

The Burden of Gusii-Maasai Cross Border Ethnic Conflicts on Gusii Women

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Abstract: There are no conflicts in which women are not involved yet those who study the impact of ethnic conflicts tend to make casual mention of the impact of such conflicts on women. Equally troubling is the fact that studies on ethnic conflicts in Kenya have tended to locate the origin of the problem to the 1990s when Kenya re-introduced multiparty democracy. Multiparty democracy pitted one ethnic community against another. Such studies, therefore, tend to create a false impression that ethnic conflicts are a recent phenomenon. By focusing on cross border ethnic conflicts involving the Maasai and the Gusii, this chapter takes the view that cross-border ethnic conflicts have existed in Kenya since time immemorial yet the burden which such conflicts impose on Gusii women is understudied. This has rendered studies on ethnic conflicts between the Gusii and the Maasai to be not only male-centric but also gender blind. This study fills the gap in existing literature on the burden of ethnic conflicts on women in Kenya.

Keywords: Gusii, Maasai, Ethnic Conflicts, Women.

1. INTRODUCTION

Before the advent of the colonial rule in Kenya, in 1895, the Maasai occupied much of the Kenyan land (Foran 1962). This enabled them to practice nomadic pastoralism because they had access to much grazing and water. They were able to maintain access to large areas of land because of their fighting prowess, thanks to their powerful army (Murunga 1998, Ochieng' 1974 and Onduru 2009). Migration and settlement of the Gusii, in their present locality (the Kisii highlands) led them to become neighbors of the Maasai (Ochieng' 1974).

Having settled in the Kisii highlands, the Gusii became neighbors of cattle raiding ethnic communities such as the Maasai, the Luo and the Kipsigis (Ochieng' 1974). The Gusii people were also cattle raiders. As a result, the land of the Gusii became an arena of ethnic conflicts. Traditionally, the Maasai unleashed most of the ethnic conflicts against the Gusii. The Gusii suffered a lot of casualties resulting from Maasai attacks because of the superiority of the Maasai army. The Maasai community had the most feared army in precolonial Kenya (Murunga 1998, Onduru 2009).

To put a check on Maasai army attacks against the Gusii, the colonial government established ethnic territories. The Maasai were allocated what came to be referred to as the Southern Maasai Reserve while the Gusii were administered from South Nyanza District. Movement in and out of the specific ethnic territorial borders was checked to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts. Indeed, borders which were created to separate and safeguard ethnic communities from each other served to fuel that which they were designed to prevent. Thus, it was wrong for the colonial administration to posit that inter-ethnic wars were generated through free movement and trespass (Sandbrook (1985).

In spite of the creation of ethnic territories, cross-border ethnic conflicts continued. Ethnic conflicts have negative impact on social, economic and political development. In spite of this, those who have studied ethnic conflicts in Kenya have tended to present a generalized view of their impacts on the general populations without according specific attention on the

burden such conflicts impose on women. Some of the generalized impact of ethnic conflicts on society include the following: loss of livelihoods (Montalvo 2005), loss of lives, promotion of mistrust, breakdown in marriages and psychological trauma (Menyi 2009, Chavulimo 2019, Mkutu 2008).

While some of the impacts generated through ethnic conflicts affect the whole populations, there are specific burdens that such conflicts impose on women. This study attempted to focus on the burden which Gusii-Maasai ethnic cross-border conflicts impose on Gusii women. The study is located on the Gusii-Maasai border. The border separates Kisii County (home of the Gusii people) and Narok County (home of the Maasai).

The Gusii-Maasai border which separate the two counties has been a hotbed of ethnic conflicts since time immemorial. These conflicts are associated with cattle thefts. Cattle is highly valued by the Maasai people. The Gusii abandoned their love for livestock due to Maasai attacks and turned to crop farming (Ochieng' 1974). They, however, keep livestock but on a small-scale. Situations such as severe droughts and famine lead to escalated incidence of cattle thefts. Droughts lead to loss and lack of water and grazing. This, in turn, lead to massive loss of livestock. Droughts are generally severe on the Maasai side and, as a result, the Maasai are the most affected. To replenish their lost livestock, the Maasai resort to cattle thefts and this sparks cross-border ethnic conflicts pitting the Maasai against the Gusii. This chapter provides findings of the study which studied the burden that these conflicts impose on Gusii women.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study picked on Kisii District and Narok County as its study areas because, apart from bordering each other, the two counties are home to the Maasai and the Gusii ethnic communities. These ethnic communities have been in a state of peace and conflict for a long time and, thus, provide fodder for a study on cross-border ethnic conflicts. Kisii District is located about 30 miles (50 km) south east of Lake Victoria and it is bordered by six counties namely: Narok to the south, Kisumu to the north, Bomet to the south east and Nyamira to the east (Maranga, 2018). Kisii District was, and still is, mainly inhabited by a people called the Gusii or Abagusii. The Gusii are Bantu-speaking people who inhabit the South Western highlands of Kenya. They trace their ancestry back to one ancestor called Mogusii son of Osogo (Mayer 1949, LeVine and LeVine 1966, Aberi 2009, Ochieng' 1974).

Narok County, on the other hand, borders the Republic of Tanzania to the South, Kisii, Migori, Nyamira and Bomet Counties to the West, Nakuru County to the North and Kajiado County to the East. The County headquarters is at Narok Town which is located to the southern part of Rift valley region (Narok District Annual Report, 1984). The county covers an area of 17,933.1 Square kilometers representing 3.1 per cent of the total area in Kenya and therefore the eleventh largest in the country (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018- Narok County). Narok County is inhabited mainly by Maasai pastoralists. The Maasai are plain nilotes whose main source of livelihood is livestock rearing. However, some of them practice mixed farming (Kipury 1983). The study was centered in Narok and Kisii Districts because one District is inhabited by a farming community while the other is inhabited by nomadic pastoralists.

A historical research study design was employed in order to ascertain the historical changes in the Gusii-Maasai cross-border conflicts. Data which informed this study was drawn from secondary and archival sources. Archival data was sourced from the Kenya National Archives which secondary data was sourced mainly from books and journals. Data was analyzed qualitatively and the findings presented according to emerging themes.

Gusii-Maasai cross-border ethnic conflicts in historical perspective

The Gusii are a Bantu-speaking people whose migration route in the precolonial days led them to become the neighbors of the Maasai. The Maasai were traditionally a nomadic pastoralist community. Before turning to crop farming, the Gusii were also pastoralists but they were forced to abandon livestock economy due to incessant attacks from their neighboring ethnic communities which include the Luo, the Maasai, and the Kipsigis (Ochieng' 1974). Cattle was, in most cases, the source of conflict between the Maasai and the Gusii. This is because cattle was the main currency by which many social and economic transactions were settled (Ndege 1992). Even though not pastoralists, the Gusii, like the Maasai, valued cattle a great deal because cattle was the currency with which both communities transacted business. It was used for paying bride price, as food, in barter trade and source of wealth (Ndege 1992). Valued as it were, cattle was also a source of ethnic strife and neighboring communities fought over it. The Maasai used to attack and steal cattle from the Gusii in the precolonial period.

This practice was never stopped by the colonial administration even though attempts were made to terminate it. Thus, cross border ethnic conflicts involving the Maasai and the Gusii has existed in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods.

During the precolonial period, Gusii-Maasai ethnic conflicts forced the Gusii to do two things. One was to abandon livestock farming. This is because the Maasai attacked the Gusii in order to steal their livestock. Secondly, the Gusii retreated into highland areas where they sought safe haven against Maasai attacks (Ochieng 1974). During the colonial period, for example, there was an intense drought-driven Gusii-Maasai ethnic conflict in 1943 that had not been witnessed before in the history of the two communities (Kenya National Archives, DP/18/14). This conflict not only resulted in death but also in the disruption of trade relations between the two communities. During the same time, the Gusii refused to sell food to the famine-stricken Maasai. Gusii-Maasai cross-border ethnic conflicts continued into the post-colonial period. For example, it was reported in 1964 that the “Kisii-Maasai border was characterized by fierce clashes and general disquietedness in the early part of 1964” (Kenya National Archives, DP/33/4).

The value of cattle during the colonial period took a new turn. During this period, livestock became heavily commoditized in that it was sold in order to raise money for paying taxes. Commoditization of cattle heightened during the colonial period, especially during the First and the Second World Wars. During the Second World War, for example, the Gusii people and their neighbors benefited a lot from the War by selling 2384 head of cattle to the military (Kenya National Archives, DP/23/4). The demand for livestock during the Second World War also had an impact on Maasai-Gusii relations. Both the Gusii and the Maasai intensified cattle thefts and the stolen cattle was sold on the market. In fact, there emerged a certain kind of friendship between some Gusii and some Maasai. The Maasai would steal cattle from their fellow Maasai and sell it to the Gusii and vice versa. Whichever way, the stealing generated ethnic conflicts.

The cattle economy and its relationship to ethnic conflicts involving the Maasai and the Gusii was a function of many factors. Apart from market driven- ethnic conflicts whereby cattle was stolen for sale, drought also generated ethnic conflicts. Incidences of livestock-driven ethnic conflicts heightened during the drought seasons. Firstly, droughts led to loss of livestock due to lack of water and grazing. Loss of cattle during droughts made the Maasai to attack the Gusii and steal their livestock as a way of replenishing their lost livestock.

Secondly, drought in Maasai areas pushed the Maasai to seek water and grazing in Gusii-land. Maasai livestock would be pushed to graze on Gusii farmlands and this generated ethnic conflicts. The drought of 1942 is a case in point. The drought that ravaged Maasai areas between 1942 and 1943 changed the equation by occasioning a large-scale war between the Maasai and the Gusii (Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13). Droughts usually led to massive loss of Maasai livestock and, being heavily depended on livestock for survival, the Maasai usually resorted to livestock stealing to restore their lost flocks.

The establishment of colonial rule in Kenya had an impact on the effect of droughts on Maasai pastoralists. This is bearing in mind the fact that most of the Maasai land was alienated for European settlement. In the event, the Maasai lost much of what used to be their dry-season grazing areas. Traditionally, the Maasai practiced rotational grazing whereby certain areas were reserved for wet-season grazing and others were reserved for dry-season grazing. With much of their land gone, the Maasai lost their dry-weather grazing areas and this predisposed them to the negative effects of droughts.

Thus, when droughts set in, the Maasai would lose their livestock, which otherwise would not have been lost, if they had control over their traditional dry-season grazing areas. It is for this reason that when the Maasai lost most of their livestock during drought periods, as experienced in 1942/1943, they resorted to cattle thefts. The Gusii were the victims in most cases, even though they also stole cattle from the Maasai. If anything, the colonial government had weakened the ability of the Gusii to defend themselves by taking away most of their men for colonial development enterprises as wage labourers (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/2).

While droughts intensified cases of cattle thefts on one hand, they also increased famine on the other. Though pastoralists, the Maasai were cereal consumers. They obtained cereals from the Gusii through barter trade (Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13). The Maasai took advantage of the lapse in security status of the country (occasioned by the Second World War) to unleash numerous cattle thefts on a large scale against the Gusii. The result was a large-scale War that broke out between the Maasai and the Gusii that even disrupted trade relations between the two communities (Kenya National Archives, DP/18/14). The then Acting Provincial commissioner for Nyanza Province, Mr. Hunter, was prompted to write to the Chief Secretary in Nairobi about this state of affairs stating that:

The Kisii have suffered two more raids at the hands of the Maasai during October. I suggest that their action in the circumstances is a defiant demonstration of bravado. One raid was perpetrated early in the month when the Maasai killed one Kisii and got away with 140 head of Kisii cattle, and the second was in daylight on 28th when the Maasai drove off 4 head from the grazing ground near the border (Kenya National Archives, DP/18/14, 1943).

The war between the Gusii and the Maasai, triggered by large-scale theft of livestock from the Gusii by the Maasai, did disrupt the traditional trade relations between the two communities. Traditionally, according to the chief of Nyaribari, the Maasai relied on food supplies from the Gusii during drought periods (Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13). Traditionally, food exchange relations took place at Ramasha Market which is located on the Gusii-Maasai border. But when the War broke out between the two communities, the Gusii retaliated by stopping food supplies to the Maasai. It was not until the Maasai, through their District Commissioner stationed at Narok, pleaded for intervention from the District Commissioner stationed at Kisii to let the Gusii to continue supplying food to their Maasai neighbors (Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13). The Chief of Nyaribari made a comment about the disruption of Gusii-Maasai peaceful relations in his report which he addressed to the District Commissioner of South Nyanza.

Also, may you please write to the D.C. Narok to warn the Morani [warriors] of Maasai that unless they despair with thefts the Wakisii will stop selling them crop as it were in 1943....they depend on meat and milk, then when there is a sun drought in their country they immediately run to get food from the Kisii (Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13).

Drought-generated ethnic conflicts, prevented the Gusii from engaging in their farming activities since most of them have to flee, especially those who reside on the Maasai-Gusii border. Also, they (the Gusii) spent a lot of time keeping vigil against Maasai attacks instead of working on their farms. Traditionally, the Gusii cultivate up to the Maasai-Gusii border and ethnic attacks drive them away from the border. Writing about this the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza stated that:-

The District Commissioner Kisii in reporting these affairs has pointed out that every time a raid occurs, the entire Kisii population for some miles back from the border pack up and evacuate the area. Twice this month however they have been disturbed and had to evacuate, and even when occupying their homes, they have to maintain constant vigilance (Kenya National Archives, DP/18/14, 1943).

Having presented the historical perspective of the Gusii-Maasai cross border ethnic conflicts, the next section begins to examine the Burden which these conflicts place on Gusii women.

1. The burden of displacement of human populations on Gusii women.

It has been noted that conflicts lead to displacement of human populations (Wirtz et al. 2014). Ethnic conflicts have served to explain patterns of migration and settlement of Kenyan communities, especially in the precolonial period. Displacement of human populations is not a precolonial period phenomenon. People are still being displaced today as a result of ethnic conflicts. Maasai attacks on the Gusii people are said to have contributed to the displacement of the Gusii from their original places of settlement (Ochieng' 1974). Usually, people are forced to carry their belongings while running away from areas of ethnic conflicts. In most cases, it is women who are tasked with the responsibility of carrying belongings and children while the men keep vigil. Displacement of human populations does not spare pregnant women either.

The Gusii people encountered a lot of ethnic attacks while migrating from Uganda into their present localities (Ogonda and Ochieng' 1992). While migrating, the Gusii first came into contact with the Luo but the persistent Luo attacks led them to migrate further (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/3/2). As a result of their migration, they came into contact with the Maasai. The Gusii, once again, suffered further attacks from the Maasai forcing them to move to the highland areas (Ochieng' 1974). The highlands (which are today called Kisii highlands) served as a safe haven for the Gusii people.

Thus, ethnic conflicts between the Masai and the Gusii, during the precolonial period was a burden to Gusii women with regard to the displacement of the Gusii people. Apart from displacement of human populations during the precolonial period, Gusii-Maasai cross border ethnic conflicts continued to impact on women in the colonial and post-colonial periods. During the colonial period, for example, the Gusii were displaced from the border areas as result of Maasai attacks in 1943 (Kenya national Archives, DP/18/14). Displacement of human populations, as a result of ethnic conflicts, went against the colonial thinking that ethnic communities would be safeguarded within their own ethnic borders. Borders were designed to prevent trespass of one ethnic community into the territory of another ethnic community. Continued ethnic conflicts in colonial and

postcolonial period also defeated the thinking that the police, the army and the court systems provided safeguards against such practices. Another burden which ethnic conflicts placed on women is that of creating increased cases of widowhood among Gusi women as observed in the next section.

2. The burden of widowhood on Gusi women

A lot of people die as a result of ethnic conflicts. This was the case in 1942/1943 Gusi-Maasai ethnic conflict (Kenya National Archives DP/18/14). In most cases, the number of men who die in conflicts outnumber that of women. This is because, men are the main actors on the battle field. The Gusi society was mainstreamed in such way that men were predisposed to risks more than women. This is because the war sector was the domain of men as it was played out in the public sphere. Women were mainly relegated to the domestic sphere (LeVine and LeVine 1966, Silberschmidt 1999). Gusi warriors were charged with the duty of safeguarding the rest of the members of the Gusi society. But apart from safeguarding the community, the warriors also initiated conflicts by raiding their neighbors to steal livestock. Thus, the division of labour in Gusi and Maasai communities was highly gendered. This thinking springs from the fact that, based on gendered division of labour, men take part in war, including, protecting women from the adversities of conflicts. By participating in ethnic conflicts, most men are destined to die on the battle field. As a result, most Gusi women are left behind as widows. Thus, the burden of fending for the family is left in the hands of Gusi women.

Widows are generally burdened because they are left in charge of many responsibilities. They have to combine both male and female responsibilities in order to bring up children left under their care. To be able to meet expectations placed upon them, Gusi widows double their economic activities. Some combine farming with trading in order to make ends meet. In the colonial period, widowed women had to increase the land under cultivation (in order to produce surplus farm produce) while at the same time traveling long distances to take farm produce to the markets.

The role of transporting farm surplus to the market for sale is a traditional role of Gusi women. Gusi women engaged in trade even before the establishment of colonial rule in their territory. In the precolonial period, for example, Gusi women played a leading role in long distance trade involving them and the Luo as asserted by Maxon (1989) and Ochieng' (1974). The only danger that Gusi women encountered was insecurity. They used to be attacked. Thus, the Men assumed the role of safeguarding women while away on long distance trade. The role of women in facilitating trade by transporting goods from their territory to the place of sale continued even after the establishment of colonial rule. This is not to dispute the fact that men also transported trade items to the market. Thus, women were burdened by trading roles during period of ethnic conflicts as men became preoccupied with security issues.

While Gusi women traded with their neighboring ethnic communities, the establishment of the colonial rule expanded the sphere of women's trade. Indians traders sprung up as middle men in the trade chain. Most of these Indians were stationed in urban centers (Spencer 1981). Indians stationed in urban areas depended on food supplies from Gusi women. Sometimes Indian traders would venture into the interior of African areas by accompanying colonial administrators. Usually, colonial administrators had their own security from which Indian traders benefitted. In most cases, the District Commissioner had the necessary security.

A very considerable impetus was given to trade in this District during the year by the adoption of the system (originated in Kisumu) of permitting Indian traders to accompany [colonial] officers on safari with trade goods, which the natives were encouraged to buy... (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/2).

In the absence of security provided by colonial administrators, Indians relied on Gusi women who transported farm products to urban markets. This was even more burdensome for women during heavy rains because during such times, roads became impassable (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/2). Silberschmidt (1999:47) observes that Gusi women "developed a wide range of strategies in order to get access to the product of their labour. For example, they would often sell their produce directly to middlemen-though at a lower price- instead of delivering it to the official authorities....". There were times when the colonial government put pressure on Africans to produce more food. this was the case during the Second World War. Demand for food during this period led Gusi women to produce and supply more food to the military while bringing prosperity to the land of the Gusi people.

With large increases in cereal production, greater participation of Africans in the sale of produce, increases in the sales of coffee, the compulsory sale of cattle, and conscription of labour, much more money found its way into Gusiiland than ever before (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/7).

Gusii women also traded with Arabs. These Arabs dwelled in urban centers. In Kisii County, for example, it was reported that an Arab was buying maize from that County in 1940 at a market near Ikonge, along Ikonge -Kitutu Road (See letter dated 23rd February 1940 from Agricultural officer, Mr. W. G. Sunman, Kenya National Archives, DP/3/11). There was, also, an increase in the growing of millet (*wimbi*) by Gusii women. There were buyers who could buy millet and sell to an Indian (Kenya National Archives, DP/3/11).

War does not lead to deaths alone. Conflicts also leave people with varying types of disabilities. Women have to take care of these people, especially those with whom they have close relationships. Care of the sick, the elderly and the disabled has, traditionally, fallen under the sphere of women. The preceding sections have noted that Gusii-Maasai ethnic conflicts led to deaths and widowhood. Widows had to take up roles traditionally reserved for men in order to bring children left under their care. Apart from caring for children, women were expected to continue bringing forth more children in order to replace those who had died in war as well as the aging. Children, especially male children, were looked upon as future soldiers. The demand placed on women regarding procreation intensified due to ethnic conflicts. This is examined in the next section.

3. The burden of procreation on Gusii women

From a gender perspective, the fact that the Gusii society was involved in incessant conflicts with the Maasai meant that a lot of value was bestowed on male children because they were needed to provide protection to the entire community. As a result, women were expected to give birth to more male children in order to ensure a steady supply of male labourers (warriors). This provides one of the explanations as to why Gusii men were polygamous. Indeed, according to Silberschmidt (1999), polygamy was highly upheld in Gusii society. That male children were highly valued in Gusii society meant that women were burdened with the task of giving birth. Those who did not give birth to male children were encouraged to continue giving birth until such time when they got sons. Sons were held in high esteem than daughters because inheritance of land, property and cattle was always on the male line (Kenya National Archives, DP/18/13). During times of conflicts, men were occupied round the clock to fight off external enemies. The District Commissioner, for example, reported in 1943 that:

The Kisii-Maasai border however, has not been quiet and the year opened with Maasai raids and armed forays into Kisii country in January. Forty police were drafted to the border and outposts and patrols were maintained throughout the year. In spite of this the Maasai raided again in October and on this occasion there was some retaliation by the Kisii. The Kisii offenders were punished but unfortunately the Maasai have not been traced" (Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/5, Kisii District Annual report 1943, p.2)

Children were not just valued for purposes of fighting wars when they grew up. They were also valued for providing household labour. In times of war, women and their children continued to be the chief producers and suppliers of food. In the arena of food production, women and children had played this role since the precolonial period. This is because men (and most of them were polygamous) allocated a piece of land to each wife to cultivate and feed herself and her children (Silberschmidt 1999). This study has shown that ethnic conflicts create burdens which are unique to women.

3. CONCLUSION

Gusii-Maasai cross-border ethnic conflicts, which have existed since time immemorial, have burdened Gusii women in several ways. Gusii-Maasai ethnic conflicts usually took place along the Gusii-Maasai border areas and, in most cases, these conflicts led to the displacement of people from the border areas. Displacement of human populations during war time burdens women because it is women who are tasked with carrying household belongings and children. Displacement of human populations also denies the victims the right to shelter. Also, conflicts lead to death, not just of men, but also of women and children. Gusii funerals are burdensome to women in several ways. Women spent more time mourning their dead husbands. Also, funerals call on women to dispense certain roles and this increases activity on women such as cooking, fetching water and feeding mourners.

Another sphere in which ethnic conflicts burden Gusii women is by way of creating widowhood. Widowed women are left in charge of households (taking care of children, the disabled and the elderly). This means that women have to work extra

hard to meet their obligations. They have to take up some or all of the responsibilities hitherto undertaken by their departed husbands.

That notwithstanding, Gusii women are also burdened through child bearing. Conflicts increase the demand of male members of the society in two ways. Naturally, the aging and dying members of the society need to be replaced in order to ensure a steady supply of warriors/fighters/defenders. In Gusii society, male members of society are charged with the responsibility of protecting their society against external attacks. Secondly, male members of society who die in combat also need to be replaced. Thus, women are called upon to give birth to many children in order to ensure a steady supply of warriors to replace those who die in combat.

In spite of the role that women play in ensuring a steady supply of warriors, they are valued less. A lot of value is placed on male members at the expense of women. By engaging too much in procreation, women are mostly confined within the domestic sphere where their leading role is to look after children and perform domestic chores while men are expected to guard their villages against external attacks. The domestic sphere, which is regarded as predominantly a women's sphere, serves to silence the voices of women in matters discussed in the public spheres. For example, when peacebuilding processes are initiated at public meetings (in this case by cross border security committees) women are rarely invited. Thus, decisions arrived at are mainly male centric and gender blind. It is about time that peacebuilding process involve women as the ost aggrieved victims.

In spite of all the burdens which the Gusii-Maasai cross border conflicts place on Gusii women, such conflicts have also been of benefit to women. In the first place, women have come to be valued in Gusii society. This is because of the important role they play during periods of conflicts such as taking care of children, tilling farms when their male counterparts are guarding villages and, in the event of death of male members, their taking full charge of households. Children who are born in women-headed households grew up to respect women. Also, as heads of households, women discover and nurture their potential in various sectors of society. this is bearing in mind the fact that Gusii culture accord women less opportunities for self-advancement compared to men. Cross-border ethnic conflicts have given women a chance to venture outside of the domestic sphere and, by doing so, they have had a chance to challenge the long-held notion that men are superior to women.

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- [27] Kenya National Archives, DP/23/4 Military, Anglo-Italian War, general correspondence, history of war 1942-1947.
- [28] Kenya National Archives, DP/1/13 Monthly reports by chiefs 1948-1949
- [29] Kenya National Archives, DP/18/14 Raids, Native Unrests and riots 1939-1948
- [30] Kenya National Archives, DC/KSI/1/5 Kisii District Annual Report 1943