities to which poor women are subject. Globalisation has been implemented without corresponding reforms in institutions thus enhancing the marginalisation of women and lack of empowerment.

INSTITUTIONS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

The term institution is a set of humanly devised behavioural rules that govern and shape the interactions of human beings, in part by helping them to form expectations of what other people will do. Institutions have various rules and regulations that could be formal or customary, which determine how members interact. The way they are arranged determines the position of each individual member. These institutions could be domestic institutions like the household, or the society at large. The institutions that we could include under the society range from education institutions, employment institutions, judiciary, decision-making institutions such as parliament or local authority, financial institutions, health institutions etc. The determinants of the ability of these institutions to adapt to social and economic changes can be best examined within a theoretical framework of a social and sex-stratification model, supplemented by the conflict theory of family dynamics.

The sex-stratification system ranks one gender, almost always the male gender higher

than the other- the female gender, and determines that men only will occupy major decisions-making positions and will control the valued resources in the society. Such valued resources include a wide range of resources such as: wealth, income, credit, knowledge (in terms of literacy, education and information), technology, valued skills, valued income generating activities, food, health, power and prestige. The norms and set of values embedded in a particular culture bring with them entitlements or rights ascribed to certain categories of persons to particular shares, often related to basic subsistence needs, such as food and clothing. The way, in which these institutions confer power to some members based on age and gender differences, reflects the norms of distributional justice of the group or society. An individual is therefore, subject to socially determined valuation that becomes internalised through a socialisation process. Early socialisation practices emphasize the primary role of women as mothers and wives and influence girls' total expectations for future participation in the labour force and the choice of clear career paths.

The inequality of those valuations is evident between men and women. Male domination, perceived as embedded in cultural norms and institutions, characterises intra-household power relations and resource allocation patterns. Women see men as authority figures whose decisions they are to follow (Roy and Tisdell 1993, Saito 1992; Chen 1989; Kennedy and Peters 1992).

The sex-stratification system, i.e. men's superior status leading to power over women and control of valued resources, is supported by laws and policies that spell out and legitimise men's privileged and dominant status and is justified by religious, traditional, moral, and/or pseudo-scientific ideologies and beliefs.

Sex stratification is institutionalised and pervasive and is maintained and supported by widespread institutional mechanisms and sets of beliefs. Such mechanisms and beliefs help perpetuate the sex-stratification system even in the face of structural changes that ought to diminish, if not completely undermine the strength of its operation.

The theoretical model can be used to make predictions for society at large and within the domestic institution. The scarcer the valued resources, the more the patterns of allocating these resources represent "rational" investment strategies that are thought to

maximise the short and long term survival chances of the institution (i.e. society or household).

The pervasiveness of a powerful sex-stratification system, coupled with an equally powerful social stratification system, is responsible for the fact that such national investment strategies are usually male-biased. At the societal level, traditional patriarchal values assign to men the economic responsibility for women and children. Men are thus given priority over women in terms of preferential access to paid employment, income generating productive activities, and credit, in addition to better education and training opportunities hence reducing the future empowerment of women.

The sex-stratification theory predicts the important determinants of flexibility or rigidity a society, community, or household experiences in the face of important social and economic changes. Institutional mechanisms and sets of beliefs play crucial roles in keeping "undesirable" changes invisible and thus, in maintaining the sex stratification system intact (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985). The sex-stratification system rests on the premise that women are economically dependent on men. The increased prevalence of female-headed households in many developing countries has been viewed as a challenge to this basic premise and a threat to the very fabric of patriarchal society since it indicates that husbands no longer play a dominant role in the family and this goes against the established sex-stratified order.

Women's income also plays a crucial role in the dynamics of intra-household allocation of resources. However, despite the crucial role that women's income plays for family survival the size and importance of this income is usually not acknowledged by husbands. This is because such an acknowledgment would constitute an admission of the husband's inadequacy as a breadwinner, and would tend to undermine his unquestioned dominance (Safilios-Rothschild, 1988).

The combined social and sex theoretical model predicts that increases in women's income will tend to remain invisible if they are perceived as threatening to the image of men as breadwinners.

Within the context of a powerful and pervasive sex-stratification system, men cannot adapt to social and economic changes that significantly increases women's access to income, the key resource. Instead, under these circumstances, they usually resort to mechanisms that neutralise the impact of ongoing changes, and thus, preserve the sex-stratification status quo. They may resort to force and violence or they may become more domineering, authoritarian, repressive and violent at home than before in order to ensure that the integrity of the existing patriarchal power structure is not in any way challenged by women's changing status.

The social and sex-stratification theoretical model can be supplemented by a conflict theory of family dynamics in order to derive predictions and explanations of what determines the degree of rigidity or adaptability members of these institutions experience when faced with social and economic changes. An important premise of such a conflict theory is that families and households cannot be viewed as monolithic institutions in which the members all agree on the strategies and means to be used to maximise family or household welfare. Instead, individual household members have different interests and needs which are often incongruent and conflict. Household welfare is thus the balance achieved through a series of compromises and accommodations among individual household members according to their interests and needs, as determined by their bargaining power. This is a function of members' personal characteristics, their access to economic resources, the availability of alternatives, prevailing cultural norms, influential institutions and macro-policies (Fobre, 1984; Jones, 1983; Fapohunda, 1987; Safilios-Rothschild, 1987).

Macro-policies such as globalisation, agrarian reform, population, and producer pricing policies have significant potential social and economic consequences for households and may have a differential impact on household members. Such policies as producer pricing policies often favour "men's crops", thus creating considerable intra-household conflict regarding the mode of allocation of different household members' time and labour to agricultural production as well as the allocation of resulting profits. Under these conditions, husbands may attempt to increase the size of the land on which the favoured crop is cultivated, but are quite dependent on their wives' (and children's) labour. Wives on the other hand, have little or no motivation to reallocate their labour so as to give their husbands more time at the expense of time

for their own crops, the profits of which they control. The lesser the women's access to land, assets, and income generating activities, the greater their willingness to compromise by apportioning their labour between their husband's crops and their own.

Marital dissolution is the limiting factor in this type of marital conflict. The degree of social acceptability of divorce, the probability of remarriage for women, and the viability of female-headed households which in turn is determined by access to significant income earning opportunities, further conditions domestic institution's degree of rigidity or adaptability.

These institutions, justified by religious traditional, moral, ideologies and beliefs enhance gender inequality and act as a deterrent to the empowerment of women.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

Gender empowerment has been recognised as a key improvement and empowerment of the women in developing countries. Women's empowerment includes (1) Acquiring knowledge and understanding of gender relations and ways in which these relations may be changed. This can be achieved mainly through the reduction of gender inequality in education levels, increased literacy of women and removal of the old curricula that stereotypes women as only mothers and wives. (2) Developing a sense of self-worth, a belief in one's ability to secure desired changes and the right to control one's life. Apart from enabling women to acquire higher levels of education, there is need for reform in the domestic, political and other institutions that have been discriminating against women. Making it easier for women to dissolve nonworking marriages, control their fertility, acquire property rights, etc can also help women gain a sense of self-worth. (3) Gaining the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power. By acknowledging women's output as an important contribution in the society, as well as acknowledging that women's income is not a threat to men, then women's bargaining position can be enhanced starting from the household level to higher decision-making institutions like parliament.

Developing the ability to organise and influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order nationally and internationally can

enhance women's empowerment. However, institutional factors act as deterrents to women's empowerment not only in Kenya but also in many developing countries. Women tend to suffer from these institutional impediments more than men, and among women, rural women suffer more than urban women.

Inequalities between women and men are deeply rooted and need to be tackled across the board in economic, political, social and cultural life. Getting girls through school is essential but education is not enough. Progress in education is dependent on the success of tackling wider and deeper causes of inequality and especially on reforming the social-cultural institutions that act as deterrents to women's empowerment.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF GENDER INEQUALITY

Women are the vehicles of development in Africa although institutional impediments prevent them from realising their full potential in the pursuit of development goals. Women are under represented in industry, in commercial agriculture, and in the service sector. They are over represented in subsistence agriculture, and in the informal service sector. As housewives women perform multiple roles of looking after the family, as subsistence farmers, traders as well as working wage earners in commercial agriculture. They are the major victims of environmental degradation and technological change has rendered many women unemployed as previously men with the help of machines now perform many of the tasks previously performed by women. The impediments that women face translate themselves into higher poverty rates, low literacy rates, under representation in decision making institutions, reduced life expectancy, low enrolment ratios in learning institutions, low GDP per capita, low HDI, GDI and GEM.

1. Access to resources

Men's control over labour in Africa as a factor of production translates into claims on women's labour for cultivation of the husband's fields. In effect the culturally determined rules of access to and control over resources may constrain women as much as external biases in providing access to farm support services (Palmer 1991). The cultural norms actually may predetermine unequal access to agricultural inputs, marketing services, and farmers' organisations because of the link between farm support services and land title, for which women are rarely eligible (Jiggins 1986).

The access to and control over productive resources also are a function of social status, which can be ascribed or achieved. Most formal and legal rights to land have been given to men, while women only have user rights to some of the land. This may affect their productivity because of lack of security.

Women in Kenya do not inherit land, which means that they depend on their male relatives both when it comes to land distribution and decisions about farming. If a woman chooses to remain unmarried, is divorced or widowed, she does not have any rights to land and will be in a very exposed situation. This lack of security and access to land means women cannot undertake large investments.

The World Bank (1996) says that women and children are more vulnerable because tradition gives them less decision-making power and less control over assets than men, while at the same time, their opportunities to engage in remunerative activities, and therefore to acquire their own assets, are more limited.

Women's agriculture is carried out within the confines of powerful and limiting constraints. For example, inputs such as fertiliser and insecticides, seeds, and credit facilities are channelled to men. Women do not qualify for loans unless a spouse or male relative represents them. Through land adjudication and registration, land previously held by customs and over which simple use rights prevailed became the object of property rights. Land adjudication and registration has made women's situation worse because land titles belong to men. This makes it difficult to access extension services and formal credit. In any case credit institutions are situated far away in the cities or towns. Lack of collateral, transaction cost and long distances, limited education and unfamiliarity with banking procedures, increase the opportunity cost. Land rights go to the male heirs while the daughters are almost entirely excluded. The land can never be registered in her name and she is there at the mercy of her brothers or other male relatives.

Women have never been involved in land distribution and this means that they have been excluded from the new legal approach in land ownership. They have neither legal access to land nor sufficient money to acquire it, because they have almost no income. Compared with men, women are disadvantaged in their access to and control

of a wide range of assets. With fewer assets and more precarious claims to assets, women are more risk-averse, more vulnerable, have a weaker bargaining position within the household, and consequently are less in a position to respond to economic opportunities. Access to land is not an end in itself. Access to land and other productive resources are critical in creating wealth and generating growth. The right mix of assets, for example land, labour and financial services are critical to ensure that women are not "investment poor".

2. Technology

Women's access to new agricultural technology is limited. Technologies appropriate for the activities, farming objectives, and production conditions for women are lacking. They overlook the requirements of women. The inadequate supply of suitable labour and energy saving farm and household technologies for women's activities impairs women's productivity. This is because technology is mainly male oriented such as heavy machinery, tractors, ploughs etc. Women use such crude implements as hoes, pangas, cutlasses etc, which are very slow and labour-intensive. Lack of title or secure tenure and access to small dispersed and remote plots are strong disincentives to adopting new agricultural techniques. Diseconomies of scale not only reduce women's yields but cause extension agents to dismiss women as non-adopters of new technologies (Roy and Tisdell 1993, Saito 1992, Staudt 1987).

When new agricultural technologies are introduced, women are by passed in training, credit extension and land reform programs. Extension agents tend to be men who deal with male clients. One may assume wrongly that an increase in family income arising from cash crop production will lead to increase women's income. In some societies in rural Kenya males take possession of any cash income earned by females, or most of it, and use it for their own ends.

3. GDP Per Capita Levels

Gross domestic product (GDP) is a measure of the value of all the final goods and services newly produced in a country during some period of time. Changes in GDP from year to year after correcting for changes in prices show the growth of the economy or how rapidly the production of goods and services has grown. Real GDP per capita is the real GDP divided by the total population. In Kenya, taking the share

of income earned for females in 1995 women earned only 41.79% of total earnings compared to men's 58.22%.

The trend of Kenya's GDP per capita shows that the majority of Kenyans have been living on less than a dollar a day. From 1991-1996, the average Kenyan was living on less than a dollar a day. Even when the GDP per capita rose to US\$ 300 this translates to only US\$0.82 per day. According to the World Development Report (1999), Kenya recorded negative per capita income growth rates in 1999. During this time the percentage of the population living on less than a dollar a day was 50.2%, implying that they were living in absolute poverty. The Human Development Report (1994) reveals that the real GDP per capita for Africa is the lowest of all regions. Africa's GNP per capita is US\$540, which is extremely low, compared to an average of US\$880 for all developing countries and US\$4,160 for the world as a whole. The World Bank stresses the importance of income as a major determinant of wellbeing and that one way to reduce poverty is by raising incomes.

4. Feminisation of Poverty

Income poverty means the lack for material well being. It is the lack of income to meet basic needs like food, shelter and clothing. Food poverty is measured by the per capita consumption of the Required Daily Intake of the basic recommended calories per adult equivalent (2700 calories). A person is said to live in absolute poverty when their incomes is less than a dollar a day from which they must provide food, shelter and other basic needs.

Women bear a significant responsibility for the family's subsistence. In virtually all societies, women are the main carers in a family and they are often willing to sacrifice their own welfare for the benefit of other family members, especially their children (Tisdell 1999). In many countries, they are also important economic providers for the family giving considerable economic support to their children. But their capacity to fulfil this responsibility has been significantly affected by lack of economic empowerment caused by such factors as unequal sharing of household resources, unequal access to earning opportunities to agricultural land and by the decline in common property resources and forests (Roy and Tisdell 1993).

Women and men experience poverty differently, and different aspects of poverty (deprivation, powerlessness, vulnerability, its seasonality) have gender dimensions. Vulnerability reflects the dynamic nature of poverty such as defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk. Vulnerability is a function of assets; the more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are. Assets include stores, concrete productive investments, human investments, collective assets and claims on others for assistance. Women and children are more vulnerable because tradition usually gives them less decision-making power over assets than men, while at the same time their opportunities to engage in remunerated activities, and therefore to acquire their own assets, are more limited [(World Bank (1996), quoted in Blackden and Bhanu (1998)]. Women are generally immobile because of greater responsibilities for childcare, household provisioning, doing household chores and other home-based agricultural activities. Agricultural extension officers, who are mainly male discriminate against them and this results in women using outdated methods of cultivation, leading to low yields and hence low income which translates to poverty and continued lack of empowerment. The cultural norms are such that women find it hard to venture out to look for work or to mix with men in certain traditions. This prevents them from gathering information on job opportunities. They are cut off from channels of communication, or the information they receive is filtered through the (male) head of household or community leaders.

Tisdell, (2000) observes that since the welfare of children is highly dependent on the welfare of their mother, the deprivation of females results in deprivation of children. In Kenya, about 60 per cent of the polygamous households were 66 per cent below the weighted mean expenditure of the country; almost double that of monogamous households (32%). This is mainly because polygamous households have a tendency of having many children and secondly, wives in polygamous households are left to fend for themselves and the husbands' input is usually minimal or none at all (Mwabu et al 2000). However, fending for themselves does not mean that these wives are empowered. In fact, their output is not even acknowledged since it would go against the socially accepted norms that the man is the breadwinner.

5. Education/Literacy Levels

Education is one way of empowering women. However, in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) the total number of years of schooling for the female adult population in 1960 was only 1.1 years, which was barely half of the schooling achievement by men. Females in SSA experienced the lowest average annual growth of total years of schooling between 1960 and 1990 of all regions (an annual increase of 0.04 years, raising the average years of schooling of the adult female population by only 1.2 years between 1960 and 1990). The female-male ratio in the growth of total years of schooling was only 0.89 meaning that females experienced a slower expansion in educational achievement than males (Blackden and Bhanu 1998).

The gender gap in primary school enrolments is measured as the ratio of female to male enrolment at this level times 100. The gender gap in secondary school enrolment is measured as the ratio of female to male enrolment at this level times 100. These two are measures of women's status as far as education in early years is concerned. They lag far behind in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1995 the mean years of schooling for females compared to males was 40%. Similarly, the gaps in school enrolment are also wide, the figures being 85% for primary and 67% for secondary. In Kenya, the gross enrolment ratio was 52% in 1995. The gross enrolment ratio for females was 51% and 52% for males.

Where places in school are limited and resources are scarce, girls are at a particular disadvantage. Parents may prefer to educate sons, both because expected benefits are higher due to better job prospects for sons and dependence on sons in old life, and costs are lower because of the low opportunity cost of their time in terms of help in the household.

The gender gap in adult illiteracy is measured as the percentage of illiterate females in the 25 years and above age group minus the percentage of illiterate males in the same age group. The gender gap in tertiary enrolments is measured as the ratio of female to male enrolment at this level. Adult literacy rates are largely a reflection of historical trends in primary school enrolment. A higher gender gap is a reflection of women's lower status since literacy is the forerunner of empowerment due to a host of expanded opportunities for women including earning power, control over health and

child-bearing, political and legal rights etc. In sub-Saharan Africa, only 49% of adults can read and write while the enrolment ratio for all the levels is 35%, suggesting a very low level of human capital formation. The situation of African women is much worse than that of men. The literacy rate of women is only 60% of that of men.

In University and college enrolments, the numbers of women and men have become nearly equal in the developed world. But in sub-Saharan Africa, there are fewer than 30 women per 100 men in higher education. A lower ratio of female to male enrolments indicates a lower status for women relative to men even in the job market. There exists a gender gap in adult literacy in Kenya of well over 15% points in both 1995 and 1997, since the female adult literacy rates were 70.02% and 71.8% for 1995 and 1997 respectively compared to 86.3% and 86.9% for males. However, in the primary and secondary levels the enrolments are almost equal. This shows that a huge per cent of girls do not make it to tertiary level reducing their chances of better opportunities in employment and earning power and therefore lack of empowerment.

In 1992, Kenya's adult literacy rate was 70.5% while the mean years of schooling was 2.3. In 1994, the adult literacy rate was 77.0% and the gross enrolment ratio was 55%. The adult literacy rate in 1995 was 78.1%. The gross enrolment ratio was only 52 per cent. This was as a result of a decrease in per capita expenditure on education, health and other social services due to pressure from the World Bank and the IMF. The need to undergo fiscal adjustment because of unsustainable fiscal deficits and mounting payment obligations on its external debt constrained the government's ability to increase the education budget. Attempts to solve the resource shortage by shifting costs to families and communities ran into difficulties. The extremely low per capita incomes limited the ability of communities and households to contribute more to education of their children. The additional burden on low-income households may have had a negative effect on school enrolment especially enrolment of girls, as the demand for education is price sensitive. This reduces the girl's longer-term prospects for empowerment, independence, and self-expression.

6. Female/Male Ratios in Decision-Making Institutions

Participation of women in decision-making institutions is a mark of empowerment. The UNDP in its Human Development Reports uses this as one of the indicators of

Gender empowerment. The effectiveness of Africa's development efforts and the ability to sustain them are dependent on the full utilisation of all human resources (both men and women). Yet there is a continued under utilisation of women who constitute slightly over 50 per cent in Africa. Most socio-economic indicators show that women are disadvantaged compared to men. The vast majority of Africa's women find their total livelihood within agriculture and the informal sector. The majority of women in formal sector employment are concentrated in semi-skilled and non-skilled jobs that are also low paying. Women's representation in technical and professional fields is still limited. Their representation in decision-making positions is also extremely limited. There are various reasons that account for this situation. First, early socialisation practices emphasize the primary role of women as mothers and wives and influence girls' total expectations for future participation in the labour force and the choice of clear career paths. Second, women's overall limited educational attainments as well as the types of curricula used in schools that emphasise stereotypic role for women create further barriers. Career guidance and counselling likewise tend to channel girls into traditional female fields such as nursing and home economics. Third, women's multiple responsibilities as mothers, wives, employees and employers create role conflicts that at times could result in compromises in careers. Women's careers tend to be interrupted during their childbearing years, resulting in loss of seniority. In addition, as women are usually expected to move with their husbands, the interrupted career syndrome further compromises their career progression. Fourth, organisational policies and procedures are often influenced by cultural perceptions of women's roles and capabilities. This leads to women being discriminated against in recruitment, to be promoted to senior positions and benefits as it is assumed that women lack the qualities essential for successful managerial careers.

African culture is a barrier to development to the extent that it perpetuates culturally sanctioned biases against women and provides excuses for men. Cultural biases operate at all levels- macro: institutions. Government policy; meso: community; and micro; household and individual. Women's level of participation at all levels of decision-making is low. In parliament, the highest level of decision-making, women are under represented. Since Kenya achieved independence in 1963, there has only been one woman minister, Mrs Nyiva Mwendwa, who headed the ministry of culture and social services, a very low profile ministry. Most women in high government

positions are in such ministries as education, culture, social welfare, women's affairs etc. Women rarely achieve elective office, and are severely under-represented at top positions in political parties. Out of a total of 202 seats in parliament women occupied only 5 seats after the 1997-second multi-party elections. This was a decline from 6 seats after the 1992 first multi-party elections, which was only 3.6% of the total seats in parliament.

The language of law creates an impression that everyone is equal before the law, allowing us the illusion that in law courts people's gender is irrelevant, and the law deals justly with both women and men. This is not true: international and national legal systems need to recognise that women and men face the law with gender identities that carry different status, position, and power within society. In most situations, men will be at an advantage (Editorial, *Gender and Development* 1995).

The need for a gender perspective in the judiciary is critical since more often than not laws traditionally are gender blind. The idea being that legislative formulation, interpretation, and implementation often affect women and men differently, and as such, legislative bodies should provide an avenue for equal opportunities to incorporate the different perspectives and experiences of both genders. In Kenya there are only 3 women judges.

Women are also under represented at the local authorities level. In Africa for instance, women's participation is estimated at less than 5%. There is no woman who heads a local authority in Kenya. At the administration level, there are only 2 women chiefs in Kenya, a couple of Division Officers, two District Commissioners and only one Provincial Commissioner. The head of the civil service and secretary to the cabinet, Dr. Sally Kosgei was appointed in March 2001 after the sacking of Dr. Richard Leakey. However, this is still a very small number to represent the majority of Kenyan women.

As heads of institutions, women are also under represented. For example, in Kenya there is no woman vice-chancellor, in the public universities. There is only one woman deputy vice-chancellor Prof Karani and one woman head of a university college, Prof, Lucia Omondi. In the private universities, there is only one-woman vice-chancellor, Prof. Leah Marangu and one-woman director Dr. Brown. Female

lecturers in Universities and institutions of higher learning represent only 10% of the total teaching staff.

The above statistics show that despite the fact that the Kenya government has adopted and adapted affirmative action measures and the rhetoric of gender balance, the figures still indicate that, despite the fact that women are half of the population, they are nowhere near half of the decision making structures. The threshold of 30% advocated by the UNDP Human Development Report, as a prelude to the 50% is still a dream for most women. This shows that women empowerment is still far away off the mark in Kenya.

7. Life Expectancy

Life expectancy is one of the human development indicators. There is a very strong relationship between national health-care spending and life expectancy. Considering that most African governments have reduced their expenditures on almost all the sectors due to pressure from the World Bank and the IMF this implies that life expectancy in most African countries is going to decline.

The average life expectancy for sub-Saharan Africa is 51.1 years, the lowest for all regions in the world. Life expectancy has increased from 40 to 51 years between 1960 and 1991. While the life expectancy for women is higher than that of men, other indicators of health are biased against women. Maternal mortality rate is 700 per 100,000 live births, and only 64% of women get prenatal care. In Kenya, the 1992 life expectancy was 58.6 years. This fell to 53.8 years in 1995 (UNDP *Gender and Development* 1995).

Kenya started implementing structural adjustments programs in 1994, which meant reduced government expenditure in such sectors as health, education, transport, social services etc. This has meant shifting the cost of consultation and drugs to households. Considering the already low incomes, most sick people avoid going to medical facilities thereby raising the mortality rate. This has resulted in a decline in the life expectancy rate for both male and females. AIDS related illnesses have also taken their toll and contributed to a reduction in life expectancy. The female life expectancy in 1995 was 55 years compared to 52 years for males. In 1997 it was 53.0 years for

females and 51.1 for males. HIV/AIDS is the fourth most common cause of death worldwide (WHO 1999). Women experience a double burden as a result of the spread of HIV/AIDS; a burden of suffering and a burden of caring for those who are suffering. In Kenya, 49% of those with HIV/AIDS are women. 1.64% of the total adults have HIV/AIDS and women have the extra burden of caring for this population.

The infant mortality rate in 1997 was 650 per one thousand live births, the maternal mortality rate per 100,000 was 12,500, the number of doctors per 100,000 population was 14.1, population per nurse was 53, the percentage of population without access to safe drinking water was 45%, and the percentage of births attended by trained health personnel was only 28% (UNICEF 1998). Considering the above statistics, it is clear why the life expectancy fell and continues to fall. Kenya has been relying on donor aid to fund various programs in the Health sector including meeting the medical bill. For the last six years, Kenya was cut off as a donor aid recipient due to non-compliance of conditions given by the World Bank, IMF and other bilateral aid agencies. This has resulted in a number of doctors moving to Southern Africa and other more developed countries worsening the situation.

In Kenya, the life expectancy differential was only 3 years in 1995 and it fell to two years in 1997. A small differential or higher male life expectancy indicates a gender gap in health status (i.e. women's lower status vis-a-vis men). It reflects patterns of discrimination, which give preference to male over female infants and children early in life in nutrition, in medical care, in the mother's scarce time, etc.

8. Female Share of Paid Employment in Industry and services

The UN indicator framework selected women's share of paid employment in industry and services as the indicator to track the progress towards gender equality in employment. It shows whether women are being enabled to occupy a higher proportion of waged and salaried employment. It signals the extent to which obstacles to women working in unpaid jobs in family enterprises is crumbling. In Kenya, the female share in paid employment was 32% in the year 2000, which was an increase from 20% in 1980 (UNIFEM 2000). This was as a result of the increased globalisation of trade and the establishment of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) in Kenya providing

casual labour for women. However, women's entry into waged and salaried work in industry and services does not necessarily mean that they escape from subordination with their families.

9. Gender Related Development Index (GDI)

In 1995, the UNDP launched two new measures to track progress in tackling inequalities between women and men. These were the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). These measures have been used every year to assess the progress of nations towards the elimination of inequality. However, since they were launched in 1995, the GDI and the GEM have shown that significant progress in closing gaps has been achieved in the last quarter of the 20th century. However, all HDRs report that in no society do women fare as well as men; while there has been a closing of gender gaps in human development, there is still a long way to go in sharing political and economic opportunities; women continue to suffer high levels of violence and abuse; and lastly many countries continue to discriminate against women in the law.

The GDI adjusts the average achievement of each country in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between women and men. It incorporates a measure of gender equity into a measure of absolute levels of human development. The GDI methodology imposes a penalty for inequality in that GDI falls when the disparity between achievements of men and women increase. **Table 1** below shows the gender related development index for Kenya for 1995 and 1997.

Table1: Kenya's Gender Related Development Index (GDI)

Year	GDI
1995	0.459
1997	0.517

Source: Human Development Reports, 1998 and 1999.

Table 1 above shows that there was an improvement in the status of women in Kenya as the GDI rose from 0.459 to 0.517. However, the methodology used in computing

GDI in 1995 is different from the 1997 and therefore the two GDI coefficients may not be comparable. However, we should not forget the weaknesses of the GDI since it is possible for gross inequality between females and males to increase and for GDI to remain constant other things being equal. GDI may conceal significant gender inequalities since its components are aggregate measures, (Tisdell, Roy and Ghose 1999). This is because gender inequality only relates to the average situation of males compared to the average for females.

10. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) measures the extent to which there is gender equity in economic and political power. It thus attempts to measure not achievement in wellbeing but equity in agency. The GEM uses variables constructed explicitly to measure the relative empowerment of women and men in political and economic spheres of activity. It thus attempts to measure gender equity in participation in governmental and managerial decision-making, professional roles, and economic activities generally.

This is important for several reasons. First, gender equity in access to economic and political opportunities is of considerable intrinsic importance. Second, it may be that women (and men) are more effective promoters of their own cause. If this is the case, then gender equity in economic and political power may be an effective way to reduce other gender inequalities in society. Finally, a society that neglects the economic and political potential of half of its population is likely to perform worse than a society using its talent regardless of gender (Bardhan and Klasen, 1999).

The UNDP does not have a GEM value for Kenya for all the years due to non-availability of data and therefore Kenya is not ranked. However as mentioned earlier, women hold only six (3.6%) seats out of 202 seats in parliament. This was a huge improvement since before the first multi-party elections of 1992 there were no elected women in parliament. There is also a very insignificant number of women professionals and technical workers, very few female administrators and managers and the reason for lack of data for women's share of earned income is due to the high concentration of women workers in the informal sector.

However the GEM has various weaknesses. For example, the GEM focuses on the sources of income but not the users of income. As Tisdell, Roy and Ghose (1999) say, a female may earn cash income but it may be mainly controlled and utilised by her husband. In most African societies Kenya included women may earn income but the man controls it or it may be used for the sustenance of the whole family but not to solely for the well being of the woman. Second, while the GEM clearly captures some important aspects of female agency, it is questionable how well it fully captures economic and political power held by women and their roles in the development process. Third, like the GDI, the GEM does not reliably allow for inter-country comparison due to the flexibility of the earnings gap indicator and the weighting and averaging procedures. Fourth, the choice of representation in parliament ignores the fact that there are some parliaments that do not have any power thereby making it difficult to interpret the share of female political representation. A country may have very high female participation in parliament and hence a high GEM ranking but this does not reflect the actual political power for women. For example, in Kenya a lot of power is vested in the executive and parliament does not have any powers even over bills that it has passed. Fifth, the GEM focuses too much on representation at the national level and in the formal sectors of the economy. A lot of women are found in the informal sector and Non Government Organisations (NGOs) as it is in Kenya. A less lop sided notion of women's agency could help focus policies and politics more adequately on the issues of female empowerment at all levels of development related decision making. Sixth, the GEM concentrates too much on income earning, ignoring even the available indicators of access to work related facilities that are of crucial importance for the female working poor. Access to institutional credit, access to production and marketing information, access to childcare, access to cooking fuel potable water etc. In other words, the GEM neglects many important aspects of women's economic and political roles that exist outside of national politics and the formal economy, as is the case in Kenya.

11. Violence against women

The most shocking manifestation of women's inequality is violence. Women are at risk from violence everywhere in the world, and in every walk of life. Practices like female genital mutilation and other forms of physical disfigurement, which are endemic in Kenya, remain a serious threat to many women. Women cannot always

depend on justice systems to protect them from violence. In most countries Kenya included, wife beating is not regarded as an offence and couples will mostly likely be advised to sort their problems quietly. It is only when one of them dies (in most cases the woman) do the authorities start investigations. In Kenya, it was not until December 2000 that wife beating was declared an offence. However, without proper sensitivity and education about their rights, women will continue taking wife beating as part of their lives.

GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a process or a condition whereby producers and investors increasingly behave as if the world economy consisted of a single market and production area with regional or national sub-sectors, rather than a set of national economies linked by trade and investment flows. Globalisation describes capitalism in the age of electronics, that is the development of new technologies, especially communications technology. Trans-national corporations are the driving force behind globalisation, generating 70% of all world trade and 80% of all Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) (UNCTAD's *World Investment Report 1998*).

Globalisation is the move towards a global economy where national borders cease to matter and this has changed the face of the world. Goods produced by Kenyan workers in British-owned factories are sold to Americans they will never meet. Flowers placed on Swedish dinner tables have been picked only a few hours earlier by Kenyan farmers working under the cold Limuru weather.

Globalisation is said to offer economic growth and prosperity to people around the world. It creates new options, new avenues for trade in goods and services, as well as new opportunities for capital investment and the allocation of mobile resources. According to Adam Smith, the expansion and globalisation of markets should be welcomed as a source of welfare gains. By widening the extent of the market, that is, by enlarging the set of exchange opportunities, it promotes division of labour and specialisation, thereby enhancing the productivity of labour as the principal source of increases in wealth. Goods and services can be made available at lesser costs than otherwise would be the case. Competition results because economic options created by globalisation provide benefits to those, either as consumers and buyers or as

holders of mobile resources, have an incentive to use them. However, this does not imply that immediate effects of such competition must be of unanimous advantage for all, since those who lose customers or trading partners due to the attractiveness of such options will consider themselves disadvantaged in comparison to the status quo (Vanberg 1999).

Globalisation and the resulting competition impose restrictions on the freedom of action of national governments especially in the provision of certain public goods. Although Vanberg (1999) says that however understandable the desire for a safeguard against market risks maybe, it cannot be satisfied in a manner still desirable if extended to all parties in a non-discriminatory manner. He says that a redistributive regime that can genuinely claim to serve the interests of all citizens would have to pass, though, the minimal test, that it is capable of extending equal treatment to all parties involved in a non-discriminating, privilege-free manner. However, even if redistribution schemes that grant privileges to some at the expense of others can, hardly be sustained under conditions of competition, there is no reason why privilege-free schemes for social insurance could not be organised in ways that enable them to be viable under such conditions (Vanberg 1999). This is especially true for those societies that already have gender inequality and it is important to cushion the women and children who would especially be hard hit by the effects of globalisation. This can be done in the form of subsidies, tax benefits or other preferential treatment, which are granted in a discretionary and discriminating manner to women and other vulnerable groups. This therefore means that before we blame globalisation, we should first reform the already existing institutions to make them compatible with globalisation.

It is true that certain people have benefited from the new opportunities provided by globalisation. For example, the people who take advantage of trade liberalisation to set up their own export businesses, or those people who have found paid employment for the first time as Trans-national corporations open new factories in many parts of the world.

However, too much competition obstructs or prevents the realisation of the collective interests of citizens (Sinn 1997). Vanberg (1999) on the other hand says that we must

examine how the constraints that competition imposes on governments affect the risk of undesirable decisions being made and the risk of decisions which would benefit all not being made. This because some people may use the decision-making powers vested in them to pursue personal interests at the expense of other's interest, or they may use the political process to achieve unilateral gains at the expense of others.

However, there are many people in the world, especially women who have not been able to enjoy the benefits of globalisation. To many of the world's vulnerable people, globalisation brings with it very real threats. Small farmers and local business now face direct competition from the world's most powerful companies, while governments which try to protect them from such competition are accused of undermining free trade. The effects of globalisation on women can be looked at from three angles: (1) Globalisation of trade; (2) Globalisation of production; and (3) Globalisation of financial markets.

Globalisation of trade has resulted from the successive rounds of GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations, held from 1948 onwards and in particular the most recent, the Uruguay Round, held from 1986 to 1994. As well as removing barriers to trade liberalisation, the Uruguay Round expanded the principle of free trade in the key areas of agriculture and textiles where all countries must reduce subsidies they pay to producers in their own countries and must also reduce tariffs on imported goods. The Uruguay Round also extended the scope of GATT negotiations to include services and Intellectual Property.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was created by the Uruguay Round of GATT and came to being on 1st January 1995. Its main functions are to help trade flow as freely as possible, achieve further trade liberalisation through negotiation and to settle trade disputes between countries. With this, small countries are at the mercy of the larger trading powers.

(a) Globalisation of Production

The globalisation of production has resulted mainly from developments in technology. Increased automation requires highly skilled and highly paid workforces to make it

possible for companies to move their operations to new countries mainly in the developing world, where unskilled workers can perform the jobs.

Development in communications technology such as telephone, fax and email have made it possible to coordinate production between sites as suppliers can now be called upon to transfer goods to almost any part of the world at a moments notice. Lower transportation costs of goods between different parts of the Trans-national corporations have been a major contributor to the globalisation of trade.

(b) Globalisation of Financial Markets

In the globalisation of financial markets, institutional investors have joined banks and companies as major players. The main institutional investors are mutual funds, speculative hedge funds and pension funds. Globalisation also includes the transfer of finance across national borders for purposes other than FDI. Such flows include transactions on foreign exchange markets. Foreign Portfolio Investment (FPI) is another key element in the globalisation of finance. According to UNCTAD's *World Investment Report* (1998), FPI accounted for a third of all private capital flows to developing countries from 1990-1997. FPI, according to UNCTAD can be withdrawn again as easily as it is provided in the first place. This is mainly because FPI is attracted not so much by the prospect of long-term growth as by the prospect of immediate gain. Communication technology is largely responsible for this aspect of globalisation, making it possible to conduct financial transactions across the world's market in an instant.

IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION

Under globalisation, the increase in trade is expected to increase global income by between US\$200 billion and US\$500. 70% of this new wealth is set to go to the industrialised countries of the north, but the rest is to be shared between Latin America, China and the "upper income" economies of East Asia. The world's Least Developed Countries on the other hand stand to lose up to US\$600 million a year under the new system. Sub-Saharan Africa is set to lose US\$1.2 billion a year (UNDP's *Human Development Report* 1997). The WTO, in its latest report agrees that not all countries share fully in the benefits of globalisation. There are also large differences in the impact of globalisation within individual countries.

I. Job Creation and Job Destruction

Foreign Direct Investment, a major part of globalisation has the potential to create large numbers of new jobs. However, many countries, Kenya included, have experienced large rises in unemployment and underemployment following mass lay-offs from the public sector. These countries have had to reduce public sector employment in line with structural adjustment programs of the IMF and the World Bank. The process of structural adjustment relies on the reallocation of resources between sectors. Women are less likely than men to own, or have access to productive resources and are often less able to reallocate the few resources they do have. Thus, women are more likely than men to be spectators, rather than players in the adjustment process. In the rural areas, male farmers benefit directly from policies that favour cash crop production but indirectly, women may suffer as demand for their unpaid labour intensifies. Although overall household income may increase, women's control over decision-making in the household may be reduced. In urban areas, men are more likely than women to lose jobs in public sector retrenchments given that men are more represented in the formal labour force. The fall in household income, when men lose jobs may compel women to increase their market work, hence increasing their burden (Hilary 1999).

Apart from this, job losses are as a result of the drive for higher efficiency in order to be competitive in the global market and also due to the introduction of technology to raise productivity. These job losses have fallen heavily on the unskilled workers, mainly women. Most Kenyan women are functionally illiterate (not equipped with the skills necessary to function in the modern work environment) which means that they are effectively excluded from the advantages globalisation offers.

Countries that host Export Processing Zones (EPZs), Kenya included have also seen new employment opportunities as a result of globalisation. Many other jobs are also created by local businesses that have expanded as a result of the opportunities provided by the globalisation of trade. Mergers and acquisitions have also led to job losses through "post-acquisition rationalisation", where the new, bigger company finds itself with two sets of employees doing the same jobs and seeks to reduce its workforce to cut out duplication.

Transnational corporations (TNCs) also create jobs in sectors linked to their activities. These linkages include the purchasing of goods and services from local suppliers and sub-contractors (backward linkages) as well as providing resources that can be used in further production within the host country (forward linkages). However, research has shown that most EPZs import most of the goods and services they need, providing little indirect employment in the host country (Kiriti and Kabubo 2000).

II. Loss of Livelihood

Trade liberalisation had threatened jobs and livelihoods as local enterprises have been squeezed out of the market under direct competition from the world's most powerful TNCs. In Kenya, this has manifested itself in the increased number of women sex workers as they have been driven out of their informal sector jobs due to competition from imported goods.

Although some Kenyan farmers such as those growing flowers and vegetables for export in Kenya have benefited from the opportunities of globalisation, many others such as coffee farmers have suffered from exposure to global competition as coffee prices have taken a downward trend for the last couple of years. Thus, globalisation poses a threat to the more vulnerable people such as women (Kiriti and Kabubo 2000).

III. Globalisation and Women in General

The move by large numbers of women to paid employment from traditional, invisible work (work not taken into account in official calculations) has taken place against the background of increasing globalisation, and women have experienced both its opportunities and its threats.

Since 1980, women's labour force growth has been substantially higher than that of men in every region of the world except Africa (where the two labour forces have grown at the same rate). In direct relation to globalisation, women constitute up to 90% of those working in EPZs. This is mainly because of the widespread perception that female employees are more tractable and subservient to managerial authority, less prone to organise into unions, more willing to accept lower wages, less likely to

expect upward job mobility and easier to dismiss using life-cycle criteria such as marriage and childbirth (UNIFEM 2000).

The economic independence that these jobs provide has for the first time given African women the ability to contribute to their families financially, the ability to delay marriages and childbearing and even the means to end oppressive marital relationships. It would be expected that women would use their earnings to bargain for more authority within the household and gain similar decision-making power as a result of having a job. The ability to earn outside income can become an important instrument for the transformation of gender relations.

However, the price for this economic freedom can be high. In many cases, women continue to earn lower wages than men performing the same work, and opportunities for training and promotion are typically kept to a minimum. Secondly, due to the socialisation process, a workingwoman may not enjoy or even bargain for any authority in decision-making as this poses a threat to the already established norm that men are the breadwinners. The husband may take the earnings and use it for his own purpose.

Many of the trans-national corporations that operate in EPZs employ young and semi-skilled women, provide minimal training and undertake relatively frequent job shedding. There are few or no job openings for women in higher skilled, higher wage positions as the composition of exports shifts towards more technology-intensive products. While firms have been quick to employ increasing numbers of women workers, women have also been the first to lose their jobs in times of retrenchment. This is because of the fact that women were originally preferred as workers largely because of the greater ease of dismissal. Much of the new employment generated by globalisation of the economy is poorly paid and carried out in highly exploitative conditions. Work is often of a temporary, casual type, and consequently without the health, safety, and social security benefits that more stable employment may ensure (Kiriti and Kabubo 2000).

Although women have found employment in the manufacturing sector, majority of women are found in the informal sector, rural farming communities, and in

subsistence economic activities. The shifts in production patterns due to globalisation have led to the dislocation of women from their traditional sources of livelihood and thus enhancing their lack of empowerment.

IV. Globalisation and infrastructure

Women are highly dependent on basic transport, energy, secure shelter, water and sanitation services to enable them to carry out their economic and social roles. Many of these are often poorly related to women's needs, significantly adding to the costs for women of carrying out their responsibilities and reducing the effectiveness and efficiency of public investment in these areas. In rural Kenya, there is no running water, the rural access roads are in shambles and inaccessible, they do not have access to power, etc. which significantly adds to the cost for women to carry out their responsibilities. Also, telephone services, email, fax and electricity are only found in the cities and major towns. The only way rural women can know about the outside world is through the radio because they can use normal batteries which are quite expensive. The airwaves are government controlled and this means that whatever is aired is only what the government wants people to hear which is mainly the ruling party matters. Considering that most government employees are males, it means that it is only what they consider good for the women is aired while the rest is censored. Women therefore cannot take advantage of the opportunities opened by globalisation or even becoming aware of what the rest of the women of the world are doing. This translates in enhancing women's ignorance, denial of their rights and lack of empowerment.

V. Globalisation and male migration

Women have been acquiring more and more of the burden of agricultural work in Kenya since colonial times when male labour was siphoned off from the rural areas to generate growth in the so-called modern sector. Men were hired at low wages to work in plantations, the mines, and other export-oriented enterprises, while the women mobilised their own labour as well as their children's to ensure a steady food supply. Women are taking an even-greater responsibility for farming, because men are either farming only part-time or have abandoned farming altogether in favour of off-farm wage employment as trans-national corporations create opportunities in the cities and towns. Male out-migration has had a number of adverse consequences for women

in terms of time and labour and, less directly on the welfare of their families and on the resource base. Women are constantly making adjustments within a changing set of limitations on their time and labour to provide for the family's subsistence and welfare. They are more bound to the homestead, sometimes waiting for remittances that never come or are too little or too late to purchase fertiliser or hire labour for the agricultural season. Thus the only way these women can benefit from globalisation is as spectators in the form of remittances.

VI. Commercialisation of Agriculture

Boserup (1978) observed that in Africa, extension of the market system tended to marginalise rural women economically because males took control of cash and often assumed responsibility for activities earning cash. This view is supported by studies on cash cropping both in Africa (Kennedy and Oniang'o (1990) and in South America (Gross and Underwood (1971). They show that cash cropping has reduced the opportunities for rural women to produce subsistence crops and provided food for their families especially children. Even when men were involved in village-based export cash crop cultivation, the women provided most of the labour for these agricultural operations, which were in addition to their responsibilities in the food sector. Women's labour input is invoked as free labour, and men maintain control over most of the earnings from cash crop production. As men become more integrated into the monetised economy, women gradually lose control over means of production while expanding their work burden (Blumberg, 1991).

Julin (1993) says that modernisation efforts in the agricultural sector have been directed towards cash crop production. New technical innovations have primarily been done in activities that are traditionally "men's" work. Men's productivity has therefore increased resulting in decreased demand for male labour, while demand for female labour has increased due to the larger land areas prepared by men and the increase in the number of crops. Where the structure of agriculture is becoming commercialised, women's roles and thus their economic status are changing. In Kenya, women are still un-remunerated for the long hours they contribute to the tending of commercial crops. As revenue-generating cash cropping rises in importance, the proportion of resources controlled by women tends to diminish. This is largely due to the fact that household resources, such as land and inputs, are

transferred away from women's crops in order to promote the production of cash crops.

Agricultural inputs and training are rarely provided to female farmers. With the introduction of structural adjustments, services that were initially provided free like artificial insemination, extension services etc. have now become commercialised. With the declining female incomes, very few can afford the services of extension officers. Where training is free, women will not be allowed to attend training sessions. Most of the males who visit training centres are old retired men who attend because of their high status in society. Information is usually passed on to men who do not pass it on to women. Ethical practices also make it difficult for women to access extension services since most extension officers are men. Even efforts to reduce poverty through land reform have been found to reduce female income and economic status because they distribute land titles only to male heads of households.

Cultural and social barriers to women's integration into agricultural programs remain strong since women's income is perceived as a threat to men's authority. While men are taught new agricultural techniques to increase their productivity, women, if involved at all, are trained to perform low-productivity tasks that are considered compatible with their traditional roles, such as sewing, cooking, or basic hygiene. Women's components of development projects are frequently little more than welfare programs that fail to improve economic well being. Furthermore, these projects tend to depend on the unpaid work of women, while men are remunerated for their efforts (Todaro, 1997). This means that women cannot take advantage of the opportunities opened up by globalisation.

VII. Globalisation and the Environment

Women and men have different relationships with the environment, due to the gender division of labour and other factors. As a result, they may be affected differently by environmental change.

Women are the principal victims of many degraded local environments, including the very households of the poor, whether in urban or rural areas. In many parts of the world, gender discrimination, which affects access to land rights, to education, to health services, to equal employment, to participation in decision making and to other basic rights, has real significance for local forms of environmental degradation. It also places women in greater jeopardy, at work or in the home. Environmental risks of different types are liable to have greater impact on women's health as well as to increase women's burden in the health care domain.

Deforestation and desertification have a direct impact on the amount of time rural dwellers affected spend in gathering fuel-wood, fodder and fetching water. Given that in many societies it is women who are traditionally responsible for these tasks, the increased amount of time consumed to perform them impacts negatively on women. Environmental change in this context also means loss of efficiency in performing some daily tasks such as cooking, weeding etc.

Population pressure, technological change and the spread of commercialisation and globalisation have brought significant changes in the structure and way of life in rural societies (Roy and Tisdell 1992). For example, environmental changes result in a change in gender roles. Oniango (1995), reports that in the Embu district in Kenya, due to the occupation of dry marginal lands that originated as a response to rapid population growth, many respondents declared that roles were no longer gender-based since changing circumstances had led to the disintegration of the indigenous social matrix. However available literature also portrays women as more environment friendly than their male counterparts (Mackenzie, 1995, Roy and Tisdell, 1992). In many African countries men engage in cash crop production (usually mono-crops following the mostly male extension officers advice to plant only one species), women usually plant subsistence crops that they cultivate in home gardens, a farming system that contains high levels of biodiversity. This is as result of a culturally based and biased division of labour.

Women as compared to men have also been shown as having a greater commitment to the environment. The Green Belt Movement (comprising of women) in Kenya has been successful to some extent in creating forests and encouraging women to plant

two trees for any tree felled. They have also managed to save a lot of forests from commercial tree fellers and at one time saved the Uhuru Park from being allocated to a private developer to put up the Kenya Times Media Trust Towers. However in 1999, they tried without any success, to save the Karura Forest (a water catchment area) near Nairobi from being allocated to private developers who intended to clear the forest and put up apartment buildings.

Despite this, women are often excluded from decision-making processes related to environmental issues. This can result in women's needs and rights being overlooked, potential hazards being ignored, and opportunities for better environmental protection and development missed. However, women's reduced control over resources allows them limited ways of dealing with degradation. Increased empowerment of women would require their increased access to and control of resources. If sustainable development is to be achieved in Kenya, and the economic and social position of the rural women protected, much greater attention must be given to the environmental and cultural impact of globalisation.

CONCLUSION

Globalisation creates an environment that allows many women to achieve greater personal autonomy but in an increasingly unequal and risky environment.

The gender effects of globalisation are complex and uneven, with new risks and new opportunities for different groups. The primacy of financial costs is intensified by globalisation. International trade, investment and migration are not new phenomenon. What is new is the accelerating speed and scope of movements of real and financial capital. This acceleration is due to the removal of state controls on trade and investment and to the rapid development of new information and communication technologies.

Globalisation intensifies some of the existing inequalities and insecurities to which poor women are subject, but for educated, professional women, it opens up new opportunities. Among the negative consequences of globalisation have been ethnic clashes in Kenya between the pastoralists and the farmers in the 1990's resulting to displacement of women and children. In times of crises, women are called upon to act as the heroes of everyday life, providing the ultimate social safety net for the families

when all other forms of social security have failed. The commitments made at Beijing (1995) and Copenhagen (1995) reflect an expectation that governments are responsible for implementing policies to improve the wellbeing of women. However they do not effectively address ways in which market liberalisation and privatisation may undermine the capacity of governments to discharge these responsibilities, especially to poor women.

If globalisation is to be pro-women and pro-poor people, it must be steered and shaped in accordance with international human rights and targets reached at various UN conferences.

Women's capacity must be built to manage new risks and to take advantage of new opportunities, including new information and communications technologies.

Women friendly financial institutions based on greater participation and accountability must be created. At the same time, the elimination of gender bias as a "development distortion" must be a central objective of public policy if development gains from new opportunities are to be maximised. Business corporations must be encouraged to commit themselves to social responsibility and accountability in all operations. Markets, technology and economic policy must be transformed so that they operate fairly, and deliver the potential fruits of globalisation to poor women. Partnerships among governments, civil society and businesses for social responsibility are extremely important in the globalisation process. There is need to give more attention to the norms, leadership and decision-making that can make globalisation truly supportive of human development, economic and gender justice.

One of the liberating effects of a globalisation is that it is expected to free individuals from their traditional entanglements. On the other hand it may uproot them from traditional support systems and risk-sharing institutions. For example, gift exchanges, the fiesta, and kinship ties- that serve as equalising the distributions of resources in traditional societies, lose much of their social insurance functions. And the risks that have to be insured become much less manageable in the traditional manner as globalisation spreads (Rondrik 1999). This therefore means that we cannot get rid of the traditional social cultural institutions without offering alternative social insurance

institutions. The result would be resistance against globalisation and other reforms. Reforms in the areas of macroeconomic policy, trade policy, deregulation, and privatisation have not been matched by deeper reforms of political institutions, bureaucracies, judiciaries, and social safety nets. Without an internal strategy of institutional reform to complement the external strategy of opening up, Kenya risks exposing itself to all kinds of crises. There is need to improve the channels through which vulnerable people (indigenous peoples, women, children, farmers, workers etc) can make themselves heard, and to bring them (or their representatives) into the decision-making institutions. Market-oriented reforms require social safety nets to prevent people from falling through the cracks (Rodrik 1997). Provision of social insurance is an important component of market reforms- it cushions the blow on those most severely affected, it helps maintain the legitimacy of the reforms, and it avoids a backlash against the distributional and social consequences of globalisation. Globalisation requires strong institutions and in the absence of such institutions, globalisation is likely to foster domestic social conflicts which are not only damaging in their own right, but are also detrimental to economic growth in the long run (Rodrik 1997).

Globalisation should not be performed in the absence of a supportive legal, regulatory, and political apparatus. Reforms have paid too little attention to mechanisms of social insurance and to safety nets.

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