

THESIS

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TWO RURAL KENYAN VILLAGES: A
TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST APPROACH

Submitted by

Abby Christina Marweg

Department of Ethnic Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2014

Master's Committee:

Advisor: Roe Bubar

Caridad Souza

Brett Bruyere

Copyright by Abby Christina Marweg 2014

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TWO RURAL KENYA VILLAGES: A TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST APPROACH

This qualitative study explores the perspectives and stories of the women who live in the villages of Umoja and Unity in the northern Samburu region of Kenya and the impacts of Western driven international development projects in their communities. Through semi-structured interviews conducted in the villages of Umoja and Unity this thesis outlines the complexities of international development organizations and their relationship to the women, their access to resources, and the economic structures affecting their lives. This study augments transnational feminist theory with that of international development and economy to argue that the current system of development is inadequate. This study will show that this insufficiency in development initiatives is due to a failure by the Global North, global feminists, and development organizations to address the structural intersectionality that affects the women in Umoja and Unity and their lives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin I would like to thank Roe Bubar for all of your guidance, help, and for mentoring me through this process and in life, for your willingness to be part of this thesis, and for your belief from the first time I spoke with you about it, in the importance of this project and in my ability to complete it. To Caridad Souza for mentoring me in feminist theory, you have helped and supported me to expand my thinking around feminism and always pushed me to think more critically about the issues in this world. To Brett Bruyere for giving me the opportunity to travel to Samburu the first time and being an integral part of my second trip there and for supporting this thesis, I will be forever grateful for these opportunities. To Eric Ishiwata for teaching me political theory, it has helped me think about the world in a different way, thank you. To Irene Vernon, Jodi Griffin and the entire Ethnic Studies faculty and staff, thank you for making me feel like I had a home at this institution and for supporting me in this project. To the family and friends that supported me through this process, thank you. And finally, to the women and children of Umoja and Unity who allowed me to be a part of their lives and who trusted me with their stories, I am indebted to you, thank you.

DEDICATION

For my daughter Ada Rose and the women and children of Umoja and Unity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	14
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	34
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	48
CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS.....	77
REFERENCES.....	86
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT.....	91

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I came to understand why we block out the pain and atrocities of others. That pain, if we allow it to enter us, makes our lives impossible. It forces us to examine our own values and reality. It insists that we be responsible for others. It thrusts us into the messy world where there are no easy solutions or reasons, only struggles and questions. It creates great fissures in the landscape of our insulated so-called safe reality. Fissures that, once split open, can never close again. It compels us to act.¹

Against the backdrop of an arid landscape, a museum sits amidst a small village. The sun beats oppressively down onto a bronzed plaque affixed to the structure: the words USAID and a picture of an elephant appear. The museum sits empty and unused among a village vibrant with life; the bright colors of beads and clothing that normally adorn the women and their children lose their brilliance placed in glass cases fixed to the floor. Frozen in time, the museum stands alone, away from the realities of life outside and yet closely intertwined.

In 2007, the African Wildlife Foundation, the U.S. State Department, SNV Netherlands Development Organization, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), funded a museum in the village of Umoja, Samburu District, Kenya (“Empowering”, 2007, p.1). Along with the construction of the building itself, the organizations involved trained local women on artifact collection and conservation; the goal of which was to bring tourist money into the village, thus empowering the women in the village by providing autonomy through economy. No one thought to consult the women of these two villages about what they thought about the sustainability of such a project.

I begin by placing myself within the research context where I explore my standpoint and the way in which I locate myself in this project as it was born out of my desire to see Kenya.

¹ Excerpt from Ensler, E. (2006). *Insecure at least: A Political memoir*. New York: Villard Books. P. 17 & 18

What follows is a narrative that chronicles my initial and later subsequent journey to Kenya. These two journeys changed my life and the way in which I understand the global marketplace and, more importantly, the people impacted by it.

Discovering Kenya

In December of 2011, I stepped off a KLM Royal Dutch Airlines flight, jetlagged and half a world away from home, in a place I had dreamt about going to since I was a child. My dreams of coming to this place began when I was very young, a desire for the unfamiliar: the exotic. Cut-out pictures of safari parks and leopards hung on the walls of my room as I imagined a landscape different than the one outside of my childhood home in Fort Collins, Colorado. Upon hearing that I was going to Africa various friends and relatives offered their advice, mostly centered on disease prevention, the risk of being kidnapped, and violence; a never ending concern for my personal safety. In their minds, the only thing that existed on the Dark Continent was disease and violence, and it was far too dangerous for a 28 year old white woman attending Colorado State University.

We traveled in safari cars as it neared midnight, through the artificially lit streets, the air thick with the smell of diesel, to a hostel that would be our Nairobi home for that one night. In the morning, sleep deprived American students and bags were shoved into the cars and we headed off on the five hour journey north towards Samburu. Daytime revealed a landscape that not even National Geographic or those cut-out pictures of Kenya from long ago prepared me for. We drove through the streets of Nairobi and stared at giant billboards and buildings, stopping at the city center where our driver instructed us to put our belongings on the floor of the vehicle, “people will take them” he explained.

Two blocks later, and still in the city center, I got out of the car with two other students and walked across crowded streets to a small bead shop. There, behind bars, in a shop no bigger than a small closet, a woman sold beads of every color; we purchased several bags, thanked her, and left. As we walked away from the shop, the appearance of my skin color, for the first time in my life became abundantly clear, children shouted Mzungu² as the four of us walked by, hoping to get something sweet, or perhaps a shilling. But among millions of Kenyans, we were the only ones who were white, and it was a sense of being different that I had never felt before; I became in that moment keenly aware but confused about the significance of my own identity, especially in the midst of so many people who looked different than me. Our driver expressed concern about our safety and our things; the car became a place of safety, away from the millions of people who might take that security away. But I did not feel unsafe, I felt guilt, I felt confusion.

The safari car kept moving and the crowded streets and buildings of Nairobi gave way to a beautiful green landscape of coffee and tea farms nestled at the base of Mount Kenya. I noticed the heat. It was like nothing I had felt before a piercing inescapable presence that had to be acknowledged and from which there was no escape. We made a stop at a mango stand and the Nakumat³, and half way through our journey, the landscape began to become increasingly desolate. My mind and body gave in to the desert heat. I drifted off to sleep.

As we pulled into the village of Umoja, women were dancing and singing; waking many of us from our jet lagged and heat induced sleep. Then we were led through the mud roof huts of the small village towards the river and to the place where we would spend our daytime hours for the next two weeks. This moment symbolized everything I had imagined Kenya to be; an exotic

² Mzungu refers to white non-Kenyans.

³ A grocery and retail store.

place so far removed from my life at home in Colorado. The songs the women sang were joyful and there was little option except to join in and dance.

We built tents in the dark in the middle of a Kenyan natural area, the rangers present for protection from the animals as we drifted to sleep, the sounds of baboons and elephants nearby, snapping tree branches as they walked just behind our camp. Each night we shined flashlights into the dark abyss only to see glowing eyes peer back at us. The low tone of a growl became present from the tree above our tent, “just a leopard” the guard told me, clearly a statement meant to reassure but my thoughts stayed on the leopard until I fell asleep. We would wake at dawn, the songs from the birds making sleeping beyond that impossible.

I worked alongside the group of students I was with throughout the next few weeks in the village and the larger community of Archer’s Post on a number of projects. We helped dig a hole that eventually became the base of a water tank, we sat in the shade of a thatched roof structure while the women patiently taught us to bead, we learned how to throw a spear, hike with rangers, and carry cow dung in a bucket on our heads to make a roof. What was most meaningful for me was to simply observe and listen to the stories and the experiences of the women who lived in this place.

The women’s stories and my memories from Unity and Umoja are not easily forgotten and they remain with me: The two year old child who belonged to no one and everyone at the same time, desperate for medical attention, and who disappeared never to be seen again the morning after it was decided that she would be taken to a medical clinic; the young girls who walked miles carrying buckets weighing nearly what they did to get water from a dirty river instead of attending school; the young woman who no longer attended school because her tonsils

were so swollen she could not eat and was too weak to study or learn; the women who never seemed to eat, and the children who would clamor at the chance to eat a single cracker.

All of this occurred in the shadow of a museum; a museum that is supposed to bring money and prosperity to a community that sits at the edge of the Samburu National Reserve. A reserve where tourists from all over the world drive by these villages without stopping and spend five hundred dollars a night on accommodations without a second thought. They pay this amount to gaze upon at least four of the Kenya Big Five⁴ and enjoy a first class safari experience all through a locked gate, guarded by men with AK47s and M16s. It was hard for me to make sense of this place where there were smiles on the faces of the people who lived in these two villages when I saw so many reasons for sadness.

The museum still sits in the village of Umoja, unused and collecting the desert dust that blows through this place, a metaphor for a foreign presence in this community. Ironically this museum was constructed as a development project to empower women, to help them change their lives, and yet it remains empty while the people who live there starve in its shadow. I imagine the organizations that built the museum reported back to their donors that it was a success, that it was completed and now tourists have a reason to visit Umoja. But tourists do not visit because it is the African animals they come to see, not the circumstances of the people. Umoja represents a place of danger and white tourists would have to get out of their cars and confront their own privileges in the face of the people here who have little to eat and little faith in a museum project dependent on their tourist dollars. The perception of danger in visiting Umoja is representative of the larger danger associated with the Dark Continent. The reality of a colonial past and the current global market illustrates to settlers, those that visit Africa, the true

⁴ A reference to the elephant, Cape buffalo, lion, leopard, and rhinoceros, the big game animals found in Kenya.

dangers of this place and what will become of the people when their resources and culture are exploited.

The first time I left Kenya we drove from the desert conditions of Samburu through the green tea fields to the busy crowded streets of Nairobi. We were stopped at police road blocks where street vendors shoved bananas and jewelry through the semi-open windows of our safari car as we waited impatiently for the sign from the officers that we could leave. Approaching Nairobi the streets were crowded and seemed to lack any clear sense of order. Waiting in rush hour traffic, men walked down the middle of the road selling beaded necklaces and board games. As we drove through the center of Nairobi it began to rain. As the rain poured down we rolled up the windows of our car and a young girl, no more than ten years old ran to the side of the vehicle to bang her small fists against the window. She begged for food or money or anything and I looked away. I tried to distance myself from the pain I saw in her face and because of how guilty and helpless I felt. It became clear to me that on the Dark Continent there were so many dangers, none of which were related to my safety as so many of my friends and family imagined.

This research was borne out of the desire to understand how the construction of an international development project in the form of the museum sat empty and unused, creating neither money nor resources for the women of Umoja. Thus this research began with the need to understand why people in the village and the surrounding community lacked adequate food, water, education, and medical access, while international aid organizations drove money, resources, and personnel into the villages and the nearby town with little positive impact on the communities and the peoples' lives.

Background

This project focuses specifically on the two village communities of Umoja and Unity, which are located next to the town of Archer's Post, approximately half a mile apart from each other in the Samburu District of northern Kenya. The communities sit approximately one mile from the gate of the Samburu National Reserve, a major tourist destination, and an area that few people from the surrounding Archer's Post area ever get to see. The cost to go through this heavily guarded gate is seventy U.S. dollars which is approximately 6,023 Kenyan Shillings at the time of this writing. This amount of money lies far beyond the means of the vast majority of people within the Archer's Post area where the average income for an entire family is four hundred U.S. dollars a year or 34,720 Kenyan Shillings.

The Samburu region is a hot, dry, harsh environment in northern Kenya with specific concerns related to a drought affecting both reliable water access and livestock, the basis of the traditional pastoralist economy. In addition, the communities in this area face ongoing modernization through the introduction of a capitalist economy which is radically different from the traditional pastoralist economy that has been maintained in this area for generations.

The first village involved in this project is named Umoja, which means 'Unity' in Swahili, and is located approximately five hours by car north of the capital city of Nairobi. The second village which is approximately half a mile from Umoja is named Unity. Both villages are named Unity but in two different languages. There exists a fracture between the two villages and there are political and other differences that exist between them. While the city of Nairobi is a modern industrialized city with a population of approximately 3.375 million people, the town of Archer's Post and the surrounding villages have a population of only several thousand (Kenya,

2013, p.1). The area where the two villages and Archer's Post is located is populated by the traditionally pastoralist Tribes: the Samburu and Turkana people.

Politically, both the Samburu and Turkana people are in the process of dealing with increasing pressure from both an international and domestic focus on modernization through the introduction of capitalism into these traditional communities. In addition, increasing drought conditions in the area has also impacted the ability for people to maintain livestock and thus generate income in traditional ways. This has increased the pressure to move away from traditional ways of life which involved moving with the livestock herds to grazing lands that were not privately owned and has now pushed many people to settle into permanent communities throughout the countryside. As these pastoralist communities are forced through modernization to settle into more permanent settlements, the structures of their familial relationships have changed in relationship to larger economic structural shifts.

Traditionally in this area of Kenya, and among these particular Tribal groups, the men would travel with the livestock, feeding and moving them with the seasons to grazing grounds. Strict gender roles were, and in many aspects still are, in place within the communities with women's roles being defined within the home and taking care of children. Boys at a very young age, often as young as five, are taken out into the fields with their fathers to begin the process of learning to become a herder and to eventually take their place as Moran⁵. The influence of capitalist economic structures, in addition to an environment that is no longer suitable for animal grazing, has forced many within this herding culture to set up permanent settlements throughout the Kenyan countryside.

⁵ Translated as "Warrior" in English.

The establishment of permanent settlements, along with a decrease in livestock grazing territory, has created several problems for the Samburu and Turkana people. Traditionally, men were out of the home with livestock often for months at a time; however, as the economy shifts, traditional gender roles are dismantled as men now stay home, often leaving them without gainful employment or other means of providing for their families.

Additionally, many Kenyans in the northern parts of the country do not have access to education beyond primary school because of the financial cost; the average cost for secondary school in Kenya is four hundred U.S. dollars, which matches the average yearly income for a household in the Archer's Post community: four hundred U.S. dollars. In addition, secondary schools are boarding institutions and students are sent to school in communities all over Kenya, often several hours from their homes, an option that is beyond the reach for many people in this area. Without education beyond primary school, it is difficult to seek employment within a now capitalist economy which requires skills that differ from herding and traditional life-way knowledge.

Furthermore, Kenya is a former British colony and is still dealing with the specific implications of British colonial rule. Within the country, British military bases and training grounds dot the landscape, a reminder that for Kenya, the colonial period may have officially ended with independence but a new period of neocolonialism has begun. The existence of British military bases serves as a physical reminder of the continued military involvement throughout the country. Neocolonialism extends beyond the physical presence of the British military to include corporations and foreign governments investing throughout several regions of Kenya.

At the center of these changes lie Umoja and Unity; two small gendered villages, where only women and their children live, amongst but separate from the larger Archer's Post

community and a place where the trials of economy and environment are coupled with the challenges of gender.

In 1990 the village of Umoja was founded by fifteen women who left their families and/or husbands due to rape at the hands of British soldiers who were stationed nearby (Umoja, 2012, p.1). One of the founders, Rebecca Lolosoli was beaten severely by several men after making a statement to her husband about wanting to help rape victims; he did nothing to stop the men or to seek justice for her, and so she left (Umoja, 2012, p.1). Rebecca and the original women of the group opened small dukas, or shops, saved 200,000 Kenyan shillings or 2,304 U.S. dollars and were eventually able to put the money down for a small piece of dry desolate land (Umoja, 2012, p.1).

Today approximately twenty women live in Umoja and sell handcrafted beadwork instead of operating dukas; much of the money that they earn from their sales goes back to their families or the communities they left. They currently sell both locally and internationally through a foundation out of Washington D.C. that operates with a donation from the Half the Sky Movement. In 2011, part of the group living in Umoja left the village and split off, moving to a separate village and naming themselves Unity. Both villages continue to deal with widespread drought and ethnic violence directed at the Samburu and Turkana Tribes but still continue to be involved in capacity building projects with several international organizations.

Rebecca has gone on to receive international fame, receiving the Vital Voices Global Leadership Award, given to her by Hilary Clinton in 2010; in 2011 Newsweek Magazine named Rebecca one of the 150 Women Who Shake the World; in 2012 she received an award from the 2nd GR8! Women Awards-Middle East; and was featured in the documentary film Half the Sky.

Umoja continues to receive superficial media attention from the international world and yet still remains vulnerable to the whims of the environment and the economy.

The Journey Back to Kenya: One Year Later

Near midnight it was raining; a torrential downpour and the streets of Nairobi flooded. It felt as if I had never left that young girl in the streets of Nairobi just a year earlier. Construction took up the vast majority of the main street as we headed to the same hostel I stayed in the year before. The car we were in darted in and out of traffic like a game of Russian roulette played at eighty kilometers per hour. New Year's Eve celebrations poured out into the street from the nearby stadium as cars, people, and music occupied every bit of space in this already overcrowded city. The car slowed to a stop, lights dimmed and then it was dead; "no problem" the driver told me as he turned the ignition in repeated attempts to give it life. A long five minutes passed in the dark of night before we were off again, only to be stopped a short time later; a failed attempt at passing and a heated debate carried out in Swahili ensued as I sat silent in the back seat. Still, the rain continued to fall.

Water hit the floorboards of the taxi as we finally pulled into the hostel for the night; he'd be back at 5am, "don't be late" he said. It was a night spent in a hostel surrounded by New Year's revelers from across the planet, satisfied for the moment and simultaneously embracing the future, food and drink abundant. I could hear the sounds from the sports stadium celebration and even though it was miles away the voices of people filled even this secluded camp. The taxi driver pulled into the hostel at 6:30 am: Kenya time, I should have remembered how time was accounted for in this place. The need for me to shift my Westernized expectations became immediately clear again; it felt familiar, the smell of diesel and the crowded streets of Nairobi seemed unchanged.

As people still up from the night's celebrations walked home in the early morning hours, we began our journey up north, in a small compact car with the questionable ability to make it, our mode of transportation. The five hour drive had not changed much in a year, the familiar stop at the Nakumat, and the increasingly familiarity of a police checkpoint; this time however, people seemed less interested in selling things, an interesting shift in expectations we could likely thank our inconspicuous car for.

Dust and heat permeated every element of existence in this place; heat that makes you question your ability to survive in such a place. "Mzungus" the locals would laugh as the heat took over our already tired bodies; a constant reminder of the drought that impacted the very basis of life here.

Beautiful songs were sung under the shade of thatched roofs as women beaded and talked. The greeting from the women as the taxi pulled into Umoja was less dramatic, less ornate, but far more honest. The water tank that I had worked on the prior year was completed and was now being used by Umoja, and a new tank had been put into place at Unity. I was unsure why but women and young girls still walked to the river to retrieve dirty, muddy water from the river. The women still sat under thatched roof structures and trees beading, talking and singing. Not much had changed.

I came back to this place with unanswered questions, frustrated by the same scene of tourists driving by with their cameras pointed out the window but never leaving the vehicle except to be served. The plaques and signs of the numerous aid organizations were ever present within the community announcing publically their multiple accomplishments yet there was little evidence of actually providing assistance.

The complexity of the situation in these villages was only partially apparent to me but eventually the lives of the women here would transform my own position and identity in relation to my feminism and understanding of the world as I listened to the women of Umoja and Unity tell their stories. I came back here to ask questions about resources and water, and in turn got answers to questions I had never even thought to ask. My research journey throughout the rest of this paper outlines the discussions about the complexities of aid organizations and their relationship to the women and their lives in the villages of Umoja and Unity. I explore the access women have to resources and the economic structures impacting their lives.

To do that, this project addresses the following research questions: RQ1. How do the women of Umoja and Unity experience Western development projects in their communities?; RQ 2. How is resource access (water, education, medical, etcetera) for the women of Umoja and Unity impacted by development projects?; and RQ 3. How do the environmental conditions in the communities play a role in resource access?

This research began with my desire to understand why as a white woman in North America everyone at home was concerned with my safety but failed to ever consider the lived realities of the people who actually lived on the continent of Africa. I wanted to understand why no one cared about the lives of young Kenyan girls forced to survive by begging in the streets of Nairobi at the age of ten; why no one thought about people in such severe poverty they were unable to eat or go to school; why others weren't troubled by a foreign tourist industry profiting from safari's and taking those profits out of the county. With so many contemporary economic issues that structurally positioned many Kenyans for dire consequences over their lifetimes why were the people in my family and friend circles only concerned about the safety of a white American woman.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter outlines the current literature in the research areas relevant to the background and theoretical framing of this project. Included is an exploration of pastoralism, gender, transnational feminism, macroeconomics, microbusiness, and development. Each section outlines the current literature in these areas and frames the groundwork necessary to provide background for this project.

Pastoralism

The villages of Umoja and Unity are part of a traditionally pastoralist society, where members of these communities affiliate with two Tribes: the Samburu and the Turkana. The ongoing problem with development projects and their interactions with pastoralist communities are discussed by the example of the Maasai who live in Southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania. As Hodgson (1999) states, “it is not Maasai (and other pastoralists) who have persevered unchanged by history, but the cultural images which shape how state administrators, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other development agents perceive pastoralists” (p. 221 & 222). Repeated development attempts fail to take into account the reality of the pastoral situation and instead continue to operate with perceived notions of the pastoral reality from a Western colonial framework. This coupled with the ongoing incorporation of capitalism through neoliberal globalization continues to push these cultures into a cycle of poverty and dependency from which they are unable to escape.

Pastoralists most often live in semi-arid and arid environments and are often faced with the perception that they and their herds of livestock are detrimental to the environment in which they live. However, scientific thinking on this matter has largely shifted and recognizes that

pastoralism is not detrimental to the environment (Schlee & Shongolo, 2012, p. 11). The sedentarisation of pastoral groups is a symptom of much larger systemic challenges in which environmental factors such as drought and a push by development organizations towards an economy that differs significantly from one maintained by pastoralism.

According to Adano & Witsenburg (2008), Before 1980, the sedentarisation of nomadic pastoralists was generally considered a viable solution to problems in Africa's drylands by development thinkers, governments and missionaries. After 1980-, this perception on sedentarisation and pastoral mobility changed. It became widely accepted that pastoralism is a sustainable use of the drylands and that sedentarisation of pastoral nomads caused more problems than they solved. (p. 1200)

Sedentarisation promoted from multiple sources does not provide a favorable alternative to a pastoral economy particularly since agriculture is largely not a possible option and many people are forced to turn to dependency on aid or smaller sources of inconsistent income generation (Schlee & Shongolo, 2012, p. 147).

In 2011 the African Union adopted 'A Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa' which was implemented to shift the awareness of development projects away from tasks aimed at taking pastoralists out of pastoralism and herding and instead sought to reframe the role within development projects to one of conservation without dismantling the basis of the pastoralist lifestyle and economy (Schlee & Shongolo, 2012, p. 12). It is critical for development and/or conservation projects working with pastoralists not to view or frame pastoralists as static cultures or as impediments to modernization and instead educate themselves about land, livestock, and agriculture management conducted historically and sustainably through 'traditional' ways of being.

In addition to perceptions of environment incompatibility, pastoralist cultures are often viewed as strict patriarchal societies where women have little voice or power. Strict patriarchy is

often associated with society that devalues women and their work, and as such pastoralism and pastoralists, are frequently delegitimized by the West for their perceived primitive treatment of women by the men within this culture.

According to Schlee and Shongolo (2012) and the traditions of pastoralist communities, “women should not inherit equal shares but half the share of their brothers. On the other hand, they do not have to spend their livestock on their own maintenance or that of their children, because (ideally) there is always a man...responsible for their maintenance” (p. 16). While this may require a woman to remain with a man for the duration of her life, this could also mean that she can accumulate more livestock since she is not responsible, or have obligations, to anyone outside of family (Schlee & Shongolo, 2012, p. 16).

Women in this traditional structure are gaining equality through a non-Western understanding of what equality looks like since ‘wealth’ is synonymous with cattle. Equality is not tied solely to gender but is contextualized within a set of factors including age and status within the community (Buhl & Homewood, 2000, p. 211). While gender equality within Western cultures (and often white Western cultures) is often equated with women’s equality based on access to the public sphere through the working environment, the traditional cultures of pastoralism conform to a different set of standards located within hierarchal structures which place importance on status through familial inheritance and property management.

Buhl and Homewood (2000) state that, “Studies addressing gender and livestock in pastoral African production systems have suggested that, with the impoverishment brought about by ecological, political and demographic change, pastoral women have progressively lost control over their own livelihoods and security” (p. 207). I argue here that perceptions held in the West of the Kenyan patriarchy within pastoralist communities is symptomatic of Western gender

relations and resultant of ongoing colonial models naturalized through neoliberalism and a capitalist economy.

Gender

A discussion of gender is important here because, as stated in the above section, certain assumptions are made about people and their lives with significant consequences. Subsequently development initiatives are framed from the perspective of gender/gender relations, and its importance from a Western perspective driving development organizations. Karega (2010) states, “the term gender refers to socially constructed roles of women and men ascribed to them on the basis of their sex. Gender roles depend on a particular socio-economic, political and cultural context, and are affected by other factors including age, race, class, and ethnicity” (p. 12).

As Oyèrónké Oyěwùmi (1997) states, “I posit that these assumptions are a result of the fact that in Western societies, physical bodies are *always* social bodies. As a consequence, there is really no distinction between sex and gender, despite the many attempts by feminists to distinguish the two” (p. xii emphasis in original). Further Oyěwùmi (2005) develops “the idea that biology is destiny-or, better still, destiny is biology-has been a staple of Western thought for centuries [...] the body is given a logic of its own. It is believed that just by looking at it one can tell a person’s beliefs and social position or lack thereof” (p. 3). Oyěwùmi makes the argument that the body is the focus of Western thought and permeates every aspect of life in the West. Agency for women is then assumed to be through the body, thus all aspects of being a woman have to do with the physical representation of the body.

Due to the way in which gender is centered within a Western context, everything that is discussed from a Western point of view centers on identity as a function of gender. For example,

Western and global feminists focus on particular gender specific goals: women in the workforce, rights for women such as voting, pro-choice, etcetera. While each of these goals are important and worthy of working towards solving it becomes problematic when Western feminists attempt to change the lives and livelihoods of women and entire societies that exist within a non-Western context. This ethnocentric approach promotes misunderstandings of gender within non-Western contexts.

The role of women within pastoral communities is often seen through the eyes of global feminists as one where women are valued less than the men in the same society. This framing of women invokes a collective amnesia regarding a colonial past which actively sought to Westernize gender roles in many different societies. Many colonial governments imposed and enforced laws based on Western understandings of gender which sought to allocate certain rights to women (i.e. the right to divorce) and simultaneously stripped away traditional rights that previously enabled women access to leadership and political power through mechanisms often ignored or erased by colonial governments. For example non-Westernized ways of obtaining leadership through age and status within the family and community accorded Kenyan women status but was adversely affected by Western gender focused impositions (Byfield, 2001, p. 40).

Similarly, gender roles have historically been reinforced or not considered by organizations driving development initiatives,

“Oxfam, like most development agencies, has only relatively recently recognized that the needs of women can be separate from those of men, and that they may require different development strategies. The views of Oxfam’s workers vary from those who do not accept that women are a separate or priority concern, and are unaware of the gender implications of their work, to those with a determination to support the improvements of women’s lives and status as a priority (March, 1991, p. 279).

The role of ‘gender mainstreaming’⁶ in development work is the preferred method promoted by many organizations while there appears to be a push away from the idea that Kenyan women’s needs are inherently met by the family or household unit in which they live (Karega & Bunwaree, 2010, p. 1). The stated goal of many organizations involved in development is a focus on gender as a separate category that addresses the needs of women as a separate group.

Transnational Feminism

Transnational feminism is differentiated from global or Western feminisms since the focus is not on the equality of women as a homogenized group but rather justice and the examination of intersectional factors that make the equality of all women an impossibility.

Fernandes (2013) states, transnational feminist research has sought to develop critical analyses of the nation and has sought to explore the linkages between the local, national, and transnational realms of analysis. Transnational feminist studies of the nation-state seek to address how these new and distinctive spaces are reconfiguring and being shaped by local and national forces. (p. 102 & 103)

Feminism in the United States, in particular, is focused on a global or Western feminism that works towards gender equality, as an example Kristof and WuDunn (2009) state, “In the nineteenth century, the central moral challenge was slavery. In the twentieth century, it was the battle against totalitarianism. We believe that in this century the paramount moral challenge will be the struggle for gender equality in the developing world” (p. xvii).

Equality promoted by Western feminists professes equality of all women throughout the world yet fails to recognize multilayered structural differences that make that equality impossible. Further, Western feminists do not recognize the needs or wants of women in the Global South are actually different from their own priorities and equality pushed through a

⁶ The term gender mainstreaming is used by many development agencies, “is concerned with making gender equality central to all activities (Tiessen, 2007, p. 2).

Western economic lens furthers inequality as opposed to solving it. As Mohanty (1988) states, “The assumption of women as an already constituted and coherent group with identical interests and desires, regardless of class, ethnic or racial location, implies a notion of gender or sexual difference or even patriarchy which can be applied universally and cross-culturally” (p. 64).

In regards to scholarship focused on equality Mohanty (1988) shares, “I argue that assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality on the one hand, and inadequate self-consciousness about the effect of Western scholarship on the 'third world' in the context of a world system dominated by the West on the other, characterize a sizable extent of Western feminist work on women in the third world” (p. 63).

Mohanty (1988) further states, While radical and liberal feminist assumptions of women as a sex class might elucidate (however inadequately) the autonomy of particular women's struggles in the West, the application of the notion of women as a homogeneous category to women in the third world colonizes and appropriates the pluralities of the simultaneous location of different groups of women in social class and ethnic frameworks; in doing so it ultimately robs them of their historical and political agency. (p. 79)

Therefore, transnational feminism is the theoretical framing which guides this research project since the goal is to engage a decolonial process which considers the intersectional positions in which the women of Umoja and Unity are situated.

Macroeconomy

At the macro level of economics neoliberal policies continue to negatively impact rural communities in developing countries by keeping people dependent on aid and relief services, largely policies enacted by Western countries through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. As stated by Muuka (2006), “According to the World Bank, the number of people living in poverty is larger in sub-Saharan Africa, and the poor are poorer, than in any other region in the world. Africa, alone is home to 32 (or 68 per cent) of the 47 poorest countries

in the world...” (p. 125). One proposed solution to the problem of poverty on the African continent is for countries to begin participating in exports and the global economy more fully (Muuka, 2006, p. 126). This theory states that being able to export goods from the country instead of only importing would allow for growth and for a reduction in the overall poverty of a country however this fails to take into account larger structural issues which prevent African countries in general from participating within the global economy.

IMF and World Bank loans with Structural Adjustment Programs is associated with cost reduction strategies and policies to make the market more efficient; the reduction strategies manifest in cuts from social programs like education or food programs which are then unable to support the people within the country who need them the most (Muuka, 2006, p. 135). These Structural Adjustment programs further perpetuate a system of dependence by demanding that a country either realign their priorities towards loan repayment or participate more fully in a neoliberal economic system, often at the enormous cost of social programs.

Muuka (2006) argues the solution to these problems might simply be a matter of gaining support of country leaders and rallying them and their people around the idea of market involvement; thus bringing them fully into the global market as participating members (p. 137). This particular argument relies on the assumptions that a neoliberal policy can fix a failing economy and that African countries are not already participating within the global economy. Further, this argument places the blame for failing economies on the shoulders of Africans instead of at the hands of former colonizers and current propagators of policies that further contribute wealth in the Global North at the detriment of the South (Bush, 2007, p. 42).

The problem is not that African countries are not participating within the global economy but they are participating in ways that benefit the Global North and their economies (Bush, 2007, p. 33).

According to Bush (2007), The underdevelopment has been the outcome of its historical struggles with the way in which the world economy has been created. It has also been shaped by the particular histories and political economies of African social formations and local classes in their interaction with the world economy and nationally in the construction of local economies. (p. 33)

Thus African participation in the economy is by neoliberal policies promulgated in the Global North which continue a colonial presence in Africa today and will undoubtedly do so into the future (Bush, 2007, p. 178). The benefits of neoliberal policies funnel money back to the North while those in the South remain reliant on international aid and relief services which also generally come from the West and thus solidify dependency on the Global North as the paternal neocolonialist.

On the country level, developing countries in Africa are encouraged to restructure and follow the policies of the World Bank and IMF. It is little wonder that international aid organizations, both governmental and non-governmental (NGOs), follow similar procedures within their development models and interactions with African countries. As Fratkin, et al. (1999) state, “International aid donors, including the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank, emphasize the benefits of commercial and private ranching over subsistence livestock herding on communal grazing resources” (p. 150). Medical and education resources are sedentary services often unavailable to pastoralists since they move frequently and are often far from city centers.

Thus while aid organizations can provide food assistance, education, and other resources, obtaining these resources often requires settling into communities or nearby towns. Once settled,

pastoralists often lose their cattle or other livestock either from the inability to graze them or because they are forced to sell them for cash capital. Without livestock pastoralists become solely dependent on the settled economy often run by relief organizations.

“Not only is there an increased reliance on purchased commodities, but access to such services such as health care, education and the like are beyond local control” (Ghoraysh, 1998, p. 193). The settlement of pastoralists into a cash system lessens the ability an individual and family unit has to control their economic situation and forces them to participate within a commodity driven economy which requires cash to do so.

In contrast to creating new opportunities from new participation within the global capitalist market, “globalization signals new forms of oppression for many...that globalization represents changes in the operation of global capitalism which, if anything, has expanded its potential for producing inequalities” (Prempeh, 2006, p. 77). The promise of a global economic system to bring about the end of poverty assumes the ability for equal participation within the market. This view of the economy fails to address ongoing colonial issues which impact the ability of people to fully participate and those already impoverished are further pushed to the margins.

As Bush (2007) states, “Capitalism was born from the theft and robbery, the slaughter and mayhem that it created in the seizure of assets from the Global South, it has continued with accumulation by dispossession in the contemporary period” (p. 82). This dispossession through the market occurs for pastoralists as they are told to ‘develop’ sedentary agricultural standards and to engage within the capitalist market which is dependent on a monetary system that eventually commodifies every aspect of daily life.

In addition to the influences of the Global North, it is important to note the emerging influence of the Global East and specifically the presence of China and Chinese corporations and their influences throughout the continent of Africa. Carmody (2010) states, “The scale of increased interactions between China and Africa is breathtaking. Chinese trade with Africa grew an astonishing 45.1 percent in 2008 alone to US\$107 billion. China is now the continent’s second-largest trading partner, after the United States, and its single largest source of imports” (p. 3). Beyond trade and imports, Chinese aid has increased in recent years as well and is focused mostly in agriculture, industry, and infrastructure in various countries throughout the continent (Carmody, 2010, p. 17).

Development organizations further this neoliberal agenda by offering loans and microbusinesses to communities through aid programs often stipulating what kind of business the individuals are able to operate. For many, the larger macro structures of neoliberalism has already pushed them out of traditional pastoral ways of life into more settled existence such that engagement with microbusiness becomes one of the only options to maintain themselves and their families within an emerging capitalist system.

Microbusiness

At the micro level of economy microbusiness and microfinance opportunities are lauded as the solution to poverty perpetuated by the larger macro system; claiming to empower small rural communities and most often women by providing small loans, grants, or other related programs. “Microfinance refers to small-scale financial services such as cash loans, money transfers, direct deposits, savings and insurance made accessible primarily to the poor” (Osterloh & Barrett, 2007, p. 132).

Prahalad (2010) argues, “What is needed is a better approach to help the poor, an approach that involves partnering with them to innovate and achieve sustainable win-win scenarios where the poor are actively engaged and, at the same time, the companies providing products and services to them are profitable” (p. 27 & 28).

Prahalad’s argument moves developing economies away from simply being producers for the West to a model that places them in the position as consumers as well which allows them to receive the benefits of the enterprises they started and the potential opportunity to break out of the poverty cycle (Prahalad, 2010, p. 125). While this still involves participation within a neoliberal structural system it also has the potential to give women and their families in these positions more choice within that structure.

Microfinance provides an alternative option to traditional finance difficult to access for people in poverty especially women. Kiwemba (2007) states, “early on, credit facilities targeting the poor adopted conventional bank procedures of availability of collateral as security for a loan. However, very few women benefit from these facilities since the lending principles of the financial institutions continued to include possession of collateral which most women lacked” (p. 279). This reality shifts the thinking of many organizations involved in finance to embrace this new structure of lending and embrace a microfinance option.

Frese and de Kruif (2000) state, “Only 20 percent of microenterprises grow, which means that 80 percent remain stagnant or die and do not add any new employees to their ranks” (p. 5). However, even with such odds, the promise of microfinance opportunities as a development initiative is increasing in popularity. In Kenya several microfinance initiatives have gained momentum in the last few decades including the Kenya Women’s Finance Trust which has under its umbrella several thousand women. The BOMA Project which is a newer initiative and

microbusiness project that has direct impacts in pastoral regions of northern Kenya and in the villages of Umoja and Unity specifically.

In the past two years the BOMA Project is a recent initiative in the Archer's Post area. The program funds a Rural Entrepreneur Access Project providing small grants to groups consisting of three women who also receive business training and then become part of a two year mentoring program (Rural, 2013). In addition to the grants to start small business ventures, the groups that receive the money are also required to put a small amount of the money they earn from their businesses into a savings fund. The savings can then be used in the future as a line of credit which allows for the groups to expand their business ventures (Microsavings, 2013). This project presents itself outside of the traditional capitalist business structure and works to better serve communities affected by changing economies due to climate change responsible for severe drought conditions occurring within Northern parts of Kenya (Rural, 2013).

Started in the early 1990's the Kenya Women's Finance Trust (KWFT) works with "poor women-that is, those who support a family of six on less than a dollar a day; who live in urban slums or rural areas; whose loan size is less than KSh 20,000 or about U.S.\$230; and whose businesses involve selling foodstuff and other household amenities from their doorsteps or a small shopping center near their homes" (Ngunjiri, 2007, p. 102). KWFT has grown from a small trust to supporting approximately 80,000 women and their families by providing loans (Ngunjiri, 2007, p. 106).

Microfinance exists as an option for many urban and rural communities throughout Africa and specifically in Kenya. Existing literature appears to suggest success is possible through development initiatives generated through microfinance and "demonstrates how women are able to solve their problems creatively, once they have access to the necessary financial

resources and the training to succeed” (Ngunjiri, 2007, p. 107). Interesting considering only 20% of the businesses financed by microloans grow successfully.

Development

Development initiatives and various programs are present throughout the continent of Africa and have been in Kenya for decades. One major development initiative has come from the United Nations,

“The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – form a blueprint agreed to by all the world’s countries and all the world’s leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world’s poorest. The UN is also working with governments, civil society and other partners to build on the momentum generated by the MDGs and carry on with an ambitious post-2015 development agenda (United Nations, 2014).

The Millennium Development Goals include: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and global partnership for development (United Nations, 2014). Mwase (2007) states, “To break the vicious cycle of poverty, we argue for enhanced broad-based growth and development, increased opportunities for inclusion in the development process, regional economic cooperation and integration and improved governance and security” (p. 69).

Non-Governmental Organizations

The term ‘organizations’ is used throughout this research and covers a broad range of development initiatives involved in the region, including NGOs, non-profits, and academic related organizations.

Fisher (1998) states, “The rise of Third World NGOs has coincided with the increasing inability of the nation-state to muddle through as it confronts the long-term consequences of its

own ignorance, corruption, and lack of accountability” (p. 2). The relationship of NGOs with governments is often a political one and one that places the organizations in a position of attempting to influence policy at the government level without being able to ensure the implementation of those policies (Fisher, 1998, p. 58).

Policy implementation is one level of NGO involvement with countries in Africa while the other is direct development initiatives within different communities. NGOs contribute to the development goals with their own version of the microbusiness model introduced into poor communities. Microfinance is an option that NGOs are increasingly supporting because it has been shown to reach the poorest people allowing them access to credit and thus business (Ekenberg, 2007, p. 296).

Development through the microbusiness model is now a widely accepted form of NGO involvement within communities and continues to expand to other countries throughout the world (Fisher, 1998, p. 178). NGOs specifically target women for participation with their microbusiness operations because, “women will spend money on food, clothing and education for their children [...] Women are also considered serious borrowers and have a high repayment rate (Ekenberg, 2007, p. 296).

In addition to work with people in different communities, NGOs are held accountable to their donors among others that fund their work. Wils (1996) states, “NGOs want to benefit as many people as possible, effectively and efficiently. This is an essential part of their mission, as both beneficiaries and donors hold them accountable in this respect (p. 68). Their work must therefore align with the needs of the people in the communities they seek to serve, the governments of the countries that they work in and the donors to their projects. This entails a delicate balance that potentially impacts their ability to provide positive outcomes. If NGOs

want to be present within a community they need to seek out the perspectives of the men and women who live there and work towards an interconnected solution driven by the people (Nkedianye, 2014).

Macro-level Development Projects

In Kenya, the government has initiated and partnered with different organizations to create several programs aimed at increasing development in the poorest regions of the country. One of these, “The Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) programs, launched in 1979, was a major government and aid agency initiative to induce development in arid, marginal districts of the country” (Cohen, 2001, p. 97). Vast sums of money and resources were routed into varying districts that fit the aim of the project but the majority of the projects were developed along political and ethnic lines; an example of the intersecting factors of politics at play within the development sector.

Vision 2030 is a Kenyan development plan which aims to make Kenya a middle income country by the year 2030 with a focus on economic, social, and political development factors (Otieno and Ndung’u, 2010, p. 40). Otieno and Ndung’u (2010) state, “The *Vision*, therefore, not only aims to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but also make the country globally competitive in the mold of countries such as South Korea and Malaysia, which created visions for development and galvanized the population around them with much success” (p. 40, emphasis in original). The goals of this development project will potentially increase the income and living standards for people living near the middle income level in the current year; the potential for those living in abject poverty is less clear. However, the greater goal of involving large sections of the population is a factor which could contribute to their success.

In 2009 the World Bank contributed an additional 253 million U.S. dollars to the Kenyan government and the Ministry of Roads and Public Works; an amount loaned to extend the project deadline and capacity of a project started years prior (World Bank, 2009). The money was borrowed from the government to implement roadways to increase urban development in the Northern Corridor of Kenya including the newly paved road from the town of Isolo north towards the South Sudan border and improvements to the airport in the region (World Bank, 2009).

Additionally the World Bank has recently (March 2014) funded 122 million U.S. dollars towards the Regional Pastoral Livelihoods Resilience Project in Kenya and Uganda, the goal of which is to, “enhance livelihood resilience of pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in cross-border drought prone areas of selected countries and improve the capacity of the selected countries' governments to respond promptly and effectively to an eligible crisis or emergency” (World Bank, 2014).

International Aid

Kenya receives aid from countries throughout the world however aid effectiveness has been the subject of numerous books and articles over the last several decades.

According to Calderisi (2006), foreign aid has remained stagnant over the last 30 years and, measured by what it can buy, it has declined considerably. Only five countries (Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden) have met the United Nations' target of providing 0.7 percent of their gross national income in aid to poor countries. The United States has never spent more than one quarter of one percent of its national income on foreign aid, and two thirds of that has been devoted to just two countries: Israel and Egypt. As other regions have become more self-reliant, about half of the world's aid has been directed to Africa. (p. 157)

Aid initiatives, especially in Africa, are rarely localized and directed enough at a specific population to be effective, although the failure of aid in general has not turned away Western

donors (Calderisi, 2006, p. 163 & 167). Calderisi (2006) states, “Since 1980, about four billion dollars a year have been spent on training, technical assistance, and assorted institutional studies. In the meantime, Africa’s latent capacity has barely budged” (p. 164).

Countries with the ability to provide aid to other countries are positioned to decide who will get aid by a variety of different standards, “for some countries such as the United States, strategic and security-related concerns are a big factor” (Pomerantz, 2004, p. 5). For others, such as Canada, past colonial ties are important factors in determining aid distribution (Pomerantz, 2004, p. 6). Aid in recent years is more concretely tied with democracy and good governance, issues that donors are increasingly concerned about (Gillies and Joseph, 2009, p. 10).

Aid is increasingly tied to politics and NGOs, and others, are pushing to achieve changes in the way aid is handled in relationship to other factors such as debt (Callaghy, 2009, p. 89). Callaghy (2009) states, “With great consistency, they maintained their demand for full debt cancellation and an end to structural adjustment while arguing for substantial increases in aid, especially grants, to meet the Millennium Development Goals” (p. 89). According to Pender (2001), “World Bank and IMF intervention through the conditionality associated with Structural Adjustment was thus formally promoting economic growth, but by imposing a very particular model of development and a narrow set of economic instruments” (p. 399). Aid money and NGO’s working in developing countries are increasingly tied both politically and financially to Western countries agendas and the conditions developing governments must work under through set structural adjustment programs.

Tourism

The tourism industry in Kenya has become a major industry tied to development since the people who live in various regions of Kenya are particularly dependent on the income generated

from tourists to live. Additionally, the national reserves and wildlife continue to draw people from around the world and the future of tourism in Kenya is dependent on wildlife and their movements throughout the country; thus conservation efforts directed towards wildlife and reserves are increasing steadily (Nkedianye, 2014).

In Kenya, “the development of tourism, particularly the development of wildlife safari tourism, is closely linked to the era of colonialism in the African continent. Indeed, it can be argued that the current forms of tourism development initiatives in Kenya and most other African countries are still, to a large extent, influenced by Western ideological values, and mainly respond to external economic interest. Thus the development of tourism in Kenya, as is the case with most developing countries, conforms to historical and economic structures of colonialism and external control” (Akama, 2004, p. 140).

Foreign safari operators often promote the wild and exotic of Africa, perpetuating ongoing stereotypes of both the countries and the people who live there; the image of the Native population complete with lions provides a commodity that the tour companies sell to Western travelers (Akama, 2004, p. 147). Further, local communities rarely participate in the tourism industry through employment or other benefits but must deal with conservation efforts making their relationship with both tourism and the wildlife reserves a tenuous one (Akama, 2004, p. 149).

Employment in the tourism industry for local populations is also a concern since it is often seasonal work and provides little stability (Sindiga, 1999, p. 29). Women within this sector are further marginalized since, “most of the workers in various sub-sectors of the industry tend to be men (Elka, 1975 quoted in Sindiga, 1999, p. 31). Tourism caters to the needs of international travelers who come from a variety of places, often parts of Europe or China, “Since China liberalized external tourism in 2003, sixteen African countries have been officially designated tourist destinations to reward friendly African governments (Diqing & Ye, 2006 quoted in

Carmody, 2010, p. 16). This international draw leads to the seasonality of the industry and makes the employment of the local population within the industry inconsistent.

Beyond wildlife tourism, many international travelers are now looking for a more cultural experience during their travels throughout Kenya and other parts of Africa. Many hotels and resorts put on cultural shows either at their establishments or drive their guests to a local village to engage with the people that live there. Tourists looking to have a cultural experience want to view Native people in their homes and as such making them and their lives a commodity for the consumption of the Western traveler, “Many tourists wish therefore to experience what they are happy to believe to be the authenticity of a place, but not necessarily its reality (McKercher and du Cros, 2002, quoted in Schouten, 2007, p. 31). The sale of beadwork, the dances done as presentation for outsiders are all part of a commodity that can be purchased by those looking to have a cultural tourist experience; most often at the expense of the local people providing it.

Conclusion

The topics covered throughout this literature review are important as they provide the context to understand how the women of Umoja and Unity respond to the development issues they currently face. The current literature provides a fundamental understanding of the concerns of development, the economy, and gender. This research will expand on this literature to discuss the ways these issues intersect in the lives of the women in the two villages which will be outlined in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This project explores the perspectives and stories of the women who live in the villages of Umoja and Unity in the northern Samburu region of Kenya and the impacts from Western development projects. Specifically, the research questions that guide this study consider the involvement of international organizations in the villages of Umoja and Unity, and explore the evolving economy and resource allocation in this area of northern Kenya. The research questions guiding this study were developed following my initial travel to the region and the interactions and observations I engaged in Umoja and Unity. As a result of this trip I began to consider the importance of these interactions and thus sought to understand how the women living in these two villages experience, perceive the impact of Western development involvement in the region. As a result this study brings into focus the experiences of the women from these two communities through the lens of transnational feminist theory as I consider the impacts of development, access to resources, and a shifting economy in this area of the world.

The goal of this study is to augment transnational feminist theory with that of international development and economy. The specific research questions which guide this study are: RQ1. How do the women of Umoja and Unity experience Western development projects in their communities?; and RQ 2. How is resource access (water, education, medical, etcetera) for the women of Umoja and Unity affected by development projects?; and RQ 3. How do the environmental conditions in the communities play a role in resource access?

The research questions for this study were developed from a feminist framework rooted in transnational feminism and frame the theoretical lens for methodology as well. As Donna M. Mertens (2013) states, researcher's using a feminist lens "are conscious of the diversity within

the communities within which they work in terms of inclusion and exclusion and power differentials and the need to arrange conditions for data collection that allow for the voices of all those affected by the research [...] to be included and validated” (p. 192). As such, a feminist lens provided the framework for the development of the interview questions, in addition to providing the structure for the analysis of the study. Additionally, the researcher engages an African feminist framework. According to Chilisa (2012), “African feminisms critique and reject dominant narratives that generalize, homogenize, and essentialize the conditions of African women, men, and children; instead it seeks awareness of specific contexts, cultures, and people” (p. 275). An African feminist framework is important to this study to move away from a colonizing research framework and towards a transnational understanding of the situation in Umoja and Unity.

The remainder of this chapter will outline the rationale for the use of qualitative research and methods for this project, followed by outlining the subsequent sections: sample selection, recruitment of participants, data collection, data analysis, ethical considerations, issues of trustworthiness, and limitations.

Methods

Qualitative methods were used for this research study due to the in-depth analysis that can be gained from interviews with participants. Corbin and Strauss (2008) state, “qualitative research allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables” (p. 12). Further, as found by Travers (2001), “Quantitative studies are good at giving an overview of some phenomenon, or identifying a problem that needs investigating. The qualitative researcher can go further by describing what people are doing on the ground” (p. 180). Thus, the use of

qualitative methods for this project allowed the researcher to gain the perspectives of participants who are closer to the real life problems that exist within their communities. Qualitative data allows for a more in-depth understanding of the problems and situations of the women in these villages, it “requires a data collection instrument that is sensitive to underlying meaning when gathering and interpreting data”, beyond what can be ascertained through quantitative statistics and analysis on its own (Merriam, 2009, p. 2).

Further, this research is post-positivist in nature, moving away from a positivistic view of research and the world which privileges empirical knowledge and the universal generalizability of the knowledge gained through research. Madison (2012) states, “Positivism’s goal for objectivity, prediction, cause/effect, and generalization has been replaced by the recognition and contemplation of subjective human experience, contingencies of truth claims, value-laden inquiry, and local knowledge and vernacular expressions as substantive analytical frameworks” (p. 13). This project is interested in the specific lived-experiences of the women in two all-woman villages in rural Kenya, their perceptions and realities of dealing with Western development in regards to their ability to access resources within and around their communities.

Given the importance of the women’s voices within the project and to honor the women’s perceptions of their experiences, this project uses ethnography. As Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006) state, “*Ethnographic* research aims to get an in-depth understanding of how individuals in *different cultures* and *subcultures* make sense of their lived reality” (p. 230 emphasis in original). As part of this project’s objective to gain an understanding of the women’s experience, ethnographic interviews were conducted as part of the research. Additionally, as part of the ethnographic research of this project, the researcher spent two weeks in the field both observing and participating in village life with the women whose voices are centered in this project.

Madison (2009) states, “The interviewee is not an object, but a subject with agency, history, and his or her own idiosyncratic command of a story. Interviewer and interviewee are in partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together” (p. 28). Thus, the importance of interviews is to gain in-depth understanding of experiences that cannot be captured through quantitative methods alone.

Through the use of qualitative ethnography, the researcher was able to engage in what Madison refers to as dangerous ethnography (Madison, 2009, p. 190). As Madison (2009) states, “A dangerous ethnography seeks to enter surfaces, but, moreover, enters what is often hidden in plain sight—the convolutions and complications beneath the surface, the systems that generate and keep surfaces in place” (p. 190). Dangerous ethnography for the use of this project examines the structural dangers present to the participants in this study, subverting the Western understanding of what is dangerous. Thus, the use of ethnography through the lens of a transnational feminist framework allows for the project to examine how development impacts a country from a different and non-Western perspective and standpoint.

Further, Madison (2009) states, “An ethnography that labors to injure the foundation and the root cause of what is dangerous and that is not diverted by its symptoms or surfaces of danger might contemplate a new appropriation of danger” (p. 189). This research is a project to develop the idea of what is considered dangerous from the perspective of Western academic and theoretical assumptions, and the reality of the participant’s world; and to challenge these assumptions through stories and experiences of the women who live with the reality of truly dangerous multilayered systems reproducing subordination while allocating resources necessary for their survival. These dangerous systems are reminiscent of colonialism and engage an ongoing marginalization and oppression through the women’s systematic subjugation.

Sampling

During January 2013 I conducted semi-structured interviews with women in the villages of Umoja and Unity. These specific villages in northern Kenya were chosen because of the uniqueness of their situation within the larger community of Archer's Post and the Samburu District in general. While it is possible, and likely probable, that most people within Archer's Post and the Samburu District in general are experiencing changes and issues surrounding development and resource access; the unique situation of two women's-only villages allows for a unique analysis of development that is specific to the women's experience of it.

As stated in earlier chapters, the villages sit approximately one mile from the town of Archer's Post, and the two villages lie approximately a quarter mile from one another, connected by a gravel pathway that runs parallel to the paved road leading directly into Samburu National Reserve. The geographical location of the villages is a key component within the research because they are situated in the middle of two changing economies: pastoralist and capitalist, and at the crux of several development projects both directly within their villages and in the nearby communities of which they frequent.

Adult women over the age of eighteen and from both the Samburu and Turkana Tribes took part in the interview process. Adult women over the age of eighteen were chosen as participants due to their perspectives having dealt with development for a longer period of time than women younger than them. Women were specifically chosen because of the demographic make-up of both Umoja and Unity and their unique perspectives as women's-only villages in which only women and their children live. Their perspectives are distinctive due to the fact that only women live in the villages, divergent from the surrounding communities of Archer's Post and other villages in the area.

These specific criteria were used for participant selection because the goals of the study were to identify the impacts of development on this specific group of women in these particular villages. Gender and location were the most important criteria when identifying prospective interviewees for the project as the study focuses on the gendered aspects of development from the perceptions of these tribal women.

As such, the study is a non-probability project in which purposive (purposeful) sampling is the most appropriate. Merriam (2009) states, “Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (p. 77). The goals of the study are concerned with obtaining specific perspectives from the women in the villages of Umoja and Unity, therefore representing the importance of using a purposive rather than random sampling. The purposive selection of interviewees from the specific villages of Umoja and Unity was done to provide the research with the perspectives of the women who live there in regards to the specific research questions being asked.

As stated in earlier chapters, approximately fifteen to twenty women live in each village. Open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight women in Unity village in an open setting as was requested by the village itself. These interviews were conducted as an interview carried out with multiple participants; this was done at the request of those wishing to participate in the research. It was not conducted as a focus group and is differentiated by the fact that there was no group interaction among the women during the interviews; the women individually answered questions posed to them by the researcher. As Kitzinger (1995) states, “focus groups explicitly use group interaction as part of the method. This means that instead of the researcher asking each person to respond to a question in turn, people are encouraged to talk

to one another” (p. 299). While the interviews in this project occurred in an open setting, each woman answered the question(s) individually.

Additionally, two open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted in Umoja village. The researcher spoke with ten of the thirty to forty women living in these villages. Since “the purpose is to maximize information, the sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units; thus *redundancy* is the primary criterion” (Merriam, 2009, p. 80 emphasis in original). Thus, the number of participants was determined by the saturation point of information in addition to redundancy of information in regards to the specific research questions.

Recruitment

Recruitment of participants was conducted using a method deemed culturally appropriate and best suited to all parties involved in the project. It was considered culturally appropriate to seek out the matriarchs of each village who served within the project as informal gatekeepers to gain their approval and support for the project within the communities (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 242). The matriarchs function as gatekeepers and were integral in the recruitment of the participants within the study because they not only allowed access to the community but chose the participants that would be interviewed referring the translator and the researcher to these women. The researcher has some familiarity with the region having been in the villages a year prior to conducting this research in 2012 for approximately two weeks. This limited amount of time spent within these communities allowed the researcher to begin to gain some familiarity with local customs and cultural ways of being.

Regardless of time spent within the villages the researcher is considered an outsider to the communities and as such relied on the knowledge and connection with several individuals with

insider knowledge to recruit participants from within the communities in a culturally appropriate way. Key in this endeavor is the connection of the researcher with a Colorado State University Professor, also an outsider who is intimately involved within the communities, visiting several times a year and whom was able to provide the researcher with local contacts considered insiders in this area.

In an attempt to engage a level of cultural appropriateness and to respect the traditional hierarchal roles within the two communities, the researcher worked with a local man who is considered an insider to the two communities to ensure the research followed the proper protocols that allowed for outsider access to engage with the villages. To this end the researcher's local contact first asked the matriarch of each village for permission to both conduct research in general and ask interview questions specifically. This initial connection and permission from the requisite matriarch of each community then led to the introduction of other women who were willing to participate in the interviews.

By respecting the role of the matriarchs the researcher was introduced to participants for the study who were chosen by the matriarchs of each village. The researcher was not privy to the specific selection of participants for the interviews but given the size of the community selection was not necessarily a concern in this study. Participants were given a small gift of rice, cooking lard, and tea, a gift that was considered culturally appropriate.

Data Collection Methods

The interviews consisted of open-ended and semi-structured questions. The interview instrument is included as Appendix A. The interview questions focused on several key areas including the daily lives of the women being interviewed, economic structures of their lives and the communities, and issues related to resource access. These three areas are important in

addressing the main research question of international development and resource access within the communities. Interview prompts were written into the interview instrument and used throughout the interviews with the participants. As Merriam (2009) states, “Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them. It is also necessary to interview when we are interested in past events that are impossible to replicate (p. 88). In this project, interviewing was used as an investigative method to give voice to the women’s perspectives and experiences through their own stories. Further, semi-structured interviews were conducted to provide a basis for consistent questions asked of each participant and were open-ended to allow for the diverse perspectives and answers from each participant.

Participants were read cover letter forms translated from English into Samburu by the researcher’s local recruiter and each participant gave their verbal consent, thus not linking participants to the data and keeping their responses and participation confidential. Participants were also given the researchers’ name and contact information, the Primary Investigator (P.I.’s) name and contact information, and the name and contact information for the Institutional Review Board that approved this study at Colorado State University. No names were collected during the study and the participants were asked to give a pseudonym they would like to use at the start of their interview. Interviews were recorded on both a digital recorder and a tape recorder in addition to written notes taken at the time of the interview. The local contact that served in the role of the recruiter also translated the written interview questions from English into either Swahili or Samburu depending on the preference of the participant and then back into English for the researcher’s understanding. This local contact was a man and local insider; a woman was

not used for the translation of the interviews because one was not present within the communities who was considered an insider and could translate in all three needed languages.

In addition to interviews, the data was triangulated with other sources of data. Merriam (2009) states, “Triangulation using multiple sources of data means comparing and cross-checking data collected through observations at different times or in different places, or interview data collected from people with different perspectives or from follow-up interviews with the same people” (p. 216). Triangulation for this study consists of: document data in field journals; a photo journal; and information from online sources such as the World Bank, and the BOMA Project.

Field journal observation notes were used in triangulation because they allowed the researcher to code specific non-verbal points of data throughout the time in Kenya, in addition to the photo journal which captured images throughout the villages and in the surrounding community. The use of triangulation, “reduces the risk that your conclusions will reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method, and allows you to gain a better assessment of the validity and generality of the explanations that you develop” (Maxwell, 1998, p.236). Triangulation of data and an ethnographic approach used here provides a level of internal validity or credibility (Merriam, 2009).

Data Analysis

Throughout the data collection and analysis process, all efforts were made by the researcher to maintain the confidentiality of all participants. Data was transcribed and then coded using qualitative methods to ensure in-depth analysis of the data. Once transcribed the data was coded line-by-line and then categorized using a constant comparative approach. From these categories themes emerged from the data not necessarily anticipated in the original

conception of the research. Corbin and Stauss (2008) describe coding as, “interacting with data (analysis) using techniques such as asking questions about the data, making comparisons between data, and so on, and in doing so, deriving concepts to stand for those data, then developing those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions” (p. 66). Line-by-line coding was done by hand, followed by coding of categories and refinement into themes and overarching themes. Throughout the coding process, the researcher consistently went back to the categories presented from the data to further ensure that the themes that had emerged were consisted with the data collected.

Ethical Considerations

Throughout the project, including data collection, data analysis, and the findings, the main ethical consideration of the researcher was the confidentiality of the participants in the study. Any portion of the data which could potentially be linked to any participant was excluded from the data analysis. Confidentiality throughout the process was important to ensure that none of the participants were subject to negative responses from any person, organization, or government as a result of their participation in the study. As discussed in previous chapters, the potential for violence to the women in these villages is particularly high, thus intensifying the need to ensure confidentiality of involvement within this project.

In addition, in an attempt to conduct ethical research and to bring the research back to the communities that allowed the research project to take place, the researcher will present the findings of the study to the two villages of Umoja and Unity. As Ndimande (2013) states, “Research itself has too often been a colonizing act” (p. 95). The goal of this project is to ensure that it does not recreate the colonial construct which it seeks to dismantle. The researcher will assemble a project which is detailed in the implications chapter of this project. Presentation of

the data is important to ensure that the researcher is not the only person to benefit from the study and that the communities themselves benefit from the findings.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Throughout the project the researcher ensured credibility and validity by conducting the interviews in person with a translator that was known to the participants. According to Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011), “Validity is a *process* whereby the researcher earns the confidence of the reader that he or she has ‘gotten it right.’ Trustworthiness takes the place of truth” (p. 48 emphasis in original). The translator was not only known to the participants but was considered an insider among both villages. Further, all transcriptions of the data was conducted personally by the researcher, in addition to all coding. The interviews were digitally and tape recorded therefore contributing to the credibility of the data collected.

The researcher had previously been to the research site prior to collection of the data, allowing the researcher to gain important information about the culture and to learn subtle non-verbal communication styles such as facial expressions and other behaviors significant to understanding the data once collected. This adds to the credibility due to the researchers’ personal knowledge of non-verbal communication and the interview environment, thus allowing for a more in-depth analysis of the data.

Limitations

Several limitations presented challenges to the researcher throughout the study, these include: language, the researcher’s Western feminist lens, and technology. Language presented as a barrier both during data collection and during analysis. Three main languages are spoken in the villages of Umoja and Unity: English, Samburu, and Swahili. People in this area speak one

or many of these languages, the researcher only speaks English; thus the need for a translator was imperative to the success of the study.

The gender of the translator is a possible limitation of the study since the participants were all women, the translator was a man, and the topics covered in the interviews. As discussed above, there were no women available as translators in the villages that were considered community insiders or that spoke the three languages present and needed throughout the project. The researcher attempted to overcome this limitation as much as possible by ensuring that the translator was a cultural and community insider and one that the women would feel comfortable speaking with and around. Language also presented a limitation in data transcription, causing the transcription to take an increased amount of time to ensure accurate transcription of the data.

The second limitation is the Western white feminist lens that was initially brought to the project by the researcher but which progressively transformed throughout the research process. As Madison (2012) states, “Positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subjects” (p. 8). Positionality and a Western lens, created a limitation throughout the project since the participants and the data presented itself from a different epistemological lens.

This created a limitation by potentially affecting the way that the researcher interpreted the data through an epistemological lens not in line with the framework from which the women within the villages were potentially coming from. The researcher attempted to keep this bias in epistemological lens in mind by practicing critical reflexivity and employing a decolonial methodology in addition to returning to the data and ensuring that a transnational feminist framework was used to analyze and report out on the data.

Finally, technology presented a significant limitation in several areas of the project. The environment in which the interviews were conducted presented a challenge for technology in general. The villages lack structures other than personal huts that each woman, or several women, live in. Day to day life is conducted outside and often under the two or three trees that dot the village landscape. Because life within the villages takes place outside of huts, the participants requested that the interviews occur in the same space, thus contributing to the inclusion of the natural world as sound effects heard on transcription of the data, including wind.

The presence of the wind on the tape from these outside interviews occurs in several areas on the digital recordings of the interviews and thus presented a significant challenge for the researcher during transcription. Attempts to remove the sound effects from the wind noise from the recordings were undertaken, however, with little success.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this is a qualitative study on the experiences of two women's villages in northern Kenya and their perceptions of development and resource access. Participants for this study were purposely selected due to their unique situation and understanding of the situation as relevant to women in these villages. Data was coded for themes and triangulated using document data, field journals, and photography. The findings from the data emerged from the experiences and perspectives of the women who have intimate knowledge of the issues the study is concerned with.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

Participants in the study are identified as follows: two women from the village community of Umoja and eight women interviewed in an open setting in the village of Unity. The researcher analyzed the narratives of the participants to identify themes emerging from the data. The four major themes identified in the data are: 1) the ongoing relocation of identity, 2) the negotiation of international aid dependency; 3) reactions to dependency; 4) and acquiring resources. Also emerging in this research is one overarching theme; shifting structural intersectionality. Each of these themes emerged from the interviews and are discussed below.

Overarching Theme: Shifting Structural Intersectionality

One overarching theme emerged from the data and is present throughout all three main themes: shifting structural intersectionality. Structural intersectionality is a concept theorized by Kimberlé Crenshaw and is relevant to this study because of the position that the women of Umoja and Unity are situated within relative to their economic, social, and political worlds (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1251). Crenshaw (1991) states, “Intersectional subordination need not be intentionally produced; in fact, it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment” (p. 1249). Crenshaw is clear structural intersectionality involves the multilayered and systemic subordination that maintain systems of dominance which poor women of color experience as difficult to escape (Crenshaw, 1991). For the women of Umoja and Unity, the reality of their global location coupled with gender, in addition to their economic, political,

and social situations affect their reactions and agency within their communities and to development initiatives in their villages.

Structural intersectionality refers to the way in which the women in these villages are positioned in relationship to the larger economic and policy structures which impact their lives on an ongoing basis. Shifting refers to the constant negotiation the women must engage in as they come into contact with these larger structural systems and accommodate to them for their survival. In addition, this overarching theme shows how their physical location affects their ability to act and render the use of agency on an individual and community level.

Major Theme: Relocating Identity

The first theme is relocating identity, which can be described as the way in which the women in both villages negotiate their identities in relationship to each other, their communities, and the outside world. It is important to note the women in this study have moved and relocated themselves and their children multiple times; both physically and in relationship to the ongoing shifts in village and outside influences. Women initially moving away from their homes have physically relocated themselves to the villages of Umoja first, followed by many women leaving Umoja to move to Unity. Throughout this process of relocation, the way in which the women speak about themselves and their community's shifts in relation to their physical location, which is exemplary of the overarching theme, shifting structural intersectionality.

Women in the villages of Unity and Umoja originally came together as a group at the village of Umoja due to the outside influences of violence and abuse in their former homeland communities. The women talk about coming from long distances. One woman stating that, "she came from about twenty kilometers away," but the descriptions of the life that preceded their

current one are often vague and not shared in detail with those outside the community.

Describing her initial journey to the village another woman describes,

“she is saying we faced a lot of problems outside there and that’s why we came together and formed one group called Umoja and then we stayed together and we help one another.”

While the initial formation of the first village was Umoja in the early 1990’s, the second village was created only a few years ago from the date of this writing. Many of the women who initially founded the village of Umoja left to create Unity. And while these two villages often share similar circumstances and problems related to international development their identities in relationship to each village has shifted over time.

Admittedly the villages are part, but separated from, the larger community of Archer’s Post. While still connected to a larger community they face serious concerns about their own identities in relationship to one another, and to the larger international community. Several women voiced these differences throughout the course of our conversations. The perception of betrayal among the village community has led to increased feelings of distrust between the village groups. A woman describing their situation when leaving Umoja to establish the new village of Unity explains,

“because it was they decided that if those, if those three women who live there they can’t come here because didn’t follow us.”

“she is saying we left only three women in the village.”

Feelings of betrayal are indicative of disagreement and self-interest among the groups of women as they navigate politics on a village level thus meaning that those with differing views or concerns about the group status must move and relocate themselves again. This means that while the women in Umoja have relocated, the women in Unity have had to additionally adjust to

movement and reestablish themselves outside of Umoja but also within the larger Archer's Post community.

While some of the women directly discussed the tension between Umoja and Unity, the differences between the villages becomes apparent as the women in Umoja do not discuss Unity or their relationship to them. Conversely the women of Unity not only discuss Umoja but talk about their concern for them as a group. Their identities are further complicated by the negotiation among not only a larger Archer's Post community but in relationship to one another.

“she was part of that group who are being let down.”

Here, the woman being interviewed is referencing one of the women who just recently arrived to Unity after being told she must leave from Umoja. The reasons this woman left Umoja remains largely unclear and vague but the women in Unity voice concern for the women of Umoja and their general well-being.

The discussions mainly in Unity initially center on perceptions of betrayal, whether from Umoja or from the surrounding community. But while these feelings initially dominate the conversation, they abruptly end with the statement by one of the women.

“...from that day we migrated from there to here we stopped to talk about her⁷.”

And so the conversation about past lives and past concerns stops in this way, with one woman from Unity stating that they no longer speak about things in the past. The above is a statement of conclusion on prior events, and prior lives, and seems to shift the conversation decidedly towards the future, both for Unity and for the village of Umoja. While the women in these villages have lived lives filled with violence, hardship, and betrayal, they continue to negotiate their identities in relationship to not only the other village but the outside community

⁷ The use of the term “her” in this interview refers to an individual within the community which some of the women interviewed voiced challenges in their relationships.

as well. This includes their relationship to international organizations and development in the area.

The women interviewed talk about the past and their current situations in which they must constantly negotiated their identity in relationship to some other force. This constant relocation, both physically and mentally, requires that the women in both Umoja and Unity shift their identities and is further compounded by ongoing intersectional complications they must deal with.

Major Theme: Negotiating International Dependency

The second theme that emerges is the negotiation of international dependency, since among the villages of Umoja and Unity the women must constantly navigate their relationship to the impact of the international presence in the community and more specifically in their villages. This negotiation of dependency has a direct correlation to international tourism in the area and the overall economy within the community; the perceptions and concerns among the women in both villages are the centerpiece of this theme.

As the international community, led by Western governments, push former colonies to adapt capitalist policies in their countries, communities at the periphery are increasingly pushed to participate often at unequal levels and without the means to do so. A shifting economy has affected the women of Umoja and Unity in multiple ways, including their ability to participate in these shifts.

Within this emerging capitalist economy women participate by producing goods to sell for profit to both domestic and international consumers. While women in both villages produce beadwork as a commodity, the women in Umoja have a special relationship with a U.S. based organization that sells their work internationally. In Umoja, one woman describes this work,

“She is saying during the day they are usually if we have that order from Mary like beading, beading, usually like some bracelets we spend a lot of time on that order for Mary during the day”.

Mary’s organization which is largely involved in the villages, especially Umoja, sells beadwork that the women make to an international clientele. The production of goods is often at the expense of time used for other means, such as cooking, fetching water, or other household work, and can lead to the feeling of desperation and dependency among those working under this larger economic system because they must produce to get an income while at the same time sacrificing the time spent on other work to do so.

With little other income generated from domestic sources through the sale of these goods, the women must either sell to the tourists that stop in their villages or through an NGO to sell them internationally. Profit from the production of goods is dependent on the sale of such goods and within these rural communities there is little option but to attempt to sell to outsiders. Tourism is often discussed by the women throughout the interviews as shown by the account by this woman,

“She is saying, when the Mzungus [white, non-Kenyans] come to buy some beads from us there’s those ones who there’s Mzungus who bought only from them and there’s and there’s not all of them Mzungus who can buy beads from all of them. That time when they get that money when Mzungus have not bought from them they usually share some money between them. So get the money in order for them maybe to buy food for the kids and to buy other things. Also when the Mzungus come to buy those beads there’s a kind of amount that usually set aside so that they can put excess like excess and they put that money aside. Maybe sometimes there’s no Mzungus there’s no more anything, no Mzungus come to the village, they use that money in order to buy food.”

The women rely heavily on money from tourists driving by on the way to the reserve but the income is not steady, they can only buy food or other items when they receive enough money from the tourists stopping and buying in their villages. Although Umoja and Unity are within a mile of the Samburu National Reserve they rarely receive visitors to their communities in the

form of tourism. Tourists mostly drive by the entire community of Archer's Post on their way to the National Reserve, whether out of indifference or ignorance of the situation is uncertain, what remains clear is that the tourist economy has been set up to drive money into certain areas of the country while neglecting the local populations within the same space. With few international tourists stopping within their communities, the women in these villages cannot depend solely on the income generated from bead sales as one participant states very clearly,

“She is saying we are not receiving other Mzungus, we only receive these Mzungus from Colorado here and others.”

The tourism industry does very little for these communities, most people never stop. The money spent within the Samburu National Reserve and at the hotels leaves Kenya in the hands of mostly European owners of these properties. Drive-by tourism is an unreliable source of income for the women of Umoja and Unity and they must look to other options for sources of income. Many of the women voiced the opinion that interventions linked with Colorado State University (CSU) had become increasingly important within their lives. The income from CSU visitors is a significant source they rely on as one woman points out,

“They only usually get only Mzungus from Colorado and then when they get those Mzungus they get small income from them and that's when they go to buy some food and medicine.”

Colorado State University is involved within both Umoja and Unity through an alternative break program, geared towards service learning projects in both villages, the Samburu National Reserve, and Archer's Post. The students who arrive in the villages annually for approximately two weeks spend money directly within the villages buying beadwork and other goods from the women yet the amount varies from individual to individual and from year to year. Many students spend several thousand Kenyan shillings or approximately a hundred U.S. dollars while in the villages. The women describe their relationship with CSU and the students

as one tied with income and, while this is not the exclusive description of their relationship, income generation remains a large portion of their interactions even though it is only for a few weeks a year. The student's presence within their communities for just a few weeks is not a source of stable income outside of that brief time period. Without a stable source of income, and one which is largely dependent on outside sources of income such as tourism or CSU, women vocalize a sense of dependency when referring to the organizations involved within their communities. Take, for example, the following statement by one woman,

“She is saying that the only time they are feeling comfortable when they are getting a lot of income is only when...the students come because they buy a lot of beads and they support them a lot.”

Further, women express that there is little to no government involvement within their communities,

“She is saying at that time the women, the government give them some food, they deliver some food for them, like brooga, you know brooga?”

“They bring food and this before for food and then that's when, until, until, that's when the government cut that, cut that donation and they have not received any food after that time.”

The Kenyan government has little involvement in these communities, pulling back donated food and goods, a move which has led to feelings of abandonment and increased dependency on organizations that are not tied directly to government. This, in combination with a lack of stable income from tourism, positions the women of Umoja and Unity in unstable economic situations and creates further dependency on international interventions in the form of non-governmental organizations and non-profit foundations prevalent in the area.

Women in both Unity and Umoja express the difficulty in balancing their days between tasks that must be completed to maintain their home lives and children, and that of other tasks which must be completed throughout the day to generate their income.

“She is saying she is spending half her time in the mornings to prepare kids for to go to school and during lunch time she has to cook food for them and in the evening she has also to make sure that they are get something to eat...”

This is further complicated by a lack of, and insecurity around, food sources. This is especially true in regards to schools within the community.

“but now there is no more food inside the schools so the kids are coming all the way from the schools and get food and go back to the class.”

Additionally, women voice a concern over a complete lack of food, both at home and in the schools. This concern is manifested in the following statement which brings up both food security and lack of income, in addition to the perceived ability for certain organizations in the area to intervene and assist them. The presence of some U.S. based organizations such as Mary’s, which the women repeatedly bring up throughout the interviews, potentially influence not only the income type that the women earn but the very structure of the village, who is allowed to participate within that economy and who is excluded. One woman for example talks about Mary’s organization and what she feels could be done to help the village.

“She is saying if you go there maybe you can tell Mary maybe to send a second amount for us each and every month for them maybe to get food for their kids and for themselves because sometimes when she is not sending that money maybe sometimes maybe they go without food people are sleeping with no food and they usually get a lot sometimes of food.”

The women in Unity and Umoja must negotiate their position in relationship to both tourism and international aid, requiring them to focus on tasks related to production of goods in order to bring income into their family and the community. Also navigating real concerns around food and education for their children, the lack of income requires the women to produce goods for an international purchasing base, leaving less time for other household responsibilities, further pushing them towards dependency on aid donations and international interventions.

Responses to an ongoing marginalization from multiple structural components vary but speak to the continuing negotiation among both the women of the villages of Unity and Umoja.

Major Theme: Reactions to Dependency

“There is two projects with us...it’s the BOMA Project and Mary’s Foundation⁸.”

The reference to Mary’s organization above refers to a U.S. based organization that focuses on income generation through international sale of beadwork commodities. The BOMA Project is a new microbusiness organization that made its presence more fully apparent sometime between the first trip the researcher visited Archer’s Post and the second trip. During the time of the interviews nearly all of the women and many people in Archer’s Post were wearing rubber bracelets with ‘The BOMA Project’ inscribed on them. The BOMA Project works within Kenya to provide a direct capital investment to small groups of women in different communities to start a business of their choosing. The groups follow the organizational steps, including starting a savings program with members of other small groups, and eventually gaining access to credit through which they further their business initiatives (“BOMA”, 2014).

“BOMA form three people in a group and also those three people in a group one group and it’s not just only people from this village that can form those three people.”

The goal of the BOMA Project is to help lift women and children out of extreme poverty situations by creating a condition which allows them to more effectively participate within the economy of the area. Many of the participants in this research were wearing bracelets given to them by the BOMA Project at the time of the interviews. However, very little was said in relationship to the project itself and none of the women identified themselves as being a part of the project.

⁸ “Mary’s Foundation” refers to an organization based in the United States which has worked with the community of Umoja to sell beadwork internationally.

The goals of BOMA to create sustainable economic solutions for women in these rural communities manifests itself in discussions with the women in both Umoja and Unity who are keenly aware of the importance of private land acquisition in relationship to their ability to generate income through a microbusiness.

“She is saying if it could be possible for them to set up maybe a kind of system so that each one of them can get let’s say a piece of land somewhere so they can settle down and maybe open a shop from there and start business and make life a little bit easier, because you know here if somebody then come by and buy from here you can’t be bothered here because it’s group land.”

Without the initial capital required to make such a purchase, the women rely heavily on outside intervention to buy land.

“She is saying [inaudible] Mary and Brett how they can get a piece of land each one of them here because this is not this is not their land this is the group land and somebody cannot do anything here without consulting the group, they have first to settle down with the group and it’s not that easy to do something inside the group.”

Here the women discuss their perception and experience that land itself is tied to their ability to be productive, increasingly so as the economy continues to shift towards capitalism. It also shows a sense of individuality and the perception that in order to produce more effectively they must work in smaller groups or individually to produce and receive income.

The quote below frames the understanding of the importance of land but also of the intersection of land with economy as she describes hiring someone to guard their land against people who might steal animals,

“She is saying she is saying that if they need to hire somebody to come and look watch during the night for the cows and the goats and they will not say that maybe from Mzungus they will not say that Mzungus who pay that person because they will charge more and if they sit themselves down and say that they are the one who pay that person.”

This conversation not only denotes a clear understanding of how they must protect themselves but also how the economy impacts them in relationship to non-Kenyans, here described as Mzungus. The women's awareness that a Mzungu would pay more money than a woman in that village for the same service highlights the unequal way that money and economy shifts depending on the nature of who is using it. The same maneuvering around economy occurs in regards to the sale of beadwork to an international base of buyers, as one woman in Unity states,

“She is saying if it would be possible for Brett and maybe go and talk to Mary and have Mary maybe we can do the website you know?”

For Unity, participation in international economy is perceived as a necessity and the women are aware that in order for them to fully participate within the economy they must have the tools necessary to do so (e.g., access to a website to sell their beadwork and other goods). While still partially dependent on outside sources for the initial setup, the women perceive the ability to participate in the economy through a website as a means to allow them to increase their income and also their control over the economic situation to a certain extent.

Likewise, their perception of the need for children's education in the community is recognized as exceedingly important.

“and the main concern that not make us to move from here is these kids who are being offered scholarships by Brett's foundation and Mary's foundation so that's what make them to be here.”

The acknowledgement of the foundation's scholarships⁹ as important denotes a clear understanding that education is important within the world economy and to the community. In the Archer's Post community there are larger numbers of children engaged actively within

⁹ Several scholarships are provided by the Samburu Youth Education Fund which the women refer to as 'Brett's Foundation'.

education, especially secondary education and this will allow them to more fully participate in a growing and changing economy.

One perspective relative to education is its relationship to water and the ability for some people to access resources as noted below,

“the students can get the water in their uniforms.”

Students who attend the schools can access water that is potentially unavailable to others within the same community. Water tanks and wells can be accessed by school children closer to their schools, saving them the trip down to the river and ensuring that the water they access is clean.

The perception of dependency on international tourism and aid from organizations is a real concern voiced by the women in both the villages of Umoja and Unity. The women’s reactions to economic dependency additionally demonstrates their ongoing and shifting negotiation within their communities, and with the international community.

Major Theme: Acquiring Resources

The fourth emergent theme is acquiring resources, due to the ability of the women participating in this study to be self-sufficient through the process of acquiring resources. Out of this theme emerges the concepts and perceptions among the women of Umoja and Unity of self-sufficiency tied to their ability to acquire resources within their community. Specific resources discussed in this theme include water and medical care. Interestingly, these two resources appear to be directly tied to one another as the women work to maintain clean water for the preservation of health and to keep down health care costs.

Within the larger community of Archer’s Post there is a medical clinic which the women in both villages can access, depending on the ability to pay for the medical services and the

severity of their health situation. A general discussion of a person's health is prominent within the first part of any conversation with them, as outlined below,

“She is saying she is ok she doesn't have any health problems because usually when she is sick she can visit the clinic, yeah. And the only problem that she have maybe on side of food only. Okay. Yeah. She is okay healthy.”

The ability to go to the clinic is, again, dependent on the ability to pay for those services. Many individuals and families aim to pay for medical care without the involvement of any of the numerous organizations present in the area. However, there are many organizations in the community that work to pay for the costs of these services so that the expense does not fall solely onto the family as one woman shares,

“She is saying sometimes when there's maybe if somebody is sick or she is sick here the community around can come help and assist to take that person to see a doctor or if there is any kind of any kind of problem they usually come and settle and solve that problem and maybe they come out to the so maybe they can help and they will overcome those problems.”

The ability for the women to get medical care from the clinic in Archer's Post is dependent not only on money but also on the availability of services or medical professionals present,

“She is saying even sometimes when somebody cannot be treated there cuz they can't treat all illnesses there so they approach Mary she send that money so I have to take them to another hospital in Wamba or Isiolo.”

While the community works to provide medical care for individuals, a lack of medical professionals in the area sometimes requires them to seek outside assistance in getting needed treatment. Many of the NGO's and foundations help to alleviate medical care costs by providing assistance with payment. For the women in the villages of Unity and Umoja, the partnership with the U.S.-based foundation they refer to as 'Mary's Foundation' allows for women and their children to seek out medical care when needed.

“Yeah so when it reach up to maybe a monthly I usually send that record to Mary and scan and then I send it to Mary and she has to send that exact money and then I take that and give it to the clinic and I scan the receipt again to Mary so that it can approve the money that was given.”

Access to medical care for the villages and water plays a central role within village life and the ability of the women to access water as a resource is important. However, the state of the water becomes particularly important. Water from the nearby river is contaminated and dirty¹⁰ and presents a hazard to those collecting it, further complicating the problem is that not all tower or tank resources are clean either, continuing to place the community at risk for water borne illness problems and further forcing them to seek out medical attention and often the help of NGO's in the area as another woman discusses,

“She is saying, she is saying, sometimes that there is some people who were being attacked by the crocodiles and even some kids who were we have not we have not get out, they will end by using the water that's flowing from the river and sometimes when they drink the river floods and water seems to be muddy and nobody can drink that water.”

“She is saying that water is from that tower and it's very dirty and sometimes some kids have diarrhea they have lots of diarrhea because of that water.”

The women and others in the community talk about the dangers of gathering water from the river since people have been known to be attacked or killed by crocodiles that make the river their home. Additionally one woman describes the condition of the water they fetch from the river,

“During that short time when the water's been finished and when the money's due Mary maybe takes some time and then that's when they get filthy water.”

Again, the reality of dependency in regards to acquiring resources impacts more than just the supply of water but of contributing to further issues of medical care or potentially taking

¹⁰ The water is dirty from the desert soil and from the numerous animals that wade through the waters daily on their way to grazing grounds.

further time away from other tasks or responsibilities by having to walk long distances to seek out water sources as one woman describes below,

“She is saying, she is saying the water gets bad because maybe sometimes we can’t go to the river to fetch water but we can’t spend a lot of time outside moving up and down yeah.”

Time spent negotiating where resources will come from is time that could be spent doing things the women feel could be more productive. But it also places them at a further disadvantage as they try to acquire certain resources to save time; time that is then spent on producing products to sell for income that they need for resources like medical care could potentially be averted if access to clean water was made possible and sustainable.

Access to resources, however, extends beyond basic necessities like water and medical care to things like livestock that could provide the women self-sufficiency within the shifting economy as is discussed below,

“and they usually give out some money and then and buy goods and sell in order for them to get profit. They buy they buy at this price let’s say they buy 3,000 [~35USD] let’s say 5,000 [~58USD] are goats from goats and then they sell it for 7,000 [~80USD] or 6,000 [~69USD] so that’s when they profit.”

The woman above describes the purchasing and sale of livestock for profit; part of the economy that could benefit from the expansion of microbusiness within the villages. Resources in livestock are perceived to be tied directly to income and through the establishment of microbusiness. And the employment of such resources is thought of in such a way that would allow for the members of the villages to engage within the economy to make resource acquisition easier, attainable and perhaps in the long term, sustainable.

The findings from interviews with women in Umoja and Unity developed into the four major themes described above. ‘Relocating Identity’ explores the ongoing negotiation of the women in both villages in relationship to each other and the larger economic and political

structures. ‘Negotiating International Dependency’ describes the women’s constant renegotiation of their lives in connection with both development organizations in their villages and tourism, and the dependency created from such an economic model. ‘Reactions to Dependency’ explores the women of Umoja and Unity as individuals and community struggling to work within a system they are allowed little access to or control over. And finally, ‘Acquiring Resources’ describes the link between development, economy, and the ability for women to access resources needed for their daily lives. The overarching theme of structural intersectionality describes the negotiation of the women in Umoja and Unity as they are positioned in relationship to their political, economic, and social situations, in addition to their gender.

Discussion

Agency, for the purpose of this study is defined as the ability for an individual or group to act or move within their world. The women talked about the act of moving away from their original homes during interviews which is in fact an act of agency on their part. Structural intersectionality refers to the way in which the women in these villages are positioned in relationship to the larger economic and policy structures which impact their lives on an ongoing basis. Shifting refers to the constant negotiation the women must engage in as they come into contact with these larger structural systems.

A combination of violence and environmental factors has contributed to the literal movement and relocation of women from their original homes to the created villages of Umoja and Unity. No longer part of the traditional family structure because of their departure from their homes, combined with their inability to participate fully in pastoralism because of the environmental conditions, the women must turn to capitalism out of necessity. Whether

unconscious or deliberate, their movement away from situations of violence or former lives they no longer wanted to live within, and their efforts to seek out better economic promise can all be seen as acts of survival enabling a level of agency which continues in their new homes. It remains unclear whether the women of Umoja and Unity view themselves in such theoretical and Western academic terms; however what remains important are their deliberate actions in response to the ongoing shifts in their lives and the surrounding physical and natural world.

The creation of the villages is a symptom of a much larger problem of domestic and state violence towards the women, which must be acknowledged and warrants additional research that is outside the scope of this research; for that reason, this project focuses on the economic and environmental factors that have influenced the villages of Umoja and Unity, further marginalizing the intersectional identities and positions of the women who live there.

A largely nomadic and pastoralist economy, from which the women of Umoja and Unity come from, cannot be sustained in an environment where the influx of capitalist economic structures are real and are continuously pushed onto the local population from multiple sources, including international aid organizations. Additionally, climate change, drought, and other hostile environmental conditions make it increasingly difficult for an economy dependent on livestock to survive and thrive.

As the environment becomes increasingly dry, other means of existence have arrived as capitalism takes hold further and further into this pastoralist frontier. The women of Umoja and Unity who have already left their original homes due to violence are further forced to shift their ways of life in order to work within an economy less dependent on the environment and traditional life ways.

Archer's Post is a small settlement that sits at the frontier of northern Kenya in between the town of Isiolo to the south, Maralal to the northwest, and Marsabit to the north with a population of only a few thousand people ("Census", 2014). Northern Kenya in general is a hot, dry environment, susceptible to drought conditions at varying points during the year. As climate impacts an economy centered on pastoralism it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain, water and food resources for livestock dwindle, and people are offered few options but to sell their cattle and other livestock for income or for other resources. With reduced numbers of livestock and decreasing means of acquiring livestock, many individuals have few choices but to move closer to towns and try to make a living in a more settled community.

Talle (1999) writes about the impacts of drought on the Maasai, a pastoral tribe in Kenya's south and cousins to the Samburu in the north, he states,

"Over the last three to four decades, many Maasai have barely survived on their livestock herds and have been forced to seek income from other sources. [...] poor Maasai men frequently find employment as night watchmen in towns, as herdsmen for their more fortunate tribesmen or, less often, as casual labourers [...] Tourism is another employment niche; being represented as the 'noble savage', the image of the Maasai fits well with wildlife and dramatic sceneries" (p. 108).

For the Samburu the result has been largely the same, the increasing sedentarisation has increasingly pushed both men and women into different ways of life, in an economy that is increasingly becoming one that is difficult to navigate.

The result is a mixture of economies, one that is not purely pastoralist or capitalist, but one with families trying to eke out an existence in an in-between space, a hybrid economy. This economic structure is further supported by the involvement of a multitude of NGOs all over the country and in this specific region of Kenya. As stated by one woman during interviews, "...there are so many NGOs here." For the women participating in this research their location

between their former and current communities positions them in a space where they constantly react to the outside community, organizations, and to the shifting economy. Their lives within both of these villages is not only a balancing act with larger outside forces but an engagement of agency and self-sufficiency on the part of these women.

Women in these interviews talk about the role of international interventions in relationship to their ability to get both income and resources. Organizational plaques and regional offices can be found throughout the small town and have a large known presence within the community: both in Archer's Post and in the surrounding manyattas¹¹. One can look to organizational reports and data to try and ascertain what projects they engage, however the outcomes of such projects on paper have hardly manifested themselves in any noticeable way throughout the larger Archer's Post community. And while there are numerous organizations operating within the center of Archer's Post and the outlying villages, the women of Umoja and Unity speak of only a few with which they have any long term or meaningful interaction.

One of these such organizations is the BOMA Project, an organization which forms small groups of three women, gives them an amount of seed capital to start a business, and then sets them up on a program towards profit making and eventually a savings plan. The BOMA Project operates as a microbusiness model with the intent to start small groups of women on a path towards self-sufficiency and operating within a capitalist economic structure.

The BOMA Project's presence speaks to the ongoing importance of people, in general, being able to participate within a changing economy, specifically one that works with them towards self-sufficiency. And while it would be simple to make the argument that capitalist fronted organizations focused on microbusiness are a hindrance to the people in these rural

¹¹ Small villages consisting of several families, the houses are constructed with mud and cow dung, and livestock are kept within the village confines with thorny bushes that surround the village area, typically goats and other livestock are kept here as well.

communities, it fails to recognize the position in which many individuals live, especially the women in the villages; lacking few other choices but to participate in the economy.

The goal of BOMA is the empowerment of women within these villages and in the larger Archer's Post community and is potentially a step towards enabling self-sufficiency within a changing economy. However, project's like BOMA only work if people are willing and able to participate, and if there is a viable business option for them to operate.

The involvement of organizations like the BOMA Project in Archer's Post allows for people, and specifically the women of Umoja and Unity, to participate in the economy by starting a microbusiness to generate income for themselves and the economy. As discussed above this is potentially beneficial for those that are involved, however, there are some issues that arise out of the model that BOMA provides that could be solved by the organization speaking with the people they would like to involve in the project.

One potential hindrance to the success of BOMA, especially within small villages like Umoja and Unity, is that the project often requires people from varying communities to participate in groups with each other, potentially clouding familial or other relationships to fit an outside business model. Whether this is done with intent to break down village barriers and create community cohesion on a larger scale is unclear but it fails to account for non-Western ways of organizing both family and business and is actually counter-productive to the success of the project in this area. It also places the two villages in a difficult position since they must provide for themselves and their village, their position as a gendered community creates a difference in how labor is divided and has the potential to place additional hardship on certain women within the communities while other women work with other community members. It assumes that while the villages are separate, individuals from different communities would

benefit from work with one another, instead of work with already created groups within one village, it fails to account for inter-village and community politics and forces an economic model on individuals that may not want to work together.

Many NGOs are working with the entire community, often with solutions crafted from a Western mindset. While this may work for some of the people in the community, the women in the two villages are further marginalized by their position against the traditional ways of being within their larger communities outside the villages, and the larger state and international structures. Their position necessitates a model of inclusion that does not force Western minded business structures requiring the women to work communally with other villages, doing so has the potential to disrupt the politics of each village respectively and work to the detriment of the development goal; therefore creating a further need for a reevaluation of the microbusiness economic model.

While it must be acknowledged that macro-economic structures must be analyzed and restructured, this lies outside the feasibility in the short term of individuals on a world-wide basis, including the women of Umoja and Unity. Thus the women must participate within a capitalist economy in order to ensure their survival, and microbusiness as a model provides a structure and access that may not exist without such organizations. This recognition that larger structural concerns exist does not alleviate any of the organizations responsibility to continue to make meaningful changes and BOMA, along with other organizations, should consistently reflect on their projects and the larger implications within a global economy.

The BOMA Project, and others with similar microbusiness models of development intervention could be beneficial to both Umoja and Unity since it provides the capital that is

necessary to set up a business of any kind, thus alleviating one large hurdle that keeps people from being successful and increasing their income.

Another benefit of the microbusiness model in this area is that while groups of women are dependent on the initial investment in capital, they have control over not only the type of business that is started, but the direction in which the business goes. There is still accountability to a larger organization but as time progresses the connection decreases and women are able to maintain the business model on their own. The microbusiness model helps to minimize one of the biggest problems facing women in the two villages: that they must participate in the shifting economy but are often not given the tools and means to do so.

Women in Umoja and Unity discuss the desire to provide basic needs for their families and especially their children, but are unable to do so not only because of a lack of income but because of an over saturation of organizations willing to be present in the community, unwilling to communicate with the women about their needs, wants, or concerns. The organizations that are in the region trying to benefit the community often fall short because they first assume that their knowledge and presence is wanted, and second assume that the solutions they provide to the problems are to the benefit of the villages, often without consulting with the women themselves. Additionally, organizations perpetuate a structural system that positions the women in Umoja and Unity in ways that further marginalize women into economic and political structures because they do not account for the intersectionality of their social statuses. Therefore the organizations set up systems which are not only likely to fail in assisting them but further perpetuate the problem by not truly addressing the needs of the women involved.

This structural positioning by the organizations in the community can be seen in examples like the museum erected in the village of Umoja which was supposed to generate

income by attracting tourist income to the village but has failed to bring tourists there, thus not generating income and largely remaining an empty building with little viable purpose.

Additionally, discussions by the women that center on private ownership of land fail to account for non-Westernized ways of land tenure systems which only further complicate an already tenuous situation. Organizations set up an arrangement through microbusiness or other enterprise for the women to be involved with for strategic development but do not address the intersectional issues that contribute to success or failure of those initiatives; leaving the women with little option but to participate in increasing dependency on other organizations or programs.

The women in Umoja and Unity discuss purchasing land to pursue further business opportunities; often discussed as individuals ownership as opposed to communal ownership. Organizations further this idea among the community including Umoja and Unity but the vast majority of people, including the women in the villages, do not have the ability to purchase land. This inability to buy land, a lack of capital, and an awareness that both land and a capital investment could potentially help them to make further income, places them in a position in which they are aware that changes are occurring but they remain powerless to act and make those changes work for them. Further, the awareness of this by the women places them in an in-between location within the larger economic structure; the women's maneuvering is their way of adapting to an economy not meant for their use but needed for their survival.

Like land or access to other resources, self-sufficiency is important among the women in Umoja and Unity and the close relationship of Mary's Foundation with the villages, and more specifically Umoja, has also allowed for closer accountability on both continents. Accountability in this case is also linked with self-sufficiency since Mary's Foundation employs a member of the community and allows for direct involvement with the organization. Additionally, having

someone that is close to the village allows for employment for that individual and dual benefit to both the organization and the villages; ensuring that the women can get medical care paid for and that the money is going directly to pay for their care.

Beyond organizations' direct role in the villages, tourism plays a large role throughout Kenya in general, and the villages of Umoja and Unity lie at the base of a reserve and major tourist attraction in the northern part of country. Both of the villages depend on the income from the sale of goods they produce and tourism as an industry has created a space for them to sell the goods. This kind of *ugly tourism* rears its head as white non-Kenyan tourists drive by Umoja, Unity, and the larger Archer's Post community on their way to spend an average of five hundred U.S. dollars a night on hotel rooms, but seldom stop within the local communities. Akama (2004) states, "Images of wild and darkest Africa, complete with roaring lions, trumpeting elephants, semi-naked and bare-breasted natives, are used to lure Westerners keen for exoticism and adventure" (p. 147).

Capitalism, here, is working very well for those who already have the capital to continue to make money; for the women in Umoja and Unity it further positions them at the crux of participation within the economy and dependency upon a system that is failing to be beneficial to them. Akama (2004) states,

"while the local people bear the costs of tourism development and wildlife conservation they in return receive insignificant direct monetary benefits. It has been estimated that only between 2 per cent and 5 per cent of Kenya's total tourism receipts trickle down to the populace at the grassroots level, in forms of low paying and servile jobs, and the selling of souvenirs and agricultural produce" (p. 149).

In a part of the country where few money making options exist, women in these villages have little choice but to produce goods to sell for income, but they rarely receive enough visitors to provide for their economic viability.

Another concern that emerges is the over saturation of NGOs in the area, and is two-fold: one, organizations are not asking the community members what they want in terms of development intervention, and second, if the organizations are asking there is a lack of follow through on initiatives, including the training or educational programs to make the interventions viable long term. During interviews the women noted several organizations which had on repeated occasions visited them to ask questions about projects or concerns related to their villages and lives. However, once the visits were concluded the women would never hear from anyone involved in the organization or engagement with any new or ongoing projects. This not only keeps the village isolated from the development process, it allows the information and decision-making to remain outside the scope of awareness for the women themselves.

Additionally, the current development system is an exploitative process which further marginalizes the women in the villages by not only failing to allow them their voice within their communities' development process, but it exploits their knowledge to the benefit of the organizations who can use their stories to further push an agenda of development without actually following through on those initiatives. While organizations tout the proclamation that the villages, especially Umoja, are a "thriving, self-sustained community," this contradicts the reality of life for the women living in these communities who are still dependent on outside resources and economic interventions ("Rebecca", n.d., para. 3).

Often the goal of these international organizations is simply to record and transmit the stories of individuals they view as silenced to a larger international audience, often under the banner of raising awareness to the injustices being done specifically to women and girls in the developing world. Stories, as stated by Hillary Clinton in the documentary *Half the Sky*, "are powerful, they are not just about one person even though that's who we're reading about, they

are about problems and trends that this one person represents” (Beardsley, et.al., 2012). But the stories gathered are selective and pander to a larger global economic goal, one in which the women featured, and their incorporation into the development process, is only concerned with a framework of security and economy for the Western world. Clinton further states,

“When you have women who are left out of, or mistreated, by their societies, those societies are less stable, less secure, certainly less democratic. And we’re living in such an interconnected, interdependent world that where those kinds of imbalances exist, often times you will find problems that can then come to haunt us at home. So I make the case that it’s the right thing to do and the smart thing to do, to put treatment of women and girls right at the center of American foreign policy” (Beardsley, et.al., 2012).

This sentiment is also expressed by Sheryl WuDunn, the co-author of the book *Half the Sky* in a 2010 TED Talk, “The second tenant of *Half the Sky* is that, let’s put aside the morality of all the right and wrong of it all, and just on purely practical level, uh, we think that one of the best ways to fight poverty and to fight terrorism is to educate girls and to bring women into the formal labor force” (TED, 2010). At the superficial level, both of these women speak about the well-being of a united global woman, one who is able to provide for herself and her family. Beyond this however, their comments are couched in both economic, specifically the formal economy, and security terms for the West. The well-being of women in the developing world is secondary to the security, both physically and economically, of the Western woman who needs the development of third world women only as it applies to their personal security and ability to participate in the economy.

This crusade for women’s rights on a global scale is being led by women in the Western world with a global feminist framework, and uses the stories of individual women to endorse sisterhood as a global market and to promote unity among women worldwide, often by vilifying local culture through the horrific stories of abuse endured by the women of the global south they

interview. Women's rights through the perceived need for homogenizing development initiatives or stories highlighting victimhood do nothing for women actually living in the Global South.

Mohanty (1988) states, Women are constituted as women through the complex interaction between class, culture, religion and other ideological institutions and frameworks. They are not 'women' - a coherent group - solely on the basis of a particular economic system or policy. Such reductive cross-cultural comparisons result in the colonization of the specifics of daily existence and the complexities of political interests which women of different social classes and cultures represent and mobilize (p. 72).

This research is not an attempt to discount or diminish the stories of these women, but to bring to light the reality that culture in the developing world is being used as a scapegoat for a colonial legacy which has manifested itself into the neocolonial construction of capitalism. *Their* lives are considered dangerous because of *their* societies, not because of the ongoing implications of neoliberalism which continues to further push these women to the periphery and sustain them in poverty. The employment of global feminism in this way fails to recognize the benefits allotted to Western women and those already involved within the formal economy at the expense of women already subordinated in places like Umoja and Unity.

For the women of Umoja and Unity, this recognition on an international level is not working to their benefit. Despite the attention garnered from the Western world, the conditions in the village have changed very little regardless of the spotlight of global devotion, documentaries, and initiatives aimed at making meaningful change in the area. The momentous movement towards a global feminism centered on equality and awareness will do nothing for these women because equality cannot be achieved while the West benefits at the expense of the marginalization of women in developing countries.

Further, without a restructuring of the macro-level economics and the impacts of them, the involvement of micro-level businesses in rural communities will do little to benefit these women or their communities. Oyěwùmi (2005) states, “the primary orientation to development problems tends to be created on the basis of what happens to be politically and/or intellectually significant in the metropolises” (p. 300). Development in general exists to further support the goals of the West. What gets communicated and to whom, along with which research and development projects get completed or even started, is based on what the benefits are for mostly Western countries. This top-down structural critique is valid in that it offers a theoretical approach to the potential problems of capitalism, especially as it most clearly affects those in marginalized communities but it lacks the concrete and immediate solutions for people actually living in the midst of it. The goal of the organizations should not only be to empower small groups of women but work towards larger structural change so that changes at an individual level will be easier to obtain and built upon.

If organizations are to be involved in development initiatives in the villages and in the larger community, they should make efforts to not only engage with the community wants but to communicate and follow up with the people in the community. The women involved in this research project discussed the role of organizations in their communities and the ongoing lack of resources that they have access to, in addition to their relationship with several organizations that work within their communities. Many of the women voiced an opinion about solutions or resources that would enable them to be more self-sufficient. These types of solutions will be further outlined in the final chapter on implications.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative study was to gather and center the voices of the women living in the villages of Umoja and Unity regarding the issues of international development and its impacts on their lives. This study used semi-structured interviews to explore the critical viewpoint of the women from these two villages in order to reveal the ongoing failings of the development structure impacting this specific group of women in rural Kenya. The researcher discussed major themes emerging from these interviews in order to provide an alternative critique to what has been previously offered up from organizational involvement in the developing world. This chapter will outline a brief summary of findings and the implications associated with them, the recommendations offered by this project, the potential future research that should be considered, and finally the researcher's reflections on conducting this project.

Summary of Findings

The findings from this research could be helpful for both non-governmental and governmental organizations involved in development initiatives within the developing world, in addition to individuals involved in charity and non-profit foundations.

Findings from this research indicate that while there are numerous organizations involved in the villages of Umoja and Unity, in addition to the larger community of Archer's Post, the conditions that inform resource access and ongoing international development initiatives have largely remained unchanged. Further, women in these two villages continue to lack the agency and the ability to fully participate in the economy in which they are forced to engage. This lack of change relevant to on-the-ground conditions and lack of agency occurs in the wake of ongoing international initiatives aimed at bringing awareness to the lives of the women in these villages.

Structurally, this failure to bring about change largely stems from the fact that organizations involved in the villages have failed to engage the women from these two villages and ask what they need and/or want specifically from outsiders wanting to be involved in their community. The assumption by these organizations is first, that they are wanted within the communities and second, that their organizational solutions to problems faced by the women in the villages are the preferred and only ones to be considered. These solutions are Western driven initiatives that fail to take into account community and culturally driven perspectives or solutions to problems being faced by the communities.

When organizations state they have an interest in hearing the perspectives of the women, it is largely used to drive awareness in the Western world through the use of stories, a pandering to a victimhood narrative that seeks to promote the success of marginalized third world women as a guise towards security for the first world. This global feminist framework of world-wide gendered unity fails to consider the power structures and differences at play between women in Umoja and Unity and women in more ‘developed’ countries.

Beyond structural problems at the macro level, findings suggest that women in Umoja and Unity would like the opportunity to participate within the local and international economy. Discussions of economy centered on the purchase of land for individuals or small groups of women so that they could better manage their income levels and leadership within smaller groups. Further, they voiced the desire to further participate in the sale of beadwork as a commodity to tourists in Kenya and an international base of clients through increased uses of technology and networking. The ability to more clearly control and gain access to steady income sources through the use of land and commodity sales was seen as the most viable option to gaining not only autonomy but greater resource access for themselves and their children.

In conclusion, findings from this project indicate that both structural and local level changes must be made in order to make a positive impact in the lives of the women of Umoja and Unity. The current system of development initiatives and programs are not working and could be improved by modifications made at both local and international levels.

Recommendations

The recommendations offered by this research come with the goal in seeking to engage research as a decolonial act, one that ensures that the voices of the women who participated in the project are heard. Two kinds of recommendations emerge from this research: one that focuses on the organizations and the macro-level structures that exist and impact the lives of the women in Umoja and Unity, and the second that works to effectively offer concrete on-the-ground solutions that are derived from the women's observations and suggestions during the interview process.

Structural Recommendations

To first address larger structural issues, challenges of a neoliberal economy exist and are driven by a Western world concerned with national security and increased profits, there seems little that can be done on an individual level in the short term. The struggle against neoliberal policies and the ongoing neocolonialism of the developing world will be, and is, an ongoing struggle against a structural system that seeks to promote their own financial interests through organizations involved within these communities. To subvert the current top-down organizational approach to development, these organizations should consider self-reflection of their operating procedures and impacts on the communities that they seek to help, including the framework from which their projects derive.

Most importantly if organizations and NGOs want to be involved within the communities of Umoja and Unity the projects that are started should be completed and communication between the organizations and the women should be open and honest. Lack of honest communication hinders the ability for the women to participate in the projects designed to help them within their own homes and furthers a top-down development approach that privileges the perspectives of the organizational members over the women. Additionally, the global community, and specifically the West, must re-conceptualize their understanding of what feminism can and should look like from a transnational lens that centers and values all voices, instead of benefitting only those who are situated within privilege.

Local Control

Conversations focused on larger structural problems these women and developing countries face in general are important concrete solutions to the immediate problems in their lives must be pushed forward so that this work, and others, moves beyond abstraction and into lived real life solutions pertinent to the lives of the women in Umoja, Unity, and elsewhere.

Women in Umoja and Unity express the desire to have more control of their resources, their lives, and their land. This does not necessitate individual private lots of land for measuring success of the women. Fragmentation of land is not the answer. In fact it creates another set of issues related to food insecurity among the population especially in drought prone areas (Nkedianye, 2014). Since private ownership would allow for a family to build a house but not to grow food or graze animals, a community land bill would give security to an entire community and help to enhance development projects (Nkedianye, 2014).

Land is an important resource that the women could use to gain control over their income generation and their ability to gain traction in the changing economy. One potential way to bring

this to their lives is through the microbusiness model. Initiatives like BOMA can potentially engage the women within the economy yet in order to be effective BOMA, among others, must focus on more than just the economy and work with the local women for more long-term solutions.

Microbusiness Jamii Bora¹² founder Ingrid Munro states, “To get people out of poverty you need to deal with every aspect of their lives, you see? You can’t be just microfinance, it has to be health insurance, life insurance, business school, housing...” (Beardsley, et.al., 2012). For microbusiness to work in either of the villages, effective communication and the engagement of multiple sectors of development should be employed and must work together towards a common solution. Further, the solutions should involve and derive from the women themselves and their wants and needs for their own communities.

The women of Umoja and Unity should also be able to have more control over who comes into their villages, who engages in development projects there, and what those projects should look like. As stated above in the discussion section Umoja and Unity received an overabundance of international attention, including the involvement of celebrities in their community.

Technology is also an important aspect of the microbusiness economy model and the women recognize that the sale of their beadwork to individuals internationally could provide them with further income if they were able to engage more fully with the production and sale process. This is especially true for the village of Unity which does not currently have a website dedicated to the sale of their beadwork outside of the village.¹³

¹² Jamii Bora Bank Ltd. Is a bank in Kenya, started by Ingrid Munro and Swedish investors as a charitable trust in 1999. In 2007 City Finance Bank acquired Jamii Bora, the bank focuses on microfinance. (2014). About us. *Jamii Bora Bank*. Retrieved from: <http://jamiiborabank.co.ke/about/>

¹³ The village of Umoja has a website operating through an international foundation with a donation from the Half the Sky Movement. The women do not control this website and the majority of the women do not control how the profits from such sales

The researcher for this project will work following the completion of this work with several individuals in the community to figure out a way to incorporate the use of a website into the sale of beadwork for the village of Unity. During interviews this was a concern that the women voiced and will be addressed by the researcher to ensure that the issue is not simply dropped or discounted.

Tourism

Throughout interviews with the women tourism was discussed as a source of income generation for the villages but was hindered by the fact that tourists rarely stop on their way to the Reserve and that the income is not steady. Because the villages sit near the entrance to the Reserve and have numerous amounts of international tourists drive by their communities on a daily basis, a way to encourage tourists to stop in the villages themselves is another important potential strategy to increase their income and potentially provide a level of sustainable income.

To do this, the researcher will design brochures that feature the villages: the women, their lives, and their business. Once completed the researcher will engage with the villages to ascertain if the brochures fit their needs and meet their expectations for how they would like to be represented. Once the brochures are completed and have received the input and direction from the women, the researcher will contact the lodges and resorts within the Reserve to begin a partnership with them. The goal of this partnership will be to have the women's brochures included in the information they give to their guests upon check-in to the hotels in the hope of encouraging more people to seek out the villages upon leaving the Reserve following their stay. Since the women voiced concerns about a lack of tourist traffic to their villages, this project

are used. Further engagement with foundations like Half the Sky would be necessary to redirect this effort towards a more productive use of resources for the women themselves.

would give them the option of providing the lodges with the brochure to potentially help increase traffic to the villages.

The researcher theorizes that many tourists do not stop within the villages because they are either unaware and their driver's do not alert them to the fact that they should stop, or they are unwilling to stop because the villages are unknown and lie outside of their comfort zone while travelling in the unfamiliarity of a safari vehicle. Additionally several of the hotels in the Reserve currently have programs which bring people from the villages to the resorts to in-house cultural centers located in the resorts themselves. These include: Samburu Game Lodge and Samburu Sopa Lodge; Elephant Watch Tented Camp and the Intrepids hotel all of which provide the option for tourists to visit a village in the area of the Reserve (2014, Wilderness Lodges; 2014, Heritage Hotels; 2014, Elephant Watch; 2014, Sopa Lodges).

Providing more information and making it clear to tourists that these women live directly on their route could bring further awareness but also reduce the fact that it seems unfamiliar and unknown for them to stop. It would also bring tourists out into the communities and able to spend money on goods made locally; keeping money in the local communities instead of being spent in the foreign run resorts.

Additionally, it is possible that stressing the locally made beadwork as a fair trade product, made by hand, by the women, could be advertised to promote purchases from tourists driving by. The fair trade symbol could potentially appeal to the clientele of the lodges and help to drive more traffic and income into Umoja and Unity.

Future Research

The possibilities for future research agendas that extend beyond the scope of this research project are many. It is important to continue to critically engage with a transnational feminist

framework in relationship to the issues that affect women in Umoja and Unity and women in other parts of the developing world. Future research should investigate how development organizations in other areas of Kenya, and the larger world engage with the communities they seek to help. Issues related to the microbusiness model in relationship to a larger capitalist economy should also be examined to continue the further investigate its impacts on people living at the periphery. Further, investigations with a focus on climate, the environment, or land tenure should critically engage their research to insure that it does not assume Western ways of development is best or most beneficial for the women in these villages or anyone in the developing world.

Additional research should be conducted on the relationship between international tourists that visit lodges in a nation's game reserve but fail to stop at local villages or engage with the local culture. This critical engagement with foreigners, especially in the setting of the Samburu National Reserve would be a step towards further understanding means of incorporating their travel experiences in the local communities and keeping income generating economy in better control of the local population.

Regardless of the subject of the research, all projects should be mindful of their impacts on the community in which they are engaging with the research. The use of a transnational feminist lens and framework to discuss issues associated with women in the Global South is important to keep the research from being another exercise in neocolonialism and an extension of the problem that the women are already dealing with.

Researcher's Reflections

This research has been an ongoing project in transformation and personal reflection that has changed my perception on the vast structural problems related to international development

in rural Kenya. Arriving in Nairobi in December 2011 for the first time, a tall office building and a palm tree provided the backdrop to my first glimpses of my so-called childhood dream. Kenya for me was filled with the exotic and the unknown and throughout my time involved with this project and the two visits I have made to Kenya, I was forced to reconcile my own implications in the neocolonial thinking in which I had participated.

Through my own journey and lessons I hope to offer simply insight for people of the Global North to their own relationship with the ‘dark continent’ and the people that live there. I hope that people, especially those in the West or Global North will consider the larger Western structural forces at play and their own implication in the continuing marginalization of women in places like Umoja and Unity.

The ongoing neocolonial framework of international development organizations continues to perpetuate a system that situates the women of Umoja and Unity in marginal positions from which they cannot break from the cycle of poverty. The tourism industry also perpetuates this model and contributes to the systematic oppression of these women; I hope to learn from the insight of the women in this project who taught me and offer my own humble insight into this process so that individuals who come after me will consider the impacts of their travel on the people who live there every day.

I hope this research will help people consider the true dangers of this world: the systems that force and keeps the women and children of Umoja and Unity without resource access; the failure of development to provide a means of acquiring income; and a global society which never protected the women in the first place. Real and serious dangers exist in this world and they are not and should not be framed around white woman and their privilege to travel the developing world.

REFERENCES

- (2007). *Empowering women through the Umoja cultural center and museum*. Retrieved from: <http://www.awf.org/news/empowering-women-through-umoja-cultural-center-and-museum>
- (2014). *The BOMA project: Prosperity through dignity*. Retrieved from <http://www.bomaproject.org/reap/>
- (2014). 2009 Census vol 1 table 3 rural and urban population. *Kenya Open Data*. Retrieved from <https://www.opendata.go.ke/Population/2009-Census-Vol-1-Table-3-Rural-and-Urban-Populati/e7c7-w67t>
- (n.d.). *Rebecca Lolosoli*. Retrieved from <http://www.vitalvoices.org/vital-voices-women/featured-voices/rebecca-lolosoli>
- Adano, W.R. & Witsenburg, K.M. (2008). *Pastoral sedentarisation, natural resource management, and livelihood diversification in Marsabit District, Northern Kenya book 2*. Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Akama, J.S. (2004). Neocolonialism, dependency and external control of Africa's tourism industry: A case study of wildlife safari tourism in Kenya. In C.M. Hall & H. Tucker (Eds.), *Tourism and postcolonialism: Contested discourses, identities and representations* (pp. 140-152). Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Beardsley, M., Bennett, J., Chermayeff, M., Dupre, J., & Gordon, J. (Producers), & Chermayeff, M. (Director). (2012, October 1). *Half the sky: Turning oppression into opportunity for women worldwide*. USA: Show of Force.
- Buhl, S. & Homewood, K. (2000). Milk selling among Fulani women in northern Burkina Faso. In D. Hodgson (Ed.), *Rethinking pastoralism in Africa* (pp. 207-226). Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Bush, R. (2007). *Poverty and neoliberalism: Persistence and reproduction in the global south*. London: Pluto Press.
- Byfield, J. (2001). Women, marriage, divorce and the emerging colonial state in Abeokuta (Nigeria) 1892-1904. In D. Hodgson & S. McCurdy (Eds.), *'Wicked' women and the reconfiguration of gender in Africa* (pp. 27-46). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Publishing.
- Caderisi, R. (2006). *The trouble with Africa: Why foreign aid isn't working*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Callaghy, T.M. (2009). The Search for smart debt relief: Questions of when and how much. In R. Joseph & A. Gillies (Eds.), *Smart aid for African development* (pp. 87-101).

- Carmody, P. (2010). *Globalization in Africa: Recolonization or renaissance?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Chilisa, B. (2011). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cohen, J.M. (2001). Foreign aid and ethnic interests in Kenya. In M.J. Esman & R.J. Herring (Eds.), *Carrots, sticks, and ethnic conflict: Rethinking development assistance* (pp. 90-112). United State of America: The University of Michigan Press
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research 3e*. United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991, July). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039>
- Ekenberg, S. (2007). Possibilities for saving money? Female slum dwellers in Bangalore. In L.E. Lucas (Ed.), *Unpacking globalization* (pp. 295-306). United Kingdom: Lexington Books
- Fernandes, L. (2013, March 11). *Transnational feminism in the United States: Knowledge, ethics, and power*. New York: NYU Press.
- Fisher, J. (1998). *Non governments: NGOs and the political development of the third world*. United States of America: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Fratkin, E., Nathan, M.A., & Roth, E.A. (1999). Health consequences of pastoral sedentarization among Rendille of northern Kenya. In D.M. Anderson & V. Broch-Due (Eds.), *The Poor are not us: Poverty and pastoralism in Eastern Africa* (pp. 149-162). Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Frese, M. & de Kruif, M. (2000). Psychological success factors of entrepreneurship in Africa: A Selective literature review. In M. Frese (Ed.), *Success and failure of microbusiness owners in Africa: A psychological approach* (pp. 1-30). Westport, CT: Quorum Books.
- Gillies, A. & Joseph, R. (2009). Smart aid: The search for transformative strategies. In R. Joseph & A. Gillies (Eds.), *Smart aid for African development* (pp. 1-14). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Ghorayshi, P. (1998). Rural women face capitalism: Women's response as 'guardians' of the household. In S. Ilcan & L. Phillips (Eds.), *Transgressing borders: Critical perspectives on gender, household, and culture* (pp. 189-207). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Hesse-Biber, S. & Leavy, P. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Hesse-Biber, S. & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Hodgson, D. (1999). Images & interventions; The problems of pastoralist development. In D.M. Anderson & V. Broch-Due (Eds.), *The poor are not us: Poverty and pastoralism in Eastern Africa* (pp. 221-239). Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Karega, R.G.M. (2010). Gender mainstreaming in a masculine structured society: Experiences from Kenya. In *Gender mainstreaming experiences from eastern and southern Africa* (pp. 12-34). Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).
- Karega, R.G.M. & Bunwaree, S. (2010). Gender mainstreaming in Africa: Country experiences from eastern and southern Africa. In *Gender mainstreaming experiences from eastern and southern Africa* (pp. 1-11). Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).
- Kenya. (23 April 2013). *The world factbook*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ke.html>
- Kitzinger, J. (1995). Qualitative research. Introducing focus groups. *BMJ: British medical journal*, 311(7000), 299.
- Kiwemba, H.M. (2007). Empowerment of women through credit facilities: A case of FINCA in Jinja District, Uganda. In L.E. Lucas (Ed.), *Unpacking globalization* (pp. 279-293). United Kingdom: Lexington Books
- Kristof, N. & WuDunn, S. (2009). *Half the sky: Turning oppression into opportunity worldwide*. United States: Alfred A. Knopf
- Madison, D. S.. (2009). *Qualitative inquiry and social justice*. Denzin, N. K. & Giardina, M. D. (Eds.). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- March, C. (1991). *Changing perceptions: Writings on gender and development*. T. Wallace & C. March (Eds.). Oxford: Oxfam.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1998). Designing a qualitative study. *Handbook of applied social research methods*, 69-100.
- Mertens, D. M. (2013). *Global dimensions of qualitative inquiry*. Denzin, N. K. & Giardina, M. D. (Eds.). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Microsavings. (2013). *The BOMA Project*. Retrieved from: <http://bomaproject.org/reap/microsavings/>

- Mohanty, C.T. (1988, Autumn). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review*, 30, 61-88. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1395054>
- Muuka, G.N. (2006). *Economic integration and development in Africa*. H. Kyambalesa & M.C. Houngnikpo (Eds.). Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Mwase, N. (2007). Sub-Saharan Africa: Globalization, trade liberalization and impact on the lives of the poor. In L.E. Lucas (Ed.), *Unpacking globalization* (pp. 59-69). United Kingdom: Lexington Books
- Ndimande, B. S.. (2013). *Global dimensions of qualitative inquiry*. Denzin, N. K. & Giardina, M. D. (Eds). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Ngunjiri, F.W. (2007). Banking on women for poverty reduction: Portrait of Kenya women's finance trust. In J.A.F. Stoner & C. Wankel (Eds.), *Innovative approaches to reducing global poverty* (pp. 93-108). United States: IAP-Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Osterloh, S.M. & Barrett, C.B. (2007). The unfulfilled promise of microfinance in Kenya: The KDA experience. In C.B. Barrett, A.G. Munde, & J.M. Omiti (Eds.), *Decentralization and the social economics of development lessons from Kenya* (pp. 131-158). Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International
- Otieno, R.O. & Ndung'u, N.S. (2010). Unlocking the future potential of Kenya-Vision 2030. In C.S. Adam, P. Collier, & N. Ndung'u (Eds.), *Kenya: Policies for prosperity* (pp. 39-53). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Oyěwùmi, O. (1997). *The invention of women*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Oyěwùmi, O. (2005). *African gender studies: A Reader*. New York: Palgrave.
- Pender, J. (2001, Jun.). From 'structural adjustment' to 'comprehensive development framework': Conditionality transformed? *Third World Quarterly*, 22(3), 397-411. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993471>
- Pomerantz, P. (2004). *Aid effectiveness in Africa*. United States of America: Lexington Books.
- Prahalad, C.K. (2010). *The fortune at the bottom of the pyramid: Eradicating poverty through profits*. New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Prempeh, E.O.K. (2006). *Against global capitalism: African social movements confront neoliberal globalization*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Rural Entrepreneur Access Project. (2013). *The BOMA Project*. Retrieved from: <http://bomaproject.org/reap/>
- Schlee, G. & Shongolo, A.A. (2012). *Pastoralism & politics in northern Kenya & southern Ethiopia*. Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

- Schouten, F. (2007). Cultural tourism: Between authenticity and globalization. In G. Richards (Ed.), *Cultural tourism: Global and local perspectives* (pp. 25-37). Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, Inc.
- Sindiga, I. (1999). *Tourism and African development: Change and challenge of tourism in Kenya*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited
- Talle, A. (1999). D.M. Anderson & V. Broch-Due (Eds.). *The poor are not us: Poverty & pastoralism in eastern Africa*. Oxford: James Currey.
- TED. (2010, August 17). *Sheryl WuDunn: Our centuries greatest injustice*. Retrieved March 30, 2014, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hFgPtuzgw4o>
- Tiessen, R. (2007). *Everywhere/nowhere: Gender mainstreaming in development agencies*. United States of American: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Travers, M. (2001). *Qualitative research through case studies*. United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- United Nations. (2014). *News on millennium development goals*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>
- Wils, F. (1996). Scaling up, mainstreaming, and accountability: The challenge for NGOs. In M. Edwards & D. Hulme (Eds.), *Beyond the magic bullet: NGO performance and accountability in the post-cold war world* (pp. 67-79). United States of America: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- World Bank. (2009). *Kenya – Northern corridor transport improvement project: Additional financing*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2009/03/10353959/kenya-northern-corridor-transport-improvement-project-additional-financing>
- World Bank. (2014). *Africa - Regional pastoral livelihoods resilience project: Chair summary*. Washington, DC ; World Bank Group. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/03/19269339/africa-regional-pastoral-livelihoods-resilience-project-chair-summary>

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about yourself, using the name you selected today for this interview to describe where you are from (Prompt for how long she has been in the village and where she lived before here, who lives in the village, how long do women stay here)?
2. Can you tell me about village life for you, how do you spend your day? (Prompt for how women support themselves economically, NGOs that assist and support women here etc.).
3. Can you tell me how having water more available in this village has changed your daily living? (Prompt for women having control over water here vs. other communities).
4. Can you tell me how women support each other in the village here? (Prompt for communal activities, where women gather together, sharing of resources, cultural ways of experiencing joy, hope, prayer, celebration).
5. Tell me about how life (daily activities etc.) has changed for you now that you are in the village? (Prompt for access to food, water, health information, other women).
6. Can you tell me where women in the village go for supplies, medicines, food, doctors? (Prompt for how women return to their home communities or how they might move onto another community).
7. Can you tell me what women really need here from people outside the community. (Prompt for what women hope for, what they dream about for themselves and for their families).
8. Are there questions you have for me? Tell me about anything else you would like to add to our talk today?
9. Would it be ok if I were to stop in to talk with you tomorrow to see if you thought about anything else you wanted to tell me?